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THE RETENTION OF TEACHERS.

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Abstract.

In the late 1980s, in Britain, teacher retention was an important issue in public education, with inner city schools suffering most from teachers' unwillingness to be retained. Most labour market studies, even those written about teachers, concentrate on the 'demand side' : there are few empirical studies of the supply side. Those researched from the perspective of the employees themselves are rare.

A literature search yielded three main categories of supply side job satisfactions : groupings of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual factors. A research approach was developed to establish the significance and stability of such factors in teaching.

The method was one of refinement from qualitative exploration to quantitative explanation. The field work began with an analysis of student writings about their most valued experiences in informal educational settings, continued with interviews with four head teachers and tested the abstracted satisfaction characteristics with two populations : trainee teachers and established teachers.

The retention factors identified were adequate resources, colleagues, community support and the feeling of doing a worthwhile job allowing for personal and professional development, in the context of stable educational policy. Results were obtained by correlation and principal components analysis.

A contrast is drawn between quit factors and stay factors. This analysis focuses on the collegiate nature of schools and teaching. Experienced teachers concur, extending this collegiality towards relationships with the community through parents and governing bodies. Gender is found to be a consistent correlate.

The conclusion discusses retention and motivation in the light of the findings. Retention policies are found to omit the professional concerns of teachers. In effect, evidence of vocationalism challenges the dependence of retention on extrinsic as distinct from intrinsic and contextual factors. Gender seems to be systematically ignored by employers, particularly in attempts to proletarianise teaching, despite the statistical evidence that it is a feminised occupation.

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Abbreviations.

- B.Ed.** Bachelor of Education : a first degree including subject studies and qualified teacher status (QTS).
- DES** Department of Education and Science (before October, 1992).
- DFE** Department for Education (after October, 1992).
- EFL** English as a Foreign Language.
- ESL** English as a Second Language.
- GMS** Grant Maintained School : a school which is funded from central government sources.
- GTC** General Teaching Council : the body which approves teaching qualifications in Scotland.
- H.E.** Higher Education : refers to the post 18 sector of education and includes universities, polytechnics (now mostly redesignated as universities) and voluntary colleges of higher education.
- HMI** Her Majesty's Inspector(s).
- ILEA** Inner London Education Authority : until April, 1990, the local education authority responsible for all educational provision in the ten inner London boroughs.
- INSET** In-Service Education and Training for teachers.

Abbreviations.

ITT	Initial Teacher Training.
LEA	Local Education Authority.
LFA	London First Appointment : ILEA designation for teachers appointed to their first post in an Inner London Education Authority school.
LMS	Local Management of Schools.
M.Ed.	Master of Education degree.
M.Phil.	Master's degree obtained as a result of independent research.
M.Sc.	Master of Science degree.
NC	National Curriculum.
NNEB	National Nursery Examination Board.
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate of Education : a year long postgraduate course in teaching studies leading to QTS.
PoS	Programme of Study in a national curriculum subject.

Abbreviations.

- QTS** Qualified Teacher Status : DfE approved recognition of teaching competence.
- SACRE** Special Area Committee for Religious Education.
- SATs** Standard Assessment Tasks : tests administered to children at ages 7, 11 and 14, based on the national curriculum subjects.
- SEN** Special Educational Needs: refers to pupils who have identified needs in education. and may also have a statement of those needs which entitles them to extra adult help.
- ULF** Urban Learning Foundation : a network of centres based in Tower Hamlets, Newham and Southwark funded and managed by a consortium of Church of England Voluntary Colleges of Higher Education, with local education authority support, to provide inner city teaching experience to undergraduate and postgraduate student teachers.
- YTS** Youth Training Scheme.

1
Chapter One.
Introduction.

1. The Background to the Study.

This study was undertaken to explore retention in teaching from the perspective of new entrants to the profession, at a point in time when teacher supply was of public concern. In this, it differs from most other studies on occupational groups where retention itself is treated as either a constant or an unknown factor.

Studies of occupational groups deal either with the supply of employees or the demand for them as a characteristic of the labour market and are, essentially, undertaken from the point of view of employers or training providers. Seldom is the opinion of the employee sought. This study is, therefore, an account of actual and potential employees' perspectives on retention.

1.1. The Demand for Teachers.

Demand for teachers is "determined by the birth rate and policy decisions" (Smithers and Robinson : 1991a : 3). They also cite the size of the school age population, the curriculum, the proportion of pupils studying each subject, the average number of pupils in each class and teacher contact time as crucial factors.

Undoubtedly, the teacher supply problems of the mid to late 1980s were linked to decisions taken in the early 1970s to cut teacher training places. These cuts were outlined in the 1972 White Paper, ironically entitled 'A Framework for Expansion', which projected a two-thirds reduction of training places by 1981 but did not take class size into account, or, indeed, consider its reduction. Figures for training had been based on the projections of teacher demand from the National Advisory Council for the Training and Supply of Teachers. These projections were based on the assumption that the post-war baby boom would continue (National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers : 1962). The James Report (1972) first highlighted the fact that the decreasing birth rate since 1964 meant that fewer teachers were required and that some of those currently in training could face future unemployment. Thus, public sector training places and institutions were to be cut from 114,000 places to a maximum of 70,000 by 1981. Estimates were further modified downwards, as were teacher training colleges, which were reduced from 180 to 84 by 1977. University departments of education and colleges were expected to train a maximum of 17,000 students each year. Nobody thought about reducing class sizes in order to employ the number of trained teachers on the job market.

A further six per cent cut in training places on 1981 admissions was proposed in the White Paper entitled 'Teaching Quality' (1983) to take effect by 1985. In addition, training places for primary education were to increase by just over fifty per cent to take account of the rising birth rate, whereas secondary training places were to be reduced by just over thirty per cent. The relationship between cuts and future shortage subjects was not apparent at this point in time.

So, seemingly, teacher demand and lack of teacher supply could be linked exclusively to birth rate predictions leading to decisions on the provision of training places.

1.2. Teacher Pay and Conditions of Service.

A contributory factor to the teacher supply problems of the late 1980s was undoubtedly the protracted campaign led by the National Union of Teachers between 1984 and 1986 in an attempt to restore pay levels to Houghton (1974) norms and, thus, to re-establish some level of comparability with other professions. Grace (in Lawn and Grace [eds] : 1987 : 214) sees this as symptomatic of a changing relationship between teachers and central government, a move away from the partnership which had been established between teachers and their employers after the 1944 Education Act. One of the consequences of this change in partnership was the 1988 Education Reform Act which put teachers' conditions of service within a legislative framework. Another was their loss of pay negotiating rights which were only restored by Act of Parliament (Teachers' Pay Act 1991) at the height of the crisis in teacher demand.

2. The Supply of Teachers.

Here, a distinction needs to be made between demand for teachers and supply. Supply relies not only on people's training and suitability for teaching but also on their willingness to work as teachers. This study sets out to examine the supply side of teaching from the point of view of the teachers in training and the teachers themselves.

A concomitant of the supply of personnel is their retention and it could be argued that people begin to formulate attitudes about being retained during their training just as they do about job satisfaction and dissatisfaction factors. Thus retention can be seen as an occupational characteristic either present or brought into being by the training process and as such, can be investigated.

3. Teachers as a Professional Group.

The number of practising teachers employed by local education authorities and grant maintained schools in England and Wales in 1991 was 442,100. The number of inactive teachers was thought to be over 350,000 in 1986. Teachers are, therefore, "a major professional group in the labour market" (Wilson and Pearson : 1992 para 2). Over two-thirds of practising and non-practising teachers are women which may mean that they have particular needs in terms of conditions of service and pay. They may also have specific sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

The fact that almost as many as those who are professionally active choose not to teach is significant in itself and can probably not be explained away entirely by child care duties. Therefore, to find out more about the characteristics of occupational groups and the supply side of the work force, an examination of studies of turnover, recruitment and retention was undertaken.

4. Employment Studies.

4.1. Studies of Turnover and Motivation.

A PhD thesis on retention in the hotel industry (Mc Ewan : 1990) was used as a reference base, and was supplemented by reports from the Local Authorities' Conditions of Service Advisory Board (1987) and an Institute of Manpower Studies report (1986) on graduate employment.

These reports were almost exclusively written from a demand side perspective. They yielded little in the way of studies of the retention of occupational groups, particularly groups with a majority of women employees.

Studies of turnover regard it as a distinctive behaviour on the part of the employee which has consequences for the organisation and other employees. Overarching studies of the characteristics of the labour market tend to concentrate on the economic cycle and the effects of market forces to explain labour market change. They acknowledge that demand for workers in some sectors is cyclical and in others constant. Studies of organisational change focus on perceived change in work habits and acceptance of change in routine as they affect turnover, recruitment and retention. There is also a study of the effect of sanctions on subsequent behaviour (Clegg : 1983).

Motivation and job satisfaction are alluded to, with reference made to Herzberg's hygiene factors (1967) and Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943, 1954). Later work (Alderfer: 1972)

posits three general categories of need : existence, relatedness and growth but suggests that these needs exist in a parallel rather than a hierarchical relationship. Frustration of the need for growth may cause people to turn to more easily obtainable needs in the other areas.

Studies of behaviour associated with work show three main motives : achievement, power and affiliation. Expectancy, beliefs on the relationship between effort, performance and reward also influences work behaviour, Thus motivation may well be affected by different circumstances and influences at different points in time. Studies of motivation provide an initial framework of analysis of the three major aspects of work. These are intrinsic aspects, such as features of the job itself, extrinsic aspects, such as the conditions of service of the employing organisation, and contextual aspects such as the impact of national legislation and the valuation placed on the job by society.

4.2. A Study of Retention.

One study, undertaken by Flowers and Hughes in three American companies, (1973) which examines the supply side of retention, reveals the different levels and determinants of workers' commitment to the organisation and examines the extent to which intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual factors impinge on workers' decisions to stay or quit. It also looks at the extent to which workers are held within organisations because of non-work factors including family considerations and the 'golden handcuffs' of benefits. What emerges is that reasons for leaving organisations do not mirror reasons for staying and that people's job mobility is not as great as generally assumed. It is also clear that dissatisfied workers who stay in organisations are psychologically 'absent' and, may, indeed, depress the performance of the organisation. The study also examines the work values of different types of employee, showing that low-skilled workers stay for reasons mainly relating to the external environment whereas workers in professional positions mainly stay for reasons related to the job and the values of the organisation itself. This finding is important as far as teachers are concerned because it implies that a major change in their function, if it is imposed without consultation, will lead to greater turnover. The study also provided a classification of workers which could be applied to teachers and student teachers.

4.3. Studies of Teacher Demand.

Although no contemporary studies of teacher demand existed when this thesis was begun, apart from the fact that teachers were included as graduates in studies of graduate employment, three studies by Smithers and Robinson (1990, 1991a, 1991b) were published

during the fieldwork period, as was a statistical projection of teacher supply for the 1990s, (DES:1990) and a survey for the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (Buchan and Wayman : 1989). These were excellent sources of statistics on teacher demand and also reinforced the adoption of the terms *intrinsic*, *extrinsic* and *contextual* to designate different aspects of teaching.

In addition, the findings of the House of Commons Select Committee for Education, Science and the Arts (1990), provided a more detailed analysis of the types of shortages being experienced by schools as well as some evidence that 'low teacher morale' had finally surfaced as a concern of central government. It also demonstrated, through the dissent to its findings expressed by Labour members, the extent to which the demand for teachers had become a part of the political agenda.

5. Supply Side Investigations.

5.1. Head Teachers as Expert Witnesses.

Investigation of the literature, apart from the Flowers and Hughes (1973) study and some interviews undertaken by Smithers and Robinson (1991: a), provided little evidence of the thinking of teachers themselves. Therefore, the first stage of this study was to interview head teachers as expert witnesses of (and as the people most likely to suffer from) the problems of teacher supply. They were asked for their perspective on the demand for teachers and about the kinds of recruitment and retention measures which they put into place in their own schools.

The group of Tower Hamlets head teachers who agreed to be interviewed were all known to be concerned about teacher recruitment and retention. Their schools were potentially lacking staff because of the particular difficulties of attracting teachers to East London and retaining them. There was a loosely elaborated interview schedule which focused the discussion on the extent to which factors within the school under their control, such as staff development opportunities, could enhance retention. To every head teacher, recruitment was such an emotive word, as can be seen in the transcripts of interview extracts (Chapter 7), that an interview schedule would have been both obtrusive and superfluous. Lengthy, unstructured conversations with the heads revealed that they were all consciously using the placement of students on teaching practice in their schools as a means of recruitment. This process, however, could be frustrated by a combination of the ILEA's 'bureaucracy' and students' impatience to get a first job.

All the head teachers felt that the culture of their schools was a powerful retention factor

and were keen to ensure that prospective teachers were temperamentally suited to it. They were also concerned with teachers' well-being in its broadest sense, as well as their professional and personal development. They saw themselves acting as a buffer and an interpreter between their teachers and the parents of pupils. At the same time, they went to great lengths to ensure that school culture reflected the best of local community culture, without, in any way compromising standards of achievement or educational equality in their schools.

Their relationship with the ILEA was equivocal. Whilst they valued and implemented initiatives developed London-wide by the authority and, thus, deplored its impending abolition, high levels of centralisation had led to over-bureaucratisation. This, in turn, blunted the perceptions of the administrators to the unique nature and needs of each individual school, particularly in terms of the daily dysfunction resulting from staff shortage.

The head teachers' concerns began in the classroom with the individual pupil and teacher, in sharp contrast to the starting point of the concerns expressed in official reports. All four heads used the same kinds of terminology and stressed the intrinsic features of teaching, whilst deploring, in strong language, the extrinsic and contextual features, over which they felt they had little control.

For these head teachers, the important factors in teacher supply and retention were the 'match' of the teacher to the culture of the school, teachers' personal and professional well-being, professional development opportunities which confirmed rather than eroded expertise and teachers' awareness of the culture of the local community. Thus, they were looking to recruit teachers with whom they, as heads, could be in partnership but also teachers who would enter into partnership with the local community.

It was possible that these concerns were only important in Tower Hamlets as an inner city area and not as important elsewhere, or that they only had significance to head teachers who would, in any case, be looking for like-minded staff, with whom to associate.

5.2. Beginning Teachers.

This notion of partnership was confirmed and elaborated by a small scale survey of probationary primary teachers (Clayton : 1989) carried out independently of this study. The teachers were asked to write about their best and worst experiences of the first term of teaching. Their writings strongly suggested that the first term of teaching involved an emerging pattern of partnerships for teachers at the start of their career. First and foremost were the partnerships between themselves, the children and their colleagues. A second

stratum of partnership involved the head teacher and parents; a third, the local education authority and central government. Whilst partnerships with children, colleagues, heads and parents had their ups and downs, on the whole, by the end of the first term of teaching, these were improving significantly. In contrast, local authority and central government partnerships had begun in a negative way and looked set to remain negative.

With partnerships and, therefore, relationships in mind, it seemed appropriate to examine the way in which students in training were thinking about their teaching role in its wider context.

5.3. Teachers in Training.

At that time, all the student teachers who elected to come to the Urban Learning Foundation were required to undertake teaching practice and community work concurrently over the period of a term. Being self-selected, they could be considered as representative of intending teachers who would be retained. In addition to their community work placement, they were also required to write a short account of its influence on their teaching role. Twenty-five such accounts were analysed for language use and content. The language used mirrored that of the head teachers and probationary teachers. Moreover, comments were made about exactly the same range of potential partnerships as those outlined by the head teachers and the probationary teachers. The element which these student writings added to the evidence already collected was a concept of parallel teaching and learning with the community. The writings showed an ability to combine the outlook of teachers and community workers if the circumstances warranted this, and to step outside either role. Thus a process of synergy in thinking was apparent in statements about teaching and community work experience which balanced both perspectives.

6. The Propositions of the Study.

The crisis in teacher supply could seemingly be attributed to policy decisions taken in the 1970s and 1980s on the number of teacher training places. It might also be attributable to the protracted campaign waged by the teacher unions for reasonable pay in the face of a thirty per cent erosion of salary on the 1974 Houghton settlement (Grace in Lawn and Grace : eds : 1987 : 215 - 220), with its accompanying negative press coverage.

However, in the face of a massive demand for teachers, the supply side - the reasons people had for going into and remaining in teaching - did not seem to have been investigated.

Private sector studies of employment yielded little information on people's reasons for

quitting jobs but gave a great deal of information on the consequences. Such studies, in any case, had little impact on the public sector.

Therefore, the first proposition of this study was that the problem should be turned on its head and considered from the supply side.

The second proposition was to consult private sector employment studies, including studies of motivation, which differentiated job factors and could provide an analytical framework.

The third proposition was that one main target group for the initial investigation would be head teachers. Head teachers were expert witnesses of the effects of teacher shortage. They were also consciously relying on a series of measures which they considered instrumental in retaining teachers in their schools. In any case, they themselves had been retained in teaching.

The second main target group would be teachers in training who could shed light on attitude formation towards teaching, and, therefore, towards retention within the training process.

Thus, the propositions upon which the questionnaire and subsequent study are based emerged from the initial evidence provided by the target groups. The first is that head teachers can retain staff through creating a climate conducive to this within the school. The second is that teaching involves a series of partnerships with "significant" others. The third is that certain kinds of pre-teaching experience, particularly in informal settings, have an influence on post-qualifying attitudes and can influence retention.

The job satisfaction features analysed by Herzberg (1967) and later elaborated by research undertaken by Flowers and Hughes (1973) as well as the body of knowledge on motivation could be studied as having both historical and directional qualities. Prequalifying informal experiences actively sought by the trainee teachers and undertaken in a voluntary capacity or as part of their training indicate the kind of atmosphere in which they aspire to teach, showing that they do not wish to confine themselves to a technicist classroom-based approach. Post-qualifying experiences, such as those of the probationary teachers and the comments of the headteachers themselves suggest that effective teaching cannot be carried out exclusively within the classroom but has to be directed towards the creation and maintenance of effective partnerships with parents and the community which the school serves. Thus, job satisfaction becomes directional, in that some of the job satisfiers will lie in areas outside the classroom, areas to which other studies allude but which are, as yet, largely discounted by employers, particularly central government.

7. The Objectives of the Study.

The study was intended to be exploratory rather than conclusive, with five main lines of investigation.

Its first objective was an investigation of the factors within schools which student teachers might identify as projective retention or resignation factors but which head teachers consciously put into place.

The second objective was to analyse the responses from student teachers to the statements made on attitudes to teaching by a group of their peers whose training had included informal educational experiences in the form of community work to explore the proposition that teaching has a community dimension.

The third objective was to investigate the factors which the student teachers themselves identified as leading to retention or resignation. The fourth was to investigate aspects of teaching which the student teachers considered to be prospective job satisfaction and dissatisfaction features.

The final objective of the study was to find out whether these factors were the same for serving teachers, or whether they changed as people became 'pulled' into teaching

Thus the first part of the study examines aspects of employment. Chapters Two and Three are devoted to research on employment. Chapter Two examines studies of turnover both as a category and an individual behaviour and goes on to explore studies of its consequences and costs. It also reviews two studies of retention, the first of which treats retention as a category behaviour, examining the retention rate of graduates by industries in the United Kingdom between 1981 and 1986. The second study is based on a research project carried out at all worker levels in three American companies. It treats retention as an individual behaviour, pinpointing the extrinsic and contextual considerations which often retain reluctant employees in organisations. It also examines worker types and their work needs, suggesting that organisations should be more aware of these and more accommodating of them.

Chapter Three reviews a study of motivation as it is affected by praise or adverse criticism from superiors. Again, this is an American study whose findings are corroborated by a research project into the effects of sanctions on subsequent work behaviour amongst blue collar workers in three British engineering factories. The chapter goes on to consider theories of motivation, linking this with behavioural theory to produce an integrated model.

Chapter Four examines studies of teachers as an occupational group, undertaken from 1989 to 1991 when the teacher supply problem was at its height.

The second part of the study is devoted to the research process. Chapter Five discusses the different stages in the research, from the initial decision to examine the supply side of teacher retention from the perspective of the new entrant to the profession. It charts the stages in thinking from the initial examination of employment literature to the identification of key groups of people whose opinion needed to be sought, namely the head teachers and the final year student teachers. It explains the way in which the questionnaire was constructed from student teachers' writings on informal educational experiences, plus statements made by the head teachers who were interviewed. Finally, it reviews the questionnaire coding, its distribution and processing.

Chapter Six is an account of the student teachers' experiences in community placements and the worth of these informal educational attachments. Their writings show the value-added factors which accrue from time spent concurrently teaching in inner city schools and working with community groups. Perhaps the most significant of these value-added factors is that community work provides a context for teaching practice in an inner city school. This is particularly important for students with little prior experience of living and working in an inner city area, especially a multicultural one. Comments on this particular training experience form the first part of the questionnaire dealing with attitudes towards teaching.

Chapter Seven is an account of the interviews conducted with head teachers, in which they talk, sometimes heatedly, about their role, the pressures of the jobs, their needs and their uncertainties, especially in terms of retaining staff. The retention measures which they describe make up the second part of the questionnaire.

Chapter Eight deals with the descriptive statistics from the 214 student teachers who responded to the questionnaire, giving their background and work experience details, their responses to the attitudinal intervening variables and to the open-ended items.

Chapter Nine looks at the statistical relationships of the student teacher responses through correlation. It examines independent, background and training variables and their relationship, as well as looking at the relationships between the intervening variables. It also examines the relationship between the student teachers' background and their commitment to teaching as well as the link between their attitudes and their commitment.

Chapter Ten discusses the four mind-sets identified in the student teacher responses through a principal components analysis and examines the principal similarities and differences in thinking.

The first part of Chapter Eleven analyses the data from questionnaires completed by sixty-three teachers, examining background and training variables and their relationships with the intervening variables. It also shows the interrelatedness of the intervening variables as well as

the relationship of the independent variables to their job commitment. The second part of the chapter is devoted to a qualitative analysis of the open-ended items referring to decisions to stay in teaching or quit.

Chapter Twelve analyses the student teachers' responses to the open-ended data, focusing on the reasons they give for decisions to stay in teaching or quit. The data are treated numerically, as well as being analysed for content through axial coding.

Chapter Thirteen deals with the responses to the open-ended items concerning job satisfaction from both the student teachers and the teachers, showing the extent to which interaction with children and colleagues in an appropriately resourced working context can constitute a powerful job satisfier to student teachers and teachers alike. It also explores the difficulty experienced by workers when their job specification is suddenly affected by extrinsic and contextual change.

The concluding chapter recapitulates the objectives of the study. It reports the main findings and links these to a series of policy recommendations. It compares the retention factors given by the student teachers and the teachers. Their job satisfiers and dissatisfiers are similarly compared. It reviews the findings of the study in relation to the initial propositions, the literature on employment and motivation and the intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual factors of teaching. The feminisation of teaching as an occupation is also considered. Finally, the findings of the study are discussed in relation to the proletarianisation of teaching as an occupation and its particular impact on the work of women who form a majority in the teaching profession.

Part I*Aspects of Employment.***Introduction.**

This part of the study is divided into three chapters. The first part of Chapter Two sets out to review the research literature on turnover, using a PhD thesis entitled : 'A Replicated Study of Communication Networks, Job Retention and Labour Turnover in two British Hotels' (McEwan 1990) as a reference base. The second part reviews the literature on retention, using the same PhD. study as a reference base, but supplemented by an Institute of Manpower Studies report (1985) on graduate retention, plus a study of retention in three American companies carried out by Flowers and Hughes (1973).

Chapter Three reviews the research on motivation, concentrating particularly on the Herzberg (1967) job satisfaction study and on subsequent studies on personal motivation, including expectancy theory.

Chapter Four examines studies on teaching as a category of work, using the Local Authorities' Conditions of Service Advisory Board reports on teacher turnover (1988), the House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts report entitled 'Teacher Supply for the 1990s' (1991) and three studies carried out by Professor Alan Smithers and Dr. Pamela Robinson of the Manchester University Department of Education (1990, 1991 a and 1991b). It also reviews two statistical projections of teacher supply in the 1990s (Buchan and Weyman: 1989), (DES : 1990)

Research studies illustrate the complexity of the turnover process, its effects, costs and assumed benefits, whilst retention studies advance a convincing argument for greater knowledge and understanding of the factors which keep people in organisations. This argument is further reinforced through an review of theories of motivation which suggest that employers need a far greater understanding of the employees' aspirations and motivations if they are to be retained.

Studies of teaching as an occupational category point towards the framework of analysis upon which a research element of this study is based, namely the intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual factors which pertain to teaching as a category of work.

Part One. Studies of Turnover.

This review of turnover discusses studies treating turnover as a 'category behaviour' before going on to consider studies of turnover as an 'individual behaviour'. Finally it considers briefly the organisational costs and benefits of turnover. It does not treat human resource accounting, despite the vast hidden costs of the high levels of teacher turnover experienced from 1985 to 1989.

Turnover as a Category Behaviour.

Bluedorn's taxonomy (1978) is a useful starting point from which to consider turnover. It shows turnover as a mass phenomenon and considerably refines Price's (1977:3) definition, 'the degree of individual movement across a membership boundary or a social system' by reflecting both the entering and the quitting of organisations.

Following the US Bureau of Labour Statistics suggestion (1966 : 1), people entering an organisation are referred to as 'accessions' and people leaving as 'separations'. Bluedorn further elaborates these definitions by making a distinction between voluntary and involuntary movements into and out of organisations. Voluntary movements are based on individual choice; involuntary movements on the effects of outside forces such as redundancy and death (but not suicide). Hence four types of turnover emerge :

Voluntary Accessions	Voluntary Separations
Involuntary Accessions	Involuntary Separations

Table 2. 1.
Categories of Turnover.

Bluedorn (1978 : 648) identifies involuntary separations and involuntary accessions as two largely ignored but potentially fruitful research areas. He suggests that failure to make these distinctions between the different types of entries into, and exits from organisations in the research to date could be linked to the consistent but low correlation between job satisfaction and turnover.

The Glacier Project (Rice and Trist : 1952) had already shown the extent to which extrinsic

and contextual changes could affect turnover, anticipating the research foci of several subsequent studies. Previous studies on the Glacier Metal Company had shown that labour turnover should be regarded as a process of acquisition and divestment of personnel, with turnover having the characteristic of :

‘a quasi-stationary process which was the function of the factory as an industrial institution’.

Moreover, the factory tended first to maintain and then re-establish the steady state, despite outside influences which produced variations in turnover, notably periods of redundancy which led to reduced turnover. Within the factory, department turnover rates differed, thus showing that turnover should be regarded as a function of a department as well as of the factory.

Extrinsic change in the form of the removal of the governing system from within the production system to being a separate servicing department for the whole factory initially acted adversely on labour turnover. Turnover reduction was only achieved after the relationship between the governing system and the production departments had been clarified, with the production system ‘internalising’ the governing system into its own ‘culture’.

One of the most striking aspects of the research was the length of time taken by the production system to accept and internalise the governing system into its culture. Demands for specialisation from 1914 onwards had led to the creation of a ‘governing system’, both to manage expansion and to respond to the needs of the production departments. The governing system only became fully accepted in 1945 when all departments sent representatives to joint consultation meetings. As the governing system became accepted, the rate of turnover diminished. Moreover findings showed that organisational changes directed towards ensuring that all employees enjoyed similar working conditions reduced the differential in turnover in the factory’s four departments.

The research also looked at the survival rate of entrants to the factory in two periods of time when contextual changes led to organisational changes. These periods were from January 1942 to June 1945, a period of expansion and replacement of male workers by females as the war created extra demand for labour in a restricted market, and July 1945 to December 1948 when the factory contracted in size and was, again, able to recruit from an unrestricted labour market.

The two departments examined in detail were the Line Shop and the Service Department because their labour turnover differed from that of the factory as a whole. The Line Shop had undergone radical change in structure; job descriptions and tasks had been more

closely defined to meet the post-war demand for more specialised products. On the other hand, the Service Department had changed to meet war-time demand and then resumed former working practices once the war was over. Line Shop workers tended to leave less readily in the first six months and tended to be retained in greater numbers at the end of two years. This was consistent with the shop's need to absorb new entrants fast, the comparative ease with which they could acquire the necessary skills, plus the changes in Line Shop structure which made the department more accessible to workers.

In contrast, the Service Department, a specialised creator and repairer of bearings, had much greater contact with customers, functioning like a factory within a factory and replicating many factory systems, including its own governing system.

During the first period (1942 - 1945), it dropped its specialist role to assist in fulfilling wartime orders. The second period (1945 - 1948) saw an expansion of its replacement services which meant that it became a customer to the other departments. No significant labour turnover differences were observed between the first and second periods, which is consistent with the persistence of departmental structures and customary patterns of behaviour.

Thus, decreased turnover can be related to extrinsic changes in the relationship between the production system and the governing system. In the Glacier factory, the governing system was most likely to have a direct impact on employees at the point of recruitment and, some time later, when they were deemed to need further training and thus, it, too, had an impact on reducing turnover. Turnover could also be related to departmental adjustments designed to maximise workers' performance and presumably, job satisfaction, as with the Line Shop. Thirdly, it could be related to departmental autonomy, as with the Service Department, where autonomy based on patterns of custom and practice tended to keep turnover low.

Each department in the Glacier factory had a 'life' of its own and its turnover only changed through its interaction with the governing system. Overall change in turnover could only be achieved by taking into account the turnover of individual departments. Moreover, change in one part of the turnover process was likely to affect other parts. For instance, a reduction in the leaving rate of skilled workers eligible for further training, might have prevented the organisation from retraining other experienced workers. Loss of a reputation for rapid upgrading and promotion might have deterred promising applicants. Thus, turnover, from the organisation's point of view, has to be seen as a total process which cannot be reduced by concentration on recruitment alone, nor by concentration on leavers.

Rice and Trist (1952:) suggest that employees may practise other forms of withdrawal such as lost time or low productivity, which need not correlate to turnover but which, in

organisational terms, can be said to substitute for it. This suggestion anticipates Flowers' and Hughes' (1973) research on retention.

Finally, they liken the Glacier factory to an open system retaining a steady state despite a constant import and export of materials producing a change in the components of the system. They compare its labour turnover with the function of organic metabolism.

In a survey of turnover, Mobley (1983) gives three general groups of determinants of turnover :

- the state of the economy
- organisational variables
- individual variables.

Individual variables relate to turnover in three ways : contextually, that is to say in terms of family and community commitments and evaluations of the economy as far as job opportunities are concerned, intrinsically, in terms of the individual's job related values, abilities and expectations and extrinsically in terms of job and organisational factors.

All these factors need to be taken into account when considering turnover, without losing sight of the fact that turnover is an individual behaviour, dependent on the individual's interpretation of these factors.

Mobley points out that studies based on aggregated or grouped data actually examine the relationship between turnover rates and individuals grouped by variables thought to be related to turnover. Such studies cannot, therefore, predict which individuals will leave or who will stay. Moreover, concurrent multivariate studies are infrequent so that the relative importance of one variable within a set of variables has hardly been studied at all. Retrospective studies cannot substitute for prospective studies because individuals tend to rationalise after the event and report selectively. This is especially true of exit interviews. Finally, the primary determinants of turnover are constantly changing, so this change needs to be isolated and related to turnover.

The primary determinants of turnover are firstly the economy : 'the most accurate single predictor ' March and Simmons (1958 : 100). However, overall employment as a predictor fails to account for occupational differences in labour market demand and takes no account of the changing structure and dynamic of the labour force, its age structure and occupational distribution. Inflation is thought to encourage more secondary wage earners to enter the job market in order to supplement family earnings. It is also thought to encourage turnover to protect earnings if higher paid jobs are available and to discourage geographically-based turnover because of the cost of moving. More research is needed on the relationship between inflation and turnover.

The second group of variables determining turnover are organisational. Turnover varies considerably from one occupational group to another, as the Institute of Manpower Studies research on graduate retention (IMS 1985) and the LACSAB (1988) survey show. There is also a relationship between turnover and organisational size and a very strong relationship between turnover and pay, as would be expected. Turnover is highest in low paid industries. All these relationships affect extrinsic job characteristics. Intrinsically, job content and turnover are linked. There is a weak but consistently positive link between routinisation and turnover. In contrast, there is a negative link between autonomy, responsibility and turnover. Supervisory styles, too, affect turnover; there is evidence that lack of supervisory consideration is a powerful factor in decisions to quit (Saleh, Lee and Prien [1965] quoted in Mobley [1983]: 95). Amongst other organisational variables, centralisation seems to lead to higher levels of turnover, whereas participation and communication seem to produce lower levels of turnover.

On an individual level, age and length of service are negatively related to turnover. Commitment seems to be a more accurate predictor of retention than job satisfaction. Individuals' intentions to stay or quit seem to be the best predictors of turnover. Stress may have both negative and positive consequences for turnover but, so far, has not been adequately researched.

For individuals, non-work variables are important. There is evidence of a positive relationship between family responsibilities and turnover. Non-work variables also include role conflict and the ways in which individuals accommodate the contradictory demands of work and non-work roles. There is also evidence (Parsons 1977 : 210) that quit rates fall when income rises relative to skill level. Intentions to quit or stay encompass a number of other variables, individually related to turnover as shown in Table 2.2 which gives an interpretive summary of the causes and correlates of turnover,

Job satisfaction is a highly individualised valuation of the factors which people find attractive in a job, depending on their own personality. Some people value routine, others autonomy and involvement in decision-making. Uniform practices, policies and procedures which treat the work force as homogeneous will tend to be less and less effective because they are not responsive to individual differences in values.

Moreover, this is an employee's perception, that is to say what she / he sees or thinks that she / he sees, so extrinsics designed to increase job satisfaction, such as performance related pay, have to be applied openly and not hidden in a secretive salary administration. Job satisfaction depends on a range of job factors, some of which will fail to meet employees' aspirations but which will be counterbalanced in the employee's mind with other factors

which do. Satisfaction is derived from the employee's present job valuation, taking no account of future conditions in the organisation and, therefore, satisfaction is a weak predictor of turnover.

Variable	Relationship		
	<i>Consistent</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Inconclusive</i>
Labour Market	Unemployment levels		Inflation
Organisational	Pay levels	Supervision	Type of industry
		Work unit size	Organisation size
		Routinisation	
		Repetitive work	
		Autonomy	
		Responsibility	
		Centralisation	
		Integration	
		Communication	
Individual	Age and Tenure	Family responsibility	Personality
			Sex
	Job satisfaction	Interests	Education
		Aptitude and Ability	Professionalism
		Satisfaction with :	
		* pay	Performance
		* promotion	Career expectations
		* co-workers	Absenteeism
		* supervision	
		* conditions of work	
		Expectation of	
		finding another job	
Integrative	Overall satisfaction		Stress
	Behavioural intentions		
	to quit		
	Organisational		
	Commitment		

Table 2.2.

“Interpretive Summary of the Variables linked to Turnover.” (Mobley, 1983: 112-3)

Although employees may not be satisfied with their present job, the ability to perceive future job satisfaction opportunities within the organisation will tend to act as a retention factor. In contrast, an employee experiencing high levels of job satisfaction, but seeing no future satisfying job opportunities, is more likely to be looking for alternative employment

elsewhere. Comparison with similar jobs in other organisations can also be a source of job satisfaction to the employee. Non-work values and the way in which the current job is seen by the employee to compliment these or conflict with them are another source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Thus, turnover and its determinants are complex and require a range of strategies for their management. As Mobley (1983 : 132) says :

‘Simplistic diagnoses and panacea prescriptions will not lead to effective management of turnover.’

Mobley lists current gaps in turnover research as being :

- the consequences of turnover
- multivariate research
- the relationship between turnover and other behaviours
- the role of performance and the need to distinguish between effective and ineffective leavers
- lack of emphasis on turnover as a process involving :

change	+	time + action	+	operation
behavioural		cognitive		affective

Turnover as an Individual Behaviour..

Turnover is an individual behaviour but one which implies costs to the organisation as Shuh (1967) points out in his study of individual data as tenure predictors. He found that the best predictors of turnover in the research to date were job satisfaction inventories. Personal interest inventories proved to be better predictors than either intelligence tests or aptitude tests, where no systematic relationship with length of service was found. Personality tests were as effective as intelligence tests and aptitude tests in predicting tenure. Some relationship between biographical data and tenure had been found in research studies but its consistency over a period of time as a predictor of tenure showed a steady decrease; this was possibly attributable to the changing economic climate.

The studies cited in Shuh’s review demonstrate the validity of interviews and job preference questionnaires as predictors of tenure. There was also evidence that extrinsic factors such as supervision and work teams based on friendship groups were equally valid in terms of the influence of ‘significant others’ as tenure promoters. Thus, Shuh’s review points to a further job satisfaction factor which could be categorised as ‘individual’.

Steers and Mowday (1981) examine this individual characteristic in detail, in a discussion which focuses on voluntary separation from the point of view of the individual's accommodation of the decision to leave, and the impact of this decision on colleagues and supervisors. They suggest that many existing models of turnover ignore contextual factors such as the role of available information about an individual's job or prospective job, non-work influences and the role of available job alternatives. The models also discount extrinsic factors such as dissatisfied employees' ability to change their current work situation by negotiating with supervisors, or the effect of high job performers' expectations of extrinsic reward. Intrinsic gaps include the match or mismatch of employees' expectations and values set against their organisational experience and low job performance leading to a low intrinsic value placed on the job in employees' minds. Most turnover models focus on one attitude - job satisfaction - ignoring factors such as organisational commitment which had been found, in some studies, to be an important predictor of individual turnover. Feedback loops which can strengthen and enhance the desire to leave are similarly ignored.

The model of employee turnover they propose is cognitive, concentrating on the processes leading to the individual's decision to participate or withdraw. They point out that individual job expectations are influenced by individual characteristics, such as occupation, age, tenure, personal work ethic, previous work experience and personality. Expectations are also influenced by the amount of information available about the prospective job, both from organisational and informal sources. The more complete this information is, the more likely prospective employees are to make informed choices and have realistic job expectations, more readily responded to by the organisation.

The availability of alternative attractive jobs is also an important factor in the decision to stay or quit. Employees have high levels of expectation at their point of entry into an organisation but tend to become more realistic as they develop a behavioural commitment to the organisation. Employees are more likely to feel satisfied and, therefore, to stay if their expectations and values are congruent with their actual experiences within the organisation.

Steers and Mowday (1981) also cite pay, organisational goals and structures, promotion policies, duties, co-worker relations, work group size, opportunities to participate in decision-making and geographical location as variables all likely to indicate to employees or prospective employees the extent to which their expectations are to be met.

Job performance levels also influence job attitudes and turnover. Poor performance seems to lead to poor attitudes about the job through rationalisation and to increased levels of

anxiety and frustration. Poor attitudes also feed back into organisational experiences and job performance, as well as colouring perceptions of the decisions made by the organisation, including supervisory ones. This may result in a downward spiral where supervisors' actions lead to even more negative job attitudes on the part of employees, who may attempt to restructure duties through negotiation with supervisors, become actively involved with a union, threaten to leave, force somebody else to leave, in attempts to make the work environment more tolerable.

Turnover is determined by a combination of behavioural intent to leave and the availability of alternative job opportunities. However, individual factors such as age, sex and occupation can reduce alternative job opportunities in the same way as do market and economic conditions. Employees who wish to leave but cannot do so, may accommodate this dilemma through negative action such as slow-down or sabotage or alternatively through rationalisation.

The Consequences of Turnover.

These can be viewed both from the organisation's standpoint and also from that of individuals within the organisation, such as the person leaving, co-workers and the supervisor. For individuals who leave, the act of turnover may have an effect on attitudes towards both the old job and the new one, particularly if the latter has been chosen from a range of alternatives. Fellow workers may interpret the decision to leave as a rejection of their job plus an acknowledgement of better job prospects elsewhere. They may well then re-evaluate their own position and, possibly develop negative attitudes towards their own jobs. From the supervisor's point of view, high turnover rates could reflect badly on supervisory styles and lead to organisational action to reduce turnover in order to preserve the organisation's overall efficiency.

Steers and Mowday (in Cummings and Staw [eds] 1981: 251-259) discuss Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance with regard to turnover. Cognitive dissonance explains the situation where behaviour is not consistent with attitudes, as, for instance, in the case of a dissatisfied employee who stays.

Dissonance occurs when two cognitions stand in obverse relation to each other, thereby creating tension. In order to reduce this tension, individuals apply behavioural and cognitive remedies. The greater the dissonance, the greater is the individual's motivation to reduce dissonance. The conditions which pertain to cognitive dissonance also pertain to turnover.

These are :

- the decision taken involves behavioural commitment
- it is irrevocable
- it has consequences which are important in demonstrating the individual's ability to exercise freedom of choice
- the alternative choices are similar.

Applying this theory of cognitive dissonance to turnover, four distinct types of behaviour emerge, as shown in Table 2.3.

<i>Job Circumstances</i>	<i>Behaviour</i>	<i>Thinking and Actions</i>
<i>Satisfied Leaver</i>	Voluntary resignation	*Pleasant memories of the job
<i>No Dissonance</i>	from satisfying job	*Positive evaluation of job
		*Retains social contacts
<i>Dissatisfied Leaver</i>	Voluntary Resignation	Dissonance reduction by :
<i>Dissonance</i>	from satisfying job	*suggests organisation required resignation
		*cognitive distortion of job features
		*positive evaluation of new job
		*rapid shift of loyalty
		*avoidance of information not consistent with choice
		*selective perception of new job
		*reduction of social contacts
<i>Dissatisfied Stayer</i>	Low perception of choices	*Change job conditions
<i>No dissonance</i>	Economic constraints	*Look for other jobs as way of asserting freedom of choice
		*Decreased self-confidence
		*Depressed performance
		*Lateness, absenteeism.
		*Poor mental health
		OR
		*Psychological absence
<i>Dissatisfied Stayer</i>	Remains despite	Dissonance reduction by :
<i>Dissonance</i>	alternative offer	*denying responsibility for decision
		*ascribing decision to contextual factors
		*magnifying positive features of job

Table 2.3

Turnover Behaviour and Cognitive Dissonance.

(adapted from Steers and Mowday, 1981: 255 - 9)

Satisfied leavers who experience no dissonance retain pleasant memories and a positive evaluation of the job they have left, often maintaining social contact with ex-colleagues. Dissatisfied stayers who experience no dissonance may stay because their perceptions of alternative choices are low and they are subject to economic constraints. They may reduce dissatisfaction by changing their job conditions, whilst continuing to look for other jobs as a way of asserting their freedom of choice. If they are unsuccessful, their self-confidence may decrease to the point where their job performance is affected or they may practise other forms of withdrawal such as lateness and absenteeism. Their mental health may deteriorate. Less damagingly, they may simply shift their life interests to non-work aspects, becoming psychologically absent, as work becomes a means to valued non-work activities.

Observers of the turnover process, colleagues for instance, can be led to re-evaluate their own position, although they may distort their co-worker's reasons for leaving in order to avoid the potential dissonance of their decision to stay, thus reducing the threatening aspect of the decision. The threat is most potent when the stayer turns down the opportunity to leave. Supervisors may interpret a worker's decision to leave as a sign that supervisory practices need review or they may blame other organisational aspects, such as the selection procedure, for turnover. The observers of turnover follow the same behavioural processes in their attribution of the causes of turnover as does the person who is leaving.

As a category behaviour, turnover occurs at a point in time. Whilst an individual's decision to quit is a single behaviour, it may be associated with more than one occurrence of resignation, for instance, successive employees resigning from the same job. In the minds of observers, it may also be associated with a variety of factors concerning the individual, the environment and the ambiguity of 'push / pull' factors associated with job change.

Steers and Mowday conclude that, despite more than 1,000 studies of turnover, understanding of the process remains limited because a narrow range of issues have been examined. They suggest that comprehensive models of turnover need to be established and tested and the consequences of turnover need to be analysed. Research focusing on the role of job performance should also be undertaken. The changes in duties which dissatisfied workers seek to make also deserve study as an accommodation process, as do their most successful strategies. The influence of non-work factors also needs analysis, as does the substitution of withdrawal behaviours, such as absenteeism, for turnover. Their sequencing, the types of workers prone to such behaviour and their effects on organisational dysfunction all merit closer study.

They conclude that cognitive as opposed to statistical models need to be developed in order

to explain turnover. People must form beliefs about turnover; these beliefs may well shape future attitudes and behaviour. Statistical models alone are inadequate to explain turnover, as it is basically an individual behaviour.

This study of student teachers and teachers sets out to undertake a statistical analysis of cognitions, countering Steers and Mowday's assertion that statistical and cognitive analyses conflict directly. In addition, it studies group rather than individual behaviour predictions, showing the similarities in thinking within an occupational group.

Clegg's (1983) study to test out the proposition that behaviour influences affect and to examine the influence of biographical and situational variables, responds to the research need identified by Steers and Mowday of examining withdrawal behaviour. The research was carried out in an engineering company amongst a random sample of 406 blue collar workers. Clegg found that biographical and situational variables did relate to one or more measures of affect. He also found that the relationship between affective and behavioural variables was consistent with existing literature on turnover, but that the correlation between behaviour and subsequent affect was greater than the correlation between affect and subsequent behaviour. There was no evidence that affect influenced lateness or absence behaviour but evidence that the reverse hypothesis was true and some support for the idea that affect is implicated in turnover. Clegg also found a sequential link between lateness and absence. There was also evidence that lateness influenced organisational commitment and that absence could be an independent predictor of voluntary turnover.

In discussing his results, Clegg points out that the lack of relationship between affect, subsequent lateness and absence implies that people are not pushed out of work by new affective states and this is confirmed by an age correlation. He speculates that people experience a 'growth in attachment to work' as they get older. Older people probably have a need for 'stability and regularity', whereas younger people may not have become fully 'socialised' into particular work behaviours and may place a different value on the norms and expectations underlying such behaviour. In other words, younger people have not necessarily been 'pulled in' to work, either by their own needs or as a result of 'a social learning process'. Therefore, the use of lateness and absence as predictors of potential voluntary turnover could be erroneous.

Clegg's finding that behaviour influences affect, whilst new to turnover literature, is possibly explained by the influence of the sanctions which are applied to lateness and absence both by organisations and co-workers. He also speculates that such behaviour may be perceived by the individual as attributable to a low affective state of commitment. This self-description is then transformed into self-instruction, determining subsequent behaviour by creating a

behaviour - affect loop.

Clegg concludes that understanding of lateness, absence and turnover will be increased by an examination of the processes which pull people into organisations and push them out. In this context, the part played by individual needs and values as they relate to age merits analysis, as does socialisation into work, the effect of sanctions and sequences of self-protection and behaviour.

Turnover Costs.

Mobley (1983), in a detailed review of Flamholtz' (1973) models for the measurement of human resource costs, points out that turnover is expensive to organisations. He recommends an accounting approach to turnover costs in order to manage turnover more effectively. He cites the organisational cost consequences of turnover as being disruption of performance which is felt through loss of efficiency on the part of leavers in their period of notice and the cost of having an unfilled vacancy until a successor is found. However, the effects of losing, for instance, a high performer can percolate through to other workers, depressing their performance. Social patterns, too, may be disrupted, with group cohesion being jeopardised. This may have a further effect on morale, influencing other workers to begin the search for an alternative job. Management may respond to turnover with blanket pay rises, emergency team-building programmes and increased targets, all of which may not only be inappropriate, but, worse, counterproductive. Turnover may also lead to the abandonment of development projects as a result of not being able to guarantee staff. Loss of such opportunities themselves have cost implications.

The organisational benefit consequences of turnover include the displacement of poor performers. New entrants to the organisation may bring new knowledge, styles and ideas. Turnover may represent new opportunities for cost reduction by merging posts and redefining jobs. Internal mobility is a positive consequence of turnover, allowing for flexibility in terms of career development. It may also inspire organisational change, particularly in terms of managing turnover itself more effectively.

The main conclusions from the literature on turnover are, therefore, that it is a highly complex process, based on individual perceptions of job satisfaction and viable alternative employment opportunities. A further conclusion is that turnover management can only be effective when it recognises the complexity of the process and the need to focus on the perceptions, values and aspirations of the individual, as well as organisational and contextual variables. It has both costs and benefits to organisations, many of which are

hidden and imperfectly understood, although human resource management accounting could be effective in quantifying these.

Part Two. Retention Studies.

The volume of literature on turnover is not matched by studies of retention which are very sparse. One research project conducted by the Institute of Manpower Studies (1985) on graduate retention by industry examines retention as a category characteristic in the United Kingdom between 1980 and 1984. It shows a 62% retention of graduates overall, although the retention rate varies markedly from one sector to another.

Engineering had the lowest retention rate, losing 60% of its graduates within five years, with 12% leaving within the first year. Excluding engineering from the results shows nearly two-thirds of graduates still with their original employer after five years and nearly three quarters after three. Wastage of young graduates appears to fall off after three years.

The public sector (public administration and utilities) had the highest retention rates, as did the chemical industry in the private sector. Financial services and architecture showed high retention rates within the first three years, but the survey does point out that some sectors giving professional training have a built-in wastage rate. As graduates obtain professional status, they tend to move on. The survey also notes the effect of the 1981 recession on alternative job opportunities and redundancy amongst graduates.

Employer size has an effect on graduate retention, with smaller companies (less than 1,000 employees) tending to retain lower numbers of graduates of four or more years' standing. In contrast, graduates of three or less years' standing were retained in greater numbers by such employers. This finding concurs with an earlier IMS survey which showed high job satisfaction in small companies early in graduate careers, but a need to move on to larger organisations because of the limited opportunities available within small companies.

Early career movement (in the first three years) seemed to be prompted by dissatisfaction with a job which has not met expectations, whereas movement in the fourth or fifth year was for career advance. In the period of the survey, graduates were perceived as less inclined to move because of a depressed labour market. A comparison with an earlier IMS survey conducted between 1974 and 1979 shows higher retention in all sectors than in the 1980 to 1984 period.

The lowest retention area was sales and marketing, with some low retention in engineering and scientific research sectors as well as general traineeship in financial services. Employer size had little influence on retention, except in production, sales and marketing where small companies did have graduate retention difficulties. However, employers claimed to

experience persistent retention problems in highly competitive recruitment areas such as computer science, sales and marketing.

The most significant reason given by employers for low retention was career progression constraints which were most acutely felt by small employers. The next most cited factor was the competitive job market. Uncompetitive salaries were mentioned by a quarter of the responding employers, particularly employers in manufacturing industry, yet graduate pay in industry was, at that time, an average of 10% higher than in the service sector. Seven of the companies surveyed mentioned graduate redundancy.

In marked contrast to the IMS study, Flowers and Hughes (1973) set out to examine retention factors amongst 406 employees in three small American companies. These employees were asked to give personal data anonymously on demographic variables such as age, sex, race tenure and also to respond to statements about their reasons for staying with the company. These statements were grouped into three broad areas :

- intrinsic : statements about the job itself and its worth;
- extrinsic : statements about the organisation, pay and conditions of service;
- contextual: statements about non-work factors, including the economy which might explain retention.

From their research, Flowers and Hughes concluded that concentration on exit interviews does not illuminate the retention process, as people tend to rationalise their choices. They found that reasons for staying did not mirror reasons for leaving and that to view retention in this way is to assume a perfect correlation between job dissatisfaction and turnover. More significant for the organisation, perhaps, was the assumption that low turnover could be equated with job satisfaction, an assumption which discounts contextual factors such as a tight job market and extrinsic factors such as deferred benefits. They theorised that individuals remain in organisations through inertia which they define as :

‘very like the concept of inertia in the physical sciences: a body will remain as it is until acted on by a force.’(Flowers and Hughes : 1973 : 50)

Intrinsic factors affecting inertia are self-imposed criteria, job satisfaction, employees’ degree of comfort inside the organisation, employees’ own values and work ethic. Extrinsic factors are the organisational environment, the company’s values as evinced by management’s formal decisions, policies and procedures. Contextual factors include societal norms, job opportunities elsewhere, real changes in the job market, personal restrictions which include non-work factors such as financial responsibilities, family, friendship and community ties.

From the organisation’s point of view, a distinction should be made between employees

who want to stay and employees who have to stay, by reinforcing the right reasons for staying, that is, by ensuring high levels of job satisfaction combined with acceptable extrinsic factors.

Flowers and Hughes found four distinctive employee profiles as Table 2.4. shows.

<i>Turn-overs</i>	Inertia is being gradually eroded. They are likely to quit.
<i>Turn-offs</i>	They stay for extrinsic and contextual reasons
	They are dissatisfied and express their
	dissatisfaction through negative work behaviour
<i>Turn-ons</i>	Highly motivated, they remain for intrinsic
	reasons and will stay so long as job satisfaction
	is high. Their inertia is not strengthened by
	contextual reasons.
<i>Turn-on pluses</i>	Highly motivated with extrinsic and contextual
	reasons for staying. Loss of job satisfaction
	makes them into turn-offs. They will not leave
	but will display negative work behaviour.

Table 2. 4 : Employee Profiles.
(adapted from Flowers and Hughes : 1973 : 51)

Flowers and Hughes also found that levels of education had an influence on retention. Managers tended to stay for intrinsic and contextual reasons, although they were more willing to look for other jobs. Low-skilled workers stayed for extrinsic and contextual reasons, such as pay and family, but also for intrinsic reasons such as company loyalty and co-worker friendship. They were also less willing to look for other jobs which they perceived as being hard to come by. Moderately skilled workers showed the same general tendencies as the low-skilled but were less sensitive to extrinsic factors.

Employees who were dissatisfied but stayed were found at all levels in the organisation. They stayed because of extrinsic factors such as company benefits and job security, plus contextual factors such as family ties. To all intents and purposes, however, they were psychologically absent, or worse, alienated. Only extrinsic and contextual factors were strengthening their inertia. In this context, Flowers and Hughes maintain that high degrees of job mobility are a figment of the imaginations of those who say that employees should leave if they do not like their job.

If extrinsic and contextual factors are powerful in reinforcing inertia, by far the most potent force, according to Flowers' and Hughes' research, is the employee's work ethic. Their test to examine the work ethic was based on Scott and Susan Myers' adaptation of Clare

Graves' (1970) typification of psychological levels of existence which posits seven different levels, the first of which is not reproduced here as it only applies to small children and psychopaths.

Type	Work Needs
<i>Tribalistic</i>	Easy work, friendly people, fair play, good, very directive boss
<i>Egocentric</i>	Tough boss who allows worker to be tough; good pay; job which does not tie worker down; nobody on worker's back
<i>Conformist</i>	Secure job based on rules; no favouritism. Boss who 'calls the shots' and is consistent. Workers believe work is a duty, that they work hard and deserve good breaks.
<i>Manipulative</i>	Needs a job with variety and element of 'wheeler/dealer' activity; Pay and bonuses determined on results. Workers feel responsible for their own success. Boss should deal with the politics of doing the job, should be fair, firm and know how to bargain.
<i>Sociocentric</i>	Job allowing for the development of friendship within the work group. Common goal more important than material gain. Boss who behaves more like a friend and gets people to work together.
<i>Existential</i>	Goals and problems more important than reward, prestige or methodology. Challenging work needing initiative and imagination. Boss who gives access to information and leaves them to get on.

Table 2. 5.

Worker Types and their Work Needs.

Adapted from Flowers and Hughes : 1973 : 56)

The Flowers and Hughes study found that tribalistic workers were retained mainly for contextual and personal reasons, conformists largely for extrinsic reasons, manipulative workers entirely for intrinsic and extrinsic reasons, sociocentric workers for intrinsic and contextual reasons and existential workers almost exclusively for intrinsic reasons. Linking these results to company personnel policies, they conclude that these latter are largely based on managers' own value systems, on the assumption that all employees have similar values. This is patently not so, and they recommend that the platinum as opposed to golden rule should be : 'do unto others as they would have you do unto them' (Flowers and Hughes : 1973 : 57)

Linking these findings to the data on values, showed that the least dissatisfied categories of employees who stayed were the manipulative and existential. Tribalistic and egocentric workers were more likely to continue in their jobs for reasons indirectly connected with

their work, although they were relatively more dissatisfied with motivational factors than employees with other value systems. The least dissatisfied were the existential workers but they would only stay as long as they were happy with their job. Manipulative and conformist employees were the next least dissatisfied. Comparing extrinsic and contextual factors with value systems, existential and manipulative workers were the least likely to be retained for external, environmental reasons, unlike workers with other value systems.

Flowers and Hughes conclude that in order to manage retention effectively, conditions compatible with the turn-on-pluses need to be created. The work environment has to be broadly compatible with employees' goals and values for working and living. They further point out that most organisations are created on the basis of manipulative and conformist philosophies, whereas the need is to develop existentially managed organisations which accept and respect people with different values, that is if organisations wish to retain employees who stay for reasons which are right for them, whilst being in the best interests of the organisation. Therefore, more comprehensive employment policies need to be developed.

These two retention studies, particularly the Flowers and Hughes study, shed light on the values and job factors which retain individuals as well as the extrinsic and contextual factors governing retention. The next chapter deals with studies of motivation, reviewing some of the research findings on the constituent elements of job satisfaction.

'Motivation is a an arousal towards direct behaviour towards or away from certain tasks, conditions, people or events' (Hunsaker and Cooke, 1986 : 151).

Individual motivation depends on personal needs, motives, expectations and goals. It involves the application of a level of energy or determination to achieve a goal or gain satisfaction. Motivation is observed through personal behaviour. Although the motivation / performance link is not the main focus of this study, it is interesting to note the importance of the environment in influencing motivation, particularly as the fieldwork was carried out during a period when the contextual climate surrounding teaching was profoundly negative. Two main theoretical perspectives underlie studies of motivation, content theories and process theories. Content theories derive from research into human needs and motive structures. Process theories are more concerned with the choices people make about applying their effort at work.

Content Theories of Motivation.

Maslow's (1943, 1954) original theory was based on a hierarchy of human needs which were ordered according to their assumed level of importance, as table 3.1. shows.

Type of Need	Fulfilled by
Physical	Food, clothing etc
Safety	Shelter, security
Love / belonging	Nurture, acceptance, respect
Esteem	Peer recognition, self judgement
Self-actualisation	Cognitive and aesthetic goals

Table 3. 1.

Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs.

Maslow's theory was interpreted rather literally by management theorists who automatically assumed that everybody could be moved up the hierarchy once their basic needs were met. He subsequently re-evaluated his original theory by speculating that human needs are of two distinct types; one seeks to reduce deficiencies and the other strives towards self-actualisation experiences.

Maslow's theory influenced the thinking of Mc Gregor (1960) who posited two different sets of assumptions about worker motivation which became known as theory X and theory

Y.

Theory X assumes that human behaviour is directed towards the fulfilment of basic needs and that :

the average person is passive, lazy and works as little as possible;

the average person dislikes responsibility, lacks ambition and wants to be directed;

the average person is ego-centric, indifferent to organisational needs and resistant to change;

Theory Y considers that human behaviour is directed towards the fulfilment of higher order needs and sees :

the average person as not passive or indifferent to organisational needs but possibly made so by experiences within organisations;

the average person as seeking responsibility and having the potential to be self-directing in carrying out organisational tasks.

The implications for management are that stereotypical views of people can influence management decisions. Managers should recognise this division of human needs and relate to different workers in ways which respond to their different needs.

Maslow was later to query the validity of Theory X as applied to the work place but the interplay between growth and deficiency in fulfilling personal needs and, therefore, understanding the reasons for people's behaviour, does seem to provide a general explanation.

'The Motivation to Work' was a study of motivation carried out in the late 1950s by Herzberg, Mausner and Synderman (1967), based on Maslow's (1943, 1954) hierarchy of human needs.

The Herzberg study is a collection of experiences, judgments and observations on motivation from employees' stories of periods of high or low morale, resulting from praise or criticism from superiors. In fact, it focuses on the human need for esteem and self-actualisation through work. The methodology was to interview engineers and accountants in several companies in Pittsburgh about long or short range attitude change arising as a result of such encounters.

Long range positive attitude changes were reported when the types of encounters seen in Table 3.2. took place.

Rank Order	Encounter	Type
1	Achievement	Intrinsic
2	Recognition	Intrinsic
3	Work itself	Intrinsic
4	More responsibility	Intrinsic
5	Advancement	Intrinsic
6	Salary	Extrinsic
Other Factors		
7	Personal Growth	Intrinsic
8	Interpersonal : subordinates	Intrinsic
9	Status	Extrinsic
10	Interpersonal ; superiors	Intrinsic
11	Interpersonal : peers	Intrinsic
12	Supervision	Extrinsic
13	Company policy and administration	Extrinsic
14	Conditions of service	Extrinsic
15	Personal Life	Contextual
16	Job security	Extrinsic

Table 3.2.

Encounters promoting long-range positive attitude change towards work.

(adapted from Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 60)

As Table 3.2. shows, encounters most likely to produce long-range positive attitude changes towards work are largely intrinsic, relate to the actual job and also relate to self-actualisation. Salary, status, supervision, company policy and administration and conditions of service are the only extrinsic factors, but do not appear in the top five job satisfiers. In contrast, the top five long-range job dissatisfiers are precisely these, as Table 3.3. shows.

Rank Order	Encounter	Type
1	Company Policy and Administration	Extrinsic
2	Individual Supervisors	Extrinsic
3	Lack of Recognition	Intrinsic
4	Salary	Extrinsic
5	Work Itself	Intrinsic
6	Lack of Advancement	Intrinsic
7	Working Conditions	Extrinsic

Table 3.3.

Encounters promoting long-range negative attitude change towards work.

(adapted from Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 72)

The majority of factors which lead to negative attitude change are largely extrinsic. Factors

organisation and are most likely to reflect the values of management, as Flowers and Hughes (1973) suggest. It is, therefore, striking that these should be found to be the most potent job dissatisfiers. Lack of recognition will obviously produce dissatisfaction, particularly if it is manifested by managers 'poaching' subordinates' ideas to claim them for their own, as cited by several respondents to this study. Salary as an indicator of worth is an obvious extrinsic dissatisfier. The nature of the job itself, if it contains too much, or worse, too little challenge, is bound to impinge adversely on self-actualisation, as is lack of advancement. Finally, working conditions will inevitably affect motivation and, again, are a signal to workers of the value, or lack of value, which management places on their contribution.

Thus : 'The satisfiers relate to the actual job. Those factors that do not act as satisfiers describe the job situation.' (Herzberg, Mausner and Synderman : 1967 : 63)

Short-range positive attitude change towards work was promoted by a slightly different type of encounter, as Table 3.4. shows. However, such attitude change was found to dissipate more quickly and to occur less often.

Rank Order	Encounter	Type
1	Recognition	Intrinsic
2	Achievement	Intrinsic
3	Possible Growth	Intrinsic
4	Advancement	Extrinsic
5	Responsibility	Intrinsic
6	Group feeling	Intrinsic
7	Work Itself	Intrinsic
8	Status	Extrinsic
9	Security	Intrinsic
10	Fair Treatment	Extrinsic
11	Pride	Intrinsic
12	Guilt	Intrinsic
13	Inadequacy	Intrinsic
14	Salary	Extrinsic

Table 3.4.

Encounters promoting short-range positive attitude change towards work.

(adapted from Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 77)

Again, positive feelings related to self-actualisation and growth, with advancement being

reinforced by added responsibility and interesting and challenging work. Respondents felt that : 'a pat on the back was not enough' and that advancement, plus interesting work were a sign of increased status. However, achievement was sufficient in itself as a positive reinforcement.

In contrast, short term feelings promoting negative attitudes were invariably produced by circumstances surrounding the job, such as the effects of company policies which were seen as ineffective, damaging and, sometimes, downright unfair. Table 3.5. resumes these.

Rank Order	Encounter	Type
1	Company Policy and Administration	Extrinsic
2	Supervision	Extrinsic
3	Lack of Recognition	Intrinsic
4	Salary	Extrinsic
5	Work itself	Intrinsic
6	Lack of Advancement	Intrinsic
7	Working Conditions	Extrinsic

Table 3.5.

Encounters promoting short-range negative attitude change towards work.

(adapted from Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 77)

The main finding of the study was that professional growth was a key want of employees but that the factors identified by the respondents had far more potentiality for promoting job dissatisfaction than for promoting job satisfaction. Satisfier factors were more powerful in increasing job satisfaction. In contrast, job dissatisfiers could almost never be transformed into potential job satisfiers. Achievement and responsibility were unidirectional, with the nature of the job itself, plus responsibility, plus advancement leading to very positive attitudes towards work. In contrast, company policy and administration, plus supervision, plus working conditions were major job dissatisfiers. Salary emerged as being more potent as a job dissatisfier. When cited in encounters promoting negative attitudes, it was usually connected with unfairness; when cited in encounters promoting positive attitudes, it was tied to advancement. It was seen as a definer of the job itself and therefore was considered to be a primary dissatisfier.

Long-range positive attitude encounters did improve performance, whereas long-range negative encounters could depress performance. However, the tendency for attitudes to affect performance was more powerful with positive than with negative encounters. Again, positive attitude change revolves around the job itself; negative attitude change is more likely to be promoted by factors extrinsic to the job. Even so, this study notes a contradictory relationship between morale and productivity, with the authors suggesting that

'the usual morale measures are confounded because they tap into both the kinds of attitudes we find in our highs and those we find in our lows'

(Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 87).

The study shows turnover as being the culmination of a series of long-range negative encounters, plus steps being taken on the part of the individual to leave, plus a degree of psychological withdrawal. In the sample of people surveyed, one person in eight who reported long-range encounters leading to negative attitude change finally quit. A further 8% of those reporting long-range encounters leading to negative attitude change took steps towards quitting, with a further 20% thinking about quitting. Thus, almost half these long-range negative encounters led to a degree of physical or psychological withdrawal. The authors state :

'The implications to industry are apparent. The price of such withdrawal cannot be computed in money. Can one add up the cost of such a great amount of turnover, the difficulty of obtaining personnel, and the losses to industry of having on the staff people who have quit the company psychologically ?'

(Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 89)

Company loyalty was enhanced according to 50% of those respondents reporting positive encounters leading to attitude change and weakened by negative encounters, according to a quarter of respondents reporting these. The relationship between job attitude and company loyalty is more potent in positive encounters than in negative ones, despite the fact that the majority of negative encounters concern company policy.

Thus, the study demonstrates that job satisfiers are not the same as dissatisfiers. Satisfiers emerge as being connected with the work itself, to events which indicate to workers that they are performing successfully and that there is a possibility of professional growth. Dissatisfiers are mostly connected with working conditions rather than the job itself. These the authors refer to as 'hygiene' factors; they maintain that these factors can be improved to a level where they will not cause dissatisfaction but that these 'hygiene' factors will not, of themselves, promote job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is produced by factors which satisfy the individual's need for self-actualisation and can only be derived from the performance of tasks which reinforce individual aspirations. They maintain that :

'Factors in the job context meet the needs of the individual for avoiding unpleasant situations. In contrast to this motivation by meeting avoidance needs, the job factors reward the needs of the individual to reach his (sic) aspirations.'

(Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 114)

Thus, job 'motivators', as the authors term them, fulfil a need ' to develop in one's

occupation as a source of “personal growth”. They operate in conjunction with ‘hygiene’ factors which are ‘an essential base.....associated with fair treatment in compensation, supervision, working conditions and administrative practices’. (Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 115)

In the final section of the study, the authors examine the effects of working in increasingly complex and bureaucratic systems on the individual’s motivation to work, based as it is on the recognition of personal achievement and growth in responsibility. They express concern that :

‘If the major rewards in our society are hygienic, if conditions not related to the actual conduct of work are major sources of satisfaction, there is little motivation for the fulfilment of the highest potentiality in the work of each individual’. (Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 131)

They propose ‘an emphasis on a positive rather than a negative approach towards the morale of individuals’; job restructuring to ‘increase to the maximum the ability of workers to achieve goals meaningfully related to the doing of the job’(Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 132).

This recommendation implies that workers should exercise some degree of control over the way in which they do the job, in a situation in which the individual can find increased motivation through the work itself. This has implications for selection and supervision. Employees’ work capacity needs to be matched to the work they will need to do. New perspectives on supervision need to be developed so that supervisors can structure work effectively to allow for the development of individual worker’s maximum motivation. Finally, the authors point out that such measures could result in a more variable level of productivity but that the overall level would be towards an increase as people adjusted to the greater freedom. This, in turn, would imply a more variable reward system through direct recognition and financial payment. They conclude that

‘...the greatest fulfilment of man (sic) is to be found in activities that are meaningfully related to his own needs as well as those of society’.

(Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman: 1967 : 139)

Although first published in 1959, this study seems very pertinent to the retention issues of the 1990s in the clear distinction made between job satisfiers and dissatisfiers.

More recent work on the needs based theory of motivation has been carried out by Alderfer (1972) whose ERG theory posits three general categories of need : existence, relatedness and growth. Existence needs parallel Maslow’s needs for physiological and

material needs, relatedness parallels the need for affinity and recognition, with growth needs equating with self actualisation needs. Alderfer does not subscribe to Maslow's theory that lower level needs have to be satisfied to trigger higher level needs, rather he suggests that the more the lower level needs are unsatisfied, the more people will seek to satisfy them. If the need for growth is frustrated, people may well turn to more obtainable relatedness or existence needs. He also suggests that more than one need may be activated in a relatively short space of time.

Process Theories of Motivation.

However, although content theories of motivation such as Alderfer's describe the factors underlying people's desire to fulfil unsatisfied needs, they do not examine the behaviour displayed by people to achieve their objectives.

Behaviour.

People learn or acquire social motives which determine their actions from (usually) favourable life experiences where consistent behaviour patterns seem to work. For instance, past success may lead to the motive to achieve. McClelland (1961) identified three motives particularly associated with work behaviour : *achievement, power and affiliation*.

People who show a strong need to *achieve* (nAch) are usually self-motivated, seeking work which provides a challenge. However, they tend to avoid work which is too difficult because they know their limitations; similarly they avoid tasks which are too easy because they present no challenge. They like to feel that they are in control of the results of any task undertaken and are less motivated if results are subject to chance or under the control of others. They also like feedback, not necessarily from supervisors but from the job itself; this leads to self-approval and self reward. When they do not succeed, they do not blame themselves but analyse the failure in order to learn for the future. In contrast, low achievers tend to blame their own lack of ability or effort when they fail.

According to McClelland (1975), the need for *power* (nPow) can either be personalised or socialised. People needing personal power are coercive and manipulative of others, tending to take the credit for successes which are not always their own. People showing a need for socialised power are keen to organise others into achieving organisational aims, gaining their own satisfaction from the process of getting other people to participate in this, and, thus, sharing their power with others.

The third most common motive, *affiliation* (nAff) is shown by people who derive satisfaction from social and interpersonal activities. Such people are concerned with the

feelings of others, sympathise with opposing viewpoints and will help colleagues to work through problems. The need for affiliation may often dictate their choice of activity. However, research (McClelland and Burnham : 1975) shows that they make poor bosses.

Expectancy.

Work behaviour is not only influenced by people's motivation but also by their expectancy of the short and longer term effects of the way in which they function. The basic premise of process theory is that a natural human aim is to work efficiently or at least to avoid working inefficiently.

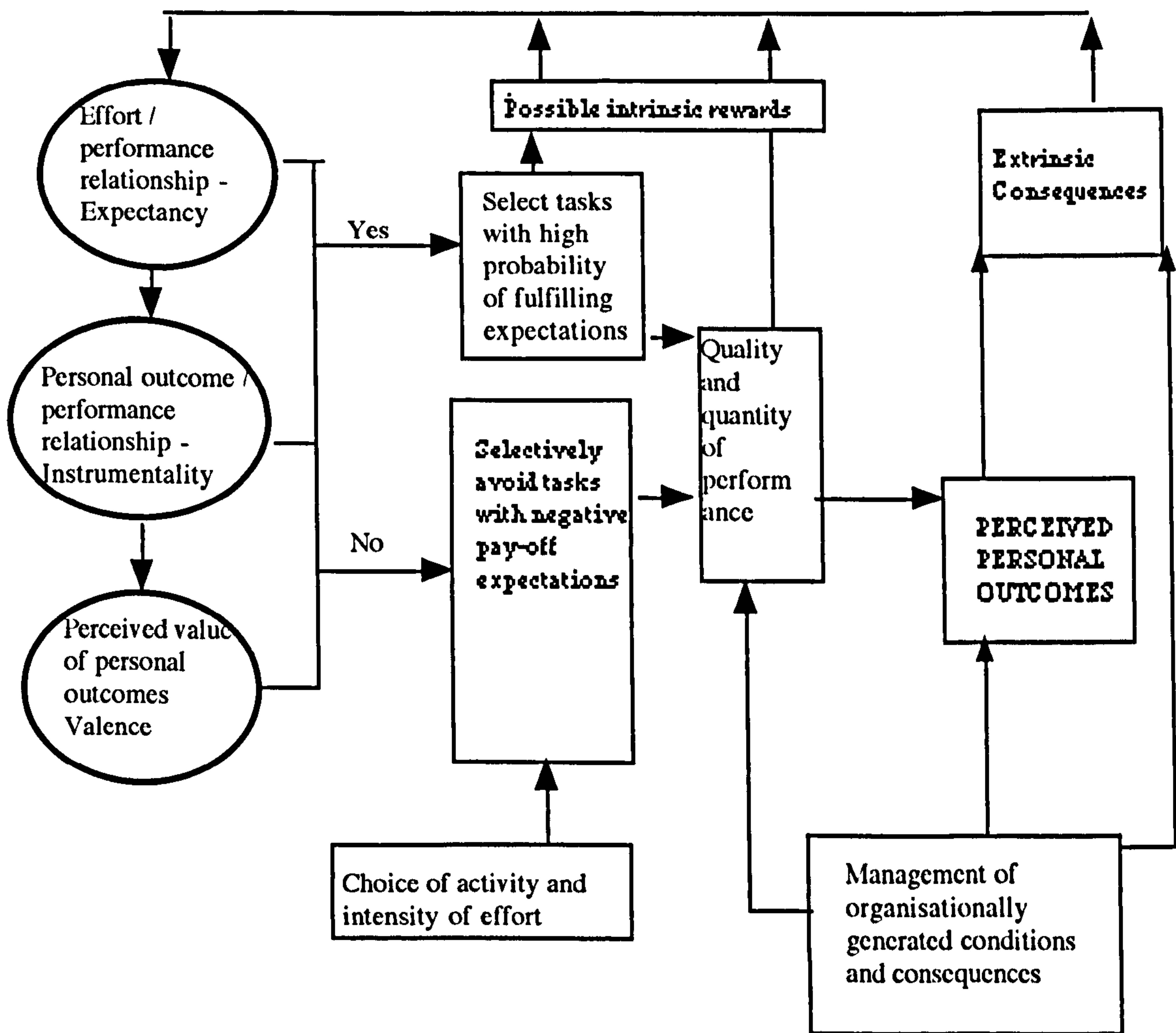


Figure 3.1.

Motivational implications of expectancy theory at work

(adapted from Hunsaker and Cook, 1986 : 176)

Figure 3.1. shows expectancy theory which concerns people's beliefs about the relationship between effort, performance and reward. It relies on three sets of perceptions. The first is a belief that personal effort expended on the task will affect performance positively (expectancy), the second that there are personal outcomes related to performance (instrumentality) and the third that the available outcomes are of worth to them (valence). This valence may be expressed in a variety of forms, some intrinsic such as a feeling of job satisfaction, some extrinsic such as material rewards.

Research (Lawler [1973] and Porter [1968] quoted in Hunsaker and Cooke :1986 :177) shows that motivation and thus, effort, improve when effort and task performance are related, particularly when performance is linked to personal consequences which are highly valued. These conditions are best fulfilled in occupations where the quality and quantity of performance can be seen as a product of workers' initiative and ability. From the management point of view, worker motivation is enhanced by clear policy on the relationship between performance and reward, plus good feedback. Thus, two important external motivators are supervisors and organisational goals. The most effective supervision gives clear guidelines but leaves room for employees to use their own creativity. It has been suggested (Locke, 1978) that the common element in motivation is to meet goals, whatever people's motivational needs. This can be enhanced if goals are clear, specific and challenging.

Expectancy theory also seems to suggest that motivation is subject to different influences in different circumstances and at different points in time. It considerably elaborates Herzberg's two factor theory of motivation.

Equity and Reinforcement.

A further process theory concerns equity. This deals with the relationship between personal outcomes and work inputs within a comparative framework. The comparison can be made with specific individuals, a reference group or a general occupational standard. Individuals can see themselves as being underpaid or overpaid. Where a discrepancy exists, people will seek to reduce this; the greater the discrepancy, the greater the motivation to reduce it. Taken with organisational goals and effective supervision, equity is a third powerful external motivating factor.

A final motivating factor is reinforcement which relies on consistent consequences following a behaviour and, thus, reinforcing that behaviour. It involves two basic relationships of expectancy theory - the behaviour / performance relationship and the work

performance / personal outcome relationship. However, extrinsic reinforcers may reduce performance (Deci [1971] quoted in Hunsaker and Cook :1986 : 182) because they reduce the need to seek intrinsic satisfaction, although people whose self-esteem is low or who feel insecure may need them more than people who have high achievement needs.

An Integrated Model of Motivation Theories.

Figure 3.2., adapted from Hunsaker and Cook (1986: 182), shows the way in which motivational theories can be linked to provide an integrated model. It begins with the expectations a person may feel towards a job of work in terms of the effort / performance relationship, the outcomes / value relationship and the link between outcomes and performance. It then juxtaposes the two main aspects of need theory - deficiency reduction or growth aspiration, linking these to the personal working style needs of affiliation, achievement and power.

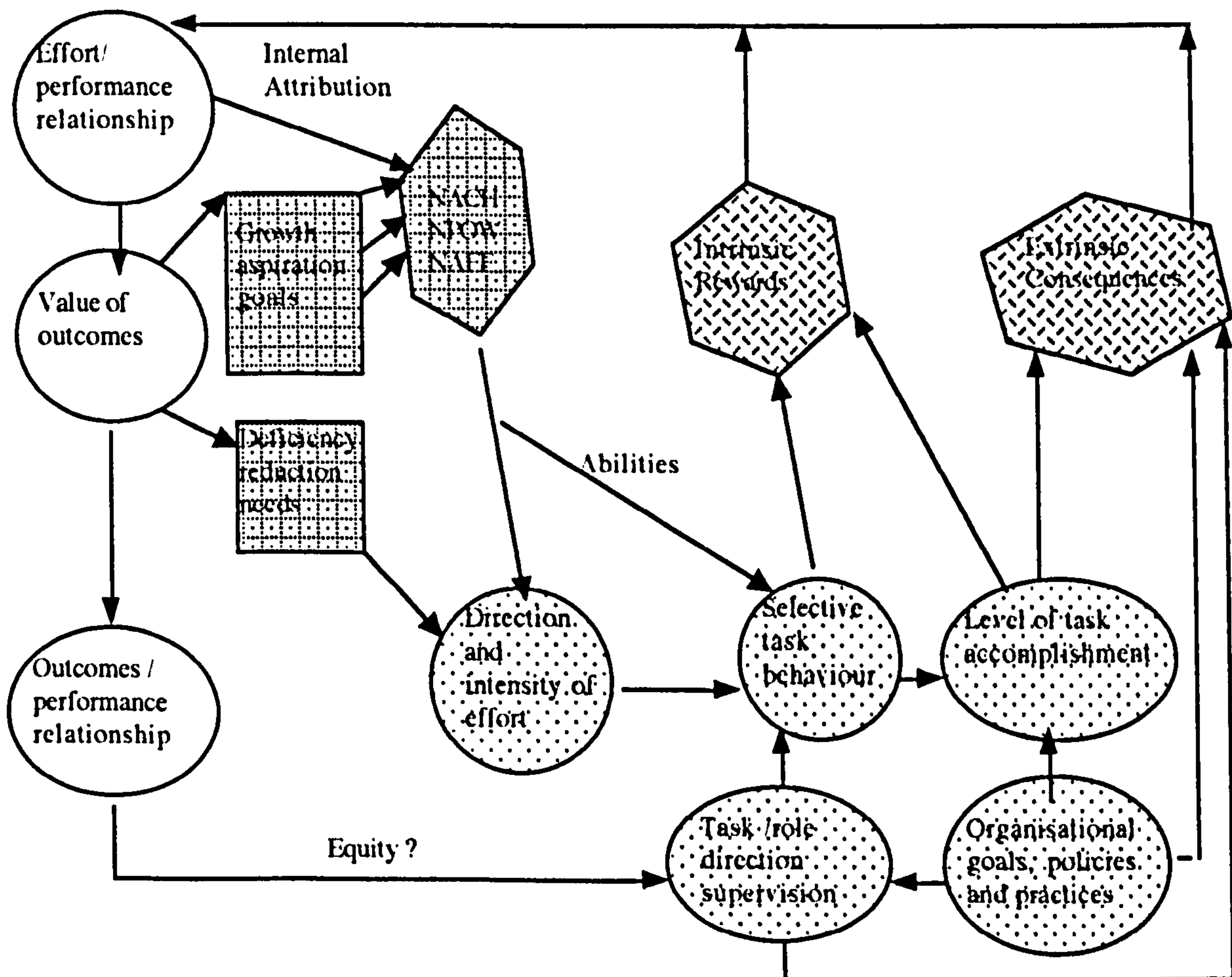


Figure 3.2.

An integrated model of motivation theories.

(adapted from Hunsaker and Cook : 1986 : 182)

These in turn are linked to the kind of behaviour a person is likely to exhibit in carrying out the task and the probable intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.

Hunsaker and Cook suggest that motivation can be improved by identifying the key factors determining performance and the ways in which they are linked. This is particularly applicable to performance factors controlled by management which may (unintentionally) impact adversely on performance. Deficiency needs should be reduced through consultation as these lead to task avoidance behaviour. At the same time, growth opportunities should be created by finding out the main sources of personal job satisfaction.

They also recommend making task expectations and expected results clear through goal setting and recognising achievement through the personalisation of successful performance and the provision of positive reinforcement.

As this chapter shows, motivation relies on the interplay of a multiplicity of personal and work place factors, all of which need to be considered together in attempts to retain personnel. As the next chapter will show, studies of teachers barely begin to consider these factors, being largely directed towards extrinsic and contextual aspects of teacher employment and teacher supply.

Chapter Four.*Teacher Employment Studies.*

This chapter deals with studies of teacher employment. Little attention is paid in any of them to the importance of job satisfiers and dissatisfiers or to motivational factors, largely because they focus on demand side issues. The exceptions are the studies carried out by Smithers and Robinson (1990, 1991a,b.) and the report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts on Teacher Supply for the 1990s (1990).

Local Authority Studies.

A recruitment and retention study, carried out by the Local Authorities' Conditions of Service Advisory Board in 1986 / 7 (LACSAB : 1988) examined the turnover and retention of local authority workers nationally. In discussing turnover and retention, it takes up the terminology of Bluedorn's taxonomy, distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary turnover. It also links recruitment and retention to staff morale, with respect to the costs and benefits of turnover and recruitment.

Morale is described as being related :

'to many issues such as workload, the worth of work, staffing levels, appreciation of work done, pay levels and managerial efficiency.' (1988 : 44)

It goes on to recommend that issues of morale should be addressed by employing authorities through dealing effectively with recruitment and retention.

For the purposes of this study, the interest of the report lies in its particular focus on teacher recruitment and retention in London. Although based on partial data, the report shows a higher turnover rate amongst non-manual employees in the London boroughs in 1986 / 7 than in other areas of the country. London was then an area of employment growth, with lower than average unemployment, wider job choices and a geographically more integrated job market.

Teacher turnover was highest in London, East Anglia and the South East but lower than for other non-manual occupations, with very high turnover rates in specific secondary subjects where alternative job opportunities were readily available. These included computer studies (53% turnover), business studies (27% turnover), as well as maths, physics and modern languages. The turnover of primary teachers was slightly lower than that of secondary teachers.

Looking at turnover by destination, 47% of primary and 51% of secondary moves were within education, 5% of primary and 11% of secondary moves were to other employment, with 21% of primary and 14% of secondary moves due to premature retirement. A further 7% of primary and 4% of secondary moves were due to ill-health retirement, whereas only 5% of primary moves and 3% of secondary moves were due to retirement at normal age. 13% of primary and 11% of secondary teachers moving were leaving employment entirely. Teachers' reasons for leaving education were sought from heads of their schools, not from the teachers themselves. The availability of alternative careers had prompted the decision in 44% of cases; pay was cited as the sole reason in 14% of cases, pay and vocational reasons for 13% and disenchantment for 10%; 20% gave no reason.

The authors of the report see 'no major problem' with teacher supply, although they recognise recruitment difficulties in certain secondary subjects, together with a potential problem in the future recruitment of primary teachers because of rising rolls in London primary schools. The report also notes the London Boroughs' Association's concerns about the level of teacher turnover, the lack of applicants for key posts, and the poor calibre and low numbers of applicants for secondary posts in shortage subjects.

The report reviews the use of London allowances as practised by a range of employers and concludes that a 'cost compensation' approach is no longer an effective way of addressing labour shortages in London. The authors recommend a 'labour market' approach to target particular occupations, locations or age ranges where recruitment and retention difficulties are most marked.

In a consideration of relocation packages, its main recommendations are for various forms of financial assistance with housing, including equity share schemes. These were subsequently adopted by a number of local education authorities as the teacher shortage became more acute, despite the uncertain fiscal position of teachers entering these schemes. No other studies of teacher loss or turnover were undertaken until the forecasts of the LACSAB report, in particular for the supply of teachers to London, had become a reality and concerns about teacher supply had entered the political domain.

Statistical Studies.

A statistical projection of teacher supply was undertaken in 1989 (Buchan and Weyman) on the maintained sector. It finds that demand for teachers will rise in the 1990s because of the rise in pupil numbers. They identify 'a potential gulf between supply and demand'

(Buchan and Weyman : 10) because of a small demographic decline in the number of school leavers entering higher education between 1988 and 2001, greatly increased competition in the graduate labour market and salary considerations. Increasing pupil numbers in primary (over 500,000 extra pupils in the period 1991 - 2000) and secondary (365,000 in the same period) schools, plus education and government spending priorities will all influence the demand for teachers.

The numbers of new entrants to teaching is determined by targets set by the DES for the number of training places. Numbers of applicants for B.Ed and PGCE courses in 1989 were up on those of 1988, with women accounting for three-quarters of acceptances to initial teacher training and over half the acceptance to PGCE courses. However, DES data suggest that one in three successful teacher training graduates has not taken up teaching by the start of the year following their graduation.

Re-entrants to teaching account for about half the total in-flow into teaching. They are mainly in the 30 - 40 age bracket and mainly female. A minor source of teacher supply is entrants from other countries and entrants through the 'licensed' teacher route. The wastage rate to teaching is comparatively low.

From their statistical projections,, the authors conclude that teacher supply in the 1990s :

'will be highly sensitive to comparatively small variations in wastage rates and inflow rates.....The demand side of the equation suggests that there may be an increase in requirement for both primary and secondary teachers, because of the objected increase in the number of school pupils, with the increase being most pronounced in the primary sector' (Buchan and Weyman : 1989 : 4)

A technical description of the DES statistical models used for determining teacher supply (1990) describes the methodology used to project future supply needs. The models predict significant future shortages in Modern Languages and Music, with surpluses in Home Economics, Art and PE.

Evidence-Based Studies.

In August, 1988, the House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts began an evidence-based enquiry into teacher supply for the 1990s. Its findings were reported in April 1990. Although evidence-based, the publication of the report sparked

controversy within the committee itself, with Labour committee members issuing a press release in which they deplored the constraining effects of dominant political interests (Press Release from the Labour members of the Education Select Committee : May 9th, 1991.).

The report finds that a global discussion of teacher supply masks a variety of different types of shortage which are referred to as : *hidden shortages, suppressed shortages, specific subject shortages, and regional shortages.*

A follow-up study, commissioned by the DES from Bath University Department of Education, into the deployment of physics teachers, trained under the bursary scheme begun in 1986, had already revealed hidden shortage subjects being covered by physics teachers. More disquieting perhaps, were suppressed shortages, where pupil timetables would be changed to remove subjects where no teachers were available. Specific subject shortages were being encountered in information technology, drama, music, maths, physics, design and technology, modern languages, early years education and business studies. Regional shortages were most acute in London.

The committee concludes that school teaching as a profession lost much of its attractiveness during the 1980s and that teacher morale is linked to issues of supply and retention. Restoration of teacher morale is a priority, although the determinants of morale are complex. The committee takes account of the decline in the pay of teachers since the Houghton pay award of 1974, as well as their decline in social standing and professional status. It recommends that :

‘additional resources should be made available to improve teachers’ salaries’

(Vol 1 p xv)

and notes that career development is as important as pay.

The report also recommends the restoration of pay negotiating rights, abolished by the School Teachers’ Pay and Conditions Act (1987) and links this with the loss of the partnership status as manifested in the absence of consultation with teachers on the educational changes contained in the 1988 Education Reform Act. The Committee considers this has been harmful for teacher / state relations and recommends a return to a culture of consultation.

The publication of this report was followed a year later by the Fourth Report of the Interim Advisory Committee on School Teachers’ Pay and Conditions (1991) which, in turn, recognises teacher morale as being a major policy issue in ensuring the future supply of teachers.

During the same period, two studies of teacher employment entitled respectively ‘Teacher

Turnover' (1990) and 'Teacher Provision : Trends and Perceptions' (1991a), were undertaken by Professor Alan Smithers and Dr. Pamela Robinson of Manchester University. 'Teacher Turnover' is a review of resignations and appointments during 1989 in secondary schools in a ten percent survey of local education authorities in England and Wales. It includes independent schools. 417 schools took part; of these 62% completed returns on appointments and resignations immediately after the three main annual resignation dates (ends of October, February and May) and at the start of each new term. In addition, Smithers and Robinson interviewed 140 teachers who were leaving, 100 entrants to teaching and 40 head teachers.

One in ten teachers in the sample of schools resigned their post during the year, with the highest resignation rate being in London (12.9%) and the South East (13.2%). About half of those who resigned left teaching, with the greatest proportion of these (22%) taking early retirement as opposed to 4% retiring at normal age. 9% took alternative paid employment, and the other 17% went into a range of alternative occupations, including jobs abroad and even unemployment. Wastage to teaching seemed to be around 5%.

Allowing for falling rolls, one in six vacancies at the end of the summer term was still open at the end of September, with extreme difficulty being experienced in attracting suitable candidates in the West Midlands and London. Over half the posts in the South East had three or fewer applicants, with one in five being advertised for a second time. Inevitably, temporary staff were being increasingly appointed to cover those vacant posts, with a resultant high turnover which was jeopardising the continuity of pupils' education.

Independent schools, with 98% of vacancies filled, the majority by permanent staff, had a resignation rate of 6% and a wastage rate of 3%. Of posts advertised, 70% were attracting ten or more applicants. The malaise in teaching was, thus, largely confined to the state sector of education.

Interviews with those entering, leaving or changing posts revealed recurrent themes. Intrinsic job factors cited as leading to turnover decisions were overwork and discipline problems. Extrinsic factors included conditions of service, school management and the poor physical environment of schools. Contextual factors were the volume, pace and lack of coherence of educational changes as a result of the introduction of the national curriculum (some of the changes were, however, welcome) and the low status of the profession.

'Teacher Provision : Trends and Perceptions' (Smithers and Robinson : 1991a, commissioned by the DES), was designed to examine why teacher supply was seen as problematic when DES statistics did not bear this out. Perceptions were given by a sample of

30 local education authorities, 40 secondary heads and 29 'senior persons'. They all agreed that there were shortages of certain subject teachers in certain regions and that these shortages were manifested by too few applicants for posts, lack of 'quality' candidates in terms of their application forms, personal profiles and commitment. This shortage was also apparent in recruiting candidates for initial teacher training. Other factors mentioned were high staff turnover, too many vacancies and large class sizes. These perceptions were then matched to available recruitment and employment statistics from a variety of sources.

The difficulty in finding quality applicants did seem to be real, with many non-graduates in the pool of applicants, subject matching proving problematic and age, in particular, being a factor. Recruitment to initial teacher training was healthy, with modest expansion set to have a positive impact. However, the severe cuts to the system in the 1970s and early 80s seemed to have had a profound influence on teacher supply problems. Some subjects, like Physics, were still not recruiting to target. Resignation figures suggested that the wastage rate had increased, partly as a result of being managed upwards by early retirement schemes, but also as a result of teachers leaving teaching more frequently and moving on more often. With a steadily improving pupil - teacher ratio, class size was a seemingly curious reason for teacher supply difficulties, although large primary classes did appear to exist. However, these were no deterrent to the recruitment of primary trainees, where targets were being met. There seemed to be no paradox between the DES statistics and actuality, but the problem of an adequate supply of certain subject teachers in certain areas did remain. Smithers and Robinson's recommendations were :

- increasing the number of funded initial teacher training places, even at risk of some teacher unemployment;
- siting the training where the teachers were most needed;
- reviewing early retirement schemes;
- reducing the number of surplus school places.

Their summary concludes :

'More generally, we think that attention should be given to the problems in English education which have seriously eroded job satisfaction among teachers.'(1991 : a : ii)

They elucidate this general comment earlier in the report by citing a series of job satisfaction factors as contributory to low teacher morale. They also make the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic job factors but do not take account of contextual factors such as status.

The factors they cite are :

<input type="checkbox"/>	standing in the community	<i>contextual</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	work overload	<i>intrinsic</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	loss of autonomy	<i>intrinsic</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	discipline	<i>intrinsic</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	pay	<i>extrinsic</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	conditions	<i>extrinsic</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	poor school management	<i>intrinsic.</i>

{The italicised classification in the right-hand column is the author's and refers to the main analytical categories adopted to classify open-ended data in the questionnaire.}

Teaching and Proletarianisation.

During the period of this study, teaching was undergoing rapid change. For teachers, the climate of consultation and confirmation of professional status (though not pay parity with other professions) had come to end long before Prime Minister Callaghan gave his Ruskin College speech in 1976. Militant action in the late 1960s and early 70s had culminated in the Houghton pay award of 1974 (given 'in the expectation of professional standards of performance'). In any case, consultation had proved to be a principle without power, at least in terms of self-regulation, although teachers had retained considerable professional autonomy within the school and over the curriculum.

By the early seventies, there seemed to be increasing evidence that the post-war agenda of equal opportunity, social justice, economic efficiency and the development of pupil talents through the state education system had not been realised. In particular, the economic importance of education was coming under closer scrutiny. This was especially true during and after the recession of the mid 1970s when politicians, industrialists and the press depicted teachers as 'incompetent, slovenly, trendy, progressive and unwilling or unable to discipline the youth in their charge' (Grace : 1987 : in Lawn and Grace [eds] : 216).

Erosion of teacher status and increasing questioning of professionalism gained momentum after the 1979 election of the Conservative government. It was fuelled by teacher action and an increasingly hostile press. A series of curriculum initiatives, greater control of teacher education through the creation of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) and the abolition of the Schools' Council all accentuated the loss of professional status and consultation with central government agencies. This process culminated in the

Education Reform Act of 1988. This Act 'reformed' curriculum content; making provision for pupil assessment and testing, as well as extrinsic and contextual conditions of service for teachers. Changes were also made to school governance and finance to reduce the role of the local education authority. Thus, teachers (particularly in the primary age phase) lost curriculum control to central government which also specified their conditions of service and removed their negotiating rights. More importantly, they lost classroom autonomy which was: 'for the great majority of organised teachers, *the* concept of professional autonomy' (Grace : 1987 : in Lawn and Grace [eds] : 213)

Loss of workplace autonomy is a feature of proletarianisation which can be defined as : 'the fact or process of rendering or becoming proletarian' (The Oxford Dictionary : Volume XII : 605). The process itself has been described as :

'... a long term tendency through fragmentation, rationalisation and mechanisation for workers and their jobs to become deskilled, both in an absolute sense (they lose craft and traditional abilities) and in a relative one (scientific knowledge progressively accumulates in the production process)...Thus the worker, regardless of his or her talents, may be more easily and cheaply substituted for in the production process.'
(Braverman : quoted in Lawn and Ozga [eds] 1988 : 89)

In an industrial context, a first stage involves treating the worker like a machine by applying controls, system management and behavioural objectives in an effort to standardise the individual and limit creativity in terms of the work process. A second step may be to attach the worker to the machine, so that the latter controls the pace and content of the work. Finally, the machine may replace the worker on the grounds of cost.

Proletarianisation also involves fragmentation which can be seen clearly in education in the growth of large schools where administrative and supervisory tasks rank with teaching in a production-line process. To accomplish such tasks, teachers reskill themselves, on or off the job, often footing the bill for their own reskilling. Their own promotion relies heavily on reskilling and taking responsibility for supervisory functions, in addition to a full teaching load. The purpose of supervisory duties is to boost productivity. In this way, the conception of teaching can easily be divorced from its execution. The effects are two-fold : reskilled supervisors deskill classroom teachers and the quantity of work increases, but not its quality.

Apple (1989 : 41) calls this process 'intensification', describing it as :

'one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educational workers are eroded'.

Its manifestations are lack of time to maintain subject or age phase expertise, lack of time during the working day, a decreased social life, an increased workload and diversity of functions but decreased quality of performance. This in turn engenders stress.

Proletarianisation has consequences for class, professionalism and gender. Class involves ideological, historical and social factors seen in relation to each other. In terms of teachers, this definition of class seems appropriate.

... class is an 'economic' and it is also a cultural formation: it is impossible to give any theoretical priority to one aspect over the other... what changes, as the mode of production and productive relations change, is the *experience* of living men and women. And this experience is sorted out in class ways, in social life and in consciousness, in the assent, the resistance and the choices of men and women. (Thompson 1979 quoted in Lawn and Ozga [eds] 1988)

Apple (1989 : 32) argues that teachers belong both to the middle and the working class but that the restructuring of their work, an increasing phenomenon since the 1970s, may move them closer to working class perspectives.

Equally, the concept of professionalism in teaching is complex. It can be seen as an expression of service to the community, as an expression of skill or expertise and as a defence of both, as the data in this study show. In part, assertions of professionalism are used by teachers to construct a skill based autonomy; historically, autonomy allowed them to create a buffer around their definition of skill.

Lawn and Ozga (1988 : 89) define skill as 'a creation of labour control over the workplace' as well as 'control over a complex process and involving an understanding of that process'. They point out that, in the case of teaching, skill is a contested concept and that :

'The relative autonomy is a recognition of this contestation and of teacher definition of work / education'.

Employer intervention in the definition of skill in teaching is evident in the increasing bureaucratisation of education and the proliferation of specialised tasks. Manifestations of these trends are scale posts and career structures, the pastoral system, the increasing specialisation required by the national curriculum with its record-keeping and assessment stipulations. A further feature is the increased generation of documentation. These same trends are evident in teacher training and school inspection.

All these factors tend to remove teachers from the classroom and from the design and delivery of the curriculum, so that both the creative and productive aspects of teaching are lost to them. In this way, teacher definition of skill is weakened as the processes of intensification and proletarianisation take place. Thus, proletarianisation involves loss of autonomy, greater supervision, reskilled specialisms and can lead to increased stress being experienced by the worker.

Women in every occupational category are more susceptible to proletarianisation than men. Reasons for this may include sexist recruitment and promotion procedures, less concern about women's conditions of work and the money / power link in patriarchal relations. Most women teachers are concentrated at the lowest or lower middle management levels of the education service, despite being the majority in the education workforce overall.

Apple (1989 : 36) reports on the introduction of teacher-proof maths and science material into American schools in the 1960s, in an effort to improve pupils' 'real' knowledge of the technical subjects considered most likely to enhance the country's economic competitiveness world-wide. He describes this initiative as :

'the history of the state, in concert with capital and a largely male academic body of consultants and developers, intervening at the level of practice in the work of a largely female workforce'.

Ideologies of gender and of sex-appropriate knowledge played a part in this initiative and, seemingly, it also provided significant new forms of teaching and curriculum control.

In fact, the new curricula were accommodated by the largely female teaching force within existing practices. However, these curricula legitimised more sophisticated, industrially inspired attempts to overcome teacher 'resistance' to externally imposed change. (Apple in Lawn and Ozga [eds] 1988 : 105)

Yet teacher resistance did manifest itself in the form of attempts to change pre-specified curriculum objectives, a refusal to teach objectives which seemed irrelevant and the creation of space during class time to have :

'relaxed discussion with the students on topics of their own choosing'.

Apple also cites evidence of resistance to the administrative design of skills programmes from women teachers because of its incompatibility with the emotional well-being of students, a well-being which these women saw themselves as ensuring. Thus the women teachers resisted attempts to fragment and intensify their professionalism.

He describes their choice of resistance as :

'reinstating categories that partly reproduce other divisions that have

historically grown out of patriarchal relations' (Apple : 1988 : 49).

Paradoxically, in the study to which he refers, the women teachers did not recognise the technicisation and intensification of their teaching as linked to the proletarianisation of their work. They considered their capacity to partially accept and work with changed materials as a mark of professionalism. To them, the mastery of a range of technical skills - the management of the complexities of the programme and the decision-making involved in the grading of students - equated with more responsibility and, therefore, increased professionalism. The loss of their function of designing and delivering their own curricula was not noticed. Thus, longer working hours became acceptable to them.

Moreover, internal factors, such as perceived pressure from parents who would receive the test results, and the power of routines involved in managing and administering individualised programmes diverted them from challenging the objectives of the skills programme itself.

Apple concludes that class and class segment differences will impact on the response to such processes but that responses will probably be characterised by resistance specific to the work context, plus partial acceptance of the features of proletarianisation. He sees the issue as complex and encompassing the local as well as the national context. Crucial to this issue is :

'the utter import of gendered labour as a constitutive aspect of the way management and the state have approached teaching and curricular control'.

(Apple in Lawn and Ozga [eds] 1988 : 105)

A similar kind of resistance to this process can be discerned in the reaction of teachers to the introduction of national curriculum (1988) and changes to the organisation and funding of state education brought about by the Education Reform Act (1988).

A protracted campaign of resistance to aspects of the national curriculum resulted in a national consultation exercise in 1993 / 4. The findings of this exercise (Dearing : 1994) reduced and simplified subject specific requirements and established a five year moratorium on educational change. More significantly, teachers re-established partial control of the design and direction of parts of the curriculum. However, although the content of some programmes of study, notably English, was hotly debated, the need for a national curriculum was never seriously contested.

Low morale implies, a priori, a sense of morality about one's being and function, in this case about being a teacher. All the evidence in the employment literature is that job satisfiers rely on feed-back loops and that job satisfaction is constantly being reassessed. Clegg's (1983) study highlights the effects of punitive procedures on subsequent job affect, whilst the evidence from Herzberg (1967) is that job satisfiers shape attitudes towards the job itself, irrespective of *hygiene* factors. Other studies highlight a link between loss of autonomy and turnover. From the Flowers and Hughes (1973) study, it could be concluded that teachers are mainly in the sociocentric, manipulative and existential categories of workers. The study demonstrates that sociocentric and existential workers are only retained by intrinsic job factors and that existential workers only remain if they are satisfied by their job. Expectancy theory further elaborates these findings. Finally, as Mobley shows, the costs of extrinsically based change for an occupational group and its employer are very high.

An analogy could be made between the Glacier Factory, schools (the factory departments), local education authorities (the governing system) and government changes (World War 2 and peacetime changes), particularly when the personnel recruitment function of the Glacier Factory's governing system is taken into account. Initially seen as coercive although necessary, the governing system came to be accepted by instituting a mechanism for full consultation and through the realisation on the part of every employee representative that extrinsically similar conditions of work were desirable for all. This improvement was seen in decreased turnover rates. The Glacier Factory was thus able to adapt itself and its working practices to contextual changes in product demand brought about by the second world war and to readapt once peace was established.

It could be argued that the reverse of this process had taken place in relations between schools, local education authorities and central government. Central government changes to the curriculum and school management have eroded the role of local education authorities as employers and in-service training providers. Similarly, their control of resources has been lost through the local management of schools, although local authorities are still required to ensure standards of achievement.

The Glacier Factory showed that increasing trust in the governing system led to a turnover position reflecting retention rather than loss of personnel. Lack of trust might produce the reverse effect. One secondary headteacher interviewed did suggest that high turnover rates in teaching might lead to the destabilisation of schools, but her staffing difficulties were particularly acute at the time. For primary head teachers in Tower Hamlets, too, it was a real

cause for concern :

'The incessant turnover leads to a constant need to induct new teachers. Experienced staff are under intense pressure supporting new colleagues while taking on more and more responsibility for curriculum development and implementation - particularly in the light of the national curriculum. These pressures, added to the instability, inevitably lead to a lack of confidence, motivation and commitment, which in turn increases resignation amongst staff' (Tower Hamlets' Head Teachers : 1989 : 2.)

The booming economy of the late 1980s must have played a part in the teacher supply crisis, by providing a number of alternative occupations to teaching, particularly in the service industries, for graduates who may well have chosen to enter teaching otherwise. The 'flat' career and pay structure of teaching (especially primary) compared unfavourably with these other graduate opportunities.

However, the attribution of teacher malaise to a series of external factors which are presumed not to impact on job satisfaction seems to discount important aspects of teacher well-being. These centre on daily contact with pupils, work place autonomy and involvement in a two-way process of teaching and learning, within a network of relationships with significant others.

The Research Process.

This part of the study concerns the research project itself. Chapter Five describes the research method in detail. It outlines the stages in thinking which resulted in the formulation of the questionnaire. It also covers the treatment of the qualitative data and suggests that the questionnaire may have a wider applicability to teaching than had initially been envisaged.

Chapter Six describes the students and their programme of informal educational experience which led to their accounts of the influence of community work on their concept of teaching. The first section of the questionnaire on attitudes towards teaching was derived from their writings.

Chapter Seven is devoted to conversations with the head teachers who describe their roles, pressures, needs and uncertainties at a point in time when they were experiencing staffing difficulties and facing the prospect of a new local education authority. The second part of the questionnaire, dealing with the retention features head teachers put in place or would like the local education authority to implement, originated in these conversations.

Chapter Five.

Research Method.

The method of this study was a gradual process of refinement from global considerations of teacher demand and studies of retention, to the creation of a questionnaire in which the specific items constituted a prospective model of retention to which student teachers could respond as well as a model which has consistency from the perspective of established teachers..

Stage One : Initial Thinking.

The first stage was a conscious decision to move away from the demand side of teacher shortage to the supply side. In other words, to turn the problem on its head by switching attention away from the reasons why the teachers were not in post and to look at factors which would attract and retain them.

Stage Two : Aspects of Employment.

The second stage, therefore, was to look for studies of retention in the vast number of private sector studies on employment. Using a Ph.D. thesis on retention in the hotel industry (McEwan : 1990) as a reference base, studies of turnover, recruitment, motivation and retention were examined. Two studies, one on retention and one on motivation were found. Both proved to be very influential (Flowers and Hughes, 1973; Herzberg, 1967).

The first was the Flowers and Hughes study (1973) which showed that people could be retained for reasons other than the job itself and that certain kinds of workers would only be retained for reasons of job satisfaction. It also showed that retention factors and reasons for quitting did not mirror each other. In order to supplement this finding, a better idea of job satisfaction factors was needed.

This elaboration was provided by the Herzberg (1967) study of job satisfiers and dissatisfiers which showed that job dissatisfiers were connected with the extrinsic conditions pertaining to the employing organisation. Thus, an improvement in extrinsic conditions would not, of itself, improve job satisfaction. However, if job satisfiers were high in poor working circumstances, then people would continue to derive satisfaction, despite working conditions. It also showed that personal growth was an important factor in job satisfaction.

Salary had more potency as a job dissatisfier because it was linked with unfairness, despite its use to mark achievement. Table 5.1. shows the job satisfiers and dissatisfiers identified by the study in rank order.

Job Satisfiers

1. Achievement.
2. Recognition.
3. Work itself.
4. Responsibility.
5. Advancement.
6. Personal Growth.
7. Interpersonal - subordinates.
8. Status.
9. Interpersonal - superiors.
10. Interpersonal - peers.
11. Supervision.
12. Company policy and administration.
13. Working conditions.
14. Personal life.
15. Job security.

Job Dissatisfiers

1. Company policy / administration.
2. Supervision.
3. Recognition (lack of).
4. Salary.
5. Work itself.
6. Advancement.
7. Working conditions.

Table 5.1.

A Rank Order of Herzberg's Job Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers.

As Table 5.1 shows, the most powerful satisfiers surround doing the job itself, whereas the most powerful dissatisfiers concern working conditions.

From this study came the idea that job characteristics could be seen as intrinsic (connected with doing the job itself) and extrinsic (connected with conditions of service). A third category was very apparent in the Flowers and Hughes (1973) study. This was dubbed contextual as it concerned non-work or environmental factors.

Subsequent research findings on motivation (Alderfer et al in Hunsaker and Cook : 1976) confirmed the complexity of factors and behaviours involved in motivation.

Stage Three : Key Witnesses and Questionnaire Construction.

The third stage of the study was to decide which key groups of people to ask about teacher supply. Head teachers, as people who had been retained in teaching, and who dealt with the daily difficulties caused by the shortage of teachers, seemed an appropriate choice. Equally suitable were students nearing the end of their training; they were beginning to develop attitudes towards teaching as a job and seeking their first appointment. Their comments

formed the basis of the questionnaire.

Student Writings.

As Chapter 6 explains, students come to the Urban Learning Foundation for their final teaching practice from five Church of England Colleges of Higher Education, all situated outside inner city areas. They come from choice and, thus, tend to be confident enough in their teaching skills to contemplate inner city teaching. They are also aware of the fact that up to sixty per cent of first appointments are likely to be in inner city areas. With its community work strand, the course differs markedly from traditional final teaching practices.

Students document the community work strand of the course by keeping a diary of their activities in the community placement and through an assessment schedule. The assessment schedule was developed following the recommendation by the Department of Education and Science (Circular 24/89) that teachers in training should have experience of placements outside the classroom, in industry or with other organisations and that these placements should be acknowledged in their final qualification.

The schedule of assessment is designed to be both formative and summative and to record students' gradual process of acculturation into the community work organisation. It finishes with a final (short) piece of writing where students describe the effects of community work on their self-concept as a teacher.

An analysis was made of twenty-six such pieces of student writing which showed distinct units of learning in relation to experience. One hundred and thirty-eight significant comments were identified as Table 5.2. shows.

Topic	Number of Comments	Non ULF ITT	ULF ITT
Children	33	**	
Teaching	32	**	
Out of school experience	29		**
Diversity	19		**
Parents	13		**
Learning	12	**	

Table 5.2.

Student comments with respect to community work and school experience.

[Non ULF ITT : final teaching practice without a community work attachment]

[ULF ITT : final teaching practice undertaken at the Urban Learning Foundation and including a community work attachment]

Seventy-seven comments related to aspects of any form of practical initial teacher training whereas sixty-one related to features which would probably only be found on a course with community work experience. The near numerical equivalence of the two sets of comments suggests that experience outside the classroom is seen by the students as enhancing rather than diminishing practical teacher training. Whilst teaching preoccupations are uppermost in the minds of the students, they are underpinned by an awareness of the wider concerns related to working within a specific community.

A content analysis of the students' statements showed that within each group of statements there was a teacher centred element, a community work centred element and a number of responses where these two areas of experience are synthesised.

These statements led to the proposal that adequate teaching can come from treating teaching as a separate item, just as adequate community work can come from treating community work separately; however there might be a greater probability of excellence if the two experiences are synthesised. Statements on experiences outside school were the most appropriate for the purposes of this study.

Thus, the focus of interest became those statements where the two areas of experience - school and experience outside school - were juxtaposed. The following statements fall into this category.

- issues outside school affecting children's behaviour and attitudes in school;
- making sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home;
- insight into the community and pupils' views and opinions;
- knowing about the types of background children come from; I couldn't allow for their behaviour on these grounds but the knowledge does help to interpret certain actions and opinions.
- exploring pupils' out of school experience;
- understanding of how many children in my class are influenced by their home environment;
- adapting one's teaching method and style, to some extent, to suit the needs and backgrounds of the children;
- gaining insight into the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives;
- vital importance of encouraging home / school links...encouraging communication at all levels with parents;
- important for the teacher to be aware of the whole community;
- school and teacher are part of the community;

- the role it is possible for the school to assume in unifying the community;
- pressures children have to face inside school and outside have shown me, through different eyes, the society that school is preparing children to enter.

All the statements show that the students are in the process of forming attitudes about teaching which will be reflected in their personal qualities as a teacher. A strong theme is that of balancing two sets of factors, be they pupils' needs, school requirements or the pressures of society.

Moreover, student statements of this kind fell into three distinct categories :

- teacher awareness;
- imperatives to teachers;
- the role of the school.

They led to the formulation of items 12 to 24 of the questionnaire.

Head Teacher Interviews.

It was decided to interview headteachers, using the following interview schedule:

1. How do you retain teachers in the school ?
2. How do you make sure that teacher's strengths are used ?
3. Why is the staff of the school stable/unstable ?
4. How do you cope with pressures from outside ?
5. What kind of extra support do teachers need in Tower Hamlets ?
5. Who provides you with support ?
6. How, in your opinion, will Tower Hamlets solve its teacher crisis ?
7. To what extent is in - service training useful in retaining teachers ?
8. How will the teaching of the school adapt to the national curriculum ?
9. If you had magical powers to improve the situation in education, what would you do ?

The four head teachers, three primary and one secondary, were chosen because they were known to be very concerned about teacher retention, to the extent that they were willing to take part in recruiting visits and sit on interviewing panels.

Although the intention had been to use the interview schedule, the mention of recruitment and retention triggered lengthy conversations which would have been lost if this procedure had been followed.

A framework of analysis for the interviews was suggested by an article in 'Of Primary Importance', a report from the Tower Hamlets Primary School Support Project (1987 : 25 - 27). The article resumed a 'brain-storming' session where head teachers talked about the different facets of their job.

Thematic analysis of this article showed that heads saw their *role* as having no boundaries, that is that they had to respond to every aspect of life in school, whilst at the same time, having little control over the impact of forces which impinged on the school from outside. Yet they were constantly required to justify and interpret educational practices. Feelings of powerlessness went hand in hand with feelings of isolation. Paradoxically, they firmly believed that educational (as opposed to training) processes were based on interpersonal exchange.

Pressures identified in the article were lack of time and priorities dictated from outside school. Whilst they could control the internal climate of the school, they could only act as a filter on external pressures.

They were very aware that their style determined the emotional climate of the school, which should be caring and supportive. They readily recognised that schools' *needs* warranted new approaches and that staff development required the same patience as good work with children.

One of their *uncertainties* as teachers, rather than as managers, was the loss of their source of daily inspiration, the children. As managers, they recognised the importance of power-sharing and consultation as well as its problematic nature, plus the fact that they could be influenced by opposite and irreconcilable forces.

The head teacher interviews were, therefore, analysed for statements about role, statements about pressures, statements about needs and statements about uncertainties.

Role.

Statements about *role* provided nine questionnaire items, all of which described the head's leadership style. These were:

- positive leadership from the head;
- career encouragement;
- good staffroom atmosphere;
- collective decision-making;
- allowing people to make mistakes;
- having classroom work recognised;
- being allowed to use strengths and competence.

- being valued as a teacher;
- equal opportunities policy.

All these items concerned the way in which the head teacher worked with the staff of the school and the kind of recognition which they were accorded and accorded in turn to their teaching staff. Thus, these items could be considered as *intrinsic* job factors:

Pressures.

A further five items from the head teachers' comments about the kinds of *pressures* they were subject to, concerned *intrinsic* job factors which had *extrinsic* implications. These items were :

- provision for children with special needs;
- reasonable numbers of statemented children; (*children who have special educational needs which are defined by a process of psychological testing. This leads to a statement of their educational needs, including their need for extra teacher or primary assistant help.*)
- good resources;
- balanced pupil turnover;
- reasonable class sizes;
- guaranteed jobs;
- stable staff;
- co-operative teaching;
- enough teaching space.

Needs.

The heads identified eleven items arising from their own and teachers' *needs*. Some of these could be considered as *intrinsic* items but the majority concerned *extrinsic* and *contextual* conditions of service. These items were :

- help with housing;
- help with travel expenses;
- school-based INSET;
- professional development opportunities;
- inducement package;
- child care facilities;
- staff welfare unit;
- ease of leave of absence;

- restoration of negotiating rights;
- professional management by the local education authority;
- cover of vacant posts.

Uncertainties.

The head teachers identified few *uncertainties*, so only two questionnaire items were produced by this category. These were :

- incentive allowances;
- media attitudes.

Leadership Style.

In all, the head teachers contributed 31 questionnaire items, 17 of which concerned intrinsic job factors. Of these, eight were connected with heads' own *leadership style*:

- positive leadership from the head;
- career encouragement;
- good staffroom atmosphere;
- collective decision-making;
- allowing people to make mistakes;
- having classroom work recognised;
- being allowed to use strengths and competence;
- being valued as a teacher.

A further five items had extrinsic resource implications:

- reasonable class sizes;
- cover of vacant posts;
- stable staff;
- co-operative teaching;
- enough teaching space.

Five items concerned human and financial management but could be influenced by extrinsic and contextual factors. These were:

- reasonable numbers of statemented children;
- balanced pupil turnover;

- school-based INSET;
- professional development opportunities;
- equal opportunities policy.

Extrinsic Factors.

Twelve further items were extrinsic and mainly outside the control of the heads. They were :

- help with housing;
- help with travel expenses;
- inducement package;
- child care facilities;
- staff welfare unit;
- ease of leave of absence;
- provision for children with special needs;
- good resources;
- professional management by the local education authority;
- guaranteed job;
- restoration of negotiating rights.

These were items 25 to 55 of the questionnaire.

Thus, the students provided items which would give insight into the personal qualities of teachers in training and the head teachers provided items which would give insight into the qualities which schools should, ideally, display if teachers were to be retained.

Independent Variables : Biographical Data.

To complement these items, the usual biographical data would be necessary. This accounted for items 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, and 9. Items 7 and 8 were included to test out the proposition that prospective teachers become members of voluntary organisations and might even take on responsibilities within voluntary organisations, prior to becoming teachers. Work experience other than teaching would be further analysed to see if teachers in training deliberately chose to work with children before qualifying, or if they chose other specific types of work.

Independent Variables : Professional Training.

Alongside biographical data was the need to collect data on training and professional activity. This accounted for items 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 12 of the questionnaire and covered training organisation, length of service, age range, subject specialism, final teaching practice and the location of the final teaching practice school.

The Questionnaire.

Thus, all the propositions came together in the form of quantifiable material, as Figure 5.1. shows.

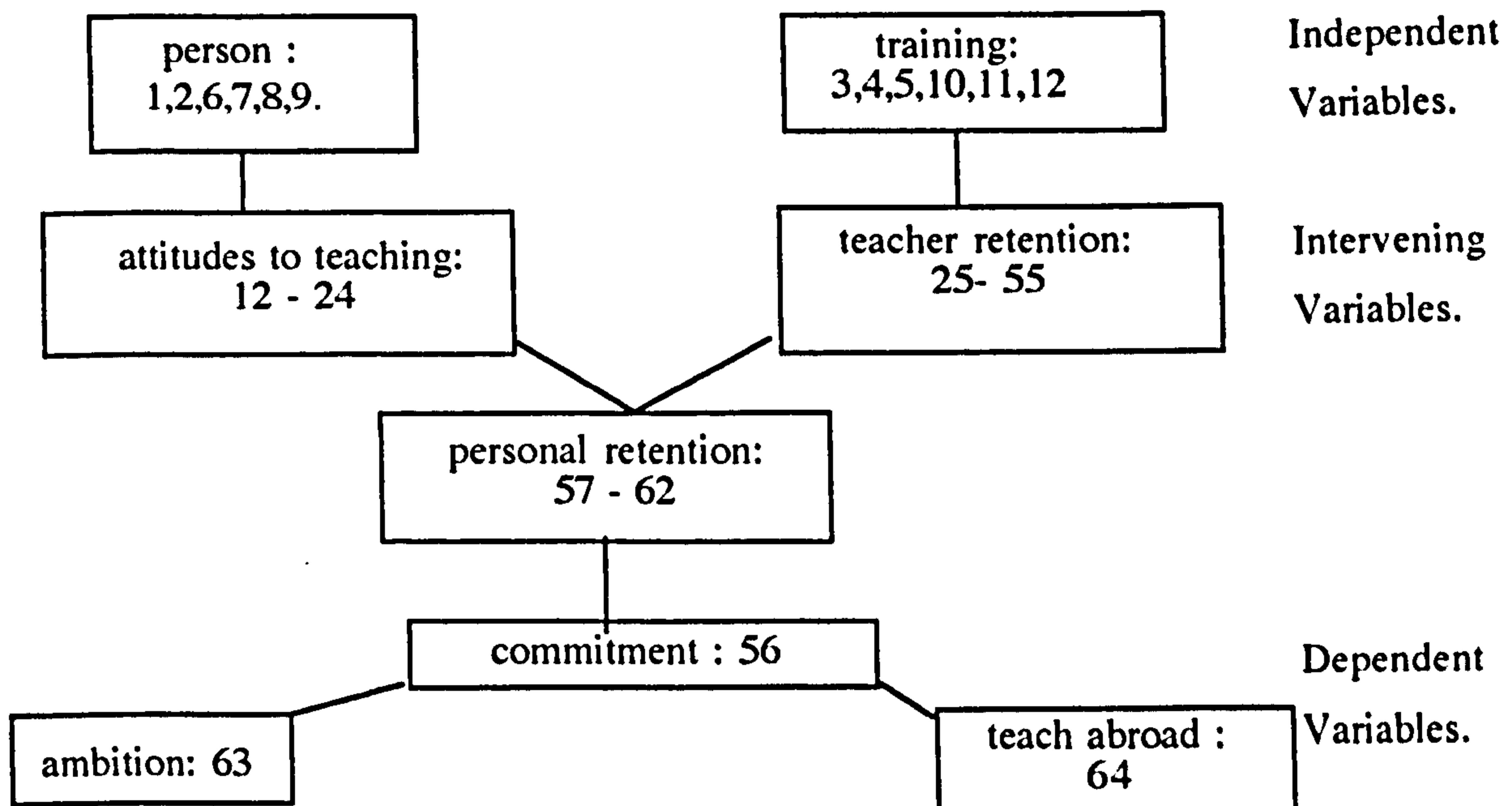


Figure 5.1.
Questionnaire Design.

Coding.

The questionnaire was coded in line with the coding schedule reproduced in Appendix F.

Independent Variables.

Shortage subject (variable 04) was coded 1 for shortage and 0 for non-shortage. The link between their subject specialism and the shortage subjects currently being mentioned in the press was not made by 21% of respondents so this question needed further explanation, probably with a list of shortage subjects.

Subject specialisation (variable 05) was similarly affected by lack of explanation. This was originally coded on a soft/ hard axis from 1 to 9, with 8 and 9 designating Maths and

Sciences respectively. However, as it had not been anticipated that any Design and Technology student teachers would complete the questionnaire, this subject was omitted and had to be added as 0 at a later date. In any case, the arrangement of the subjects was somewhat arbitrary. Moreover, the position of this item in the questionnaire may have been unsuitable, as a fifth of respondents ignored it.

Membership of voluntary groups (variable 06) was coded according to the number of organisations to which the respondent belonged, as were *responsibilities held* (variable 07), *work experience* (variable 08) and *child related work* (variable 09).

Final teaching practice school type (variable 10) and *school type* (variable 03) were coded as primary 0, secondary 1. These two items duplicated each other as teacher education courses make little provision for cross phase training.

Age range (variable 11) was coded on a 1 - 8 axis, with 16+ being at the top of the scale. In fact, a simpler scale should have been used to reflect the national curriculum age groupings in primary, plus nursery, years seven to eleven in secondary, and post 16.

School location (variable 12) was coded on a 1 to 4 scale, with rural being 1 and inner city being 4.

Intervening Variables.

Variables 12 to 24, *opinions about teaching*, were coded on a 4 to 1 scale, with 4 denoting strong agreement and 1 strong disagreement. Variables 25 to 73, *teacher retention*, were coded on a 3 to 0 scale, 3 denoting very important and 0 denoting irrelevant.

Dependent Variables.

Commitment to teaching (variable 56) was coded on a 1 to 5 scale, with 1 denoting very weak and 5 very strong. The open-ended questions were coded by the number of responses in the categories of *intrinsic*, *extrinsic* and *contextual negatives* (variables 70, 71 and 72 respectively) and *intrinsic*, *extrinsic* and *contextual positives* (variables 73, 74, and 75 respectively) with up to nine responses being allowed for from each respondent. Some respondents made more than nine statements; although these were not processed with the quantitative data, they were processed qualitatively. *Ambition* (variable 76) was coded on a 0 to 4 scale, with 0 denoting 'preparing to leave', 1 denoting 'undecided', 2 'remain in the classroom', 3 'further studies', and 4 'promotion'. *Teach abroad* (variable 77) had not been anticipated until questionnaire processing began. This was coded as 1 if it was

mentioned and 0 if not.

Degrees of Homogeneity.

In order to establish degrees of homogeneity or agreement expressed by the sample of student teachers and the sample of teachers about the intervening and dependent variables, the technique of dividing the mean by the standard deviation was used. This technique was used in defining the poverty threshold (Desai in Townsend [ed] :1986).

Stage Four : Fieldwork.

The calendar of field work shown in Table 5.3. summarises the stages of these studies, their methods and their respective scales.

Subjects	Method	Number	Date
Student Writings	Content Analysis	26	December 1988
Head teachers	Interview	4	January - June 1989
Student teachers	Questionnaire	214	April 1990 - February 1992
Teachers	Questionnaire	63	June 1991 - September 1992

Table 5.3.
Calendar of Field Work.

Questionnaire Distribution.

Students.

The questionnaire was distributed through tutors in five Church of England Colleges of Higher Education to students in their final year of training (B.Ed) and PGCE students on one year training courses. The sole criterion of choice for the respondent group of student teachers was that they should be in their final year of training and, therefore, about to enter teaching. Students at the ULF on final teaching practice were also asked to complete questionnaires, as were second (final) year students on the ULF's articulated teacher (PGCE) pilot scheme.

The following number of responses were received from each college :

College / Course	Responses
St. Mark & St. John	30
King Alfred's	53
Christ Church	25
Chester	45
S. Martin's	50
Articled Teacher Pilot Scheme	11
TOTAL	214

Table 5.4.

Questionnaire responses by colleges and / or courses.

Teachers.

Finding teachers to fill in the questionnaire did not prove as problematic as anticipated, although at the time the questionnaire was distributed their work load was excessive. Ten primary schools in East London were approached through head teachers, all of whom offered a ten minute 'spot' in a staff meeting to explain the research and distribute the questionnaire. A friend who is the bursar of a small, all age, independent school also offered to distribute it to the staff and several teacher friends also completed questionnaires out of interest. The biggest cost of this exercise was in boxes of chocolates to staff meetings ! Thus, although the sample was opportunistic, the data generated proved to be representative of teacher thinking.

Stage Five : Questionnaire Processing,

Student Questionnaires.

The results of the questionnaire were processed using the SPSS programme. Means were substituted for missing data so that all the questionnaires could be processed and not rejected because of missing data.

The intervening and dependent variables were examined for degrees of homogeneity using regression analysis. The degrees of homogeneity thus produced suggested a correlation matrix rather than cross-tabbing individual items. The high number of items which showed 0.01 and 0.001 degrees of significance prompted a principal components analysis where four main factors were identified, accounting for 28.5% of variance.

Open-ended data had been coded numerically and was further processed to show degrees of homogeneity using the same regression analysis technique.

Research
 Self-employed
 Librarian
 Work with animals
 Information technology.

These data are discussed fully in Appendix D.

Career Progression :

These items were similarly listed and fell into five categories which are fully discussed in Appendix G.

Formative	professional development sought within class teaching;
Functional	promotion sought;
Specialist	subject or activity specialism sought
Don't know	
Quit	
Get a job	

Open-ended Data.

Responses to the four open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire were sorted into the categories of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual negatives and positives, according to the criteria shown in Table 5.5. for each category.

Stay and quit items as well as job satisfaction and dissatisfaction items were then listed in the appropriate categories. This was a conjectural model which seemed to extend Herzberg's concept of 'hygiene' factors to include the wider societal context of occupational groups. Table 5.5. shows these groupings.

Intrinsic +		Intrinsic -	
	being with children		aggressive children
	child's achievement		lack of support
	autonomy		work load
	colleagues' support		morale
	worthwhile job		health
	being valued		class size
	career development		wide ability range
	personal development		stress
			imposed style
Extrinsic +		Extrinsic -	
	holidays		education authority
			SATs
			paperwork
			resources
			pay
Contextual +		Contextual -	
	relations with parents		government changes
			media attacks
			not valued by society
			aggressive parents

Table 5.5.

Category Sort of responses to open-ended questions.

Stay / Quit Factors.

Data from the student teachers are discussed in full in Chapter Twelve, firstly within the categories outlined in Table 5.5. An examination of the highest number of responses in each category suggested that stay factors were grouped around doing the job itself whereas quit factors concerned teachers' social status. This prompted questions about the comparative weighting accorded to the different contexts of the job. To elucidate these, the data were regrouped under five headings, using axial coding :

Category
National Circumstances
School
Children
Colleagues
Self

Table 5.6. Axial Coding of Qualitative Data.

Matching potential stay and quit factors would reveal factors which were instrumental in decisions to stay or quit. Those factors, either negative or positive, which had no countervailing opposite would show their importance in decisions to stay in teaching or leave.

Stay / Quit data from the teachers was processed in the same way and are discussed in Chapter Eleven.

Job Satisfiers / Dissatisfiers.

Initially, these data, both from the student teachers and the teachers, were processed within the categories outlined in Table 5.5. and were subgrouped using key words. Job satisfiers and dissatisfiers for student teachers and teachers were then compared separately. Counterbalancing factors were then eliminated to isolate the important satisfiers and dissatisfiers. These data are discussed in Chapter Thirteen.

The conclusion draws upon material generated by regression analysis of the open-ended data which demonstrates high degrees of agreement between the student teachers and the teachers on the relative weighting of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual factors. It also compares teachers' and student teachers' stay and quit factors. Student teachers' and teachers' distinctive job satisfaction and dissatisfaction factors are similarly compared. Thus the data provide an in-depth analysis of the motivations to teach as well as the potential stay and quit factors.

Methodological Opportunities.

The first part of the study was a process of refinement of opinion from two opposite perspectives, those of head teachers as experts and student teachers as apprentices. Head teachers contributed an analysis of the characteristics of daily teaching - interactions with children, colleagues and the community. They are uniquely placed to list the conditions necessary to its effectiveness, including the constant reinforcement of expertise needed for teachers to feel effective. To this, the student teachers added their own unique viewpoint, shaped by experience outside the classroom but informed by their classroom perspective. They were in no doubt about the validity of teaching in relation to their pupils and to the wider community.

The questionnaire itself represents a composite picture of the work factors involved in teaching as a job, based on opinion gathered in an inner city area where schools are difficult to keep fully staffed and training periods sap energy and enthusiasm.

The high levels of agreement between the student teachers and the teachers on the questionnaire items suggest that it may reflect some of the 'universal truths' of teaching as a job.

It is possible that the questionnaire has more universal applicability to teachers than was first realised. German colleagues were keen to translate it and give it to teachers in that country. It has not met with blank incomprehension, but the resultant returns have yet to be processed fully.

The generation of quantitative data from qualitative data on stay and quit factors, using axial coding, allowed the qualitative data to be viewed in two different ways, so that the main sources of motivation and malaise could be pinpointed more accurately.

Methodological Limitations.

The limitations of the methodology were that both samples of respondents were opportunistic and, therefore, not necessarily representative of teachers and student teachers. This was particularly true of the latter who were training in Church of England Colleges of Higher Education. These colleges undertake a limited amount of initial teacher training for the secondary phase in a small range of subjects. Under 2% of the students who completed the questionnaire were training for secondary teaching, thus the results probably do not reflect the thinking of secondary teachers. Subject affiliation may be a substitute for the community affiliation of the primary teachers and both affiliations could be considered as responding to a relatedness need. The opportunity to administer the questionnaire to a similar sized group of trainees for secondary teaching would clarify this question. Moreover, the composition of the cohort was 85% female. Whilst this reflects the feminisation of teaching as an occupation, male teachers' attitudes may not be accurately represented in this study.

The identity formations revealed by the statistical analysis of the qualitative data demonstrate particular features as being especially strong in the mind sets. These features are not just the 'elegant sufficiency' characteristics of teaching but the characteristics which are absolutely necessary to effective teaching.

Community Work, Professional Training and Synergy.

A profession is defined by Greenwood (in Vollmer and Mills [eds] : 1966 : 10 - 18) as having five essential characteristics. The first is that it involves a systematic body of theory which serves as a basis for practitioner action in the practical situation. The second is that the practitioner has the expertise to diagnose and prescribe for the needs of the lay client group. The third is that it has the acceptance of society. The fourth characteristic is that it relies on an ethical code which is dedicated to social welfare; its practitioners are primarily motivated to perform to the best possible standard. This motivation is typified by cooperative and supportive behaviour towards colleagues, open acknowledgement of individual expertise and the right to admit and exclude aspiring practitioners through the content and provision of training programmes. It is also characterised by a culture which is represented by values, norms and symbols. Values are based on a consensus that the service provided is essentially worthwhile. Norms include traditions of acceptable behaviours, for, for instance, seeking admittance and advancement in the profession. These are learned and can be tested out in training programmes. Its symbols are meaning-laden items, such as its history, language and stereotypes of its own members, its client group and the non-initiated.

Within the culture of professions there is a concept of career which involves an attitude towards work, characterised thus :

'The professional performs his (sic) services primarily for the psychic satisfaction and secondarily for money.....To the professional person, his work becomes his life.' (Greenwood : in Vollmer and Mills: [eds] : 17)

Teaching fulfils almost every criteria of this definition of a profession and is rich in meaning-laden items, particularly language.

In contrast, professionalisation can be defined as 'the dynamic process whereby occupations are observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession. It follows that these crucial characteristics constitute specifiable criteria of professionalisation' (Vollmer and Mills : vii -viii).

This chapter is the account of one innovation in teacher education which attempted to extend the specifiable criteria of the professionalisation of student teachers, by giving them the opportunity to develop a greater awareness of the communities surrounding inner city schools. It describes the programme and analyses student teachers' written accounts of its

impact on their professional self-concept. These accounts provided thirteen questionnaire items on opinions about teaching.

The first part of the chapter describes the Urban Learning Foundation, its rationale and philosophy, reviewing various commentaries made upon its work. The second part describes the student teachers' experiences, expressed in their own words. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the student teacher data as well as the proposition that a community work attachment in initial teacher training may improve the retention of teachers in inner city areas.

The Urban Learning Foundation.

The main work of the Urban Learning Foundation is in the initial practical training of student teachers from five Church of England Voluntary Colleges of Higher Education (King Alfred's College, Winchester; Christ Church College, Canterbury; the College of St. Mark and St. John, Plymouth, Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education and S. Martin's College, Lancaster).

The course is open to third and fourth year B.Ed. students and Postgraduate students who come to the Centre for a term, on a self selecting basis. They spend three days a week on teaching practice and two days on community work. During half term, they work full time in their community placement. Although the emphasis of the course is on learning through working in practically based situations, students are required to maintain a written record of their teaching and a community placement diary.

Students are placed in the London boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Hackney, or Newham and live together in ULF residential centres which serve these areas.

Around 50% of ex ULF students decide to take up first appointments in Newham, Hackney and Tower Hamlets. Even though the number of teachers required each year in the three boroughs is far greater than the number of students coming through the Urban Learning Foundation, a significant proportion of the first appointments to Newham and Tower Hamlets come from the Foundation. Thus, the course is effective in recruiting teachers to inner city areas. 75% of the students upon whose accounts this chapter is based chose to take up first appointments in inner city areas, many in Newham and Tower Hamlets.

The Foundation's Rationale.

Writing in 1981, Frank Coles, the founder of the Urban Learning Foundation, (Coles in

Raynor : 1981: 19 - 20) describes the rationale for the Foundation as being rooted in three main issues : the effective professional preparation of teachers for work in inner city schools, the inner city schools themselves and their pupils.

Effective professional preparation was an unfulfilled promise of the McNair Report (1944), which was reiterated in the Newsom Report (1963) and the James Report (1972) but never properly addressed, largely because the colleges of education were so involved in ensuring the academic respectability of the newly created B.Ed. degree that practical teaching became a minor consideration.

Coles' second concern was for schools. By the 1970s, at least in inner city areas like Tower Hamlets (where the Foundation began), he identified this lack of a proper professional preparation for teachers as a contributory factor to the breakdown of the school system.

'The system was certainly showing signs of breaking down in inner city areas: pupils were refusing to accept their role as pupils and their teachers, in consequence, were unable to sustain theirs.' (in Raynor : 1981 : 19)

Coles saw the persistence of the grammar school as the only model of secondary education as being one important cause of this breakdown. The 1944 Education Act had introduced universal secondary education from 11 to 15, with selection at age 11 into three different versions of schools - grammar, technical high and secondary modern. In fact, this tripartite system was never universally established, with the result that a watered-down version of the grammar school and its curriculum was all that was on offer to the majority of 11 to 15 year old pupils.

'It is difficult for those of us who have been through the grammar school experience to realise just how bizarre that experience must seem to youngsters who have not been prepared for it by their parents....There is the arbitrary division of the day into "subjects" and the interminable game of guessing what the teacher is thinking, called getting the right answer.... It is still surrounded by a wide (though invisible) moat which separates it from the neighbourhood where it stands...' (in Raynor : 1981 : 20)

Because colleges of education recruited most of their students from grammar schools, Coles viewed their courses as essentially ; 'prolongations of the grammar school experience'. The result, for many students, was that ' their assumptions are confirmed and their expectations are too narrowly defined' . (in Raynor : 1981 : 20)

Upon taking up a first appointment, the beginning teacher is likely to find that :

'..these assumptions about motives, attitudes, objectives, curriculum and attainment are not necessarily shared by his (sic) pupils. This belated

discovery can have disastrous consequences'. (in Raynor : 1981 : 21)

Therefore, beginning teachers need to have access, through professional training, to 'a much fuller knowledge of the state of affairs in many schools, especially inner city schools.....The opportunity to acquire this knowledge should be a essential part of his (sic) professional training'. (in Raynor : 1981 : 21)

In Coles' opinion, the last place to acquire such training was through institutionalised programmes, based as they are on 'the very assumptions it is necessary to question'. Hence the need for a residential centre in the inner city where courses would be based on experiential learning.

Coles refutes the attribution of the Urban Learning Foundation project to alternative or community schooling or to 'the numerous educational heresies of the early 1970s', tracing it back to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's critique of institutionalised teacher training, written in 1843.

'For the tranquil and eventless life of a master of a rural school such training is not an unfit preparation. His resources are not taxed by the necessity for inventing new means to meet the novel combinations which arise in a more active state of society.....such a novitiate does not prepare a youth of tender age to encounter the responsibilities of a large town or village school in a manufacturing or mining village.....he has left the training college for the rude contact of a coarse, selfish and immoral populace whose gross appetites and manners render the narrow streets in his neighbourhood scenes of impurity'. (in Raynor : 1981 : 22)

Coles' third concern was for the pupils whom he describes as:

'spending 16 or 17 hours a day outside school in the vast limbo we call the community. Here their experiences go far towards determining their lifestyle and are, in effect, as educative as those they have in school. In the inner city this lifestyle is often socially unacceptable and tends to be described as deviant. Sooner or later this behaviour is brought to the attention of elaborate and bureaucratic social services, statutory and voluntary, a complex structure which serves as a monument to successive eras of urban colonialism'. (in Raynor : 1981 : 23)

He sees these social services as being as interventionist as the schools themselves; they are not usually community-based and often propose solutions to problems (such as truancy) which schools misinterpret. Coles denies the idea of transforming teachers into social workers or vice-versa but believes that 'a common language could be developed as a result

of closer co-operation and shared experiences'. (in Raynor : 1981 : 23)

He justifies the siting of the ULF in East London in terms of the multiple deprivations apparent there, the persistent failure of rehabilitation programmes, his own detailed knowledge of the area, plus his wife's involvement with community based activities. Moreover, in 1972 when the ULF opened (as the Urban Studies Centre), 'the recruitment of teachers ...was still an acknowledged problem'. (in Raynor : 1981 : 24)

Interpretations of the Urban Learning Foundation Course.

Commentators have attempted to categorise the ULF course in terms of a variety of theories and philosophies on the inner city and teacher education, some of which are reviewed here. For Raynor, the ULF's first evaluator, (Raynor : 1981) the Urban Learning Foundation course raises three principal questions :

the relationship between urban policy and educational policy

the role of urban schools

the isolation of teacher education from the inner city.

He points out that inner city policies are sponsored by a range of different government departments and that urban (as opposed to inner city) policies have had a deleterious effect on inner city areas. Moreover, the potential of education in an integrated inner city policy has largely been ignored with the result that schools have little commitment to responding to the wider issues affecting their local communities.

He recognises the role dilemma for the inner city school, subject as it is to a range of difficulties, not least its lack of credibility in preparing pupils for employment, where few job opportunities exist. Although the obvious problems of the early 1970s, such as absenteeism, falling standards and poor leadership had been partially resolved, inner city schools still need a clearer definition of their duty to the pupils in their charge.

Teacher education's isolation from the inner city is not just physical but also, as Coles had maintained, value based. The ULF was performing two functions, the first being that of:

'providing a more realistic basis for the training of the young teacher who wishes to work in inner city schools'. (1981 : 65)

Its second function was to:

'bring(s) teacher education into social action and is more or less effective according to the uses made of its opportunities'. (1981 :65)

It could also be seen as part of the 'reconstructivist' tradition in education which invites teachers to raise a critique of, and act upon, social institutions and processes.

Whilst this link to social activism considerably develops Coles' initial wish for a 'shared

language', it is criticised by Cooke (in Grace ed : 1984 : 279) who points out that 'the development of "critical discontent" seems to be rather left to chance'. Whilst Cooke recognises the Foundation as being successful in terms of providing a practical understanding of children's behaviour and, thus, allowing the student teacher to develop 'skills of communication in schools and outside', he describes this development of communication skills as being 'limited' and 'technical'. Nor does he accept the view proffered by a ULF staff member that the theory of the ULF course is grounded in the practical situation.

Anderson (Raynor : 1981: 33) sees the Foundation's course as contributing to a critique 'certainly of teacher training and, perhaps, of training for other professions' He also discusses the theory / practice link, referring to the need for a different balance between theory and experience so that trainee teachers can respond more effectively 'to the growing demands of the job'. He sees teaching as :

'a profession caught by the need to achieve status in conventional academic terms on the one hand and, on the other, by the need to redesign its practical understanding and skills as they become stretched across a society increasingly conscious of social and economic divisions'.(Raynor : 1981 : 33)

Millins (TES : June 1981) stresses this extended understanding :

'I have seen some of these students in action and witnessed the resilience and growth of awareness shown by virtually everyone... This is perhaps the most thorough attempt to date to come to deeper terms with attitude formation in this field (multicultural education), among both staff and students'.

By 1991, when the teacher supply problem was acute, HMI were commenting on the effectiveness of the ULF in terms of recruiting teachers to inner London (HMI : 1991).

They recognised that:

'the ULF experience has a decisive effect on the career choices of students.... It is almost the only route by which young women from provincial ITT backgrounds are attracted in substantial numbers to teach in inner London'.
(HMI : 1991 : 7)

Their report found a strong correlation between final teaching practice location and that of the first job. It also found that although all the ITT institutions visited had courses on multicultural education, few covered other pertinent aspects of inner city education such as language development including ESL, class management, behavioural problems and

absenteeism, low expectations and achievement. They were not convinced of the validity of the community work placement and recommended that it be dropped for the final month of the teaching practice.

Their findings did, however, confirm Coles' original proposition that student teachers needed to have a realistic perception of inner city teaching and, ideally, an opportunity to experience it in training if it were to be a viable career choice.

The second part of this chapter discusses the student perspective, starting with their reasons for choosing the course, their initial fears, first impressions and the issues they identify in the community. It goes on to analyse the language in their accounts of the influence of community work on their professional self-concept.

The Student Teacher Perspective.

Why they come.

A small scale enquiry amongst B.Ed and Postgraduate students carried out in 1985 and 1986 showed that students based their decision to come to the ULF on the following factors:

- high number of jobs;
- opportunity of broader experience;

Their preconceptions of the course were that:

- community work would be a personal challenge;
- they would be 'stretched' professionally;
- the approach to education would be child-centred;
- schools would be better resourced;
- they would teach ethnic minority children;
- they would get to know inner city communities;
- they would learn about political issues, such as anti-racism and anti-sexism.

For the groups of students taking part in the study, the critical aspects of the course turned out to be :

- the 'life experience';
- the challenge;
- overcoming personal prejudice;
- adapting to a new place;

- exhaustion;
- less isolation;
- group support.

Community Work Documentation : A Course Requirement.

In addition to their teaching practice file, student teachers are required to document their community work by keeping a diary of their involvement with their placement and by completing a schedule of assessment. The schedule is in four parts. Students are first required to give their impressions of their placement and briefly state the skills they can offer; this is followed by a mid-point review where they compare their initial reactions with what they have actually done in their first weeks and 'project' their involvement for the second part of the course. A third section, to be completed during the last three weeks of the course asks them to describe the influence of community work on their ideas about teaching, whilst the final part is the report to be completed in conjunction with their placement supervisor.

The schedule is designed to be both formative and summative, and to belong to each student at the end of the course, with the ULF reserving the right to photocopy the report sections and other parts by request. It was first piloted in Autumn 1989, with a group of B.Ed. students from the College of Saint Mark and St. John and King Alfred's College, upon whom the majority of this study is based.

The diary reproduced in Appendix A. shows increasing engagement with a local group and the two-way learning process as it occurs. The written responses of this pilot group of student teachers to the third section of the schedule (the influence of community work on teaching) showed a summary and synthesis of this process within the context of teaching. Here is one example:

"Working in Women's Aid has, I feel, had an incredible effect on me, not only on a personal level, but also it has made me think more deeply about my concept of my role as a teacher in the classroom. ...Getting to know the women and children there has made me realise how important it is for the teacher to be aware of the backgrounds and social needs of all the children. It is only by doing this that a teacher can begin to understand the social and academic behaviour of the children in her class. I think it can be far too easy for some teachers to see themselves merely as educators and no more. Not only being aware of the home backgrounds and kinds of problems children have faced and are facing, but being able to respond to these children's individual needs is ESSENTIAL

(sic). I suppose I would see myself very much as the carer, rather than solely as an educator. I think it is also vital that a teacher is able to offer a certain amount of stability to these children, something which could likely be lacking at home. Also trust, developing a trusting relationship is just one other aspect to a teacher's role. Also I feel that I have a responsibility to these children to ensure that they develop a good self concept and realise that they are worthy human beings irrespective of what has happened in the past to them. In some cases what has happened to children during childhood can become a self-perpetuating thing; so I feel that in some cases with the right kind of support (from everyone, not only teachers) this can be prevented. On reflection, I feel it is important that all teachers see themselves as having many different roles - the onus on teachers is obviously great. In conclusion, the experience I have gained from working at the refuge has been invaluable, not only for myself, but also on a professional level. This kind of community work is unique and something that should be considered an integral part of teacher training."

On the basis of this kind of evidence, this part of the account attempts to document the changing thinking of the students during their course, taking as a basic hypothesis the concept of synergy which is defined in the following ways by two reputable dictionaries:

synergy : the working together of two or more drugs, muscles etc to produce an effect greater than the sum of their individual effects.

Collins English Dictionary : page 1474 [1979]

synergy : co-operation between two or more agencies whose combined effect is greater than the sum of their separate effects. (Greek : synergos : working together.)

Longmans Dictionary of English Language [1984]

It also demonstrates the process of thought lying behind the items in Section 5 of the questionnaire : Opinions on Teaching.

The Students at the Start and the End of the Course.

When students first come to the ULF, they carry out a group exercise to reassure them on their fears, examine their first impressions and the issues which they identify in East London schools and community projects. Each student is asked to write, in as few words as possible, on a 'brick-shaped' card, three fears, first impressions and issues which have been most striking during the first two weeks of their course. These are then discussed by the group, with a 'wall' being built during the course of the discussion. Links are also established between the categories and within the categories.

This particular group of fourth year B.Ed students from the College of St. Mark and St. John and King Alfred's College expressed fear about the factors shown in Table 6.1.

<input type="checkbox"/>	themselves and their own performance :	24
<input type="checkbox"/>	school :	16
<input type="checkbox"/>	racism and different cultures :	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	the environment :	6

Table 6.1.

Student teacher fears at the start of their ULF course.

Typical of fears about themselves were : 'negotiating', 'fail to meet the grade', 'discontinuity' and 'getting lost'. Fears about school centred around discipline and control and getting on with other people, whilst racism and different cultures were seen as a separate category. The environment was potentially dangerous and certainly outside their experience.

The issues which preoccupied the students most are shown in Table 6.2. :

<input type="checkbox"/>	school :	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	racial and cultural diversity :	14
<input type="checkbox"/>	sexism :	11
<input type="checkbox"/>	community :	4
<input type="checkbox"/>	student :	3

Table 6.2.

Issues identified by student teachers at the start of their ULF course.

School issues were largely concerned with communication and the national curriculum, whilst racial and cultural diversity was seen in terms of possible restrictions it could impose on the children and communication difficulties. Sexism included reference to equal opportunities, whilst community issues referred to developments in Docklands, school/community links and crime. Student issues related to their fears in terms of finance, paperwork and 'burn-out'.

First impressions concerned the atmosphere, the environment and the people. The atmosphere was felt to be demanding, yet relaxed, the environment was roundly condemned as being noisy, busy and polluted whilst the people, on the whole, were seen to be relaxed yet disorganised. Table 6.3. summarises these first impressions.

<input type="checkbox"/>	atmosphere	:	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	environment	:	25
<input type="checkbox"/>	people	:	15

Table 6.3.

Student teachers' first impressions of East London.

These initial comments need to be related to the students' subsequent thinking in their responses to the third section of the complementary experience booklet which is completed towards the end of their 13 week course. By this time, it could be expected that they would have come to terms with the material world, as seen in their first impressions, their potential inadequacy as seen in their comments on fears and the social dynamics implicit in their responses on issues.

The third section of the complementary experience booklet asks students to assess the influence of their community work on their teaching.

This section of 26 complementary experience booklets from the same group of students involved in the initial exercise was analysed, with 138 significant comments being identified. 77 responses concerned elements relevant to any course of initial teacher education, whilst 61 responses concerned the 'synergy' of a ULF course with community work.

The arithmetical equivalence of the two sets of responses shows that the balance of school to community work (3 days to 2 days) is correct but that one day's community work per week would be more like tourism, and probably contribute less to the synergy. Comments about teaching, children and out of school experiences outweigh comments on the broader issues, so the students see community work as furthering their teacher training. The categories of diversity, parents and learning are intrinsic in the data which raises the question of how well people can cope with inner city teaching, not having had this experience of community work. In any case, it can reasonably be concluded that community work is complementary to teaching and that the ULF course enhances college training. Teaching preoccupations are uppermost but they are underpinned by an awareness of the wider concerns related to working within a specific community.

The numerical data suggest that the main features of community work are that it provides an area of experience which has to be balanced in terms of time and personal management, it offers a different kind of support structure, it provides the challenge of the 'enabler' role plus a reservoir of experience on which students can draw when they become teachers. In addition, it gives students access to a realm of realism where their essential idealism

allows them to develop intercultural awareness. In other words, community work and teaching undertaken concurrently are mutually beneficial, and do create synergy.

Synergy in the Making.

To test out these assertions more fully, a content analysis of all the students' statements was made. Whilst Table 6.4. treats the elements separately, showing identifiable and distinct units of learning in relation to experience, closer analysis shows that within each group there is a teacher centred element, a community work centred element and a number of responses where these two areas of experience are synthesised.

The proposal, therefore, is that adequate teaching can come from treating teaching as a separate item, just as adequate community work can come from treating the community work separately, but that there could be an engagement which leads to a greater probability of excellence if the two areas of experience are synthesised and interact synergistically.

Table 6.4. shows the way in which students' comments could be grouped as those concerning their teaching alone, those showing an awareness of their school in its context, and those where these two aspects of their experience are referred to simultaneously.

Thus three distinct groups emerge :

- statements of adequate engagement
- statements of engagement and awareness of context
- statements where engagement and contextual awareness are balanced.

Table 6. 4. shows the numerical grouping of responses under the categories already defined.

Topic	Engaged in teaching	Aware of school in its context	School context & engagement balanced
Out of school experiences	8	6	13
Teaching	14	6	12
Children	10	14	9
Diversity	11	4	4
Parents	3	6	4
Knowledge and Learning	9	0	3

Table 6. 4.

Numerical category grouping of student teacher responses.

Student teachers who can balance the school context and their own engagement are

sustaining synergy in their approach to teaching and community work; those who show an awareness of the school in its context are becoming aware of counterbalancing factors to the culture of the school outside in the community and those who are adequately engaged, although their perspective is teacher-centred, are nevertheless at least responding to the academic needs of their pupils within a particular community context.

Taking the statements of those who are 'engaged' alone, the following order of importance emerge :

<input type="checkbox"/>	Teaching	: 14
<input type="checkbox"/>	Diversity	: 11
<input type="checkbox"/>	Children	: 10
<input type="checkbox"/>	Learning	: 9
<input type="checkbox"/>	Out of School Experience	: 8
<input type="checkbox"/>	Parents	: 3

Table 6.5.

Statements of student teachers who are 'engaged'.

Whilst the highest priority goes to teaching, because teaching is taking place in a multicultural context, diversity is an important element. The children, too, are a major preoccupation. Learning is readily identifiable, with out of school experiences being almost as important. For some students, a community work placement is the only occasion when higher education requires them to work outside its formal structures within their own professional training programme. Parents have the lowest place in the scale of priorities, perhaps because these comments are essentially teacher centred.

Comments showing an awareness of the school in its context produce a different scale of importance as Table 6.6. shows :

<input type="checkbox"/>	Children	: 14
<input type="checkbox"/>	Out of School Experience	: 6
<input type="checkbox"/>	Teaching	: 6
<input type="checkbox"/>	Parents	: 6
<input type="checkbox"/>	Diversity	: 4

Table 6.6.

Statements of student teachers who are aware of the school in its context.

Here the emphasis is on children rather than teaching, with out of school experience, parents

and teaching all having the same degree of importance. Diversity in itself is of less importance, presumably because out of school experiences and contact with parents provide ample opportunity to gain an understanding of the ethnic minority communities from which the children come.

Statements where engagement is evident show role interaction, in other words, that teaching is informing community work and vice versa in the immediate situation. The teacher and the community work role are separate but an adequate response to the expectations of each role can be anticipated.

Statements where awareness of the school in its context are evident show role permeation where circumstances can give rise to an alignment of teaching and community work. Thus, given certain situations, people in this group will respond as educators, stepping outside the defined role expectations of either community workers or teachers.

The third group of statements where awareness of the school context and engagement are balanced, demonstrate a role identity where teacher and community worker are fused, with the result that the self concept is synergised. Thus, people in this group not only show the characteristics of generic educators, but also those of simultaneous teachers / learners, whatever the context. .

Synergy Sustained.

Community work does not crush excellence, according to the statements made by those who balance engagement and awareness of the school in its context. Here, the following order of priorities emerges:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Out of school experiences	: 13
<input type="checkbox"/>	Teaching	: 12
<input type="checkbox"/>	Children	: 9
<input type="checkbox"/>	Parents	: 4
<input type="checkbox"/>	Diversity	: 3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Knowledge and Learning	: 3

Table 6.7.

Statements of the student teachers who balance engagement and awareness of the school in its context.

Out of school experiences were largely concerned with gaining knowledge of pupils' background and circumstances, so that school could be more effective for them. The following comments were made :

- issues affecting children's behaviour and attitudes in school.
- making sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home.
- insight into the community and pupils' views and opinions.
- know about types of background children come from; I couldn't allow for their behaviour on these grounds but the knowledge does help to interpret certain actions and opinions.
- explore pupils' out of school experience.
- understanding of how many children in my class are influenced by their home environment.
- one should adapt one's teaching method and style, to some extent, to suit the needs and backgrounds of children.
- insight into the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives.
- vital importance of encouraging home / school links....encouraging communication on all levels with parents.
- important for the teacher to be aware of the whole community.

Three comments concerned the wider community:

- school and teacher are part of the community
- the role it is possible for the school to assume in unifying the community.
- pressures children have to face inside school and outside have shown me, through different eyes, the society that school is preparing children to enter.

All the statements imply the reconciliation of school and its requirements to the needs of pupils, needs which are seen essentially as stemming from issues in society. Whilst their prime task remains children's education, teachers and schools are seen as mediators between the children and their needs, the pressures in the community and the demands of society. Nobody is advocating a 'softies' charter, based on deficit theory, everybody is seeking to put knowledge of the community into more effective service on behalf of the children. There is more than a hint that school should play a role as a community

agency.

Comments on teaching are less easy to categorise because they mentioned several areas of experience, not necessarily implied by a teacher's classroom role. For instance, colleagues in school and community placements are influential :

- I have gained a lot from the other teachers' ideas, experiences and attitudes to teaching and the children.
- the project leader is a friend and role model to the children, so should the teacher be to her pupils, guiding them and supporting them through all life's experiences.

An effective but flexible relationship with children is seen as very important, too:

- as a teacher, I have to be constant, yet always changing to adapt to their (the children's) developments.
- one should adapt one's teaching method and style, to some extent, to suit the needs and backgrounds of the children.
- a teacher must adapt to changes of circumstance and fit teaching methodology to the needs of students.
- the more enriching experiences a teacher has, the wider her foundation is from which to help the children.
- to build up two kinds of relationships - in school and out.
- there is more to teaching than just teaching; you need to attempt to understand children.

The idea of a 'two way traffic' between community and school is also evident:

- I have gained a lot of experiences I can transpose into the classroom.
- the placement has broadened my horizons as a teacher.
- I learned from the Asian community, so the community has been my teacher.

The teacher's role is also defined more broadly :

- (the project leader is a friend and role model to the children), so should the teacher be to her pupils, guiding them and supporting them through all life's experiences.
- What a teacher is, doesn't only mean a teacher of children but also a teacher of adults.

This broader interpretation of teaching encompasses not only children and their needs but adults and the wider community. It acknowledges that teachers need to widen their horizons, looking to colleagues, other professionals and other groups in society for experiences and role models in order to respond as flexibly as possible to their pupils by transferring knowledge gained outside the sector of higher education into the classroom.

The same concept of broader role is apparent in the comments made about children; these focus on children's background, culture and individual needs. One comment encapsulates all three themes :

- my responsibility to the children in my class will extend beyond the school gates - with the knowledge I should build up of their social background (which is) vital -..to respond sensitively to their individual needs.

On children's background and culture, students write of :

- (gaining) greater understanding of the type of children and their culture.
- teacher to be aware of children's background and social needs.
- (give children) opportunities for trying out new things not experienced in the home.

There is consensus on individual needs:

- teachers being sensitive and responding to individual needs is essential (sic)
- be aware of the individuals for whom various aspects of school are disagreeable if not intolerable.
- be aware that not all individuals can be expected to fit into the same system with ease.

There were two comments suggesting teachers had a wider role with children :

- interacting with children in a non-teaching role.
- the more enriching experiences a teacher has, the wider her foundation is from which to help the children learn.

Again, the students are stressing the imperative of a wide brief for teachers, be it on an individual or group level, seeing themselves as responsible for acquiring experience for, and knowledge of, their pupils in order to enhance the latter's educational experience.

Students are aware of the vital role parents play in their children's education, seeing their role as a teacher to communicate with parents in order to avoid

misunderstandings and to gain an appreciation of parental concerns:

- contact with community members and parents and their real concerns
- parents need to be included in educating their child.
- (the) importance of working and communicating with parents, so as not to allow rifts between home and school.
- explain policies and theories so they (parents) don't misunderstand you.

Students learn a great deal about diversity from the ethnic minority communities, coming to an understanding of the particular tensions children from these families experience in the British education system:

- learned from the Asian community, so the community has been my teacher.
- whether to force boys and girls to work together or whether to respect their religious beliefs.

One comment, whilst acknowledging the difficulties, also recognises the potential value of the many cultures present in schools :

- knowing about general attitudes, values and priorities of a culture and being sympathetic towards them, helps to alleviate misunderstandings, and means one can exploit the richness and variety of them in lessons.

The three comments on knowledge and learning suggest :

- transfer (community work) skills into (the) everyday classroom.

consider that :

- community work is unique and should be considered an integral part of teacher training.

and identify the crucial elements :

- the community concept is relevant and worthwhile in terms of integration of learning experiences.

Thus the integration of learning is the important concept underlying these comments, in conjunction with the idea that learning can be experiential as well as academic.

A linguistic analysis of the statements of those who are engaged and those who are aware of the school in its context (see Appendix B for all single statements) suggested that there were areas of shared vocabulary within categories and across categories.

In comments on teaching, the most frequently used nouns are :

- clear aims (2)
- behaviour (2)
- needs (2)

verbs are :

- to be aware (4)
- to understand (2).

Understanding, needs and behaviour also figured in comments about children as did insight (2). Understanding was mentioned four times in the group of comments on diversity, which also contained insight (3), background (4) and culture (6). Background was again mentioned twice in the group of comments on out of school experiences, as were social problems (2) and insight. Understanding, culture, needs, background, insight and awareness were all used in the group of comments on knowledge and learning.

Taking frequency of word use in the single comments overall, the following pattern emerged:

Word	Frequency of Use
understand(ing)	10
background	7
culture	7
insight	7
aware(ness)	6
needs	4

Table 6.8.

Frequency of word use in statements made by student teachers who are 'engaged'.

This order of priorities, as expressed by frequency of word use, seems consistent with the orders of priority established earlier for this group of statements (see table 6.5.). If, for

instance, the teaching role has a high priority, then a prerequisite is an understanding of the children, their background and needs. Students seem to be saying that community work allowed them to understand children more than they would have done on ordinary teaching practice. None of them had been let down by doing community work either. It would seem that community work allows people to make linkages of an ordinary nature through a highly significant experience .

Statements balancing engagement and awareness of the school in its context gave rise to a different order of frequency of word use as table 6.9. shows

	Word	Frequency of Use
<input type="checkbox"/>	needs	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	adapt	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	experiences	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	background	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	community	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	understanding	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	child's learning	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	(education) system	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	integration	2

Table 6.9.

Frequency of word use in statements made by student teachers balancing engagement and awareness of the school in its context.

Comparing the frequency of word use in these statements with that seen in the statements of those who are engaged and those who are aware of the school in its context, this pattern emerges:

Word	Single Statements	Statements balancing awareness and engagement
Needs	7	4
Experiences	3	0
Background	3	7
Adapt	3	0
Community	3	0
Understanding	2	10
Child's Learning	2	0
(education) system	2	0
Integration	2	0
Insight	0	7
Culture	0	7
Awareness	0	6

Table 6.10.

A comparison of frequency of word use in student teacher statements.

This seems to suggest a progression from understanding and insights on culture and background, to awareness of needs and experiences, to recognition of the individual child within the system, to the importance of integrated learning experiences. Arguably, too, there is a logic in this hierarchy of comments, with students working from skills implied by their role (understanding), to the acquisition of skills (needs diagnosis), to emerging strengths (integration of learning experiences). The interrelatedness of this shared vocabulary is evident in the use of the same vocabulary in the teaching and community work contexts. Thus, as Coles had suggested, language forms the basis for a common identification of the teacher role and the community context. This language also supports Hughes' (1958) thesis referred to by Lortie (Vollmer and Mills : 1966 : 99) that :

professional education involves the replacement of stereotyped images by more subtle, complex and even ambiguous perceptions of the professional role'.

Conclusion.

These data demonstrate a consistency of group achievement in terms of informal education. All the student responses contain some elements of shared vocabulary, yet as no one person follows the same programme and as there is a large element of choice within each placement, student learning is taking place at different rates and with different emphases.

For any professional in training, the final practical placement is a period of rapid learning of professional vocabulary, described by Greenwood (in Vollmer and Mills: 1966) as its argot. Student teachers in two placements are, inevitably, learning two sets of vocabulary, one based on the school and one based on community work. In their comments on community work and its impact on teaching, they show that their vocabulary, and thus their learning, is transferable from one situation to the other. Moreover, community work underpins students' teaching role, supplementing the informal education gained through socialisation with teachers, community workers and their peer group. As community work and teaching become more contingent, the student teachers are able to make a specific contribution to professional clichés, casting through their own experiences to make connections. Thus community work becomes a counterpoint for teaching. This learning process is not isolated or insulated but robust because each student's experience is independent and unique, showing the importance of building a degree

of informality into courses of professional training, especially where a degree of conformity is implied in the professional role.

One of the most deeply embedded cultural features of teaching is the growth and consolidation of teachers' fears about their own performance, encouraged by the training process which requires constant evaluation of their teaching. These data suggest that community work enhances the performance of the average teacher and promotes excellence in the more able. Moreover, opportunities to develop an awareness of the school in its community context may counteract this strongly developed self critical characteristic as student teachers develop a more realistic concept of the potentialities of their teaching.

As Lortie (Vollmer and Mills : 1966 : 98) found in his study of law students, purely theoretical training leaves trainees surprised at their lack of preparedness and confounded by their unrealistic expectations of legal work. He comments thus :

'If we are correct in assuming that the self-concept crystallises only where role performance is undertaken in a psychologically meaningful context, the law school years provide minimal opportunity for this development'. (Vollmer and Mills : 1966 : 100)

Similarly, these data demonstrate that the weakness of initial teacher training for inner city areas based on school experience alone, because it has no synergy and does not provide an opportunity for the self-concept of the inner city teacher to crystallise. Therefore, teachers have to rely on compensatory learning in post, rather than on complementary learning in training.

Taking the evidence of resignation levels from inner city areas during the course of this research (33% in Tower Hamlets in 1989), this compensatory 'on the job' learning is not very effective in retaining teachers. Therefore the data suggest a further study on this group of student teachers to measure the effectiveness of community work on teacher retention.

Head Teacher Interviews.

This chapter aims to give a 'snap-shot' in time of the role characteristics, pressures, needs and uncertainties identified by four Tower Hamlets head teachers in the Spring and Summer Terms of 1989, particularly with regard to the recruitment and retention of teachers. Their comments formed the basis of sections 6 and 7 of the questionnaire.

The Context.

The decision to abolish the ILEA on March 31st, 1990, was on the statute book. A Chief Education Officer, inspectorate and advisory staff had been appointed in anticipation of Tower Hamlets Borough Council becoming responsible for education. Their blueprint for the education service in the nineties had been published as a draft document. The national curriculum was to be introduced in primary schools in September 1989....

Such rapid changes were making for a high degree of uncertainty about the future of schools, particularly for young teachers looking to start their career in London. Permanent primary teacher vacancies in Tower Hamlets had increased from 51 in the Autumn Term to 129 in the Summer Term; mostly they were covered by supply teachers from Australia and New Zealand.

Unlike the outer London boroughs, the ILEA had been unable to offer an inducement package to student teachers applying for first appointments in September 1989 and could do little to help with housing. Tower Hamlets council's development plan for education proposed a package of incentives, including a lodging allowance, mortgage subsidy and loyalty bonuses, some of it set to become operational for the Autumn Term. In the meantime, an estimated 500 children of Bangladeshi origin had no school place. Moreover, 30 percent of the total Tower Hamlets teaching force had resigned during 1987/8.

The Interview Schedule.

An interview schedule had been written, based on an article entitled 'Heads', published in 'Of Primary Importance' (Court :1987 : 25) which describes the processes, as the project worker sees them, of :

' complementing conventional in-service training, by offering support based on the same developmental, experiential and reflective approach to learning which characterises the best primary practice.'

The article itself is the account of a 'brainstorming' session with a group of London headteachers, during the course of which they identified 97 items as being the kinds of things with which they were concerned in their day-to-day work. Its thematic analysis is fully discussed on page 62. In the event, the interview schedule was never really used in the interviews themselves because 'recruitment' and 'retention' proved to be extremely evocative terms, triggering lengthy unstructured conversations.

The Head Teachers.

Three primary heads and one secondary head agreed to be interviewed. They were all known to be so concerned about recruitment to Tower Hamlets that they were taking part in ILEA recruitment visits to colleges and probationer interviews, although, with the exception of the secondary head, they were under no real pressure to recruit to their own schools where staffing was comparatively stable.

The Schools.

School A, whose head, Greg, had been in post since 1977, has 400 pupils on roll, some of whom could be described as being 'at risk.' There is a staff of twenty, including some teachers of the deaf who work in the partially hearing unit which is integrated into the school. The school serves an estate of high and low rise council accommodation, where, in recent years, Bangladeshi families have been rehoused. The school building is one of the few in the neighbourhood not to be vandalised. The estate itself is surrounded by three motorways which effectively cut it off from the rest of Tower Hamlets.

School B is a small, modern primary school in an area of mixed council and owner-occupied terraced housing, traditionally lived in by indigenous East End families. The building itself is open-plan. There are 260 children on roll and 15 staff. The head, Doris, has been in post since 1983.

School C is housed in triple-deck Victorian building, again in an area of mixed housing in the north of the borough. Traditionally, an enclave of indigenous East End families, it is increasingly becoming home to the Bangladeshi population. Paul, the deputy head and acting head at the time of the interview, had been in post for eight years. The school has 250 children on roll and a staff of fifteen. It also houses a language unit for children with speech difficulties.

School D is a mixed comprehensive in an area of council housing, with an 80% Bangladeshi intake, largely boys and a roll of 700. Once voted the worst comprehensive in London in an 'Evening Standard' schools' poll, it had experienced a great deal of staff and pupil change but was becoming more stable. The head, Vera, had been in post for nine months. Her prime concern was raising levels of achievement but this was proving difficult with seventeen staff vacancies.

Interview Analysis.

Within the broad context of staff recruitment and retention, all the interviews were analysed for statements about the head teacher *role*, the *pressures* which they were experiencing, the *needs* they perceived for their schools and for teachers, and the *uncertainties* which they were facing.

Table 7.1. shows the pattern which emerged.

Comment type	Number and Percentage of Comments		
	School A. Greg	School B. Doris.	School C. Paul.
Role	26 % (12)	32% (24)	57% (36)
Pressures	31% (14)	25% (19)	21% (13)
Needs	28% (13)	36% (27)	14% (9)
Uncertainties	15% (7)	7% (5)	8% (5)

Table 7.1.

Roles, pressures, needs and uncertainties identified by the head teachers.

[Numbers in brackets show the actual number of comments made.]

Paul, the acting headteacher, made the greatest number of comments about his *role*, probably because he was acting head and was also in the process of going for headship interviews. Shortly after the interview, he was appointed head of a primary school in West London. The other three heads' comments on their role, as a proportion of their total comments, were fairly uniform.

Vera, with seventeen unfilled vacancies, was feeling the greatest number of *pressures*, Paul and Doris, with fairly stable staff teams, had approximately the same proportion of pressures. Greg was experiencing more, probably as a result of the impending introduction of the national curriculum and his decision to be a pilot school for assessment.

Paul made the lowest number of statements on *needs*, probably because of the clarity of approach within the school towards whole school development and curriculum planning. Vera's and Greg's statements on needs were within one percentage point of each other,

whereas Doris' were considerably higher.

It was striking that none of the heads identified very many uncertainties. Vera, Doris and Paul identified the same number, with Greg's making up a significantly higher percentage of his total comments.

These comments on role, pressures, needs and uncertainties were further categorised into 'intrinsic' ie: to do with job satisfaction and controllable working factors within the school; 'extrinsic' ie: to do with job factors controlled at a national level such as pay, holidays, conditions of service and the resourcing of education and 'contextual' ie: to do with job factors from totally outside the influence of the world of education such as media attitudes, government changes, parental attitudes and public recognition (or lack of it) of teachers. From this a list of factors which headteachers considered important to the recruitment and retention of teachers was established as sections 6 and 7 of the questionnaire.

Role.

The most important intrinsic role characteristics for Greg were based on priorities :

'as a head you have to make up your mind what your priorities are... not about the school but about the people in it.'

It followed from this that :

'I would spend a large proportion of my time on the adults in the building, really checking them out and seeing how they are...If they are OK... then things will be good in the classroom.'

His attention was not confined to the teachers alone but extended to everybody on site:

'valuing people for what they can offer to the school.'

In practice therefore, he would:

'try as far as possible to do away with hierarchy... look and see what the individual has to offer, rather than who they are within some pyramid set-up.'

Job descriptions should be broadly interpreted and people's talents should be used:

'If I have a few children who've been causing problems, then often Joe (the schoolkeeper) will deal with them quite effectively in a way that I wouldn't. I would trust him to know how to talk to those children about what's been going on.'

Trust is also involved:

'Getting people to invest into the whole life of the school...'

in a number of ways, the most important being 'making people experts'. This involved

identifying their particular area of interest, sending them on courses and:

'... acknowledging what they are doing, that it has worth in it.'

Decision-making also was undertaken on a collective basis:

'We all share in the chairing of staff meetings. It isn't my decision, it's a collective decision.'

People's personal and professional development were intrinsically important to the function of the school:

'they have some investment in it [the school] and they've got a share of the action, they actually feel they can affect the end result, rather than just be a cog in the thing. They can look back and feel: 'I have genuinely developed this idea and put it into effect, and now the school has changed because of that.'

Recruitment was a vital part of this process:

'what I would try to do is to recruit students like F and like A who come here on teaching practice. They like what's going on here and then we're actually getting people who've made some choices about coming here...'

Another important characteristic of his intrinsic role was delegation:

'I think delegating is vital because by delegating you're actually saying to staff: "I value what you're doing, and you can do it better than I can do it".'

Delegation implied non-interference:

'not keep interfering and fine-tuning it and let people make mistakes.'

Making mistakes could lead to requests for help:

'sometimes it's not a bad idea to let things run and let people, you know, reach a point where they genuinely turn around and ask for help...that can be used positively'.

The one contextual role function which Greg identified was relations with parents:

'I will see parents at any time, without any appointment system, about anything.'

Doris, too, identified her most important intrinsic role characteristic as checking on everybody's well being:

'it's nothing to do with the curriculum, it's making sure people are okay to go into the classroom.'

and

'when things are awful, it's making sure the person is okay to carry on.'

She saw her style of leadership as:

'being very open with people and admitting when I can't do something...'

but also when I can't do something...not getting into a flap about things.'

She avoided confrontation and so did members of staff:

'I don't think anybody here goes straight in and has a slanging match.'

Disagreements would be sorted out:

'they bite their tongue and sit down and talk about it at an appropriate time.'

For her, the head of a school was very powerful:

'I don't think heads recognise just what sort of power they hold.'

The importance of the head's power lay in the way it was exercised:

'it's what you do with your power as a head which determines the quality of the school.'

She was aware of 'the whole school reflecting the head's views' and therefore of a consensus view on the way in which children should be treated. Like Greg, one of the main facets of her management style was delegation, even if this meant that she was not always aware of things taking place in the school:

'that's part of delegating, isn't it? That sometimes there will be things you don't know.'

She also recognised that whilst she helped many of her staff to develop and grow personally and professionally, she could not help everybody. Her attitude towards the school and the children was also developmental:

'you can't possibly have a school running in the way that you want the school to run... you're always looking for that next stage of development.. and with the children too.'

Paul's concept of his role in the management of the school was very clear-cut:

'The only people who can have anything to do with the way the school is run are the head, the deputy and the staff and that is the nitty gritty of it. When you adopt that stance, you take total responsibility for the climate within the school.'

Moreover:

'the head owns the school lock, stock and barrel.'

The consequences of this, in his school, were that the emerging management team :

'tends to meet because it discusses management issues.'

Discussion of curriculum issues would not be in terms of decision-making but:

'enabling people if a certain decision's made.'

From this, it followed that:

'My responsibility is to help the school develop its curriculum by enabling the staff to develop its strengths.'

In curriculum terms this meant sending staff out on INSET courses, expecting them to:

'come back in and run courses...to feed back into the staff and setting targets for curriculum development.'

If staff could not decide on a time scale for curriculum development in a particular subject area, then:

'I'll make the decision to force them, so they can't miss a target date.'

In this way :

'...our development policy is quite clearly in the hands of the staff...it has to be the staff development plan.'

This also led to a system of staff support which recognised the teacher as being 'the centre of the school' and gave him / her:

'total support on every single issue when they are right. The fact of the matter is that they are very rarely wrong.'

Therefore, teachers received support in issues of discipline, particularly where problems were likely to arise:

'part of good management is actually spotting where the potential problems are and just sort of organising certain groups in such a way that this is unlikely to happen.'

If teachers were having obvious difficulties, Paul would:

'take them for a drink and say: "look, you know, see it in perspective and don't worry about it" '.

Teachers' well-being was:

'absolutely vital and if they're unhappy you get all sorts of problems.'

The importance of teacher well-being had led the school to work with a voluntary sector support agency, the Tower Hamlets Primary School Support Project. In this instance, Paul acted as an enabler, giving space to the agency and specifying what its role should be for the teachers. The agency's involvement had developed from 'initially ...you just want the juniors to sit more quietly' to providing:

'a space in which teachers can be recognised and a space for them to just switch off.'

Paul's role also extended to making sure that breakfast was available to teachers, that there were social events - organised by the staff themselves at the end of the term - and that non-contact time for teachers was provided through whole school assemblies taken by the head

and the deputy:

'we'll give them non-contact time and where possible we'll take assemblies and just say: OK, go and have a break.'

Vitally important too, was the development of:

'structures that will run, irrespective of particular teachers' personalities'

so that power issues within the school could be avoided.

Contextual role features involved working with the parents, particularly those whose children:

'really need a tremendous amount of help.'

Everything possible would be done to provide this help but:

'we expect the parents to also contribute to the child's education...and if there are any problems, they'll talk with the school.'

This approach had a two way pay-off in terms of teacher security and raising standards of achievement:

'it creates an element of security in the minds of the staff because they know if they are accosted or attacked verbally...they will be supported and their position will be stated quite clearly.'

and:

'We're about raising standards, then you have to do it from a position of trust. Without that trust, nothing can be done.'

One of Vera's main aims in the first year of her headship had been to raise standards of achievement but the short-term need to keep the school going had proved almost overwhelming. Her role as head entailed offering:

'leadership in a positive sense ... I try to consult as much as is humanly possible under time constraints...I hope I listen reasonably...I'm sensitive to people's needs.'

She felt it important to be seen around the school:

'I hope I'm visible around the school'

and took part in covering classes as well as teaching. Her expectations were high, although with staffing difficulties, her target of raising achievement, at least for that year, had not been met:

'Until one has a stable staff, it is extremely difficult to do that except in pockets.'

Her role in recruiting and retaining staff centred on good management:

'I'm committed to good management of the school which I think is important for retaining staff.'

As with the three other heads, retention also implied the professional development of staff:

'the retention thing is to try to find out from people what their needs are, how we might get them to derive more satisfaction from what they're doing...'

It could also involve encouraging people to seek promotion:

'I have, in terms of professional development, given mock interviews, talked to people about filling in application forms...before I started [this headship] I talked to every member of staff individually and interviewed each of them.'

Ideally the school 'should have a turnover of staff' and :

'the people who've left this year...I was saying to them you should be seeking promotion... they've all got promoted.'

It was important to apply an equal opportunities policy to recruitment and for this to be seen as effective:

'I hope to spread to other people that the appointment system does allow any candidate who wishes to have an equal chance and that we are trying to have positive recruitment policies.'

Pressures.

For Greg, headship itself was subject to intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual pressures:

'our job becomes really pressured'.

Intrinsic pressures included 'dealing with difficult children'. Extrinsic demands from the authority involved a variety of forms to be completed. Contextual demands were often to do with parents.

Particular pressures emanating from the introduction of the national curriculum, though extrinsic and contextual in nature were having a 'knock on' effect within the school.

Greg saw himself as mitigating the worst effects of these pressures on the staff, and turning them into positive opportunities for staff and school development, despite perfunctory and poorly resourced national curriculum training. He was confident of being able to accommodate the national curriculum within the classroom:

'we are going to do all the things that the national curriculum asks us to do and a whole lot more.'

The school was hoping to be one of the assessment pilot schools because:

'I'd like to influence the assessment, albeit in a small way, and it will give us expertise that we wouldn't otherwise have.'

He was not panicking about the national curriculum but applying a policy designed to:

'reassure them (the staff) that...by just keeping an eye on what the national curriculum is asking, we can do what they want and an awful lot more.'

He identified the standard method of delivering INSET as a pressure leading to feelings of inadequacy:

'you go on the course, you hear all this wonderful stuff that's happening up the road and you feel inadequate. Instead of supporting you, it actually ↪ makes you feel less competent and less able to be effective yourself.'

Such INSET could also give rise to competition or:

'that feeling that everybody has cracked it [but you]'

Many schools tended to :

'zap in this person and that person who have the most wonderful work and its beautifully mounted...that can be really demoralising.'

For Doris, the intrinsic pressures centred on support and time. She felt that teachers could become stressed as a result of feeling unsupported in classroom situations:

'if they're in the room for a large part of the day and nobody either goes in or looks to see what is actually happening in there.'

This could be particularly acute for teachers who had been in post for a long time:

'we've lost sight of people who've been teaching for 10 or 15 years.'

They needed 'time to do their own thing' and 'decide what form the rest of their career is going to take.'

This was linked with extrinsic pressures, for instance, no secondments for such teachers. Extrinsic pressures affected beginning teachers disproportionately, in her opinion. Mass recruitment of London First Appointments precluded them being matched to schools, there was 'this horrendous problem with staffing' (in Tower Hamlets) which meant that many could find themselves suffering the pressures of the classroom, living in sub-standard accommodation and surviving on a subsistence salary.

She also talked of the extrinsic pressure of having the probationary year extended. Two teachers, whose probationary year had been extended, had been assigned to her school from other schools where they had not been able to teach successfully, so she had witnessed the

pressure they were under at first hand:

'there'll always be that stigma...and they carry that with them...It takes a long time to become a teacher... It goes back to this business of there's always something to be done, that you need to know about or be learned. It's an on-going process.'

Extrinsic pressures also included the national curriculum which was affecting the school's INSET programme:

'All of my time that I can send teachers on courses has got to be geared to the national curriculum.'

Teacher appraisal, too, could be an extrinsic pressure although:

'I think there will be situations with the national curriculum and inspection of the national curriculum which will cause far more failure than teacher appraisal will ever do. Teacher appraisal could be very positive.'

Although she recognised the positive aspects of the national curriculum, she considered that testing was a negative pressure.

The inspectorate making flying visits was a further extrinsic pressure. They could not support heads because they lacked the time; in any case:

'the sort of support the inspectors give is not appropriate'.

Contextual pressures came from the tremendous turn-over of teaching staff in Tower Hamlets and rising school rolls. She had a waiting list of children for the school:

'I'd like to open another class but I can't because there are no teachers.'

Paul only identified one intrinsic pressure:

'We have more than our fair share of children who are statemented.'

which led him to maintain a watching brief on certain classes in case he needed to regroup the children to avoid undue stress to teachers.

Extrinsic pressures he identified concerned the national curriculum, local authority management, the future quality of the education service under Tower Hamlets management, pay, housing and the quality and experience of applicants for teaching posts in London.

The national curriculum required the staff, not himself, to attend INSET courses and meetings and he took care to see that they were doing this,

'because at the end of the day, it's the poor bloody infantry who has to actually implement the national curriculum and they need all the support they can actually get.'

Management by the ILEA had caused pressure because:

'it saw itself as the ideal employer, and, as a result, it refused to manage.

The schools were in a difficult position when factions developed because there were no clear management structures.'

Failure to manage effectively could be linked with the poor quality of applicants for posts in London, although the decline in quality could also be attributed to a deteriorating level of support within an authority once renowned for it.

Nevertheless, the pressures of an uncertain future, allied to high costs of living and housing and very poor pay were acting as disincentives. The new education authority would be under pressure to:

'provide a high quality education service in terms of resources, in terms of support, in terms of professional management.'

He also identified lack of teachers' housing and future uncertainty about education in London as contextual pressures.

Many of the pressures Vera spoke of were intrinsic, concerned with staff shortages, the plant and the school population. Staff shortages, 17 authorised vacancies, including five heads of department had been 'a key issue all year'. The cost in time, and the consequent pressures on her job had been enormous:

'by the end of the summer term I will have spent in excess of 400 hours, which represents for me personally, as I normally work between an 80 and 100 hour week, 4 or 5 weeks' work, and for any person doing a 40 hour week, it represents infinitely longer, so we are talking about 10 weeks' work and this is purely on recruitment.'

This had also affected school development, particularly raising levels of achievement:

'when it comes to achievement... I don't know if we can speak of anything in curricular terms, but at least we've kept the place afloat.'

Her wish to 'improve pupil morale and commitment' and 'improve the quality of the intake' had similarly not been addressed because of the overwhelming staffing pressure.

Class sizes and the characteristics of the pupil intake could also cause pressure:

'virtually all our classes are classes of 30...very many of our students are statemented because they have special educational needs.'

and:

'the mobility rate of our pupils is 32%, so we have 1/3 turnover all the time... it's almost impossible to see pupils from point A to point B.'

In curricular and staff development terms, co-operative teaching had suffered particularly, as staff liaison time had been eroded by the need to cover vacant posts.

School destabilisation was her greatest fear:

'if we start to lose our stable staff, then you're going to have destabilised schools.'

She felt obliged to communicate this fear to the ILEA:

'I wrote a letter [to the ILEA] explaining the staffing situation...how the school was destabilised or potentially destabilised.'

One great extrinsic pressure was the school building which was poorly maintained:

'we work in the most appalling conditions....we've had problems with cockroaches.....'

Resources were sadly lacking but at least teachers did have enough space to teach in, and could look forward to continuing employment although this might not necessarily retain them:

'...although they (teachers) will be virtually guaranteed a job in the future in the sense that there are heavily rising rolls....nonetheless it is...the ability to get the satisfaction of curriculum development without being overwhelmed by other factors.'

In her opinion, schools and teachers should be able to look to statutory agencies for extrinsic support, but, in fact, they were exerting extrinsic pressures:

'it should be the DES who are supporting us down the line...the Home Office ... are making our life hell as far as our Section 11 allocation is concerned.'

She identified media attitudes as contextual pressures:

'it is quite evident that people are not coming to Tower Hamlets...I think they are very much subject to the media.'

plus the quality of life in London. This was particularly true for people who might have to travel some distance because of housing, despite a 50% travel grant from the ILEA:

'it's all very well ILEA paying 50 % of travel but you have to pay out the other 50% and after a day's work here, you don't want to have to travel miles...The quality of life just becomes untenable. You also end up not doing your job very well.'

The single contextual pressure she identified was the devaluing of teaching:

'to continue to belittle us by talking about "well you can do all your INSET

in the evenings and at the weekend"... I don't expect main professional grade teachers to do it and they'd be a worse teacher if they did.'

Needs.

Greg felt that school based INSET was indispensable to staff retention:

'if you make an expert of a member of staff..., everybody knows it can be done and they can see it happening. If you actually have somebody that you trust and that you work with, who comes back and says this is possible, then I think it's more likely to move on.'

This approach would result in:

'...the people within it [the school] growing and...the children growing.'

In fact INSET needed to be supportive not deskilling:

'This is the area where we want to get people to see there is more and there is greater expectation of what the children can achieve and you can achieve..'

This emphasis on the need to foster personal growth meant that he, too, had needs which required support from colleagues. One of these was that heads needed to feel valued in order to value staff and children. People's need for time at points of crisis had to be recognised and provided for, in the case of his school, by employing an extra teacher who normally did support teaching but could take over classes, where needs be (possible under the budget arrangements in force in 1989).

There were extrinsic needs, too, such as:

'we should be rewarding teachers for working in challenging areas like this [Tower Hamlets]. It's no good saying that if it's all lovely and caring... it's all gonna be fine. In reality you've got to eat and live.'

Housing in particular was vital:

'I don't just think the hard to let flats for young teachers, because we want to retain beyond that, so we need to be looking at housing for someone who is four years into teaching'

Teachers' children, too, should be considered:

'priority into nurseries for teachers' children.'

The school was, in fact, considering setting up its own day nursery so:

'we're actually attracting teachers back to the school who might have their

children minded somewhere else.'

With young teachers increasingly wanting to travel after two or three years in Tower Hamlets, 'a pattern of ease of leave of absence' was desirable, although paid leave could prove expensive and was probably too much to expect.

A staff welfare unit which would take on all these issues, thereby acknowledging that staff needed personal support, such as counselling, 'particularly in areas like this where there is a high stress factor', would be one way in which teachers' value could be recognised extrinsically.

Doris identified support as being a real intrinsic need, for herself, for her teachers and for the school. Support implied time, time to match new teachers to schools so that they could teach successfully, time for teachers to make career decisions and 'do their own thing' and time 'to look at why certain schools aren't retaining staff'.

Time to relate to colleagues, too, because:

'you can do the job much better if you're doing it in relationship with somebody else.'

She needed her own time:

'I have to have certain times in the day when I know I can get on with the things I know I need to get on with'

The whole school policy was one:

'where people wanted me out of the classroom because they can see that the job I do around the school is actually helping them in the long term'.

Heads, too, needed support in professional development terms, as an extrinsic job feature.

Ideally, this should come from outside the local education authority:

'just by having somebody who isn't directly involved in the authority to talk things through with...and it's not to do with counselling or anything like that, it's to do with professional development.'

Extrinsic needs for young teachers included treating them as professionals:

'if you walk into a school and realise it is not the school you want to work in, then I think you should be able to say that. I think that they (young teachers) are going to be expected to teach professionally in schools, so they should be treated professionally.'

Extrinsic support of a different kind from that currently on offer by the inspectorate was needed both for good schools and schools in difficulty:

'if you want to change something in the school, you work with the classes or teachers where you know it's going to work, don't you ? But the inspectorate seem to do it the other way round, working with schools where they're having to rush in with the fire brigade technique all the time.'

That made for a deteriorating situation which had its effect on good schools, too. Senior staff were being moved from good schools to keep schools in difficulty going, without regard for the effects on the good schools themselves:

'Fairly soon in Tower Hamlets...they aren't going to have any good schools with stable staffs...so instead of keeping the good schools and promoting them and then dealing with the others...Fairly soon they're going to have to close schools, if they can't get heads and deputies.'

If moving staff was an inept way of recognising expertise extrinsically, other ways of doing so, such as links with HE, really were not being explored either. Staff expertise could be recognised through joint appointments with teacher training organisations and this would go far to: 'demystify course structure' as well as to promote staff recruitment, retention and professional development.

There was real need to demonstrate the good things about Tower Hamlets, not just on a recruiting video, but through arranging for people to visit schools:

'When we have all the students who come from out of London, you can see how nervous they are coming into the building... then when they see the children and the work going on, they start to relax and get involved.'

Paul, too, considered that a supportive climate for staff had to be created within the school (cf:role) but at the same time, clear expectations of teachers had to be established:

'If they don't do it, (set target dates for curriculum development) then I'll do it. In other words, you can't easy ride, you can't think, oh; we won't make a decision....'

Support needs were met, in the case of his school, by working with a non-statutory support agency. This agency could fulfil intrinsic and contextual needs:

'He [the project worker] gives them at one level half an hour where they can sit and let their minds go into neutral...he's just there to talk through their problems...somebody fresh who'll listen and not be burdened by it...'

The project worker not only fulfilled intrinsic needs by taking assemblies and listening to teachers, but in being able to appreciate the work of the teachers, he also fulfilled a contextual need:

'it's a kind of recognition from outside of their value'

A major extrinsic need for inner city schools, in Paul's opinion, was recruitment, preferably through teaching practices specifically geared to the inner city :

'the value of the (ULF) course is that people come quite specifically to see what the ground's like...if you can give them that sort of opportunity to work in a school that's going to value students, I think you've got a recipe for success.'

The school very much needed to recruit people who were attracted to it, in order to retain staff:

'when a supply teacher comes through the school door, they think: 'Oh God, I want to work in this place', because otherwise you're lost, and if they don't want to work in a place, there's something wrong'

Therefore schools needed to be:

'bending over backwards,...making people feel welcome and valuing them.'

They also needed to 'create an ethos which finds space for their talents'.

Whilst retention was a crucial need:

'The criterion you have to judge it by is how long they're going to stay.'

In any case, the school as an organisation was dynamic, which involved personnel changes:

'We are ruthless and we will move people on, because they're not ...fulfilling functions with us, in the nicest possible way...that's true of any organisation but we tend to be, sort of, a bit more aware of it.'

For Paul, extrinsic needs exactly mirrored extrinsic pressures in terms of pay, good LEA management and housing provision for teachers, although having lived in a flat assigned for teachers when he first came to London, he thought that special housing could be problematic.

The overwhelming intrinsic need Vera identified was recruiting and retaining staff.

Retention could be achieved by:

'offering support...in terms of expertise'.

In this context, INSET had to be available, despite the difficulties of providing cover, so that people could be out of school:

'also it's enabled people to develop themselves without feeling that nobody would be allowed out of school which had happened in some places.
For many staff that's the thing that keeps you going, if you can go out and see new ideas.'

But INSET needed to be delivered in reasonable surroundings 'there's nothing more appalling than doing INSET in tatty places'

For her, a major extrinsic need was housing for teachers:

'the housing issue and the general finance issue are such that they must be addressed very speedily.'

What was required was:

'reasonable family housing...equity share, preferential mortgages.'

Closely allied to this were salaries

'higher salaries ...[an] overwhelmingly major issue.'

'Salaries are pitiful.'

Salaries also needed to be comparable with industry, as did working conditions and the 'value given to staff'.

The contextual needs she identified stemmed largely from the attitude of policy makers:

'Most of all we need a Secretary of State for Education who does not consider himself the panjandrum of all the curriculum. Kenneth Baker really has no clue about how to engender morale in the profession.'

Pay negotiating rights should be restored and disinformation on teacher shortages should be admitted:

'to continue to deny us our negotiating rights is appalling, to continue disguising the state of subject teacher shortage is really indictable...

A General Teaching Council could go some way to redress the image of teaching.

We need a GTC so that...the public [is] no longer lured into thinking...

that we somehow don't equate with other professions.'

Greg's uncertainties concerned extrinsic and intrinsic aspects of teaching. Giving support to others implied having somebody 'to care for the carers' and this could be problematic, although he did have people on the staff who supported him.

Career development and the career structure in the profession caused extrinsic uncertainties, too. The lack of reward for good class teachers to stay in the classroom, meant a drain of expertise and quality from pupils, as good class teachers became deputies and head teachers, following the only promotional route.

'if we do take those people out, then we've taken real quality out of the classroom.'

One way of retaining staff would be to pay them extra allowances but this could be divisive, particularly for the people receiving a retention allowance on the existing staff, and professional suicide for somebody coming from outside:

'your staff's expectations of them would be incredible...The staff would expect miracles wouldn't they ?

He recognised that:

'philosophy and vision...alter as the people who are in it, [the school]... because a school is only the sum total of the parts of the people who are in it.'

Doris identified two intrinsic uncertainties, feeling guilty because, having delegated responsibility, she wasn't always aware of everything happening in the school and the fact that she could not give all staff positive support:

'what I am saying about the teachers that I feel I'm failing, by implication, I'm failing the children'

Extrinsic uncertainties were provoked by the evident loss of teachers to outer London boroughs where housing was more affordable and incentives attractive. [ILEA was prevented from introducing incentives by rate-capping and its limited future]. For beginning teachers, she identified the dilemma of rejecting their first appointment school:

'the problem for LFAs is how to reject a school without rejecting the job.'

They needed to have this option openly available because :

'they will be better teachers eventually'.

She was painfully aware of contextual uncertainties which arose from the circumstances of the children themselves:

'the children bring their own problems in with them...and very often they're things you're powerless to do anything about because it's to do with families and housing for them.'

Although these things could be reported to social services, in practice, social services could often do nothing more than monitor individual situations.

The media, too, had created contextual uncertainties, as it had reported teacher shortages in Tower Hamlets extensively without any coverage of the kind and quality of work undertaken in schools:

'the press coverage at the moment is raising the profile but not dispelling the media myths.'

A final uncertainty for her was the fragmentation of ILEA resources as a result of its abolition, plus its perceived financial profligacy:

'we've had so much money and so much resources...some of it has been wasted...you can see from the outsider's point of view why ILEA has had this reputation of squandering money...It's done amazing things...no authority is ever going to have that opportunity again ...it's quite short sighted, isn't it ?'

The greatest intrinsic uncertainties for Paul were thrown up by the non-democratic school structure, set against a climate, pre-1988, of close consultation and collaboration with teachers:

'some people will say that school is a democracy...the people who usually are the most vociferous in suggesting it are those who wish to have more power with less responsibility.'

In his opinion, schools had clear management structures, not mirrored by local education authority management structures, which posed an extrinsic dilemma:

'inspectors have no management structures, they can't do anything... they're going to have not the slightest influence in the way the school is run.'

These uncertainties caused by what he considered to be people's misconceptions of the scope of their influence were nothing to the uncertainties posed by the unpredictable future of education in the London boroughs after the abolition of ILEA:

'people are not too sure what they are going to be committing themselves to. They're not sure what the boundaries are, of Tower Hamlets, for example.'

Housing provision, too, was very uncertain. The need was for hundreds of places. Tower Hamlets was talking of providing twenty or thirty which would be woefully inadequate, given the need to employ extra teachers to accommodate rising rolls. In any case:

'what happens to them when they leave teaching, do they get kicked out of their housing ?'

For Vera, there were no intrinsic uncertainties. Extrinsic uncertainties arose from the bureaucratic inadequacy of the ILEA in its final months which had cost her so much time on recruitment:

'what has happened...is that people who were experienced and sympathetic have moved on and up and out and many people who are struggling to learn new jobs have taken their place who are not as sympathetic or as knowledgeable.'

Uncertainties also arose from the particular nature of Tower Hamlets and its school population, especially for recruiting good quality teachers, interested in Sixth Form work:

'the VIth form arrangements in Tower Hamlets don't induce certain teachers to apply here because of the centralised arrangements...Tower Hamlets is well known for a low staying on rate.'

Teaching as a career could also be problematic:

'I cannot, hand on heart, say to pupils in my school : "you should be a teacher." Who would say to anybody : " you should join an occupational group where your working conditions are lousy, your pay is very middling for the amount of effort you have to expend and your value to society is regarded as marginal.." ? '

Conclusion.

In the spring and summer of 1989, the heads felt that they could exercise a powerful role in determining the climate of the school, encouraging the development of expertise amongst

their teachers, giving them positive reinforcement, career development opportunities and maintaining high morale and commitment. However, they felt powerless in the face of forced extrinsic changes to teaching which they continued to consider as a profession.

In contrast, contextual condemnation from many different and equally ignorant sources, seemed to suggest that teaching as a job was undergoing a process of proletarianisation. At least these heads roundly rejected such a notion.

Statistical Relationships.

The Quantitative Research Results.

This part of the study deals with the quantitative results of the research undertaken with the 214 student teachers who completed questionnaires. Chapter Eight discusses the descriptive statistics of the group and deals with degrees of agreement on attitudes towards teaching and retention features. It also deals with the open-ended questions in a quantitative way.

Chapter Nine discusses the correlations between the independent, intervening and dependent variables. It explores the relationships between the independent variables, finding few links between background and training variables in terms of teacher retention. It examines the interrelatedness of the intervening variables showing the way in which they may be considered to form sets of attitudes and discussing those variables which perform distinctively. Finally it explores the relationships between the independent and dependent variables, showing only two consistent relationships between commitment to teaching - experience of working with children and teaching in inner city schools.

Chapter Ten discusses the findings of a principal components analysis with rotation which was carried out on the data from the student teachers. The factors found are treated as mind sets because they are substantially composed of responses to attitude prompts. These mind sets seem to suggest a much greater degree of interaction between different aspects of teaching, at least in the thinking of prospective teachers.

Describing Statistical Relationships.

The significant difference between this sample and others responding to teacher retention studies was that final year B.Ed. and PGCE students in five Church of England Colleges of Higher Education were asked to complete questionnaires. The questionnaire itself was administered between April 1990 and December 1991, so some respondents would have taken up first appointments in September 1990, others in September 1991 and the rest in September 1992.

Independent Variables.

Background Variables.

Table 8.1. summarises the background of the 214 respondents to the questionnaire.

Variable Name	Response	Mean	Standard	Minimum'
	Range		Deviation	Maximum
Age	29	24.32	5.42	19-48
Gender	1	0.86	0.35	
Voluntary Groups	8	1.56	1.36	0.0-8.0
Responsibility	8	1.63	1.35	0.0-8.0
Work Experience	9	1.86	1.55	0.0-9.0
Child Work	5	1.16	1.06	0.0-5.0

Table 8.1.

Student Teacher Background data.

[N = 214]

[Responsibility = Voluntary Group Responsibilities.]

[Minimum / Maximum refers to the highest and lowest scores recorded in each category]

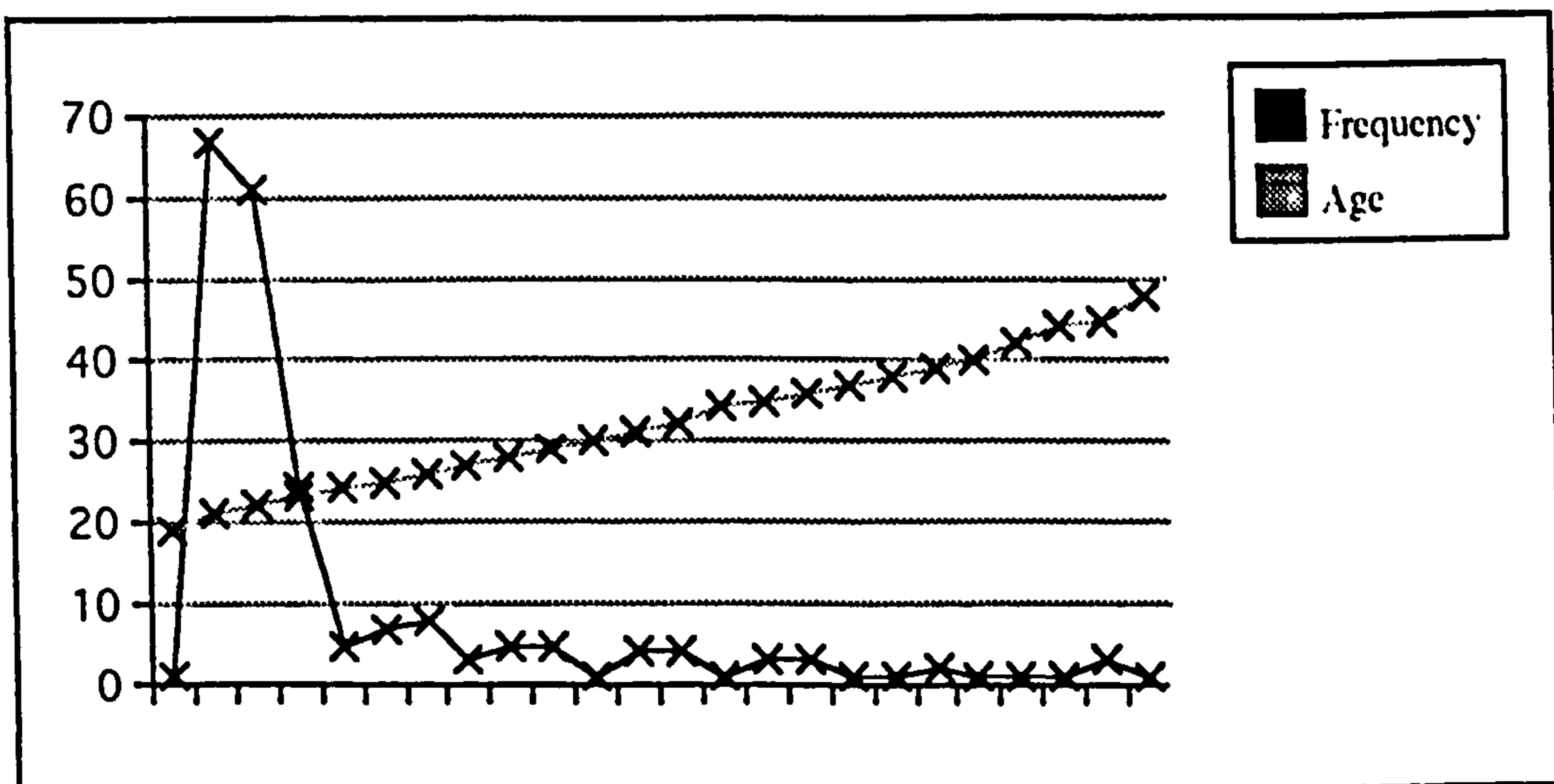
Age.

The specific targeting of final year students explains the average age of the group which is 24.32 years. Over three-quarters of the sample are aged between 21 and 23. The age range from 19 to 48 shows a quarter of the group coming into teacher training after some other significant work experience, assuming that mature entrants are aged twenty-five and over. However, the age spread and scree effect of the graph do not indicate an age cohort but rather reflect a cluster of mature entrants to teaching.

Frequency	Age
1	19
67	21
61	22
24	23
5	24
7	25
8	26
3	27
5	28
5	29
1	30
4	31
4	32
1	34
3	35
3	36
1	37
1	38
2	39
1	40
1	42
1	44
3	45
1	48

Table 8. 2.Student teacher age frequency table.

[N =214]



Graph 8.1. Student Teacher Age Frequency Graph.

Gender:

A further distinctive feature of the cohort is the very high number of female respondents - 185 - compared with 29 male respondents. Thus, entry into teaching through initial training in voluntary colleges seems even more gender biased than expected. This may reflect salary levels in teaching and may also indicate that teaching will increasingly become an almost exclusively female occupation, with such male teachers as there are being assured of rapid promotion because of their scarcity value. It may also reflect a gender bias in the recruitment policies of these particular colleges or a disinclination on the part of young males to seek initial teacher training through the voluntary college route. In contrast, older males in the sample may have chosen voluntary colleges because of geographical factors such as closeness to home as well as subject specialisms on offer.

Membership of Voluntary Groups.

Just over a third of the sample either failed to respond to this item or did not belong to any voluntary groups. Of the remaining two-thirds, the majority belonged to one or two voluntary groups, with just over a tenth belonging to three or four. Only five people belonged to more than four voluntary groups.

Responsibility in Voluntary Groups.

Just under half of the sample held positions of responsibility in one or two voluntary groups, with a further tenth having responsibility in three organisations. Responsibility in more than three organisations was confined to fourteen people, one of whom managed to cope with responsibilities in eight separate organisations.

Work Experience.

A fifth of the sample had no work experience, or did not respond to this item. Almost a third had had experience of one job, over a third experience of two or three jobs and a tenth between four and six different jobs. In other words, four fifths of the sample had significant work experience outside teaching.

Child Work.

Over half of the respondents had worked in one or two jobs connected with children, whilst another tenth had worked in three or four jobs connected with children. Just over a third had had no experience of working with children or failed to respond to this item.

Professional Training Variables.

Table 8.3. shows the professional training variables of the sample.

Variable name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum/ Maximum
School	1	0.06	0.02	0.0/0.1
Shortage	1	0.23	0.42	0.0/1.0
Subject Specialism	9	5.12	2.6	0.0/9.0
Final Practice	4	0.09	0.41	0.0/4.0
Age range	7	3.35	1.47	8.0/1.0
School Location	2	1.29	0.47	1.0/3.0

Table 8.3. Student teacher training variables.

[N = 214]

School.

Over nine-tenths of the group were training for entry into primary teaching, with less than a tenth training for secondary teaching. This undoubtedly reflects the closure, in the mid 1970s, of secondary training departments in the voluntary colleges and the, as yet, limited re-establishment of the secondary shortage subject departments first begun in 1986 when the extent and specificity of the subject shortages became apparent

Subject Specialism.

Almost a quarter of those responding to the subject specialism item were studying shortage subjects, although the majority were training for primary teaching where they would be expected to have an in-depth knowledge of one subject within the framework of teaching expertise in the other areas of the primary curriculum. Over a fifth of the group did not respond at all to this question. Their lack of response may reflect the fact that the subject

study in the B.Ed. degree was traditionally considered as study for personal rather than professional development, so they did not see the relevance of it to a questionnaire about teaching. However, greater emphasis on subject specialism through current ITT course requirements, and the national curriculum will compel students to develop a more subject oriented approach to their teaching. Table 8.4. shows the subject areas studied by this sample of student teachers.

Subject	Abbreviation of		
	Subject	Number	Percentage
CDI (s)	DI	5	2.3
RE (s)	RE	15	7
Music (s)	M	13	6.1
Art	A	16	7.5
PE	PE	16	7.5
Geog/Hist	G H	33	15.4
Mod. Langs (s)	ML	1	0.5
English	E	40	18.7
Maths (s)	Ma	12	5.6
Sciences (s)	S	19	8.9
No data	ND	44	20.6

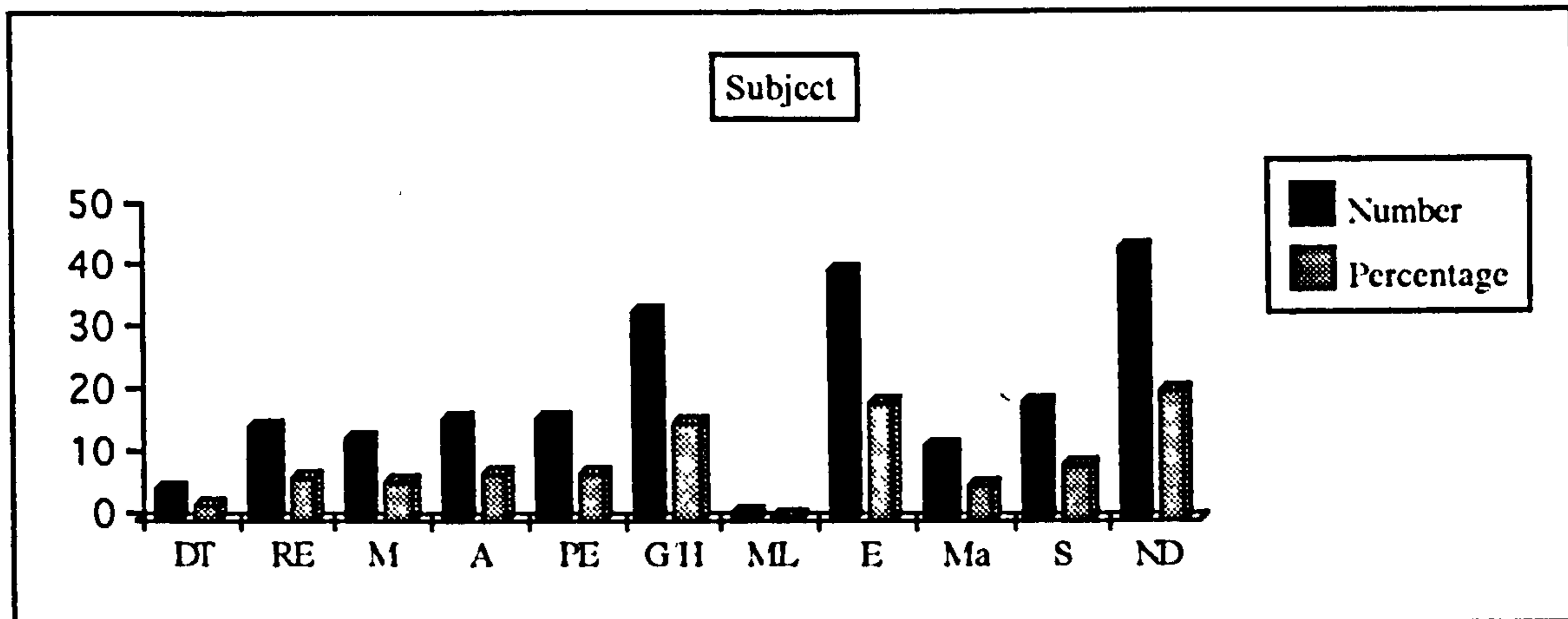
Table 8.4. Student Teacher Subject Specialisms.

[N = 214]

(s) denotes shortage subjects

Shortage Subjects.

Shortage subjects were scored on a hard / soft axis which may not have been sensitive enough for accurate recording. Graph 8.2. shows the subjects studied in their order of frequency and illustrates the trend of liberal arts students being attracted to teaching.



Graph 8.2. : Student teachers' subject specialism graph.

(Key as for Table 8.4.)

Final Practice.

Over nine-tenths of the sample were training to teach the primary age range, having completed or expecting to complete, a final practice in a primary school. Only twelve people were training for secondary teaching, with data missing from three questionnaires.

Age Range.

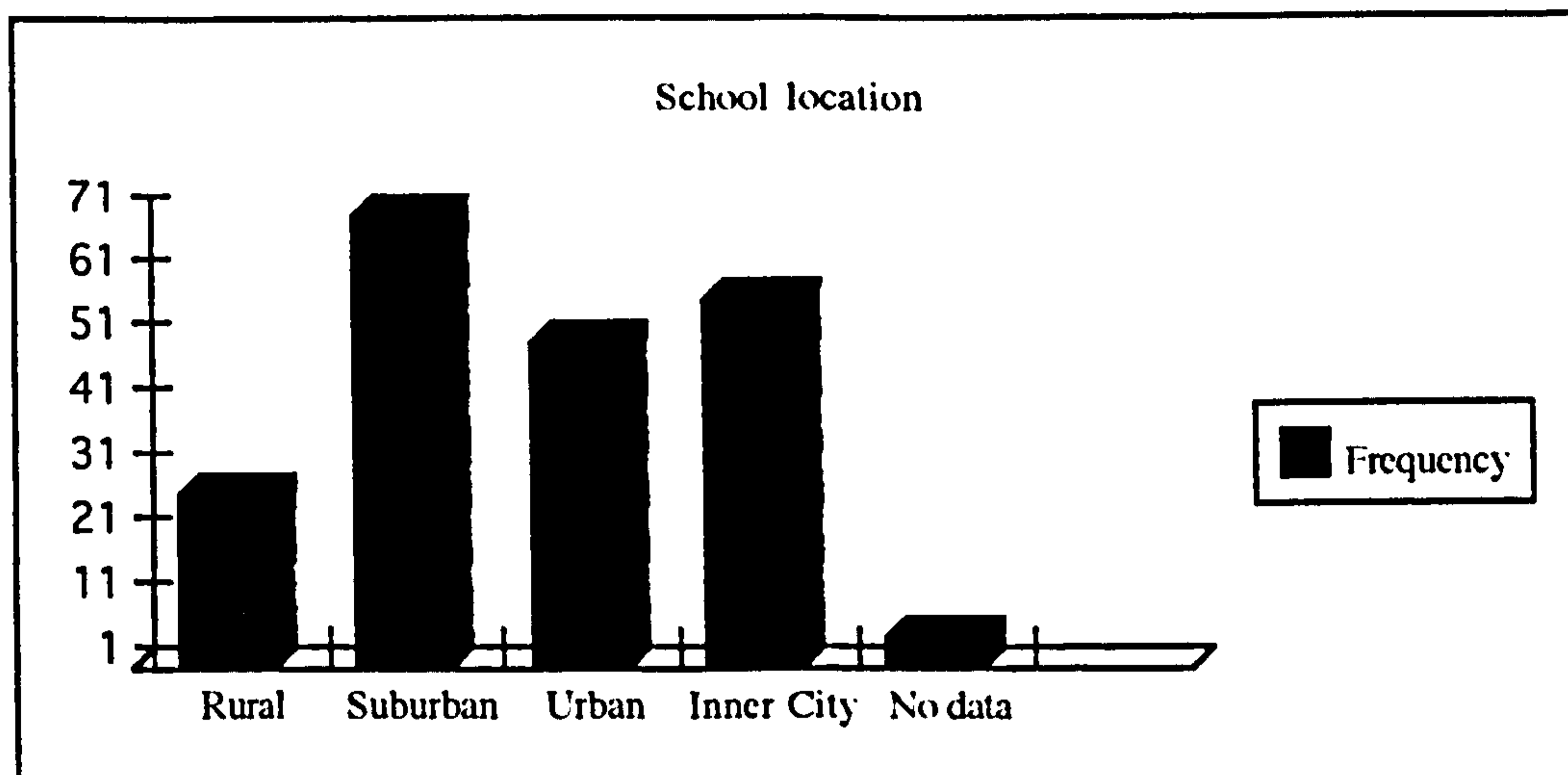
Nearly a third of the respondents were intending to teach or had taught seven to eight year olds on their final practice. Just under a quarter had taught or were intending to teach nine to ten year olds and just over a fifth five to six year olds. Ten percent had taught or were intending to teach eleven to twelve year olds, six percent very young children and three percent secondary age children over the age of eleven. Thus, the most popular age ranges appeared to be upper infant and lower junior. However, the classification of age ranges on the questionnaire should have more accurately reflected school age divisions.

Final Practice School Location.

Table 8.5. shows the frequency of final teaching practices in rural, urban, suburban and inner city schools.

School location	Frequency
Rural	28
Suburban	71
Urban	51
Inner City	58
No data	6

Table 8.5.
Frequency of student teachers' final practice school location.
[N = 214]



Graph 8.3.

Student teachers' final practice school location graph.

Over a quarter of the students had completed, or were expecting to complete, final practices in suburban schools, over a quarter in inner city schools and over a fifth in urban schools. The number of students teaching in rural schools, just over ten percent, was surprisingly low, given the location of the colleges, in contrast to the relatively high proportion going to inner city schools. This may be because four of the colleges which the students were attending are members of the ULF consortium.

Intervening Variables.

Opinions about Teaching.

The questionnaire contained 13 variables expressing opinions about teaching, all of which required an expression of levels of agreement or disagreement. These variables were coded on the following scale :

1 - strongly disagree; 2 - disagree; 3 - agree; 4 - strongly agree.

Teacher Awareness.

The first six items were prefaced by : 'teachers should be aware of..' Table 8.6. shows the degrees of agreement expressed by the student teachers.

Variable	Response	Mean	Standard	Minimum /	Degree of
Name	Range		Deviation	Maximum	homogeneity
Pupil Behaviour	1	3.66	0.47	3 / 4	7.8
Pupil Views, opinions	2	3.58	0.51	2 / 4	6.9
Home influence	1	3.7	0.46	3 / 4	8.1
Whole Community issues	2	3.36	0.51	2 / 4	6.6
Atmosphere	1	3.58	0.49	3 / 4	7.2
Out of school experience	3	3.33	0.55	1 / 4	6.1

Table 8.6.

Degrees of teacher awareness.

[N = 214]

The statement that teachers should be aware of *issues affecting children's behaviour* met with agreement from a third of the sample and strong agreement from two-thirds, hence the response range of 1 and the mode and median indicating strong agreement.

Awareness of *pupils' views and opinions* produced almost the same distribution of opinion, with nearly two-fifths of the sample expressing agreement and three-fifths expressing strong agreement but within a wider response range.

Awareness of *ways in which children are influenced by their home background* was seen as very important by over two-thirds of the sample and important by the rest, with the mode (4) and the median (3.7) indicating strong agreement.

With a mean of 3.36 and a mode of 3, there was less agreement on the statement that teachers should be aware of *issues affecting the whole community*, although three-fifths of the sample thought this to be important and over a third considered it very important.

Understanding the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives was also considered important by two-fifths of the sample and very important by half the respondents, with the response range of 1.

The widest spread of opinion amongst these items was produced by *knowing about pupils' out of school experience*, with a small minority (2%) disagreeing, three-fifths in agreement and a third in strong agreement. The mean was the lowest in this series of items and the

range, from 1 to 4, the widest.

Imperatives to Teachers.

The next four items concerned teachers' own style and approach to pupils and was prefaced by 'teachers must ...' Table 8.7. shows the levels of agreement and disagreement expressed by the student teachers.

Variable Name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum/Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
School not contrast to home	3	2.81	0.69	1.0/4.0	4.07
know pupil background.	2	3.46	0.52	2.0/4.0	6.67
Suit child background	3	3.66	0.63	1.0/4.0	5.82
Communicate with parents	2	3.62	0.5	2.0/4.0	7.27

Table 8.7.

Teacher Imperatives. [N = 214]

A wide spread of opinion was expressed towards *teachers must make sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home*. Whilst half of the sample were in agreement with this statement, over a quarter disagreed or strongly disagreed, with a mere tenth being in strong agreement. Whilst the mode (3) and the median (3) indicate agreement, the mean of 2.81 is the lowest of any of these items, suggesting perhaps that a contrast between school and home is thought to be desirable !

Opinion on *teachers knowing about their children's backgrounds in order to interpret certain action and opinions* was much less equivocal, with over half the sample expressing agreement and almost half expressing strong agreement.

However, the extent to which this knowledge should influence teachers to *adapt their teaching method and style to suit the background of the children* produced a much wider spread of opinion. A tenth of the sample disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, two-thirds agreed and a quarter were in strong agreement.

There were high levels of agreement with the statement that *teachers should encourage communication at all levels with parents*, with three fifths of the sample in strong agreement and over a third in agreement. Only one person disagreed.

The Role of the School.

The last three items in this series concerned the role of the school within the community and within society in general. Table 8.8. shows the levels of agreement within the sample towards these items.

Variable Name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum' Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
Part of community	2	3.561	0.51	2 /4	7.02
Unify community	2	3.191	0.547	2 /4	5.83
Pressures of society	3	3.105	0.692	1 /4	4.48

Table 8.8.

The role of the school.

[N = 214]

Over half the sample were in strong agreement that *schools and teachers should be part of the community*, with a further two-fifths expressing agreement. Only one person disagreed.

Two-thirds of the sample thought that *schools could play a part in unifying the community*, with a further quarter expressing strong agreement. However, almost a tenth disagreed.

Even less agreement was expressed on the statement that *the school is preparing children to enter a society full of pressures*. Almost a fifth expressed disagreement or strong disagreement. Over a half were in agreement and over a quarter in strong agreement.

Degrees of Homogeneity on Opinions about Teaching.

The following rank order of degrees of homogeneity was produced by this group of variables.

Variable Name	Rank	Degree of Homogeneity
Influence of home	1	8.1
Pupil Behaviour	2	7.8
Communicate with parents	3	7.27
Atmosphere & environment	4	7.2
School part of community	5	7.02
Pupil views & opinions	6	6.9
Know pupil background	7	6.67
Whole community issues	8	6.6
Unify community	9	5.83
Suit child's background	10	5.82
Society full of pressures	11	4.5
School not contrast to home	12	4.1

Table 8.9.

Degrees of homogeneity produced by student teacher opinion variables.

[N = 214]

The rank order gives an insight into the student teachers' attitudes towards teaching. They agree very strongly that *they should be aware of home influences on their pupils and know the factors which shape pupils' behaviour*. Thus, their greatest concern is *to understand the out of school influences* which impinge on their pupils.

Next in order of importance for them is *communication with parents at all levels*, not merely one suspects, in order to have a better *idea of the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives* but also to explain their role as teachers. They see the school as being an *integral part of the community*.

Next in order of importance are *pupils' views and opinions* and *knowing about pupils' backgrounds in order to interpret certain actions and opinions*, particularly in so far as these are shaped by *issues which affect the whole community*.

Whilst they see the *school as a potentially unifying force for the community*, there is a lesser degree of agreement on this item and on the proposition that they should *adapt their teaching method and style to suit the background of the children*

The two items upon which they agree least are the proposition that *school is preparing children for a society full of pressures*, presumably because they have not really experienced these and that *school should not be a contrast to home*. Perhaps they feel that a contrast to

home is desirable and beneficial.

All these items concerned the teacher's role within the community and showed a concept of parallel parenting connected to the job of teaching as well as teaching as a social and society-based occupation.

Conditions of Service in Teaching.

The next set of variables concerned conditions of service in teaching. These included 'benefits' such as help with housing, resourcing and conditions within the school which could improve the teacher's lot, local education provision and policy in addition to national policy and practice. These items were coded on the following scale :

0 - irrelevant 1 - unimportant 2 - important 3 - very important.

Benefits.

These benefits had been identified by the headteachers as being important in improving teachers' lifestyles, particularly the lifestyles of entrants to the profession. Table 8.10. shows the extent to which the student teachers thought these factors important.

Variable	Response	Mean	Standard	Minimum'
Name	Range		Deviation	Maximum
Incentive allowance	1	1.358	0.481	1/2
Help with housing	3	1.746	0.825	0/3
Travel expenses	3	1.793	0.746	0/3
Inducement package	3	1.744	0.724	0/3
Child care facility	3	1.488	1.084	0/3
Staff welfare unit	3	1.939	0.659	0/3
Ease of leave of absence	3	1.875	0.731	0/3

Table 8.10.

Student teacher opinion on conditions of service benefits.

[N = 214]

Two-thirds of the student teachers thought that *incentive allowances* were unimportant, whereas a third thought that they were important. There may have been a confusion of terminology here, as the headteachers had been referring to accelerated increments over and above inducement packages to recruit and retain teachers in inner city areas but the term

may have suggested future promotion to the student teachers. This probably explains the response range of 1 and the mean of 1.358.

Help with housing was seen as unimportant or irrelevant by over a third of the student teachers, but nearly half of them thought it important, with over a tenth considering it to be very important. Hence the mean of 1.75 and a full response range.

Travel expenses were seen as important or very important to nearly three-quarters of the student teachers although a quarter considered them to be unimportant or irrelevant.

Inducement packages were not considered important by a third of the sample, but important to just over half and very important to ten percent.

Child care facilities produced a more even distribution of opinion: nearly half of the sample considered these to be unimportant or irrelevant, whereas just over half saw them as important or very important. Average opinion veered towards unimportant, though, as might be expected with a group of people at the start of their career, with an average age of 24.

More desirable than child care facilities was *a staff welfare unit*, with only a fifth of the sample rating it as unimportant or irrelevant and three quarters seeing it as important or very important.

Such a unit was even more desirable than *ease of leave of absence* which over a quarter of the sample considered to be irrelevant or unimportant.

The range of means on this set of variables was 1.9 to 1.3, showing the relative unimportance of this set of conditions of service factors at the start of a career in teaching.

Degrees of Homogeneity on Conditions of Service in Teaching.

Variable Name	Rank	Degree of Homogeneity
Staff welfare unit	1	2.94
Incentive allowances	2	2.82
Leave of absence	3	2.56
Inducement package	4	2.4
Travel expenses	5	2.39
Help with housing	6	2.11
Childcare facility	7	1.37

Table 8.11.

Degrees of homogeneity on conditions of service benefits.

[N = 214]

As Table 8.11 shows, the degrees of homogeneity for this set of variables were in the range of 1 to 3, unlike the set of variables concerned with attitudes towards teaching where the range was from 4 to 7. None of the factors directly relates to doing the job of teaching, so whilst they may improve the teachers' lifestyle, they will not, of themselves, improve retention. Hence the low values of the degrees of homogeneity.

Resourcing and Conditions within Schools.

The next six variables concerned resourcing and teaching conditions; they produced a range of mean values between 1.9 and 2.7, showing an increased degree of importance for these items, as can be seen in Table 8.12. They were coded in the same way as the preceding 'benefit' items.

Variable Name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum/Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
SEN provision	1	2.75	0.44	2/3	6.62
Statemented children	3	1.93	0.78	0/3	2.47
Reasonable class size	2	2.67	0.5	1/3	5.35
Good resources	2	2.73	0.47	1/3	5.76
Enough space	3	2.63	0.52	0/3	5.05
Balanced turnover	3	2	0.66	0/3	3.01

Table 8.12.

Student teacher opinion on resourcing and conditions within schools.

[N = 214]

There was virtual unanimity on *provision for children with special needs*, with three quarters of the student teachers seeing this as very important and a quarter as important, with average opinion veering towards important (mean: 2.75).

This contrasted sharply with opinion on *reasonable numbers of statemented children* which over a quarter of the student teachers considered unimportant or irrelevant, whereas two-thirds thought it important. Average opinion also veered towards it being important (mean: 1.926). This does, however, raise the question of whether teachers in training encounter children with statements of special educational need enough to form an opinion.

There was a high degree of agreement on the importance of *reasonable class sizes*, with well over three-quarters of the student teachers considering this important or very important. Only three people were prepared to contemplate teaching over-large classes.

An even greater degree of agreement was expressed about *good resources*, with almost three quarters of the student teachers considering these to be very important. Average opinion (mean: 2.734) put resources second only to provision for children with special educational needs.

Obviously, *enough space* was linked to resources and class sizes so that almost two-thirds of the student teachers saw this as being very important and a third as important. Given space, resources and adequate provision for special needs, a *balanced turnover* assumed less importance for a fifth of the group, although four-fifths did think it could be important.

Degrees of Homogeneity on Resourcing and Conditions within Schools.

Variable Name	Rank	Degree of Homogeneity
SEN provision	1	6.62
Good resources	2	5.76
Reasonable class size	3	5.35
Enough space	4	5.1
Balanced turnover	5	3.01
Statemented children	6	2.47

Table 8.13.

Degrees of homogeneity on resourcing and conditions in schools..

[N = 214]

The most agreement in this set of variables which did concern the day-to-day determinants

of teaching was about *adequate provision for children with special needs*. Children with special needs can be difficult to accommodate successfully in the class and may well underachieve if special provision is not made for them. Hence the high level of agreement on this item. In contrast, the lowest level of agreement was recorded on *reasonable numbers of statemented children* which suggests that the student teachers had not encountered many of these children. *Good resources* and *reasonable class sizes* were next in importance, before *enough space*. This was surprising, given the importance of space for practical activities in the classroom. There was less agreement on *balanced turnover* which suggests that the students' experience in school had not been long enough to see the effects of this on a teaching programme.

The values of these degrees of homogeneity were higher than those on benefits but lower than those on attitudes.

Local Education Authority Policy and Provision.

The next six variables concerned the part local education authorities could play in school management through provision of professional development, an equal opportunities policy, job guarantees and cover of vacant posts. Here average opinion was in the range 2.2 to 2.6 as Table 6.14. shows. Again, the coding was the same as for previous items in this section of the questionnaire.

Variable Name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum/Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
LEA management	3	2.23	0.63	0/3	3.55
Equal opportunities	3	2.61	0.61	0/3	4.27
INSET	3	2.4	0.63	0/3	3.83
Professional development	2	2.53	0.55	1/3	4.63
Cover of posts	3	2.32	0.57	0/3	4.08
Guaranteed jobs	3	2.44	0.67	0/3	3.62

Table 8.14.
Student teacher opinion on L.E.A. policy and provision.
[N = 214].

Over half the sample considered *local education authority management* to be important, with almost a third seeing it as very important, yet over a tenth of the student teachers saw it

as unimportant or irrelevant.

An equal opportunities policy was very important to over four-fifths of the student teachers, with only nine people seeing it as unimportant or irrelevant. In fact, average opinion (mean: 2.606) rated it higher than INSET (mean: 2.399) although nearly half of the student teachers thought INSET important, with over two-fifths considering it to be very important.

In the same way, *professional development opportunities* were seen as important by more than two-fifths of the student teachers and very important by over half of them. Nobody considered them irrelevant.

Over a third of the student teachers thought that *cover of vacant posts* was very important, with half of them seeing it as important. Only ten people thought it unimportant or irrelevant. Opinion on *cover of vacant posts* was not as strong (mean 2.32) as opinion on *guaranteed jobs*, although opinion on the importance of *guaranteed jobs* was more evenly divided, with just under two-fifths seeing a guaranteed job as important and just over a half seeing it as very important.

Degrees of Homogeneity on Local Education Policy and Provision.

The most important item for these student teachers was *professional development opportunities* where the degree of agreement was 4.63, followed by *equal opportunities*, with a degree of agreement of 4.27. *Cover of vacant posts* attracted a lesser degree of agreement but was, nonetheless, more important than *INSET* or a *guaranteed job*. The least agreement of all was recorded on *professional management by the local education authority*. The range of this set of degrees of homogeneity (3.55 to 4.63) suggests that local education authorities had much less impact on the day-to-day job of teaching than would be thought.

The National Context.

Only two items concerned the national context of teaching. This was relatively unimportant to the student teachers in comparison with the factors having more direct influence on day-to-day teaching, as Table 8.15. shows.

Variable	Response	Mean	Standard	Minimum /	Degree of
Name	Range		Deviation	Maximum	Homogeneity
Negotiating	3	2.14	0.68	0 / 3	3.14
Rights					
Media	3	2.1	0.82	0 / 3	2.51
Attitudes					

Table 8.15.

Student teacher opinion on the national context.

[N = 214].

Over half the student teachers considered the *restoration of negotiating rights* to be important; more than a fifth thought this very important, but a tenth considered it unimportant or irrelevant. However, negotiating rights were more important, according to average opinion, than *media attitudes* (mean : 2.1 as compared with mean 2.14 for negotiating rights) which a fifth of the student teachers considered to be unimportant or irrelevant. In contrast, three-quarters did see media attitudes as having some importance.

This reaction is consistent with the relative indifference which the student teachers show towards contextual features governing teaching in the open-ended section of the questionnaire and probably means that three-quarters of them would get on with teaching, irrespective of the context in which it was taking place.

The degrees of homogeneity bear out this trend, with *negotiating rights* gaining more agreement than *media attitudes*, but within a range from 2.5 to 3.14. which compares closely with the range on conditions of service benefits.

Retention Factors.

The final section of the questionnaire concerned retention factors within the school and their significance. It was coded on a zero to three scale in the following way :

0 - meaningless; 1 - insignificant; 2 - significant; 3 - very significant.

Table 8.16. shows the results.

Variable	Response	Mean	Standard	Minimum /	Degree of
Name	Range		Deviation	Maximum	Homogeneity
Positive Leadership	1	2.77	0.42	2 / 3	6.58
Career encouragement	2	2.5	0.54	1 / 3	4.6
Stable staff	2	2.6	0.54	1 / 3	4.75
Good staff atmosphere	3	2.78	0.5	0 / 3	5.52
Collective decisions	2	2.61	0.51	1 / 3	5.13
Co-operative teaching	2	2.42	0.58	1 / 3	4.15
Allow mistakes	3	2.42	0.62	0 / 3	3.9
Value person's teaching	1	2.84	0.37	2 / 3	7.76
Classwork recognised	2	2.58	0.53	1 / 3	4.85
Use strengths & competence	2	2.73	0.45	1 / 3	6

Table 8.16.

Student teacher opinion on retention factors within schools.

[N = 214]

Over three-quarters of the students considered *positive leadership* to be very significant, with a further fifth considering it to be significant. Only two people thought it meaningless.

Half the student teachers thought that *career encouragement* would be significant for them, whilst almost half of them saw it as being very significant. Only four people thought it meaningless.

A *stable staff* was highly significant to almost three-fifths of the student teachers and significant to a further third. A *good staffroom atmosphere* was very significant to four-fifths of the student teachers and significant to all except three people who considered it meaningless.

Collective decision-making had significance for a third of the student teachers and great significance to over half of them, with only two people seeing it as meaningless. The relative degree of significance of *co-operative teaching* was finely balanced, with 48% seeing it as

significant and 46% as very significant, although for ten people it was meaningless.

More variety of opinion was expressed about *allowing mistakes* to be made, although the same two percent difference between those who considered this to be significant and those who considered it very significant was apparent.

Over four-fifths of the student teachers thought that *being valued as a teacher* was very significant for them, with the remaining fifth seeing it as significant. Recognition of classwork was highly significant to over half of them and significant to over a third, with only four people seeing this as meaningless. Only three people thought that *being allowed to use one's strengths and competence* was meaningless, it was very significant for three-quarters of the student teachers and significant for a further fifth.

The range of means within this group of items was from 2.4 to 2.8, suggesting a very high degree of agreement on the significance of these items as retention factors.

Degrees of Homogeneity on Retention Factors.

If these factors are the main retention factors which head teachers can influence, then the degrees of homogeneity expressed by the students can be considered as indicative of good retention practice.

Variable name	Rank	Degree of Homogeneity
Value teaching	1	7.76
Positive leadership	2	6.58
Use strengths & competence	3	6.01
Good staff atmosphere	4	5.52
Collective decisions	5	5.13
Classwork recognised	6	4.85
Stable staff	7	4.75
Career encouragement	8	4.59
Co-operative teaching	9	4.15
Allow mistakes	10	3.89

Table 8.17.

Student teacher degrees of homogeneity on retention factors within schools.

[N = 214]

As Table 8.17. shows, the greatest agreement among the students was recorded for *having one's teaching valued* which suggests that they will respond most readily to a positive approach to their teaching skills at the start of their career. The next highest agreement was for *positive leadership*, suggesting that their emphasis is on the school as a community and

not just their own classroom. The third highest level of agreement was on being *allowed to use their strengths and competence* which implies that they have their own contribution to make to the school community. This concept is reflected in their desire for a *good staffroom atmosphere*, implying the social aspects of working with colleagues. Important to the school as a community is that *decisions should be taken collectively*. Important to teachers is that their *classwork should be recognised*, that the *staff group should be stable* and that they should receive *career encouragement*. *Co-operative teaching* is of lesser importance. The least agreement is accorded to *allow mistakes*, which suggests that this group of student teachers do not see themselves as educational innovators at this stage in their career.

Dependent Variables.

Originally, there were two dependent variables in the questionnaire : *commitment to teaching* and *ambition* but a third, *teach abroad* was added to the coding when it was discovered that five percent of respondents mentioned this as a career development option.

Table 8.18. shows the values recorded for the dependent variables.

Variable Name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum / Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
Commitment to teaching	4	4.1	0.89	1 / 5	4.6
Ambition	5	2.77	1.15	0 / 5	2.4
Teach abroad	1	0.07	0.25	0 / 1	0.28

Table 8.18.

Student teacher responses to the dependent variables.

[N = 214]

Commitment to teaching was coded on a 1 - 5 scale from very weak to very strong. Only ten people said that their commitment to teaching was very weak or weak. Less than a fifth felt it to be average, two-fifths felt strongly committed and a third were very strongly committed.

Ambition was coded on a 0 - 4 scale, with 0 representing 'preparing to leave', 1 - undecided, 2 - remain in the classroom, 3 - further studies and 4 - promotion. Only 8

people were preparing to leave and 18 undecided about their career, representing just under ten percent of the total sample. Nearly a quarter of the student teachers were planning to stay in the classroom, over a quarter were planning to undertake further study and over a quarter would be seeking promotion.

Teach abroad was coded as 1 when it was mentioned. Only five percent of the student teachers mentioned this option in their career plans, so for ninety-five percent, it did not enter their thinking at the start of their career.

The highest degree of homogeneity was recorded on *commitment to teaching*, with half as much agreement on *ambition*. There was no agreement on *teach abroad*.

Open-Ended Data.

These were listed as *intrinsic*, *extrinsic* and *contextual* positives and negatives and numbers of responses were counted, to a maximum of nine per respondent in each category. Table 8.19. shows the distribution of comments in each category in rank order. Table 8.20. shows the frequency of comments for each category.

Variable Name	Response Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum / Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
Intrinsic + (1)	9	4.5	2.1	0 / 9	2.1
Extrinsic - (2)	5	1.4	1.16	0 / 5	1.21
Intrinsic - (3)	9	2.05	1.8	0 / 9	1.15
Extrinsic + (4)	3	0.71	0.86	0 / 3	0.83
Contextual- (5)	5	0.7	1.03	0 / 5	0.68
Contextual+(6)	4	0.27	0.56	0 / 4	-0.48

Table 8.19.

Student teacher responses to the open-ended questions.

[Numbers in brackets refer to the comments which follow Table 8.20]

[N = 214]

Variable	Median	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Mode
Intrinsic +	4	1	7	34	39	29	39	23	13	13	11	3
Extrinsic -	1	49	72	60	12	14	2	0	0	0	0	1
Intrinsic -	2	44	44	54	30	19	9	4	1	2	2	2
Extrinsic +	0	107	65	28	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contextual -	0	122	50	23	8	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
Contextual +	0	162	40	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8.20.

Range of student teacher response to the open-ended questions.

[N = 214]

Intrinsic Positive Statements.

Less than five percent of the student teachers made no *intrinsic positive* statements, whilst just over five percent made nine comments or more. Just over a third made two or three comments in this category, whilst just under a third made four or five and almost a quarter made between six and eight. The range of comments recorded quantitatively was from 1 to 9. The median was four and the mode was three. The same percentage (18.2%) made two comments as made five. By far the greatest number of comments was recorded in this category, which also recorded the highest degree of homogeneity at 2.15.

Extrinsic Negative Statements.

Over a fifth of the sample made no *extrinsic negative* comments, a third made one and over a quarter made two, with slightly over a tenth making three or more. The range of comments was from 0 to 5, a more restricted range than for the preceding item. Although the median and the mode were one, the second highest degree of homogeneity was recorded on this item at 1.21 which may be indicative of the relative disapproval of this group of student teachers for the educational changes being imposed.

Intrinsic Negative Statements.

A fifth of the students made no *intrinsic negative statements*, a fifth made one, a quarter made two, a quarter made between three and five and a final five percent made six or more. The mean and mode of two suggest that intrinsic negatives form an alternative way of thinking about teaching from intrinsic positives. This is further emphasised by the range of numbers of comments which was from 0 to 9, as with intrinsic positives. In contrast, the

degree of homogeneity was 1.15, showing much less agreement than for intrinsic positives.

Extrinsic Positive Statements.

Half the student teachers made no extrinsic positive statements, just over a quarter made one comment and just under a fifth made two or three. The range of comments was restricted to between 0 and 3. The degree of homogeneity of 0.83 suggests that there may not be many extrinsic positive aspects to teaching as a job.

Contextual Negative Statements.

Over half the students made no *contextual negative* statements, under a quarter made one and only fifteen per cent made three or more. The range of comments, from 0 to 4, was, again, restricted but not as restricted as with extrinsic positives. This emphasises the comparative unimportance of the context to the student teachers and their teaching. The degree of homogeneity was 0.68, showing the relative lack of influence of the context.

Contextual Positive Statements.

Less than a quarter of the students made any *contextual positive* statements. The range of comments was from 0 to 5, suggesting that there was little positive in the current context which was better ignored. There was a minus degree of homogeneity on this item (-0.48).

Range of Comments recorded in the Open-Ended Data.

The greatest range of comments was recorded for *intrinsic positive* and *negative* statements where between 0 and 9 comments were made. This suggests that the important factors of teaching, at least in the final stages of training, lie in actually doing the job and, therefore, the respondents could find a great deal to say about this !

Intrinsic negative and *contextual negative* statements provided the next most significant range of comments, from 0 to 5, which may be indicative of the comparative sensitivity of the student teachers to the changes being introduced into the education system before, and during, the time they were completing the questionnaire.

Contextual positive statements ranged from none to four, which suggests their relative lack of importance to the student teachers.

Extrinsic positive statements had the most restricted range of responses of all, which might reflect that there are few extrinsic positive features of teaching and that the student teachers are relatively indifferent to these factors.

These responses suggest that at this stage in their teaching career, student teachers are 'reading' the job from the inside outwards, or, in other words, their emphasis lies in becoming practitioners in the classroom, rather than recognised functionaries in society. This is further emphasised by the high degree of unanimity they express. It may also suggest that the most potent job satisfiers in teaching are actually to be found within the classroom, rather than elsewhere, or indeed that teaching is a career pursued in a hostile climate.

*Exploring Statistical Relationships: I.
Correlations.*

This chapter deals with the correlations between independent, dependent and intervening variables, as shown in Figure 3.1. In the interests of brevity, the commentary is in the form of propositions which can be made to the degree to which significance has been empirically shown. Therefore, the stronger the proposition, the greater the degree of significance.

Independent Variables : Background.

I Age.

Variable Name	Value
Gender	-0.24**

Table 9. 1.

Student teachers' age related to gender.

[N = 214]

- The greater the age of respondents, the more likely they were to be male, to a .001 degree of significance.

II Gender.

Variable Name	Value
Voluntary groups	-0.16*
Work experience	-0.15
Child work	0.15

Table 9. 2.

Student teachers' gender related to voluntary group membership, work experience and child work.

[N = 214]

- The more likely respondents were to be female, the less likely they were to belong to voluntary groups, to a 0.01 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be female, the less likely they were to have had work experience, to a 0.1 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be female, the more likely they were to have had experience of looking after children, to a 0.1 degree of significance.

III Voluntary Group Membership.

Variable Name	Value
Responsibilities	0.84**
Child work	0.27**
Work experience	0.17*

Table 9. 3.

Student teachers' voluntary group membership related to voluntary group responsibilities, work with children and work experience.

[N = 214]

- The greater the number of voluntary group memberships, the more likely the respondents were to have voluntary group responsibilities, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The greater the number of voluntary group memberships, the more likely respondents were to have had work experience, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The greater the number of group memberships, the more likely the respondents were to have had child work experience, to a 0.01 degree of significance.

IV Voluntary Group Responsibilities.

Variable Name	Value
Child work	0.33**
Work experience	0.19*

Table 9. 4.

Student teachers' voluntary group responsibilities related to work with children and work experience.

[N = 214]

- The greater the number of voluntary group responsibilities, the more likely the respondents were to have had experience of working with children, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The greater the number of voluntary group responsibilities, the more likely the respondents were to have had work experience to a 0.01 degree of significance.

V Work Experience.

Variable Name	Value
Child work	0.24**

Table 9. 5.

Student teachers' work experience related to work with children.

[N = 214]

- The greater the likelihood of respondents having had work experience, the more likely they were to have had experience of working with children, to 0.001 degree of significance.

Independent Variables : Training.

VI Primary / Secondary.

Variable Name	Value
Final practice	0.96**
Age range	0.66**
Shortage subject	0.23**
School location	0.2*

Table 9. 6.

Student teachers' final practice related to age range, shortage subject and school location.

[N = 214]

- The more likely respondents were to be training for secondary, the more likely they would be to be doing a final practice in a secondary school, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be training for secondary, the more likely they would be to be working with older children, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be training for secondary, the more likely they would be to be teaching a shortage subject, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be training for secondary, the more likely they would be to have a final practice in an inner city school, to a 0.01 degree of significance.

VII Shortage Subjects.

Variable Name	Value
Special subject	0.37**
Age range	0.28**
Final practice	0.26**

Table 9.7.

Student teachers' study of shortage subjects related to age range and final practice.

[N = 214]

- The more likely respondents were to have mentioned a subject specialism, the more likely it was to be a shortage subject, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be teaching a shortage subject, the more likely they were to be teaching secondary age pupils, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be teaching shortage subjects, the more likely they would be to have a final teaching practice in an inner city school, to a 0.001 degree of significance.

VIII Final Practice.

Variable Name	Value
Age range	0.7**
School location	0.2*

Table 9.8.

Student teachers' final practice related to age range and school location.

[N = 214]

- The more likely respondents were to have a final secondary practice, the more likely they were to be teaching secondary age pupils, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to have a final secondary practice, the more likely they were to have this practice in an inner city school, to a 0.01 degree of significance.

IX Age Range.

Variable Name	Value
School location	0.2*

Table 9.9.

Student teachers' training age range related to final practice school location.

[N = 214]

- The more likely respondents were to be teaching the secondary age range, the more

likely they would be to have a final practice in an inner city school, to a 0.01 degree of significance.

X Background Variables in Relation to Training Variables.

		Training	Variable.			
Background	Primary /	Shortage	Subject	Final	Age range	School
Variable.	Secondary	Subject	Specialism	Practice		Location
Age	0.17*	0.21**	0.16*	0.2*	0.22**	
Gender	-0.29**	-0.28**		-0.26**	-0.37**	-0.16*
Voluntary Groups			-0.20*			
Responsibility			-0.17*			
Work experience	-0.15					

Table 9.10

Student teachers' background characteristics related to training characteristics.

[N = 214]

- The greater the age of the respondents, the more likely they were to be teaching shortage subjects, (their specialist subjects) and they would be training to teach secondary age range children, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The greater the age of the respondents, the more likely they would be to have a final teaching practice in a secondary school, where they would teach their specialist subject, to a 0.01 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be teaching in primary, the more likely they were to be female, the less likely they were to be teaching shortage subjects, and the more likely they would be to be teaching lower age range children, to a 0.001 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be female, the less likely they were to have a final practice in urban or inner city schools, to a 0.01 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be specialist subject teachers, the less likely they were to belong to voluntary groups and take on group responsibilities to a 0.01 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be female, the less likely they were to have had work experience, to a 0.1 degree of significance.
- The more likely respondents were to be female, the more likely they were to have had

experience of looking after children, to a 0.1 degree of significance.

Relationships between Intervening Variables.

The next part of this chapter considers the strength of correlations between the responses to the attitude statements. The responses are regarded as variables and the accounts open with the statement of the correlations are being considered. Effectively, this is the start of seeking sets of attitudes when attitudes may have linear or curvilinear relationships with each other.

1. Teacher Awareness.

1.1. Teachers should be aware of issues affecting children's behaviour in schools.

This variable correlated at a 0.001 level of significance with the variables shown in Table 9.11.

Variable name	Degree of correlation
Home environment	0.42**
Pupil views	0.4**
Pupil experience	0.36**
Atmosphere of pupils' lives	0.34**
Whole community	0.22*

Significant correlations with 'awareness of children's behaviour'.

[N = 214]

This shows a high degree of consensus among the student teachers about knowing their pupils as people. Home environment and its influence on pupils is seen as the most important factor; second in order of importance are pupils' views and opinions, closely followed by their experiences outside school and the atmosphere in which they live. Of less importance but nonetheless significant, is the whole community in so far as issues within it tend to shape pupils' lives.

1.2. Teachers should be aware of pupils' views and opinions.

The same pattern of relationships is apparent with this variable as with the preceding one, as Table 9.12. shows.

Variable name	Degree of correlation
Pupil experience	0.37**
Atmosphere of	
pupils' lives	0.35**
Whole community	0.26*
Home environment	0.24*

Table 9.12.

Significant correlations with 'awareness of pupil views.'

[N = 214]

The student teachers link pupils' views and opinions with their experience and the atmosphere and environment of their lives to a 0.001 level of significance. The whole community and home environment are similarly linked but to a 0.01 level of significance, in the opinion of the student teachers.

1. 3. Teachers should be aware of the ways in which pupils are influenced by their home environment.

As Table 9.13 shows, this variable relates at a 0.001 level of significance to the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives, pupils' out of school experience and awareness of the whole community, again strongly suggesting that the student teachers cannot conceive of teaching in a 'vacuum' but consider that knowledge of the community is a professional prerequisite to satisfactory teaching.

Variable name	Degree of correlation
Atmosphere of	
pupils' lives	0.44**
Pupil experience	0.37**
Whole community	0.33**

Table 9.13.

Significant correlations with 'pupils' home environment'.

[N = 214]

1.4. Teachers should be aware of the whole community.

Variable name	Degree of correlation
Atmosphere of	
pupils' lives	0.44**
Pupil experience	0.37**

Table 9.14.

Significant correlations with 'community awareness'.

[N = 214]

This variable relates, at a 0.001 level of significance, to both awareness of 'the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives' and 'pupils' out of school experience', suggesting that the student teachers consider these two factors as crucial to understanding their pupils.

1.5. Teachers should be aware of the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives.

This variable relates at a 0.001 level of significance (0.41**) to 'pupils' out of school experience', suggesting that the student teachers see these two statements as complementary to each other, possibly even interchangeable.

1.6. Teachers should be aware of pupils' out of school experience.

This variable relates significantly to the second set of propositions in the questionnaire - imperatives to teachers - as Table 9.15 shows.

Variable name	Degree of correlation
Know about pupils' background	0.43**
Adapt style to suit background	0.36**
Communication with parents	0.24**
School not a contrast to home	0.16*

Table 9.15.

Significant correlations with 'awareness of pupils' out of school experience'.

[N = 214]

The correlation of this variable at a 0.001 level of significance to 'know about pupils' backgrounds in order to interpret certain actions and opinions' suggests that the student teachers intend to incorporate this knowledge into their teaching style. This is borne out by its correlation, again at a 0.001 level of significance, to 'adapt teaching method and style to suit the background of the children'. 'Communication with parents' is equally important in this process.

The relation of this variable to 'teachers must make sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home' at 0.01 level of significance suggests that the student teachers would be prepared to modify institutional approaches for the benefit of pupils.

2. Imperatives to Teachers.

2.1. Teachers must make sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home.

Variable Name	Correlation
Adapt style to suit child's background	0.2*
Know about child's background	0.2*

Table 9.16.

Significant correlations with school / home compatibility.

[N = 214]

The 0.01 correlation between this variable and pupils' out of school experience and 'adapt style to suit children's background' suggest that the student teachers are prepared to acknowledge pupils' backgrounds in their teaching. However, this correlation is not as strong as with other items in this section of the questionnaire, which may imply that the student teachers, whilst acknowledging children's backgrounds, are in no way prepared to capitulate to them.

2.2. Teachers must know about children's backgrounds in order to interpret certain actions and opinions.

Variable Name	Correlation
Adapt style to suit child's background	0.34**
Communicate with parents	0.21**

Table 9.17.

Significant correlations with 'children's background'.

[N = 214]

The correlation of this variable at a 0.001 level of significance to 'adapt style to suit children's background' and 'communicate at all levels with parents' suggests the opposite opinion from that seen with the preceding variable. The student teachers do think it important to adapt their teaching style, although this adaptation must be mediated by communication with parents.

The correlation of this variable, at a 0.05 level of significance, to intrinsic positive statements about teaching implies that close links with parents and knowledge of children's backgrounds have a positive impact on teaching as a job.

children.

Variable Name	Correlation
Communicate with parents	0.27**

Significant correlations with 'teachers' method and style suiting child's background'.

[N = 214]

This variable relates, at a 0.001 level of significance, to 'communicate with parents at all levels', reinforcing the concept of communication with parents as mediating the student teachers' knowledge of their pupils to maximum effectiveness.

2.4 Teachers must encourage communication at all levels with parents.

This variable relates, at a 0.001 level of significance, to two of the variables which refer to the role of the school.

Variable Name	Correlation
School and teacher are part of the community	0.42**
School to unify community	0.32**

Table 9.19.

Significant correlations with 'communication with parents'.

[N = 214]

Thus, the students do not consider themselves to be apart from the community in which they teach but see themselves and the school as integral to it. Furthermore, they feel that school could enhance the unity of the community. The correlation of this variable with extrinsic negative statements at a level of significance of 0.05 suggests that these would be reduced, were schools to assume a higher profile within the community.

3. The Role of the School.

3.1. The school and the teacher are part of the community.

This variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance with 'the school can assume a role in unifying the community' (0.45**), reinforcing the concept of schools and teachers being integral to communities, as seen in variable 2.4. It also correlates at a 0.01 level of significance (0.16 *) with 'the school is preparing children to enter a society full of pressures', implying a distinction in the minds of the student teachers between the immediate community, over which they may be able to exercise some influence to reduce

pressures, and society in general, upon which they are fairly powerless to act.

3.2. The school can assume a role in unifying the community.

This variable correlates, at a 0.001 level of significance (0.33 **), with 'the school is preparing children to enter a society full of pressures', further reinforcing the idea of a distinction between society in general and particular communities in the minds of the student teachers.

3.3. The school is preparing children to enter a society full of pressures.

This variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance (0.29 **) with 'incentive allowances', implying that the student teachers feel that their part in the preparation of the children to withstand the pressures of society should be appropriately recognised. It also correlates negatively with intrinsic negative statements at a 0.05 degree of significance (-0.13), suggesting perhaps that the more the student teachers see themselves as having to prepare children for a 'society full of pressures', the more they will focus on the children, minimising in their own minds the intrinsic negative features of teaching.

The student teachers' responses to this section of the questionnaire show them as wishing to gain as great an awareness as possible of their pupils' lives. This awareness encompasses community knowledge which they will use to adapt the classroom situation for the benefit of pupils. Parents, too, play their part in completing the student teachers' knowledge of pupils and of the community.

The student teachers see themselves and their schools as an integral part of the community, differentiating between local community and society at large. If societal pressures become too great, they will concentrate their attention on pupils and the intrinsic positives of teaching. However, beyond a certain point of pressure, they will choose to teach elsewhere.

4. Conditions of Service in Teaching : Benefits

4.1. Incentive Allowances.

This variable correlates at a 0.1 level of significance with 'child care facilities' and 'ease of

leave of absence’.

Variable Name	Correlation
Childcare facilities	0.12
Ease of leave of absence	0.12

Table 9. 20.

Significant correlations with ‘incentive allowances’.

[N = 214]

4.2. Help with Housing.

Paradoxically, no such link between help with housing and commitment to teaching is made by this group of students, although it could be considered a basic requirement. However, this variable correlates positively at a 0.001 degree of significance to other variables within the group, as Table 9.21 shows.

Variable Name	Correlation
Travel Expenses	0.65**
Induction pack	0.39**
Staff welfare unit	0.31**
Ease of leave of absence	0.21*

Table 9.21.

Significant correlations with ‘help with housing’.

[N = 214]

The correlation, at a 0.001 degree of significance, between travel expenses and help with housing suggests that the student teachers might prefer to choose their own accommodation outside the vicinity of the school and be compensated for their travelling. The correlation with ‘induction package’ at the same degree of significance points to its importance, particularly at the first appointment stage. Similarly, the correlation at a 0.001 degree of significance with ‘staff welfare unit’ suggests that a ‘fail safe’ organisation, to which the teachers could turn in the case of necessity, would be appreciated by this group of student teachers. The correlation with ‘ease of leave of absence’ at a 0.01 degree of significance also seems to imply that leave is seen as a further ‘fail safe’ mechanism.

4.3. Help with Travel Expenses.

Variable Name	Correlation
Inducement package	0.45**
Staff welfare unit	0.35**
Ease of leave of absence	0.19*
Childcare facilities	0.19*

Table 9.22.

Significant correlations with ‘ help with travel expenses’.

[N = 214]

The correlation, at a 0.001 degree of significance, of this variable with 'inducement package' suggests that the student teachers consider help with the cost of travelling to belong to such a package. It would also seem to be within the scope of a staff welfare unit, in terms of general teacher welfare. It is hard to suggest any other reason than staff welfare for its correlation, at a 0.01 level of significance, to ease of leave of absence and child care facilities.

4.4. Inducement Package.

Variable Name	Correlation
Staff welfare unit	0.3**
Ease of leave of absence	0.28**

Table 9. 23.

Significant correlations with 'inducement package'.

[N = 214]

The correlation, at a 0.001 degree of significance, with 'staff welfare unit' and 'ease of leave of absence' again suggests that these are items of general teacher well-being which the student group would consider as enhancing their reputation in teaching.

4.5. Staff Welfare Unit.

This variable correlates, at a 0.001 level of significance (0.35 **), with 'ease of leave of absence'. It also correlates, at a 0.5 level of significance, with extrinsic negative statements, suggesting that a staff welfare unit could improve the extrinsic negative factors associated with teaching, in the opinion of this group of student teachers.

4.6. Ease of Leave of Absence.

This variable correlates with intrinsic negative factors in teaching at a 0.1 level of significance (0.13), suggesting that attention to staff welfare as exemplified by ease of leave of absence could reduce extrinsic negative factors in teaching, as far as this group of student teachers are concerned.

5. Resources and Conditions within Schools.

The next set of variables concerned the deployment of resources, including human resources, within the school, as well as provision for special educational needs.

5.1. Provision for Children with Special Needs.

This variable correlates, at a 0.001 level of significance (0.22**), with reasonable class sizes, suggesting that children's special educational needs can only be met when class sizes are reasonable. It also correlates with 'commitment to teaching' at a 0.05 level of significance (0.14+), suggesting that class size could significantly affect the teaching commitment of 95% of this student teacher group.

5.2. Reasonable Numbers of Statemented Children.

Variable Name	Correlation
Reasonable class size	0.33**
Balanced turnover	0.24**
Enough space	0.15

Table 9.24.

Significant correlations with 'reasonable numbers of statemented children'.

[N = 214]

This variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance with 'reasonable class size' and 'balanced turnover' suggesting that statemented children can only be accommodated when classes and turnover are stable, in the opinion of this student group.

It also correlates at a 0.05 level of significance with 'enough space' implying that space is a crucial factor in teaching statemented children. Its correlation at the same level of significance with contextual negative statements about teaching implies that this group of student teachers think that the needs of these children are unrecognised in the wider context of teaching.

5.3. Reasonable Class Size.

Variable Name	Correlation
Balanced turnover	0.34**
Enough space	0.3**
Good resources	0.26**

Table 9. 25.

Significant correlations with 'reasonable class size'.

[N = 214]

This variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance with 'balanced turnover', 'enough space' and 'good resources', all basic elements to effective teaching.

5.4. Good Resources.

This variable correlates positively at a 0.001 level of significance with 'enough space' (0.62**).

5.5. Enough Space.

This variable correlates positively, at a 0.001 level of significance, with 'balanced turnover' (0.24 **) and at a 0.01 level of significance with intrinsic negatives (0.16), suggesting that enough space by itself will not reduce intrinsic negative factors of teaching without the turnover of the class being taken into account.

5.6. Balanced Turnover.

Variable Name	Correlation
Local education authority management	0.2*
Cover of vacant posts	0.2*
INSET	0.17*
Equal opportunities	0.12

Table 9.26.

Significant correlations with 'balanced turnover'.

[N = 214]

The correlation of this variable, at a 0.01 level of significance, with local education authority management, cover of vacant posts and in-service education for teachers suggests that this group of student teachers consider turnover to be the concern of the local education authority as should be the cover of vacant posts and the provision of in-service education.

The correlation, at a 0.1 level of significance with equal opportunities is explained by the fact that the majority of the student teachers in the survey were female, but it may also

imply that female teachers feel they are more likely to suffer from an unbalanced turnover of children than their male counterparts, hence the need for a judiciously applied equal opportunities policy.

6. Local Education Authority Policy and Provision.

6.1. Professional Management by the Local Education Authority.

Variable Name	Correlation
Equal opportunities	0.31**
INSET	0.3**
Cover of vacant posts	0.3**
Professional development	0.26**

Table 9.27.

Significant correlations with 'L.E.A. management'.

[N = 214]

The correlation of this variable at a 0.001 level of significance with equal opportunities, in-service education, cover of vacant posts and professional development shows this group of students as seeing all these aspects of teaching as belonging to the management function of the local education authority. As more than four-fifths of the student teachers are women, an equal opportunities policy is extremely important.

6.2. Equal Opportunities Policy.

Variable Name	Correlation
INSET	0.3**
Professional development	0.19*
Cover of vacant posts	0.16++

Table 9. 28.

Significant correlations with 'equal opportunities'.

[N = 214]

As four-fifths of the student teachers are female and therefore looking for independent careers, it is hardly surprising that this variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance with in-service education and at a 0.01 level of significance with professional development opportunities. This variable also correlates at a 0.05 level of significance with cover of vacant posts, suggesting that informal cover arrangements may be more readily sought from

women than from men. Its negative correlation, at a 0.05 level of significance, with extrinsic negatives implies that these could be minimised through the application of an equal opportunities policy, just as its positive correlation with intrinsic positives, at a 0.1 level of significance, suggests that it could be instrumental in improving the positive intrinsic aspects of teaching.

6.3. In-service Education for Teachers (INSET).

This variable correlates, at a 0.001 level of significance, with 'professional development' (0.48**) which is hardly surprising as local education authorities should be expected to provide relevant, good quality INSET which should have a positive impact on its teachers' commitment. It also correlates, at a 0.01 level of significance (0.181*), with 'cover of vacant posts', implying that attendance at in-service courses is directly linked to staffing levels in the opinion of this group of student teachers.

6.4. Professional Development Opportunities.

Variable Name	Correlation
Cover of vacant posts	0.24**

Table 9.29.

Significant correlations with 'professional development opportunities'.

[N = 214]

This variable correlates, at a 0.001 level of significance with 'cover of vacant posts', suggesting that professional development opportunities may be compromised by inadequate staffing levels, in the opinion of this group of teachers.

This is emphasised by its correlation with extrinsic positive statements at a 0.1 level of significance, suggesting that ninety-five percent of the student teachers see professional development as enhancing the extrinsic positive factors of teaching, presumably through career development and promotion possibilities.

6.5. Cover of Vacant Posts.

Variable Name	Correlation
Negotiating rights	0.29**
Guaranteed job	0.25**
Media Attitudes	0.22**

Table 9.30.

Significant correlations with 'cover of vacant posts'.

[N = 214]

This variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance with 'restoration of negotiating rights', 'guaranteed job', 'media attitudes' and intrinsic positive statements which seems to suggest that the student teachers consider all these items very important in establishing and maintaining professional employment standards within teaching. In other words, the ideal employer would, within the school, cover vacant posts properly. Outside the school, the ideal employer would guarantee jobs; within the wider context, the ideal employer would ensure that negotiating rights were restored and would counter negative media attitudes, thereby enhancing teachers' well-being within the school as well as improving contextual factors for teachers, although this could lead to the identification of a greater number of intrinsic negative features of teaching, in the opinion of ninety-five percent of this student teacher group.

6.6. Guaranteed Job.

This variable relates to 'ambition' at a significance level of 0.1 (0.12+), so for ninety percent of this student teacher group a guaranteed job would enhance their ambition.

7. The National Context.

7.1. Restoration of Negotiating Rights.

This variable relates positively, at a 0.001 level of significance (0.36 **) to media attitudes so, in the opinion of these student teachers, the attitude of the media and the removal of negotiating rights are closely related; moreover they imply that restoration of negotiating rights could improve media attitudes towards teaching. This variable also relates positively at a 0.001 level of significance (0.19 *) to contextual negative statements, implying that these could diminish if negotiating rights were restored. This implication is further emphasised by the positive correlation of this variable, at a 0.05 level of significance, with contextual positive statements, suggesting that the restoration of negotiating rights could contribute positively to the image of teachers within society, as far as these student teachers are concerned.

7.2. Media Attitudes.

This variable correlates positively with contextual negatives, at a 0.001 level of significance, suggesting that the majority of these student teachers thought that media attitudes could exercise a positive effect on the context of teaching.

8. Retention Factors.

The final set of intervening variables concerned job factors within the school which could have a significant influence on teachers' ability to teach.

8.1. Positive Leadership.

Variable Name	Correlation
Career encouragement	0.35**
Value teaching	0.33**
Stable staff	0.31**
Classwork recognised	0.24**
Collective decision-making	0.24**
Good staffroom atmosphere	0.22**
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.21**
Co-operative teaching	0.17*
Allow people to make mistakes	0.15++

Table 9.31.

Significant correlations with 'positive leadership'.

[N = 214]

This variable correlates positively at a 0.001 level of significance with 'career encouragement', 'value teaching', 'stable staff', 'classwork recognised', 'collective decision-making' and 'good staffroom atmosphere', all features of school life very much within the control of the teaching staff, but most particularly the head. However, these features could be prioritised, as Table 9.31 shows.

For these student teachers, career encouragement was the most significant item, followed by being valued as a teacher; thus they hope for a first appointment where they can consolidate their teaching skills and be helped in determining the direction of their teaching career. They consider that a stable staff would contribute positively to this process, as would recognition of their work in class. Collective decision-making and a good staffroom atmosphere would enhance their developing sense of professional autonomy.

This autonomy would be further enhanced by the opportunity to use their strengths and competence and to teach co-operatively, at a 0.01 level of significance, so they would wish to make a distinctive, individual contribution to the work of the school within a collaborative ethos. This might mean making mistakes which correlates to the positive leadership variable at a 0.05 level of significance.

The student teachers recognise that this way of working may not be seen as valid by parents, the media and government, with the result that contextual negative factors of teaching correlate at a 0.1 level of significance with this variable.

8.2. Career Encouragement.

Variable Name	Correlation
Stable staff	0.35**
Classwork recognised	0.29**
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.26**
Value teaching	0.23**
Co-operative teaching	0.22**
Collective decision-making	0.20*
Allow people to make mistakes	0.15++

Table 9.32.

Significant correlations with 'career encouragement'.

[N = 214]

Career encouragement correlates positively, at a 0.001 level of significance, with stable staff which must be an obvious prerequisite to anybody at the start of their career. It also correlates at the same level of significance with 'classwork recognised', suggesting that beginning teachers, particularly, need fairly immediate feed-back on their performance, especially from heads and more experienced colleagues. This is further emphasised by the correlation of this variable, still at a 0.001 level of significance, with 'allowed to use strengths and competence' and 'being valued as a teacher', implying the development of an individual teaching style within a collective context. This collective context is further emphasised by the correlation of this variable, at a 0.001 level of significance with 'co-operative teaching' and at a 0.01 level of significance, with 'collective decision making'. Inevitably, mistakes may be made and it is important, at a 0.05 level of significance, that this should be allowed.

8.3. Stable Staff.

This variable did not correlate significantly with 'career encouragement' or 'positive leadership' but correlated at a 0.001 level of significance with five other variables in the group at a 0.01 level of significance with the other two, as table 9.33 shows.

In the opinion of these student teachers, staff stability correlates, at a 0.001 level of

significance, with recognition of classwork, being valued as a teacher, having some responsibility for decision-making as well as being able to use personal strengths and competence. These factors suggest that the student teachers place almost equal value on the relationships with colleagues as they do as those with their pupils. They envisage teaching as a collaborative venture with others as the correlation of this variable with 'allow people to make mistakes' and 'co-operative teaching' at a 0.01 level of significance shows.

Variable Name	Correlation
Classwork recognised	0.4**
Value teaching	0.36**
Collective decision-making	0.25**
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.24**
Good staffroom atmosphere	0.21**
Allow people to make mistakes	0.19*
Co-operative teaching	0.19*

Table 9.33.

Significant correlations with 'stable staff'.

[N = 214]

8.4. Good Staffroom Atmosphere.

Variable Name	Correlation
Allow people to make mistakes	0.28**
Collective decision-making	0.27**
Co-operative teaching	0.20*
Value teaching	0.20*
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.14+
Classwork recognised	0.13+
Extrinsic negative	-0.12+

Table 9.34.

Significant correlations with 'good staffroom atmosphere'.

[N = 214]

Unlike the preceding variable, this item correlated, at a 0.001 level of significance, with only two other variables: 'collective decision-making' and 'allow people to make mistakes', suggesting that opportunities to learn by making mistakes were seen as important by this group of student teachers. Nearly as important is the opportunity to take part in decision-making.

It correlates at a 0.01 level of significance with 'co-operative teaching' and 'being valued as a teacher' and at a 0.5 level of significance with 'recognition of classwork' and 'allowed

to use strengths and competence', again showing the importance to these student teachers of classroom autonomy within a collaborative school approach.

This variable correlates negatively, at a 0.1 level of significance with extrinsic negative statements, implying that extrinsic negatives might reduce if the staffroom atmosphere were good. It correlates positively at the same level of significance with 'commitment to teaching', suggesting that informal collaboration with colleagues, together with a measure of professional autonomy, will enhance the commitment of this group of student teachers.

8.5. Collective Decision-Making.

Variable Name	Correlation
Co-operative teaching	0.58**
Value teaching	0.37**
Allow people to make mistakes	0.29**
Classwork recognised	0.29**
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.23**
Intrinsic positive	0.17*
Contextual positive	0.14++

Table 9.35.

Significant correlations with 'collective decision-making'.

[N = 214]

The variable correlated at a 0.001 level of significance with 'co-operative teaching' again reinforcing the importance to these student teachers of collaboration with colleagues. This was further emphasised by this variable's correlation, at the same level of significance, with 'value teaching' which, taken together with 'being allowed to make mistakes', 'classwork recognised' and 'allowed to use strengths and competence' once more suggest the concept of high degrees of professional autonomy within a collaborative and, possibly, egalitarian teaching environment where some degree of experimentation can take place (allow people to make mistakes).

This variable also correlates at a 0.01 level of significance with intrinsic positive factors associated with teaching as well as with commitment to teaching. Both would presumably be enhanced by the democratisation of decision-making.

This variable's correlation, at a 0.05 level of significance, with contextual positive factors seems to suggest that collective decision-making could have a beneficial influence on the wider context of teaching, as far as these student teachers are concerned. However, its correlation with ambition, at a 0.1 level of significance seems to suggest that

democratisation might make these student teachers more willing to move for promotion.

8.6. Co-operative Teaching.

This variable correlates with 'classwork recognised', 'being valued as a teacher' and 'allow people to make mistakes', at a 0.001 degree of significance suggesting that all these features are prerequisites to an effective co-operative teaching situation as far as these student teachers are concerned, as Table 9.36 shows.

Variable Name	Correlation
Classwork recognised	0.29**
Value teaching	0.27**
Allow people to make mistakes	0.25**
Extrinsic negative	0.15++
Allowed to use strength and competence	0.15++

Table 9.36.

Significant correlations with 'co-operative teaching'.

[N = 214]

However, these student teachers do relate co-operative teaching to an increase in extrinsic negative factors, at a 0.05 level of significance, suggesting that they recognise it as counter to the model of teaching implied by the national curriculum. In contrast, within the school, the student teachers equate co-operative teaching, at a 0.05 level of significance, with being allowed to use their particular strengths and competence. This enhances their commitment to teaching at the same degree of significance.

8.7. Allow People to Make Mistakes.

Variable Name	Correlation
Value teaching	0.26**
Classwork recognised	0.21**
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.19*

Table 9.37.

Significant correlations with 'allow people to make mistakes'.

[N = 214]

This variable correlates at a 0.001 level of significance with 'value teaching' and having 'classwork recognised', thus, in the opinion of student teachers, the concepts of value and recognition of their teaching should allow for an element of experimentation, even if mistakes may occur. Therefore, these students are seeking opportunities to extend their expertise by learning from their mistakes.

This variable also correlates, at a 0.01 level of significance with 'allowed to use strengths and competence', again suggesting the development of distinctive teaching styles. Moreover, opportunities to develop their own teaching styles through making mistakes will enhance the student teachers' commitment to teaching, at a 0.01 level of significance.

However, the correlation of this variable, at a 0.05 level of significance with extrinsic negatives again suggests a mismatch between externally imposed teaching criteria and student teachers' own opinions on the practice of teaching.

8.8. Being Valued as a Teacher.

Variable Name	Correlation
Classwork recognised	0.45**
Allowed to use strengths and competence	0.27**
Ambition	0.22**
Contextual negative	0.17*
Intrinsic positive	0.13+

Table 9.38.

Significant correlations with 'being valued as a teacher'.

[N = 214]

Being valued as a teacher is linked to recognition of classwork, using strengths and competence and ambition at a 0.001 level of significance, suggesting that ambition will increase, in the opinion of these student teachers, the more they feel themselves to be valued as teachers through the recognition of their classwork and the exercise of their strengths and competence. The correlation, at a 0.01 level of significance, with contextual negatives again seems to suggest lack of understanding of teaching from parents, the government and the media. Paradoxically, this will enhance commitment to teaching, almost as though teachers envisage themselves working well in their class, finding the most effective ways of teaching, but, in essence, participating in an intensely inexplicable activity, only understood by initiates - themselves and fellow teachers - and pupils. Perhaps the concept of 'the secret garden of the curriculum' (James Callaghan : Ruskin College speech, 1976) is, in reality, that of teaching interaction ? The correlation of this variable at a 0.1 level of significance with intrinsic positives suggests that this could be so.

8.9. Having Classwork Recognised.

This variable relates at a 0.001 level of significance to 'using strengths and competence' (0.38 **), suggesting increasing autonomy and the exercise of professional judgement to be very important to this group of student teachers.

Intervening Variables Performing Distinctively.

Only three intervening variables performed distinctively. These were :

Teachers must make sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home.

This correlated at a 0.01 degree of significance with gender (0.2**) showing that the greater the likelihood of the respondents being female, the more positively they felt towards this item.

It also correlated, to the same degree of significance, with 'guaranteed job' (0.14+) suggesting that the ability to balance home background and school successfully should lead to a guaranteed job, in the opinion of this group of students.

Teachers must encourage communication at all levels with parents.

This correlated to a 0.1 level of significance with 'commitment to teaching' (0.12+), showing that these student teachers identified their brief as encompassing parents as well as pupils.

It also correlated negatively at the same level of significance with extrinsic negative statements, (0.17+) implying that the extrinsic negative features of teaching could be minimised through communication with parents.

The most distinctively performing variable was *guaranteed job* as Table 9.39. shows.

Variable Name	Value
Work experience	-.26**
Gender	.23**
Age Range	-.19*
Voluntary Groups	0.13
Ambition	0.12

Table 9.39.

Significant correlations with 'guaranteed job'.

[N = 214]

The positive correlation with gender at a 0.01 degree of significance suggests that guaranteed jobs are extremely important to women who do not necessarily see themselves as second wage earners in partnership situations.

The positive correlation with ambition at a 0.1 degree of significance suggests that the guarantee of a job should be a powerful factor in career moves.

The negative correlation with work experience at a 0.001 degree of significance shows that those students who have had work experience feel secure in their ability to find further work, and, therefore, are not concerned about having a guaranteed job.

The negative correlation with age range at a 0.001 degree of significance shows these students as being less child-centred but more teaching oriented. In other words, they would feel confident in teaching a wide age range.

Intervening Variables related to 'commitment to teaching'.

Variable Name	Variable Number	Correlation
Pupil Views	13	.25**
Pupil Background	20	.24**
INSET	40	.21**
Pupil behaviour	12	.2*
Pupil experience	17	.18*
Collective decision-making	50	.164*
Being valued as a teacher	53	.163*
Professional development	41	.16++
Allowed to make mistakes	52	.15++
Incentive allowances	25	.14++
Children's background	19	.14++
Co-operative teaching	51	.13++
Class size	34	.13+
Communication with parents	21	.12+
Good staffroom atmosphere	49	.12+

Table 9.40.

Intervening Variables correlating significantly with 'commitment to teaching'.

[N = 214]

Commitment to teaching related to fifteen intervening variables at different degrees of significance as Table 9.40 shows.

Its correlation with *pupil views* and *pupil background* at a 0.001 degree of significance suggests that the student teachers' prime focus is the children they teach, both as individuals and as products of their particular background. Its correlation with *INSET* implies that they are concerned to find suitable further training to extend their teaching on behalf of pupils.

The same link between pupils and professionalism can be seen in the set of variables which relate to commitment to teaching at a 0.01 degree of significance. Again, commitment is linked to *pupils*, this time their *behaviour* and their *experience*. Important to dealing effectively with these are a chance to take part in *decision-making* and a feeling of *being*

valued.

Correlations at a 0.1 degree of significance largely concern intrinsic aspects of teaching. Most important of these is *professional development opportunities*. Next is being *allowed to make mistakes*. One extrinsic condition of service, *incentive allowances*, is next in order of importance, followed by *knowing about children's backgrounds* and finally, the opportunity for *co-operative teaching*.

A final three dependent variables correlate with *commitment to teaching* at a 0.05 degree of significance. Of these two are intrinsic and one contextual. *Class size* obviously has a great influence on commitment to teaching, particularly in terms of making good provision for over-large classes. So does the *staffroom atmosphere* which can compensate for difficult class and school situations. *Communication with parents* is obviously crucial to commitment, especially for primary teachers who operate in some ways like parallel parents to young children.

It is interesting to note that each of these groups of attitudes contains job related references as well as child related references. This suggests that the characteristics are very closely linked in the student teachers' thinking. The two exceptions to this are *incentive allowances* (extrinsic) and *communication with parents* (contextual) which suggests that the student teachers are seeking recognition of their role through their salary and are concerned to work in harmony rather than in conflict with the parents of their pupils.

Dependent Variables.

There were just three dependent variables, two by initial design and one by discovery, in the data. Those designed were the strength of *commitment to teaching* and *ambition* in the profession. From the data it was clear that a small minority were considering whether or not to *teach abroad*.

Dependent Variables related to 'teach abroad'.

Variable	Teach Abroad
Intrinsic -	.2*
Intrinsic +	.18*

Table 9.41.

Dependent variables relating significantly to 'teach abroad'.

[N = 214]

'Teach abroad' related at a 0.01 degree of significance to intrinsic positive and intrinsic

negative statements, suggesting that those respondents who are more inclined to teach abroad are also more aware of the intrinsic positive and negative features of teaching. Thus they are looking for job satisfaction and will weigh up positive and negative features accordingly.

Significant Correlations between Dependent Variables.

Variable	Commitment	Ambition
Commitment		
Ambition	.17*	
Teach Abroad	-0.13	.2*

Table 9.42.

Dependent Variables, ambition and 'commitment to teaching'.

[N = 214]

Commitment to teaching relates at a 0.01 level of significance to ambition, suggesting a permanent relationship between the two factors, the intensity of which will vary at points in time. This is emphasised by its negative relationship with teaching abroad, at a 0.1 degree of significance, implying that the decision to teach abroad may arise if commitment to teaching is adversely affected.

Teaching abroad relates to ambition to a 0.01 degree of significance, suggesting that these two factors are interdependent and may be forces at a point in time, so that ambition is not necessarily a driving factor in a decision to teach abroad

Background Variables related to 'Commitment to Teaching'.

Variable	Gender	Voluntary Groups	Work Experience	Child work
Commitment				.16*
Ambition	.16*			.13+
Teach Abroad		.26**	.16*	

Table 9.43.

Background in relation to 'commitment to teaching', 'ambition' and 'teach abroad'.

[N = 214]

Gender

The more likely respondents are to be female, the more likely they are to have career ambitions within teaching, to a 0.01 degree of significance. It is possible to speculate that this group of woman is more orientated towards financial independence in its own right,

despite the low level of pay in teaching.

Voluntary Group Membership.

Respondents who had worked in voluntary groups were more likely to want to teach abroad, to a 0.001 degree of significance. This suggests that voluntary group experience confers a degree of confidence and widens people's horizons to the extent that they may opt for teaching abroad in certain circumstances.

Voluntary Group Responsibilities.

The more likely people were to have had responsibilities in voluntary groups, the more likely they were to contemplate teaching abroad, to a 0.1 degree of significance. This further underlines the preceding finding.

Work Experience.

The more likely respondents were to have had work experience, the more likely they were to contemplate teaching abroad, to a 0.1 degree of significance. Proving that they could hold down a job presumably gives the confidence to decide to work elsewhere, should this be an option.

Child Work.

The more likely respondents were to have had child work experience, the more likely they were to be committed to teaching, to a 0.01 degree of significance, suggesting that work with children is a prerequisite to creating committed teachers.

Background Variables related to Dependent Variables.

Variable	Age	Gender	Voluntary Group Responsibility	Work Experience	Child Work
Intrinsic -					
Extrinsic -		-.17*			
Contextual -					
Intrinsic +	-.22**		.15+	.22**	.14+
Extrinsic +					
Contextual +			-.13+		

Table 9.44.

Background variables related to dependent variables.

[N = 214]

Age.

The older the respondents, the less likely they were to find intrinsic positive factors in teaching to a 0.01 degree of significance. This is probably because the respondents were taking up teaching as a second career, possibly as a result of redundancy. They could therefore be finding it more difficult to adjust to teaching than were their younger colleagues.

Gender.

The more likely the respondents were to be male, the less likely they were to make extrinsic negative comments to a 0.1 degree of significance. This suggests that their life interests lie elsewhere than in teaching, so they are very happy to accept conditions of service which allow them time for other pursuits.

Voluntary Group Responsibilities.

The more likely respondents were to have taken on voluntary responsibilities, the more likely they were to make intrinsic positive statements about teaching to a 0.1 degree of significance. This suggests that they derive immediate satisfaction from undertaking these responsibilities and that this satisfaction equates with a job satisfier in teaching. In the same way, they are unwilling to make contextual negative statements, to the same degree of significance. This suggests that the context, even when hostile, reinforces the voluntary aspect of teaching, perhaps through recognition of their role.

Work Experience.

Those respondents who had had work experience were more likely to make intrinsic positive statements about teaching to a 0.01 degree of significance. This suggests that work experience is an almost indispensable prelude to a positive valuation of teaching as a career.

Child Work.

Those respondents who had had prior experience of working with children were more likely to make intrinsic positive statements, to a 0.1 degree of significance. This shows that prior experience of working with children is indispensable as a preparation for teaching.

Training Variables related to 'Commitment to Teaching'.

The only significant correlation between the training variables and the variables expressing commitment was that between school location and ambition. The more likely respondents

commitment was that between school location and ambition. The more likely respondents were to have done a final teaching practice in an inner city school, the more likely they were to have ambition, to a 0.1 degree of significance.

Training Variables related to Dependent Variables.

Variable	School	Shortage	Final	Subject	Age
		Subject	Practice	Specialism	Range
Intrinsic -					
Extrinsic -		0.11		-0.12	
Contextual -					
Intrinsic +	-0.18*		-0.18*		
Extrinsic +	0.2*				-0.12
Contextual +			-.13+		-0.13

Table 9.45.

Training variables related to dependent variables.

[N = 214]

Primary / Secondary.

Those people who were training as secondary teachers were less likely to make intrinsic positive statements, to a 0.01 degree of significance. This suggests that their professional focus is more subject than pupil oriented, in other words that their specialism is more significant to them than an orientation towards children. This way of thinking is further emphasised by their tendency to make extrinsic positive statements at the same degree of significance. Effectively, they are embarking on a career in teaching because they have an appropriate specialism which will earn them perhaps not a high salary but favourable conditions of service.

Shortage Subject.

The more likely respondents were to be teaching a shortage subject, the less likely they were to make extrinsic negative statements, to a 0.1 degree of significance.

This is the same group of subject specialists referred to in the previous paragraph.

Final Practice.

The more likely respondents were to have a final practice in a secondary school, the more likely they were to make extrinsic positive and intrinsic negative statements to a 0.1 degree of significance. This mirrors exactly the degrees of significance seen with primary or secondary training, showing a group of trainee teachers who see themselves as subject specialists, opting for what they consider to be good conditions of service.

Subject Specialism.

The more likely respondents were to be training to teach a shortage subject, the less likely they were to make extrinsic negative statements. Again, these were the subject specialists whose focus is less child oriented and more subject focused.

Age Range.

The less likely respondents were to be teaching young children, the less likely they were to make intrinsic positive and extrinsic positive statements to a 0.1 degree of significance. These are obviously not the subject specialists seen earlier but may well be the upper junior teachers who do not see themselves as subject specialists and, therefore, feel disadvantaged by the intrinsic and extrinsic negative features of teaching.

School Location.

The more likely the student teachers were to have done a teaching practice in an inner city school, the more likely they were to have a commitment to teaching to a 0.01 degree of significance.

Conclusion.

Thus, the only consistent relationships to emerge with commitment to teaching relate to the experience of child work in people's background and teaching in an inner city school in their training programme. This suggests that teacher supply is somewhat precariously poised unless both factors can be incorporated into teacher training.

Exploring Statistical Relationships : II
Principal Components Analysis.

A principal components analysis with rotation was carried out on the data from the student teachers using the SPSSX programme. The factors found are treated in this analysis as *mind sets* because they are substantially composed of responses to attitude prompts. Four major mind sets were apparent as Table 10.1. shows. They accounted for 28% of the variance.

Factor	% of Variance	Eigenvalue
Factor I	12.5	8
Factor II	6	4
Factor III	5.4	3.5
Factor IV	4.2	2

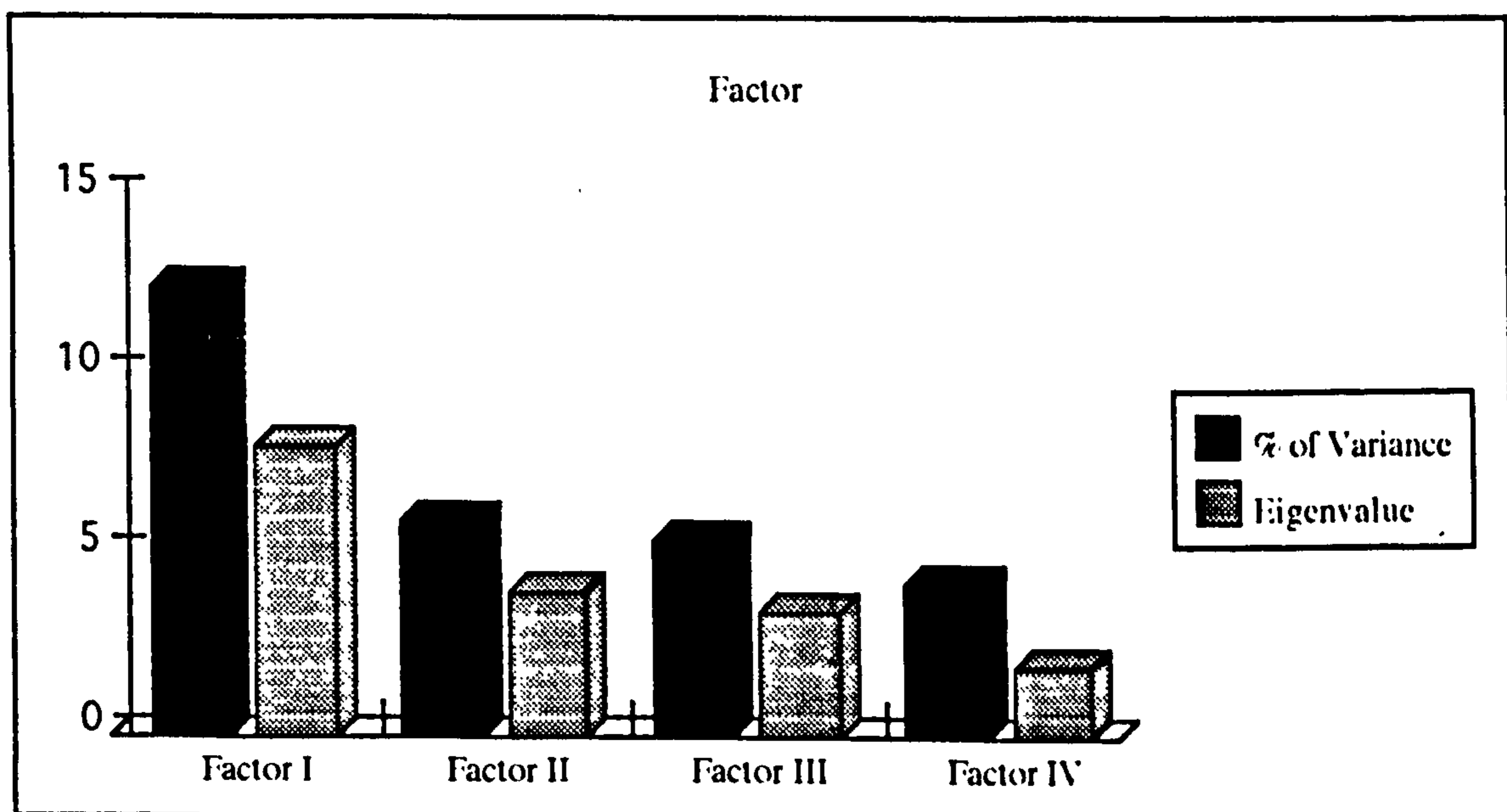
Table 10.1.

Proportions of variance for factors extracted by a principal components analysis.

Random = $100/65 = 1.53\%$.

Rule of interpretation : $> .3 \pm .1$

[N = 214]



Graph 10.1.

A graph showing the percentage and eigenvalues of the four factors.

A comparison of the four factors shows the following characteristics :

¹ Thus, if the variance were randomly distributed, there would be 1.53% attributed to each factor : ie:100% divided by 65 variables. The rule of interpretation, the convention adopted, was to seek 3 or more percent of the variance or an eigenvalue of 2 or more.

Questionnaire Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Age			0.3	
Gender			-0.42	
School			0.75	
Shortage Subject			0.31	
Voluntary Group		0.55		0.49
Vol Group Responsibility		0.46		0.47
Work Experience				0.5
Final Practice	0.31			
Age Range	-0.24			
School Location				
Extrinsic Negative [2]	0.43			0.31
Intrinsic Positive [2]				0.34
Teach Abroad				0.36
Help with Housing				0.41
Travel Expenses		-0.32		0.39
Induction Pack				0.41
Staff Welfare Unit				0.3
Whole Community	0.42	0.48		
Atmosphere of pupils' lives	0.49	0.45		
Pupil Experience	0.44	0.59		
Pupil Background	0.45	0.39		
Know about Pupil Background	0.31	0.39		
Part of Community	0.39	0.34		
Unify Community	0.38	0.39		
Incentive Allowances	0.46	0.62		
Good Resources	0.35	-0.3		
Enough Space	0.31	-0.32		
Pupil Views	0.5			

Table 10.2.

Factor Loading on the four factors using a cut-off of +/- 0.3²

[N = 214]

Factor I.

This mind set is more likely to be associated with female student teachers who are training for the primary age range and have done a final teaching practice with younger children.

Gender : 0.31 School : - 0.32 Final Practice : - 0.31

This student mind set expects to work closely with the community in which the teaching occurs, focusing particularly on what the children bring from their home environment as

² Extrinsic negative and Intrinsic positive are composite variables in that they are a numerical résumé of the qualitative data : see Chapter 12 : page 219 for extrinsic - and page 214 for intrinsic +

Table 10.3. shows.

Variable Name	Value
Pupil Views	0.51
Atmosphere	0.5
Pupil Background	0.45
Pupil Experience	0.44
Pupil Behaviour	0.43
Whole Community	0.42
Home Environment	0.4
Communicate with Parents	0.4
School as part of the Community	0.4
School to unify Community	0.38
School not direct contrast to home	0.33
Know about child's background	0.31

Table 10.3.

A closer analysis of intervening attitudinal variables found in Factor I.

[N = 214]

Expected extrinsic support is in the form of :

Staff Welfare Unit : 0.48 Incentive Allowances : 0.46 Leave of Absence : 0.41

The school should provide the following working conditions :

Reasonable class sizes : 0.37 Good Resources : 0.36 Enough Space : 0.32

In its turn, the local education authority should provide :

Variable Name	Value
Effective Management	0.51
Professional Development	0.51
INSET	0.49
Cover of Vacant Posts	0.47
Equal Opportunities Policy	0.43

Table 10.4.

A closer analysis of extrinsic intervening attitudinal variables found in Factor I.

[N = 214]

Ideally, the national context would assure the conditions seen in Table 10.5. for teachers.

Variable Name	Value
Improved Media Attitudes	0.43
Restored negotiating rights	0.39
Guaranteed Job	0.38

Table 10.5.

A closer analysis of contextual intervening attitudinal variables found in Factor I.
[N = 214]

Within the school, this mind set would like to benefit from the intrinsic working conditions seen in Table 10.6.

Variable name	Value
Co-operative teaching	0.55
Stable Staff	0.52
Collective decision-making	0.52
Classwork recognised	0.5
Being valued as a teacher	0.49
Career encouragement	0.45
Positive leadership	0.45
Good staffroom atmosphere	0.41
Allowed to make mistakes	0.35

Table 10.6.

A closer analysis of the intrinsic intervening attitudinal variables found in Factor I.
[N = 214]

This mind-set epitomises the teacher as a professional, with expectations of a professional level of provision of resources within the school as well as from their employing authority. There is also the expectation that the local education authority will look after its employees, and the hope that a more positive national personnel policy towards teachers, together with improved media attitudes will emerge.

Within the school, working with a group of like-minded professionals on a basis of equality and under positive leadership is envisaged. Such a working context will accommodate an improvement of teaching skills through being allowed to make mistakes in a non judgmental setting.

This mind-set is essentially child-centred but also hopes to receive the same kind of care from the employment system as it is prepared to dispense to the children. Its practical stance is one of all-embracing collective maternalism in which teachers work for and want a nexus of colleagues, including positive leaders. Heads are, rightly very concerned to foster and promote teachers thinking in this way.

However, there is a greater degree of internal complexity within this mind-set than expected. Teachers thinking in this way are not acting as displacement parents but rather performing as parallel parents. Neither are they behaving like the stereotypical female primary teacher. Indeed, their concept of teaching is based on collegiality and high levels of collaboration with fellow teachers, under the leadership of a strong head. These teachers think in terms of making a major personal investment in their job but expect to receive a great deal in return. Teaching is seen as a way of life within a predetermined context. However, their thinking is more mature than depicted in that they are independent rather than dependent women who have no need to consider themselves as subject specialists to have self-esteem. Head teachers can recognise this mind-set in terms of the provision they can make for it and, indeed, would focus their retention strategies on teachers thinking in this way.

Factor II.

This mind-set is associated with student teachers who belong to voluntary groups where they take on responsibilities :

Variable name	Value
Voluntary Groups	0.55
Responsibilities	0.46

Table 10.7.

A closer analysis of background variables found in Factor II.

[N = 214]

Their expectations of conditions of service are modest. In fact, they are prepared to teach under any conditions provided they are paid adequately.

Variable name	Value
Incentive Allowances	0.62
Enough Space	- 0.33
Travel Expenses	- 0.32
Good Resources	- 0.30

Table 10.8.

A closer analysis of extrinsic intervening attitudinal variables found in Factor II.

[N = 214]

Their thinking would include developing links with the community in which they worked, as Table 10.9. shows.

Variable Name	Value
Pupil Experience	0.6
Whole Community	0.48
Atmosphere	0.45
Pupil Background	0.39
Child Background	0.39
Unify Community	0.39
Part of Community	0.34

Table 10.9.

A closer analysis of intervening attitudinal variables found in Factor II.

[N = 214]

This mind-set accounts for community activism within the group of student teachers. Its thinking views education and the school as a focus for the community and a powerful force in responding to community needs.

This way of thinking has its own quasi-autonomous identity, showing a concept of self as a person who has a social function as epitomised by work with voluntary groups and a high degree of community awareness, but has an expectation of good pay. This is the teacher thinking of him / herself as a carer but on a wider basis of participation than the children and their parents. This mind-set is less dependent on teaching as a function but more dependent on a network of connections.

Factor III.

This mind-set is associated with older student-teachers who are most likely to be male, training to be secondary teachers of a shortage subject and who have done their final teaching practice in an urban or inner city secondary school, teaching older children.

Variable Name	Value
Final practice	0.76
School Type	0.75
Age	0.7
Gender	- 0.42
School Location	0.39
Behaviour	0.32
Shortage Subject	0.31

Table 10.10.

A closer analysis of training variables found in Factor III.

[N = 214]

This is the way of thinking of older teachers who essentially 'craft' themselves onto the pupil network. They are concerned with themselves, their pupils and their task. This is a vocational interpretation of teaching which takes in male territorial behaviour and uses the subject focus as a link to pupils. For these teachers, the job has a clear occupational identity although its range of applicability is limited to teaching the particular subject.

Factor IV.

This factor is also associated with student teachers who belong to voluntary groups where they take on responsibilities. Unlike Factor II, they have also had work experience.

Variable Name	Value
Voluntary Groups	0.5
Work Experience	0.5
Responsibilities	0.47

Table 10.11.

A closer analysis of the background variables found in Factor IV.

[N = 214]

This mind-set would appreciate the kind of extrinsic provision as seen in table 10.12. from the local education authority:

Variable Name	Value
Help with Housing	0.42
Induction Pack	0.41
Travel Expenses	0.41
Staff Welfare Unit	0.31

Table 10.12.

A closer analysis of the extrinsic intervening attitudinal variable found in Factor IV.

[N = 214]

Unlike the other three mind-sets, this one recognises intrinsic positive and extrinsic negative aspects of teaching and would consider teaching abroad as Table 10.13 shows:

Variable Name	Value
Teach Abroad	0.36
Intrinsic Positive	0.34
Extrinsic Negative	0.31

Table 10.13.

A closer analysis of job commitment variables found in Factor IV.

[N = 214]

Intrinsic positive aspects of teaching may be set against extrinsic negative aspects of

teaching in this mind-set, as alternative ways of thinking about the job. Presumably, if the inconsistencies between the two aspects of teaching become too great, this mind-set would look towards teaching abroad.

This is essentially a calculative identity where work experience as well as taking responsibility in voluntary groups means that this mind-set is not totally committed to teaching but would consider relocation if the extrinsic features of the job became too oppressive.

Areas of Similarity between the Factors.

Table 10.14. shows the areas of similar thinking shared by the four different principal mind-sets.

Factors	Common Thinking : +	Common Thinking : -
I - III	Final practice	Age range
	Pupil Behaviour	
I - II	School - based	
II - IV	Voluntary Groups	Travel Expenses
	Voluntary Group Responsibilities	

Table 10.14.

Areas of common thinking within the four factors.

[N = 214]

Factors I and III are thus prone to be influenced by their final practice location as far as their job destination is concerned. They will also be keen not to move out of their chosen age-range, taking pupil behaviour into account in their teaching. The similarity in thinking on age range between the specialists in teaching very young children and those whose specialism is subject but also older age range oriented is interesting to note.

Factors I and II have common ground in considering themselves to be school based. This is in sharp contrast to Factors II and IV who essentially see themselves as working voluntarily for a community, hence their negative thinking about travel expenses.

Synergistic Thinking.

This is a synergistic set of common thoughts about teaching, which points to attitudes to teaching in the process of being formed, rather than already fixed, except in the case of Factor III which represents the thinking of the older male teachers.

However, the characteristics of thought of these student teachers seem to suggest that the intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual features of the job are much more interactive than current literature with its strong theme of the 'good' teacher within the classroom would imply.

These ways of thinking suggest that teachers, even at the start of their career, are much more open to colleagues, the community in which they work, the head teacher as leader and are, at the same time, much more realistic about the functional requirements of teaching. Thus, these data suggest that the description of the archetypal 'good' teacher is far more circumscribed than in real life, and, as a concept, is probably erroneous. Here, positive teacher identity seems to be based, not on the classroom as a part of the school, but on the school as existing in its own right and its own context. The school is not merely a collection of classrooms but a network of people reaching out into the community and beyond, so the over insistence on teacher competences (Nias :1989; Nias, Southworth and Yeomans: 1989; Kohl, 1986; Cortazzi, 1991) ignores the elements of professional connectedness apparent in these data.

These data, therefore, challenge the current notion of teaching as a series of listed competences (National Curriculum Council :1991), suggesting firstly that there are stages of acquisition of competence, secondly that the teacher role has a wider community focused definition and thirdly, that for the emergent teacher, there is a semi-permeable membrane around the functions of the teacher role.

The Perspective of the Professionals.

Chapter Eleven.

The Teachers.

This chapter deals with the quantitative and qualitative data on staying in teaching or quitting which was provided by the teachers who volunteered to complete the questionnaire. Their data on job satisfaction are treated in Chapter Thirteen together with those of the student teachers.

Sixty-three teachers from eleven primary and one independent all age school volunteered to complete the questionnaire. All but two of the schools were in East London. The sole selection criterion for the teachers was their willingness to complete the questionnaire, having heard an explanation of the research project at a staff meeting. The return rate from each school was low (40%), probably because of the timing (the end of the summer term) and the method of administration.

Methodological Approach to the Data from the Teachers.

Quantitative Data.

It was thought likely that the response range would reduce with the teachers because they were older and more experienced than the student teachers, so that the degree of opinion swing would be smaller. Therefore, the key relationships in the data would probably be found between the dependent variables and the other questionnaire items. In addition, their data could show how well the independent and intervening variables fitted together. Thus, the key questions became, firstly, that of identifying items related to the dependent variables, and, secondly, that of examining the relationships between the independent and intervening variables.

Qualitative Data.

The qualitative data on stay and quit were listed in categories within overarching sections of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual negative and positive statements. They were then compared and found to correspond to the student data in that they, too, concerned teaching as a social occupation and the social status of the teacher. Therefore, they were regrouped under the five headings suggested by the student teacher data to show up important stay and quit factors for teachers.

Thus the first part of this chapter deals with the qualitative data, starting with the independent variables and going on to examine the dependent and intervening variables. The second part of the chapter reviews the qualitative data, taking the approach outlined in the previous paragraph.

The Teachers' Background.

Age.

The oldest teacher in the group was 61 and the youngest 23, with a fairly even distribution of ages in between. The average age was 39.

Gender.

Nine respondents omitted this information. Of those who gave information, twelve of the teachers were male and the rest female, again showing the trend towards teaching (especially primary teaching) being a majority female profession.

Voluntary Group Membership.

Just over a third of the teachers did not belong to any voluntary groups. A quarter belonged to one or two, with just over a tenth belonging to three or more.

Voluntary Group Responsibilities.

Two-fifths of the teachers had no voluntary group responsibilities. Almost a third had one or two, with a sixth having three or more.

Work Experience.

A quarter had had no significant work experience in the previous five years, apart from teaching. A quarter had had one job, two-fifths two or three jobs and the remainder four or more.

Child Work.

Over two-fifths had had no experience of working with children other than teaching, in the previous five years. A third had had two or three different experiences of working with children and a fifth four or more.

The Teachers' Training.

Primary / Secondary.

Over four-fifths of the teachers had trained to teach in primary schools, with less than ten percent having trained for the secondary age range.

Shortage Subjects.

Only a quarter of the teachers had trained to teach shortage subjects, with three-quarters being trained in non-shortage subjects.

Subject Specialism.

Ten of the teachers gave no information on their subject specialism, indeed, at the time of training they may not have had one. Table 11.1 summarises the subject specialisms of the rest.

Subject Specialism	Number of Teachers
Design & Technology (s)	0
Modern Languages (s)	2
Music	3
Mathematics (s)	4
Creative Arts	4
Religious Education	4
Science (s)	8
P.E. Movement	8
English	8
Geography / History	12

Table 11.1.

Teachers' subject specialisms.

[N = 63]

[(s) denotes shortage subject]

Thus, only 14 teachers in this group had been trained in shortage subjects.

Final Teaching Practice.

Over four-fifths of the teachers had done a final teaching practice in a primary school.

Age Range.

Almost a quarter had done a final practice teaching 5 to 6 year old children; almost a third had taught 6 to 7 year old children on their final practice, with a further fifth teaching 8 to 9 year olds. Under ten percent had taught older children.

Location of Final Practice School.

Under ten percent had done their final practice in a rural school. Almost half had been placed in suburban schools, nearly a fifth in urban schools and fifteen percent in inner city schools.

Dependent Variables.**Intrinsic Negative Statements.**

A third of the teachers made no intrinsic negative statements, almost a half made between one and three, with a sixth making between four and eight. The range was between none and eight.

Extrinsic Negative Statements.

Just under a third of the teachers made no extrinsic negative statements, with just over half making one or two and a sixth making between three and five. The range was between none and five.

Contextual Negative Statements.

Two-thirds of the teachers made no contextual negative statements; a third made between one and three, with one person making five. As with intrinsic negatives, the range was between one and five.

Intrinsic Positive Statements.

Only an eighth of the teachers made no intrinsic positive statements. Two-fifths made between one and four, a quarter made five and a quarter made between six and nine. The range was greater by one than for the other sets of statements.

Extrinsic Positive Statements.

Here responses were restricted to between one and three comments, with over half the group making none at all. A quarter of the teachers made one extrinsic positive comment and a sixth made two or three.

Contextual Positive Statements.

Two-thirds of the teachers made no contextual positive statements, a quarter made one and only four people made two or more.

Table 11.2. shows the extent of the response range and the degrees of homogeneity.

Variable Name	Response Range	- X	Standard Deviation	Minimum Maximum	Degree of Homogeneity
Intrinsic -	8	2.218	2.097	0.0 - 9	1.15
Extrinsic -	5	1.618	1.298	0.0 - 5	1.2
Contextual -	5	0.678	1.001	0.0 - 5	0.7
Intrinsic +	9	4.545	2.071	1 - 9	2.14
Extrinsic +	3	0.71	0.875	0.0 - 3	0.7
Contextual +	4	0.491	0.767	0.0 - 4	0.71

Table 11.2.

A quantitative analysis of the qualitative data with regard to the teachers' response range and degrees of homogeneity of dependent variables.

[N = 63]

Dependent Variables Related to Independent Variables.

Variable Name	Intrinsic -	Extrinsic -
Age		- 0.41*
Shortage Subject	- 0.42**	

Table 11.3.

Significant correlations of teachers' independent and dependent variables.

[N = 63]

Only two independent variables related significantly to the dependent variables. These were *age* which related to extrinsic negative statements at a 0.01 degree of significance and *teaching a shortage subject* which related to intrinsic negative statements at a 0.001 degree of significance.

These findings suggest that older teachers tend to focus more exclusively on teaching and therefore find less negative features impinging on their class. There is also the implication that they have sufficient confidence in their own teaching to be able to exclude, or at least contain, the potentially disruptive effects of changes imposed from outside.

The negative correlation of shortage subjects with intrinsic negatives implies that those

teachers who do teach shortage subjects are most totally adjusted to their subject specialism to the point that intrinsic negative features of teaching do not impinge so readily upon them. It also suggests that they may be spared some of the more humdrum tasks in school because they are subject specialists.

Specific Intervening Variables Related to Dependent Variables.

Variable	Intrinsic +	Intrinsic -	Extrinsic -
School / home compatibility	.33*		
Enough Space		.36*	
Balanced Turnover	.33*		
Negotiating Rights	.41*		
Collective Decision-making	.33*		
Co-operative Teaching	.34*		
Allowed to make Mistakes			.37*

Table 11.4.

Significant correlations of teachers' specific intervening variables and dependent variables. [N = 63]

School should not be a Direct Contrast to Home.

These teachers see themselves as taking their pupils home circumstances into consideration, applying a measure of understanding of their pupils and gaining a more positive class climate as a result, at a 0.01 degree of significance.

Enough Space.

Space is vital to teaching at a 0.01 degree of significance, according to these teachers. If they have too little, their interaction with pupils will be less satisfying and they will work less effectively.

Balanced Turnover.

If the turnover of pupils in their class is balanced and predictable, these teachers will feel more satisfied about the intrinsic positive features of their job, to a 0.01 degree of significance. If, however, pupils spend long periods away from school for whatever reason, they will have difficulty in integrating them back into class and this will adversely affect their ability to teach well.

Negotiating Rights.

For these teachers, to be treated as professionals, to have the right to negotiate their salary levels, will considerably (to a 0.01 degree of significance) enhance the intrinsic positive features of teaching.

Collective-Decision-making.**Cooperative Teaching.**

The chance to make decisions as a collective group and to co-teach enhance the intrinsic positive features of teaching to a 0.01 degree of significance, demonstrating that teaching is a group activity, carried out with collaboration of colleagues. This collaboration is a really important aspect of teaching, as the qualitative data show.

Allow Mistakes to be Made

This variable relates at a 0.01 degree of significance to extrinsic negatives, showing that these teachers feel that there should be opportunities to try things out and to make mistakes, However, they are very sensitive to the potential hostility from the outside world which experimentation can generate.

Significant Correlations between Dependent Variables.**Intrinsic Negative and Intrinsic Positive.**

These two variables relate to each other at 0.43**, a 0.001 degree of significance. This shows the extent to which they are interdependent and interchangeable, as far as the teachers are concerned.

Commitment to Teaching and Ambition.

These variables relate to each other at 0.41*, a 0.01 degree of significance, showing that the greater these teachers' commitment is to teaching, the more ambitious they are.

Thus, the head teachers' propositions about working circumstances and the student teachers' proposition about relating to the community hold true for the teachers. They are, in fact, strengthened and stabilised in teaching by these features. This leads to a focus on process as exemplified by day-to-day classroom interaction with pupils, so work with children and taking on voluntary responsibilities cease to be important current elements in being a teacher.

Related Intervening Variables.

The same group of variables relates very strongly together as Table 11.5. shows.

Variable Name	School / home compatibility	Balanced turnover	Negotiating rights	Collective decision-making
Balanced				
Turnover	0.15			
Negotiating				
Rights	.52**	0.25		
Collective				
decision-making	.34*	0.28	0.36	
Co-operative				
teaching	0.29	0.24	0.34	.61**

Table 11.5.

Significant correlations between teachers' intervening variables. (I)

[N = 63]

Using Mc Kennell's alpha coefficient, the average correlation between these intervening variables is 0.34, a degree of significance of 0.01. This suggests that these are a scale of significant characteristics of teaching, in the opinion of this group of teachers.

Thus, the teachers expect to have some cognizance of the community from which their pupils come, in return for which they would like to have a balanced turnover of children. They expect to be treated like professionals and have the right to negotiate their salary with their employer. They anticipate working in a group situation where decisions are taken collectively and where they teach with their colleagues.

A second set of variables with a average correlation of 0.33 also relate together, and provide a complementary group of significant teaching characteristics as Table 11.6. shows.

Variable	Reasonable class Size	Pupil Views	Professional Development
School / Home Compatibility	0.22	0.14	0.09
Balanced Turnover	0.27	0.11	-0.08
Negotiating Rights	0.19	0.16	0.18
Collective Decision-making	0.50**	0.08	0.13
Co-operative Teaching	0.25	0.37*	0.25

Table 11.6.

Significant relationships between teachers' intervening variables. (II)

[N = 63]

Here school / home compatibility is associated with a reasonable class size, pupils' views and professional development as well as professional autonomy in terms of doing the job - collective decision-making and co-operative teaching. These are also linked to professional status in terms of negotiating rights.

A third set of relationships between the dependent and intervening variables with a higher degree of significance than 0.5, but a lower degree than 0.1, was also apparent in the correlation matrix, as Table 11.7 shows.

Variable	Intrinsic +	Extrinsic +	Contextual+	Intrinsic -	Contextual-
Gender			-0.31		
Pupil Views	0.25				
Communication					
with Parents	0.25				0.28
Stamented					
Children		-0.24			
Reasonable Class					
Size	0.27				0.28
Professional					
Development	0.24			0.28	
Negotiating					
Rights					0.25
Stable Staff				0.26	
Using Strengths					
and Competence				0.32	

Table 11.7.

Significant correlations between teachers' attitudinal intervening variables and dependent variables.

[N = 63]

The intrinsic positive characteristics of teaching relate, on the community level, to being aware of pupils' views and opinions and to encouraging communication with parents at all levels. Thus, the teachers feel that they must not only know what their pupils think but also make the effort to communicate with pupils' parents, in order to enhance their day-to-day teaching.

In school, their job is made more enjoyable if they have a reasonable class size and professional development opportunities.

In contrast, the extrinsic positive characteristics of teaching are depressed by having to

teach even reasonable numbers of statemented children, perhaps because their special needs can be a preoccupation outside school hours and beyond the end of term.

The contextual positive features of teaching are less apparent to men than to women, which might suggest that men find it more difficult to relate to parents and the community of the school. Alternatively, they may not acknowledge any contextual positive features.

Intrinsic negative characteristics of teaching relate to professional development, working within a stable staff and being allowed to use strengths and competences. This suggests that the more teachers develop their expertise through professional development and the more they are allowed to use their strengths and competences, the more they recognise the limitations of a stable staff and the immediate dissatisfiers in their own teaching situation.

Contextual negative features of teaching can be exacerbated by encouraging communication with parents at all levels, suggesting that not all communication with parents is productive or beneficial, as far as the teachers are concerned.

Reasonable class size also relates positively to contextual negative characteristics, implying that over large classes could lead these teachers to think more about the poor political and media image of the profession. Lack of negotiating rights tends towards the same effect.

Independent Variables Related to 'commitment to teaching'.

Age relates negatively to ambition at a 0.5 degree of significance (-0.31). This is predictable, given that as people get older, they become more realistic about the scope of their professional activity and also more embedded into their own communities, making moves for ambition's sake much less attractive.

Work experience relates positively to teach abroad at a 0.5 level of significance (0.29), probably suggesting that younger teachers who had had other significant work experience in the previous five years would feel more confident about teaching in unfamiliar surroundings.

Qualitative Data.
Teachers' Stay and Quit Factors.

In the same way as with the student teachers' data, the teachers' responses were grouped together under the three categories of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual and further subdivided into comments about staying and comments about quitting. Table 11.8. shows the number of responses in each category.

	Intrinsic	Extrinsic	Contextual	Totals
Stay	89	44	32	165
Quit	59	64	29	152

Table 11.8.
Teachers' stay and quit factors compared numerically.

In common with the student teachers, the teachers made the highest number of responses in the intrinsic stay category. The number of intrinsic reasons for quitting amounted to two-thirds of the number of intrinsic reasons for staying. In contrast, the number of extrinsic reasons for staying was just over two-thirds of the number of extrinsic reasons cited for quitting. The contextual category attracted the least number of comments but here stay and quit factors were almost equally balanced. It is obviously fanciful to suggest that the near numerical equivalence of the totals for staying and quitting are indicative of a group of teachers poised for flight, but they may be symptomatic of a worried and weary work force.

The next section of this chapter examines what the teachers said, before establishing potential stay and quit factors, following the same methodology as that used to process the student teacher data.

Teachers' Stay and Quit Factors.
A Content Analysis.

Intrinsic Stay Factors.

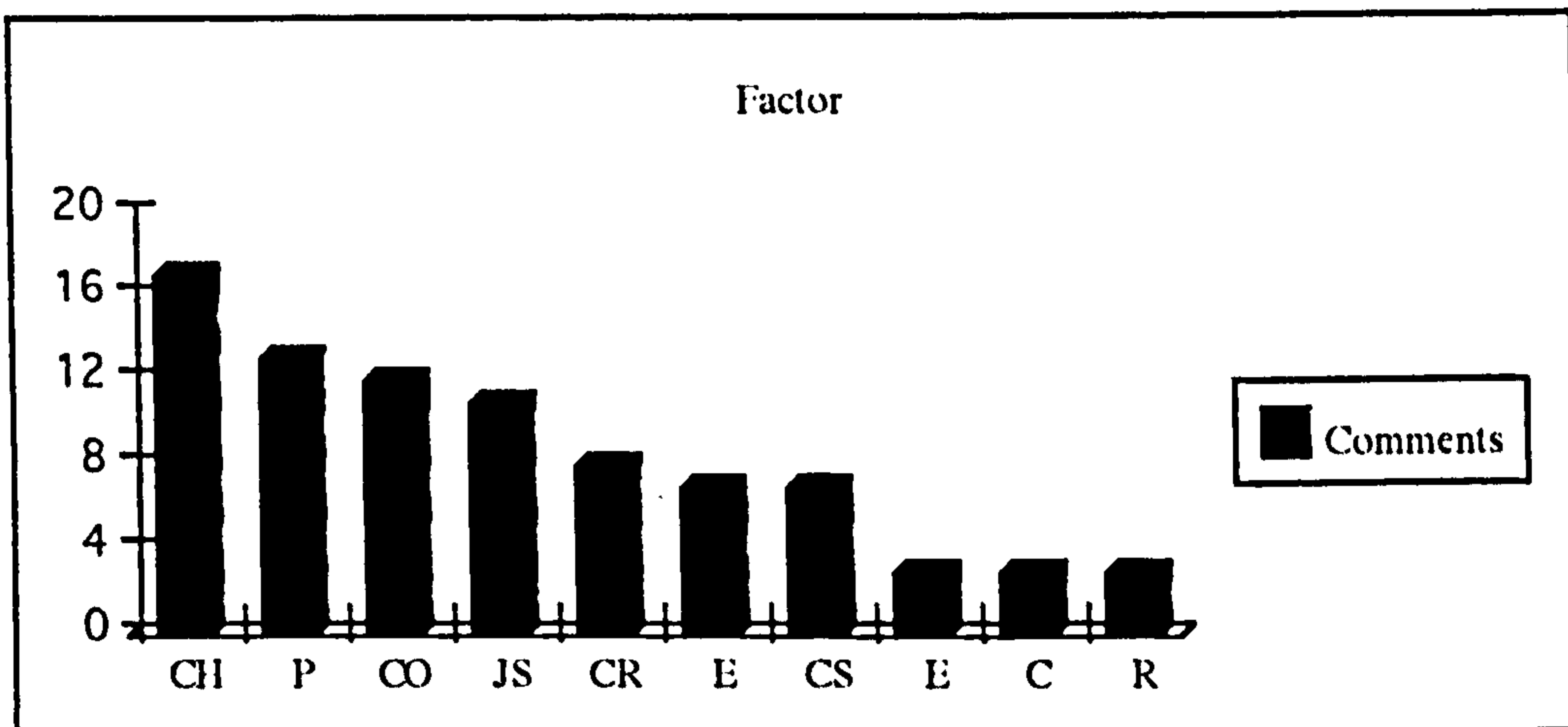
Table 11.9. resumes the intrinsic reasons the teachers gave for staying in teaching.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Children	CH	17
Professionalism	P	13
Colleagues	CO	12
Job Status	JS	11
Creativity	CR	8
Enjoyment	E	7
Class Size	CS	7
Environment	E	3
Challenge	C	3
Resources	R	3

Table 11.9.

Frequency of teachers' qualitative intrinsic stay factors.

[N = 89]



Graph 11.1.

Graph of frequency of teachers' qualitative intrinsic stay factors.

Children were the most significant single reason given by the teachers for staying in teaching. Four people mentioned children's progress and the part played by the teacher in their development. Three people mentioned relationships with children, particularly good relationships. Two people spoke of 'loving children', four just wrote 'children'. Pupil development was characterised as a reward of the job (2). Children were referred to as 'reasonable' and 'real'. The next most significant reason the teachers gave for staying in teaching was their own professionalism, which six of them saw in terms of formal (2) and informal professional development opportunities. 'Finding a growth in personal professionalism' sums up this group of responses. There was also the suggestion of

'sharing experiences'. Above all, these teachers were aware of their growing expertise. The more they practised teaching, the better practitioners they became :

- able to teach 10 subjects
- apply ideas (from) research, based on teaching and learning
- making a subject accessible
- sense of achievement

Colleague support and recognition were obviously important aspects of growing professionalism. Colleagues were a source of 'encouragement', 'recognition', 'support' (2), 'friendship' and potential professional collaborators.

Eleven of the teachers specifically mentioned 'job satisfaction', including satisfaction in doing the job well (2) and the 'total job satisfaction'.

One facet of job satisfaction was autonomy (4) and creativity (4). This encompassed both flexibility and freedom :

- freedom to use and develop one's own methods

Seven teachers wrote of their enjoyment of teaching as a continuous feeling

- still enjoy it
- enjoy every day in school
- enjoy the subject

Seven teachers also mentioned reduced class size as a factor which would keep them in teaching. Obviously they had experienced the difficulty of trying to teach large classes successfully.

Head teachers were important sources of retention for five of the teachers. They should be 'strong', 'listening' (2) and 'good managers' (2).

The atmosphere and environment of the school was an important retention factor for three of the teachers. It should be 'good' (2) and 'pleasant'.

Three people were retained by the challenge of the job. One person called this the

challenge factor! Three people would also be retained if more resources were available. Specific mention was made of ‘support for children with special educational needs’, ‘a little more space’ and ‘more non-contact time’.

Extrinsic Stay Factors:

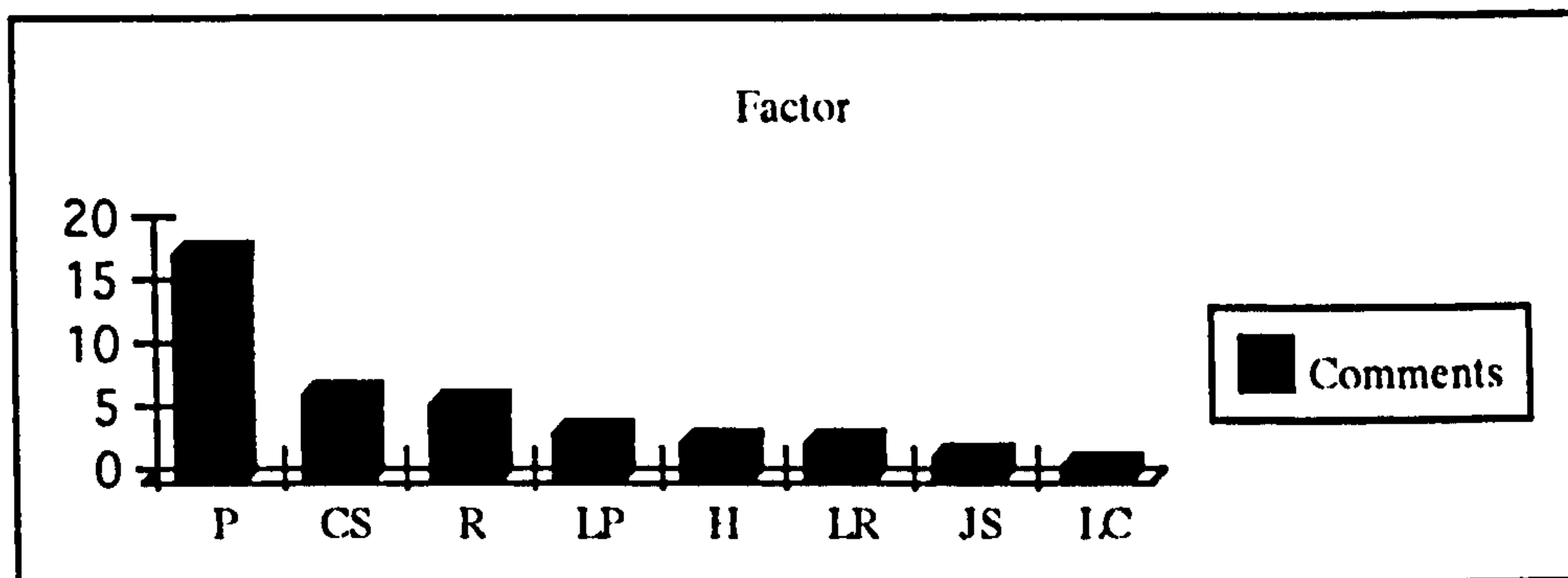
Table 11.10. resumes the extrinsic factors the teachers cited for staying in teaching.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Pay	P	18
Service Conditions	CS	7
Resources	R	6
Less paper work	LP	4
Holidays	H	3
LEA recognition	LR	3
Job stability	JS	2
Less change	IC	1

Table 11.10.

Frequency of qualitative extrinsic stay factors of teachers.

[N = 44]



Graph 11.2.

Graph of the frequency of teachers' qualitative extrinsic stay factors .

The most significant extrinsic factor which would retain teachers would be improved pay. It should be ‘reasonable’, ‘adequate’ (3) ‘improved, ‘better’ (3). Teachers should be paid fairly (2) for the job they were doing. For four people this meant ‘more pay’. There was a strong suggestion of the need for equitable salary levels in these responses, which bears out Herzberg’s finding that pay more often has a negative effect on motivation if it is seen as being inequitable. The next most important extrinsic retention factor would be better

conditions of service. These should be 'professional' (2), and include a career structure as well as provision for sabbatical leave and better childcare facilities. Better resources should accompany better conditions of service and include increased staffing levels.

'Mundane administration' should also be reduced, with 'realistic' targets for assessment of the national curriculum. Less paperwork (3) would be extremely welcome. Greater recognition by the local education authority would also tend to retain teachers. They would welcome 'being valued by the L.E.A.' (2), 'recognition of competence' and 'professional treatment' (2).

Three people mentioned holidays as a retention factor. Two people saw job stability as a retention factor. Finally, one person wrote of 'a slower introduction of changes' as a potential extrinsic retention factor.

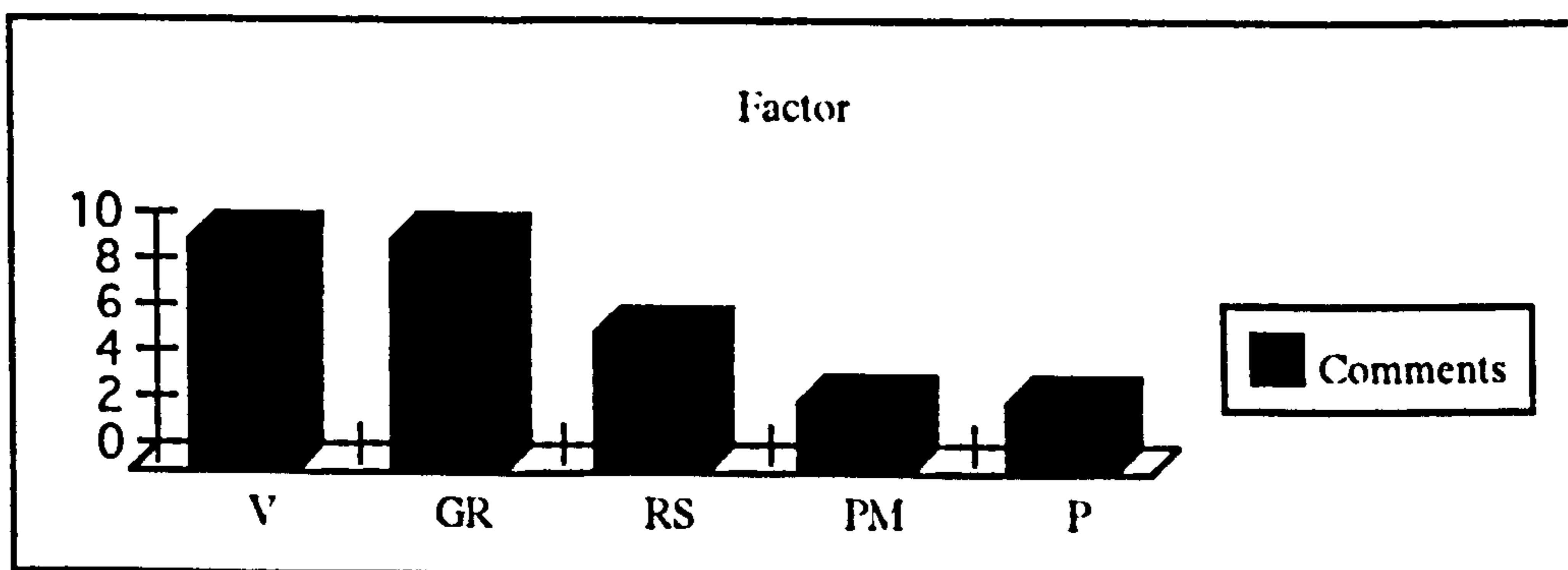
Contextual Stay Factors.

Table 11.11. summarises the contextual factors cited by the teachers as reasons for staying in teaching.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Valued in society	V	10
Government recognition	GR	10
Recognised status	RS	6
Positive media	PM	3
Parents	P	3

Table 11.11.

Frequency of teachers' qualitative contextual stay factors,
[N = 32]



Graph 11.3.

Graph of the frequency of teachers' qualitative contextual stay factors.

Recognition by society (10) and by the government (10) of teachers' value were the two most important contextual retention factors.

Society should display a "different attitude to the role of the teacher; valuing (4), recognising (6) and appreciating teachers'. Government should do likewise, applying 'less external pressure' and 'sensible education policy'; with 'less interference', a more 'sympathetic' attitude, more 'relaxed demands and attempts to influence teaching methods'. There should either be 'a change of government' or government should become 'more caring'.

Teachers' status should be improved and recognised (5). This recognition (2) could come in part from 'more positive media attitudes'. It could also come from parents (3) and governors. One person wrote of being retained in teaching by the 'continuing collegiate approach to the profession'; another cited 'lack of job choice' and a third would stay if 'better funding and resourcing (were made available to) all schools !'

Intrinsic Quit Factors.

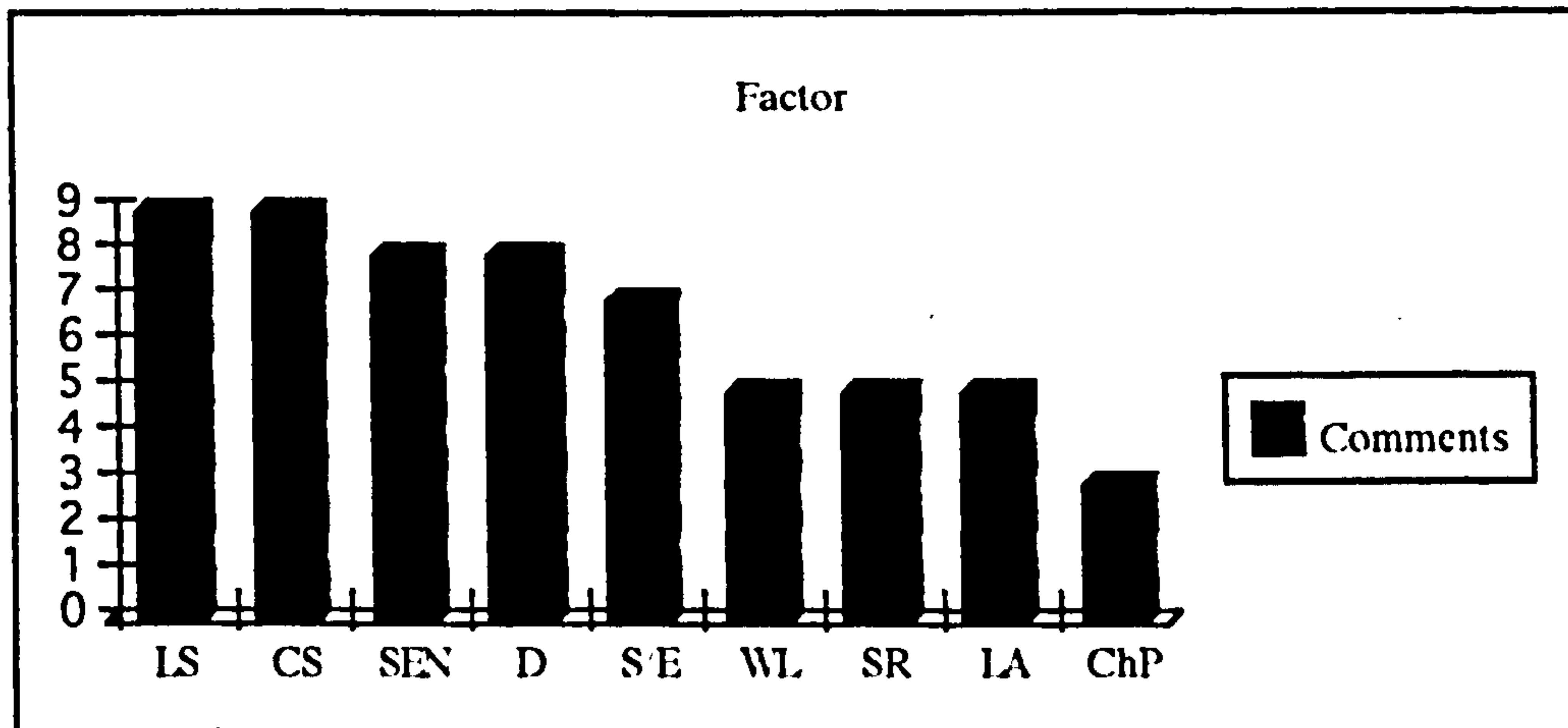
Table 11.12 resumes the intrinsic factors cited by the teachers as potential reasons for quitting teaching.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Lack of satisfaction	LS	9
Class size	CS	9
Lack of SEN support	SEN	8
Discipline	D	8
Stress / exhaustion	S/E	7
Work load	WL	5
Staff relations	SR	5
Loss of autonomy	LA	5
Children's progress	ChP	3

Table 11.12.

Frequency of teachers' qualitative intrinsic quit factors.

[N = 59]



Graph 11.4.

Graph of the frequency of teachers' qualitative intrinsic quit factors.

Child Related Factors.

Lack of support (8), particularly for 'difficult' children or children with 'special educational needs' was cited by eight teachers as an intrinsic reason for leaving. Just as significant would be 'discipline breakdown' which might involve 'increased classroom aggression', 'bad behaviour', 'no sanctions', 'no help with difficult kids' and 'delinquent behaviour'.

Lack of children's progress' (3) would also be a reason for leaving. This could be because of inadequate support or having 'less time (to spend) with kids'.

Job Related Factors.

The most significant job-related intrinsic reasons for leaving teaching would be loss of job satisfaction (9) and class size (9).

Job satisfaction could be lost through 'disillusionment', an 'unsatisfactory teaching role' which could lead to 'only baby-minding'. 'Personal challenge' could be lacking, too. Two people mentioned their own ability, one in the context of assessing her own effectiveness and one in the context of 'developing children's enthusiasm'.

Teaching ability could be severely affected by class size which, if increased, could become 'unmanageable'. Five people were concerned that class sizes would be increased.

Stress and exhaustion (7) could engender 'low morale', leaving teachers feeling unable to do everything properly. This would particularly apply where workload (5) was seen as 'ever increasing', causing 'pressure' and leading to 'long hours, many at home, needed'.

Relationships with colleagues and head teachers could prompt intrinsic decisions to quit. Leadership could be 'unfair', and there could be 'bad relations' with head teachers, as well as with colleagues. The latter could take to 'gossiping in school', they might be 'lazy'. Loss of autonomy (5), 'not being allowed to get on with the job' could be as significant in decisions to quit as colleagues or work load. Also significant to individual teachers as intrinsic quit factors were loss of enjoyment, lack of a quality INSET programme and 'frequent invitations to self-examination'.

Extrinsic Quit Factors.

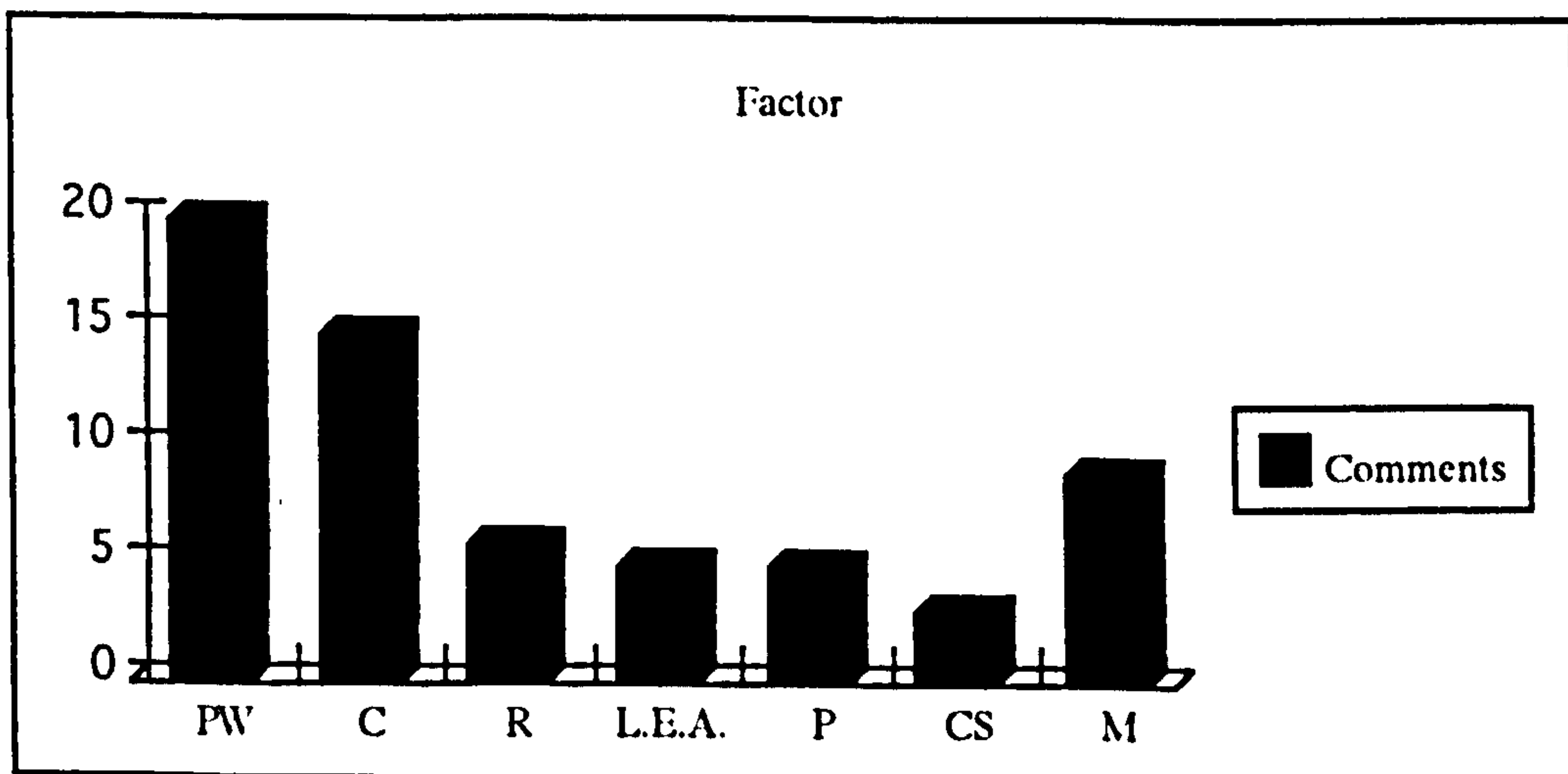
Table 11.13. resumes the extrinsic reasons cited by teachers for contemplating quitting teaching.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Paper work	PW	20
Curriculum	C	15
Resources	R	6
Local education authority	L.E.A.	5
Pay	P	5
Career structure	CS	3
Miscellaneous	M	9

Table 11.13.

Frequency of qualitative extrinsic quit factors of teachers.

[N =64]



Graph 11.5.

Graph of the frequency of teachers' qualitative extrinsic quit factors.

The teachers gave fractionally more extrinsic reasons for quitting teaching than intrinsic ones. None concerned children. By far the most frequently cited were paperwork (20) and curriculum change (13), both the results of imposed education change. Paperwork was characterised as increasing (9) to the point of becoming 'limitless'. It was described as 'bureaucratic' (2) and 'excess(ive)' (2).

Equally stress-inducing was the greater 'control over day to day teaching' which was seen as 'over prescriptive' and 'time consuming'. The relevance of the national curriculum was questioned; as was testing (2) and 'the return to basics'. Three teachers wrote of 'too much interference'. One person spoke of 'confusion, too much too soon'. Another said she would quit if there was : 'reorganisation of the national curriculum to the suggestions of the three wise men'. One teacher wrote :

- Do they really understand what they're expecting us to do?

Six teachers specifically mentioned resources as a potential quit factor. These were characterised as 'reduced', 'poor (3)' and 'lacking'. Five teachers thought their local education authorities failed to support them, treating them unprofessionally, and interfering (2).

Five teachers mentioned pay as a potential quit factor. Of these, two were concerned with pay comparability :

- shrinking salary relative to other groups.

The other three characterised pay as 'poor'. Three teachers mentioned career structure as a potential extrinsic quit factor; two seeing it as non-existent and one person doubting that there were any jobs.

Other single potential extrinsic quit factors mentioned by the teachers were :

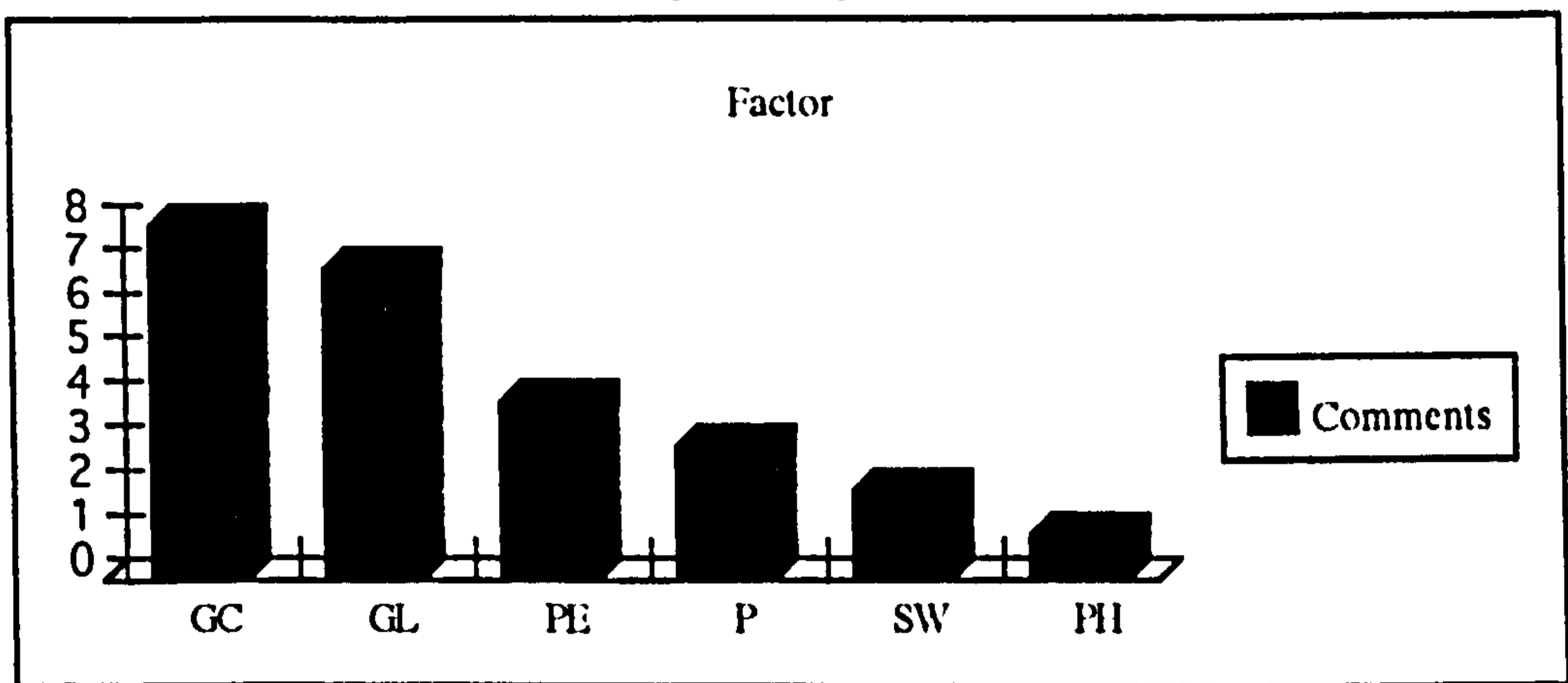
- a four term year
- LMS schools
- a return to selection
- too much retrospective analysis
- excessive emphasis on education as a product of market forces
- teaching as a factory process
- understaffing
- lack of travel opportunities
- retirement.

Contextual Quit Factors.

Table 11.14. resumes the contextual factors the teachers cited as potential reasons for quitting teaching.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Government Changes	GC	8
Government Legislation	GL	7
Public Esteem	PE	4
Parents	P	3
Sudden Wealth	SW	2
Poor Housing	PH	1

Table 11.14.
Frequency of teachers' qualitative contextual quit factors.
[N = 29]



Graph 11.6.

Graph of frequency of teachers' qualitative contextual quit factors.

The teachers gave 30 contextual reasons for leaving teaching, half of which concerned government intervention in education. Within the 8 responses concerning government legislation, 3 people used the term 'interference'; one person wrote of 'government dictats (sic) without looking at solutions'. The government was accused of :

- changing things for worse, even more than in the last ten years.

Two people thought that changes need to be introduced at a manageable rate. One person feared : 'total curriculum control'.

Education legislation was another contextual quit factor which was almost as significant for the teachers. Here, the main burden of criticism was for the interventionist nature of the legislation itself and for the politicising of education. One person wrote :

- the.....Politics (P) (sic)

Public esteem, or lack of it, was a potential quit factor for four teachers who wrote of :

- lack of public support
- undervalued
- inability to please all the people all the time
- when (the) nobility of teaching is degraded.

Media coverage was equally concerning : one teacher wrote of 'too much flak from media' Another of : 'low esteem produced by bad press' and a third of : 'media pressure on (the) working environment' . The latter two responses indicate the deleterious effects of negative media coverage of education.

Parents could be a potential contextual quit factor, too. This was especially true if there were 'bad relations', 'lack of parental backing for aggressive children' and 'lack of support from parents'.

Finally, one teacher wrote of :

- poor housing, quite inadequate in inner cities, especially London.

as a potential quit factor. Two hoped for dramatic changes in financial circumstances, such as 'the appearance of a rich husband' or 'sudden wealth' and one could only think of quitting teaching at retirement age.

A Second Look at the Data.

Axial Coding.

As with the student teachers data, grouping the highest number of responses for staying or quitting within the three categories of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual produces the groupings seen in Table 11.15.

	Intrinsic	Extrinsic	Contextual
Stay	Professional Activity : 70	Pay : 18	Being Valued : 10
Quit	Duties : 40	Paper work : 20	Government law changes : 15

Professionalism

Social Status

Table 11.15.

Teachers' principal stay and quit factors grouped in terms of professionalism and social status.

The highest scores suggest that the teachers see themselves as established professionals, to whom professional activity and pay are important. Their work is contextualised by society valuing them for the professional service they provide. This analysis suggests that the

teachers emphasise their professionalism, whereas the student teacher data suggested a greater emphasis on the sociability of teaching as an occupation.

Table 11.16 shows teachers' intrinsic stay and quit factors organised under the five headings of *national circumstances, school, colleagues, children* and *self*,

Category	Stay	Quit
School	Class Size	Class Size
	Professional development	Lack of INSET
	SEN support	No SEN support
	Head	Discipline
	Atmosphere	
	Space	
Children	Children	Children's progress
Colleagues	Colleagues	Staff relations
Self	Job satisfaction	Job satisfaction
	Autonomy / creativity	Loss of autonomy
	Enjoyment	Lack of enjoyment
	Challenge	Lack of challenge
	Personal growth	Stress / exhaustion
	Career advancement	Work load
		Frequent self-examination

Table 11.16.

Teachers' intrinsic stay and quit factors compared.

The teachers cited no factors in the category of *national circumstances*. Within the *school* category, class size appeared in both stay and quit, as did SEN support, so these factors cancel each other out. Professional development equated with INSET, so these two factors counterbalance each other. Therefore, the teachers would stay in a school which provided good leadership, a good atmosphere and space but would leave if there were discipline problems.

Both the category of *children* and that of *colleagues* contain counterbalancing factors. In the category of *self*, job satisfaction appeared in both the stay and quit categories, as did autonomy, enjoyment and challenge. Therefore, the teachers would stay in teaching for personal growth and career advancement and leave because of the workload, stress and exhaustion, as well as frequent invitations to self-examination.

Table 11.17. shows the teachers extrinsic stay and quit factors compared within the five categories.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Pay	Pay
	Career structure	Career structure
	Less paper work	Paper work
	Less change	Curriculum
		Increasing administration
		Pay comparability
		Testing
		Four term year
		GM schools
		Return to selection
		Education subject to
		market forces
		Teaching: factory process
School	Resources	Resources
	Better child care facilities	Understaffing
Self	Needing a job	No travel opportunities
		Retirement

Table 11.17.

Teachers' extrinsic stay and quit factors compared.

In the category of national circumstances, all the stay factors are counterbalanced by quit factors. Additional quit factors largely relate to the extrinsic changes to which teaching has been subject and is likely to be subject by the present government. They include the increasing amount of administration which teachers predict for themselves, a possible move to a four term year, testing, grant-maintained schools, a return to selection and the subjecting of education to market forces. To one person this meant that teaching could become a factory process. Pay comparability could be viewed as a continuing concern of teachers, given their university level of education and the lack of subsequent financial reward in comparison with other occupations requiring university level education.

The school category contains one stay factor - better child care facilities - and one quit factor - understaffing - which are not counterbalanced. Obviously quality child care facilities are extremely important to teaching mothers and should not be too difficult to provide within an educational context. Understaffing may well become an increasingly important quit factor, particularly with formula funding of schools.

In the category of self, there are no counterbalancing factors. The teachers will stay in teaching because they need a job, but will leave if the opportunity to travel presents itself and will look forward to retirement.

Table 11.18. shows teachers' contextual stay and quit factors compared.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Government recognition	Government interference
	Positive Media	Negative Media
	Being valued in society	Lack of public esteem
	Recognised status	
		Government legislation
School	Governor recognition	
Colleagues	Collegiate profession	
Children	Parents	Parents
Self	Lack of job choice	
		Poor housing
		Sudden wealth

Table 11.18.

Teachers' contextual stay and quit factors compared.

Teachers will stay in teaching if their status is recognised and if the government ceases to legislate about education. They will also stay if they get governor recognition. At least they will continue to benefit from a collegiate approach to the profession, but they will be forced to stay for lack of job choice even though they would like to quit because their housing is poor. Their dream is of sudden wealth !

Table 11.19. resumes the teachers' stay and quit factors which remain after counterbalancing factors have been eliminated. As the table shows, the teachers identify 18 quit factors compared with 11 stay factors. Of the 18 quit factors, ten are in the category of national circumstances, illustrating the potentially disastrous consequences of change enforced by law on the conditions of service and working practices of an occupational group. Of these, eight are directly attributable to legal changes in education which have a direct effect on conditions of service but go further in that they reverse the policy and philosophy of equal access to education for all children and equal opportunities within education for all children. Seemingly the teachers are not prepared to tolerate this !

The emergence of pay comparability as a quit factor illustrates the finding of the Herzberg study (1967) that pay is a job dissatisfier rather than a satisfier.

Of the 11 stay factors, only two concern national circumstances. One is directly connected to educational change, the other to the lack of public esteem for teachers. This reflects their low status in the UK in comparison with, for instance, their counterparts in other European countries where education is generally more highly valued, and where many teachers have

the status and pay of civil servants.

Five of the stay factors and two of the quit factors concern the school directly. Teachers

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Less Change	Curriculum
	Recognised status	Increasing administration
		Pay comparability
		Testing
		GM schools
		Return to selection
		Education subject to
		market forces
		Teaching: factory process
		Government legislation
School	Head	Discipline
	Atmosphere	Understaffing
	Space	
	Better child care facilities	
	Governor recognition	
Colleagues	Collegiate profession	
Self	Personal growth	Stress / exhaustion
	Career advancement	Work load
	Lack of job choice	Frequent self-examination
		No travel opportunities
		Retirement

Table 11.19.

Teachers' stay and quit factors resumed.

will stay in schools which have effective heads and provide the right atmosphere and working conditions, particularly space. They will leave schools which are understaffed or have discipline problems. They will stay if they have recognition from governors and, on a practical note, if quality child care facilities are available. This is particularly important in a majority female occupational group. They will also stay because of a feeling of collegiality and solidarity with fellow teachers.

Three of the stay factors and seven of the quit factors concern the teachers themselves. Career advancement and personal growth will keep them in teaching, as will lack of other job choices. However, stress and exhaustion as well as an excessive work load will push them out, as will frequent invitations to self-examination; in other words, they will only go so far in responding to educational change on a personal level. If their aspirations, for instance for travel, are frustrated, they will leave. Similarly, they are not prepared to accept poor living

conditions just because they are teachers. Finally, they will go at the point of retirement or upon the acquisition of sudden wealth.

The retention factors within the school are all in the control of head teachers and confirm the opinion of those heads who were interviewed. Equally, the personal retention factors spring from the ethos which head teachers create within their schools. The only exception to this is 'lack of job choice'.

The personal quit factors, with the exception of 'retirement' and 'sudden wealth' are, for the most part, the consequences of the quit factors cited in the category of 'national circumstances' and illustrate the personal effects of extrinsic and contextual changes imposed upon teachers.

Conclusion.

Therefore, the picture emerging from this analysis is, unfortunately, that of a demoralised, underpaid and under-appreciated occupational group. This is in stark contrast to the optimistic and robust picture which emerges from the analysis of student teacher stay and quit data in Chapter Twelve and cannot be wholly attributable to 'long years at the chalk face'. In part, it is obviously symptomatic of the low value placed on education and teachers by British society. In part, it must be a consequence of rushed governmental use of legislation to impose educational change.

Within and Between Stay and Quit.

Research Results : Qualitative Data.

This section of the study discusses the qualitative data given in response to the open ended items on staying in teaching or quitting and on job satisfiers and dissatisfiers. These data are treated qualitatively through axial coding and also quantitatively.

Chapter Twelve discusses the student teachers' prospective reasons for staying in teaching or leaving, showing that the balance of their thinking, in common with the teachers (whose data are dealt with in the Chapter Eleven), is towards staying even though they think that teaching requires major social support.

Chapter Thirteen reviews the job satisfiers and dissatisfiers identified by the student teachers and the teachers. Again there are high degrees of agreement, indicative of a shared vocationalism.

Chapter Twelve.

Student Teachers' Stay and Quit Factors.

A Qualitative Analysis.

These factors were grouped under three main headings : *intrinsic, extrinsic* and *contextual*. The intrinsic category encompassed characteristics of the job and, therefore, included children, colleagues, school resources and so on.

The extrinsic category referred to both local education authority and national features such as conditions of service, pay, the national curriculum : i.e. factors which would affect teachers as a professional group.

The contextual category was taken to include the community in which the school was sited as well as the national context, so that it encompassed parents, the public, politics and the press.

Quantitative coding precluded the recording of more than nine responses in each category for each respondent. However, in this qualitative analysis of the data, all the responses given by each student teacher have been recorded. Hence, each category produced the following numbers of comments connected with quitting or staying as Table 12.1 shows.

	Intrinsic	Extrinsic	Contextual	Total
Stay	177	89	57	323
Quit	132	142	55	329

Table 12.1.

Student teachers' stay and quit factors compared numerically.

The highest number of responses was recorded in the intrinsic: stay category. However, the number of intrinsic reasons for quitting which the students cited amounted to three-quarters of the number of those cited for staying. The extrinsic reasons for staying amounted to only two-thirds of those cited for leaving, suggesting that these initial trainees may well be poised for career change unless conditions of service improve significantly. The near balance of contextual stay and quit factors implies that the context has a limited impact on decisions to stay or quit, at least at the training stage.

The second part of this chapter analyses these data from a quantitative and a qualitative basis; the third part pinpoints specific retention and resignation factors through a process of eliminating factors which counterbalance each other.

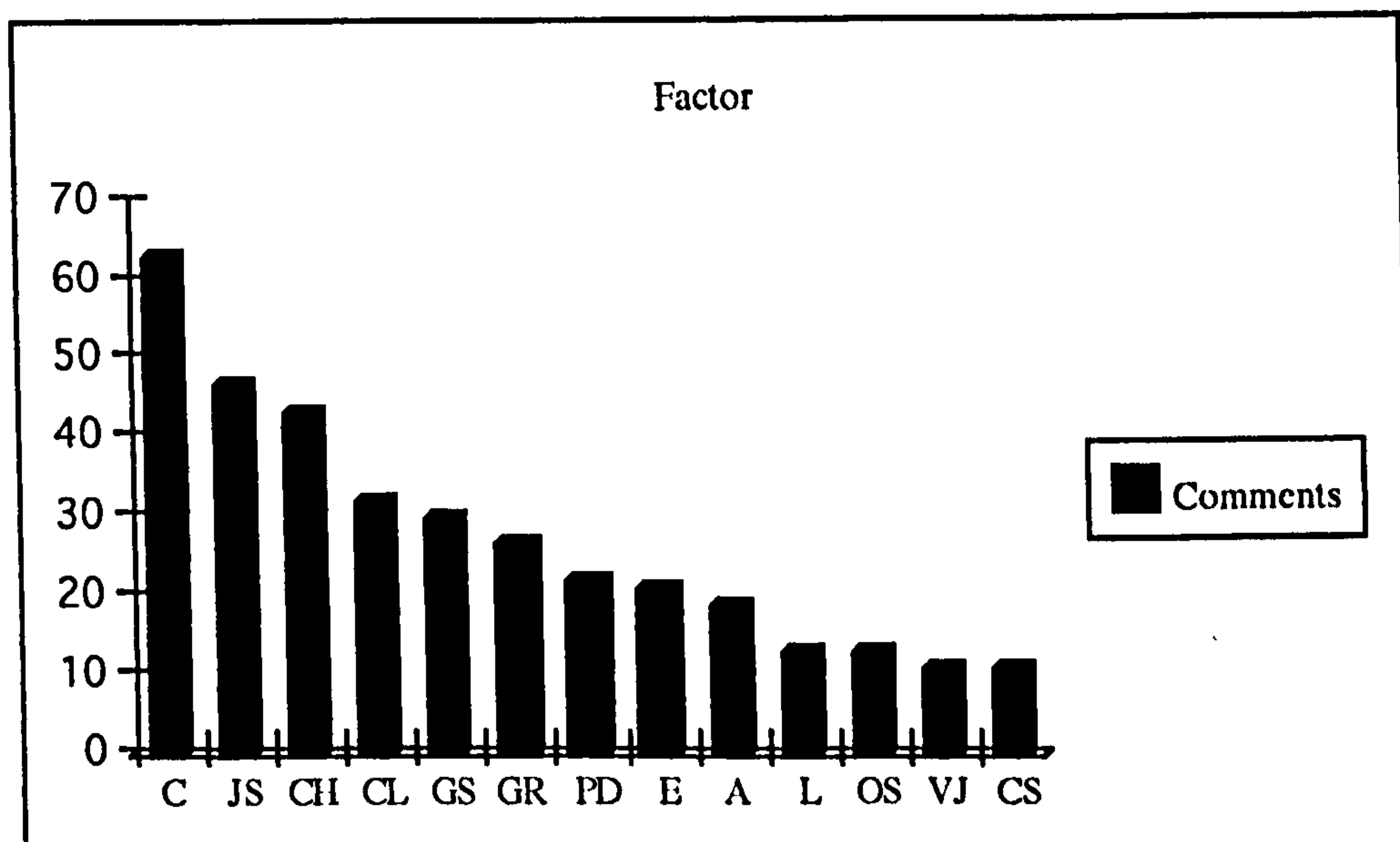
Intrinsic Stay Factors.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Colleagues	C	63
Job satisfaction	JS	47
Children	CH	43
Child's Learning	CL	32
Good school	GS	30
Good resources	GR	27
Prof. development	PD	22
Enjoyment	E	21
Atmosphere	A	19
Leadership	L	13
Own style	OS	13
Valued job	VJ	11
Class size	CS	11

Table 12.2.

Student teachers' intrinsic stay factors.

[N = 177]



Graph 12.1.

Graph of student teachers' intrinsic stay factors.

The most important retention factor for these student teachers was their colleagues (63 responses), suggesting that teaching is a social occupation carried out within a team. The next most important feature was job satisfaction (47 responses), the feeling of doing the job well and achieving results with the children. Children (43) and children's learning (32) were cited as the next two most significant retention factors. Taken together, these two

categories account for more responses than those concerned with colleagues and it may well be that the distinction made between them is unhelpful. In any case, these student teachers' responses strongly suggest that job satisfaction is more dependent upon the people for, and with whom, they are working than upon other factors.

A good school (30), too, is important as are good resources (27). All these features come before personal and professional considerations such as development opportunities (22), enjoyment of the job (21) and the atmosphere in school. Whilst the student teachers value their autonomy of style as professionals (13), they also recognise the need for good leadership (13) as a retention factor. They consider their job to be valuable (11) but recognise their limitations in terms of being able to cope with lots of children by citing reasonable class size (11) as a retention factor. They are sure of their own ability (6) and would obviously stay for promotion as a confirmation of their own ability (2).

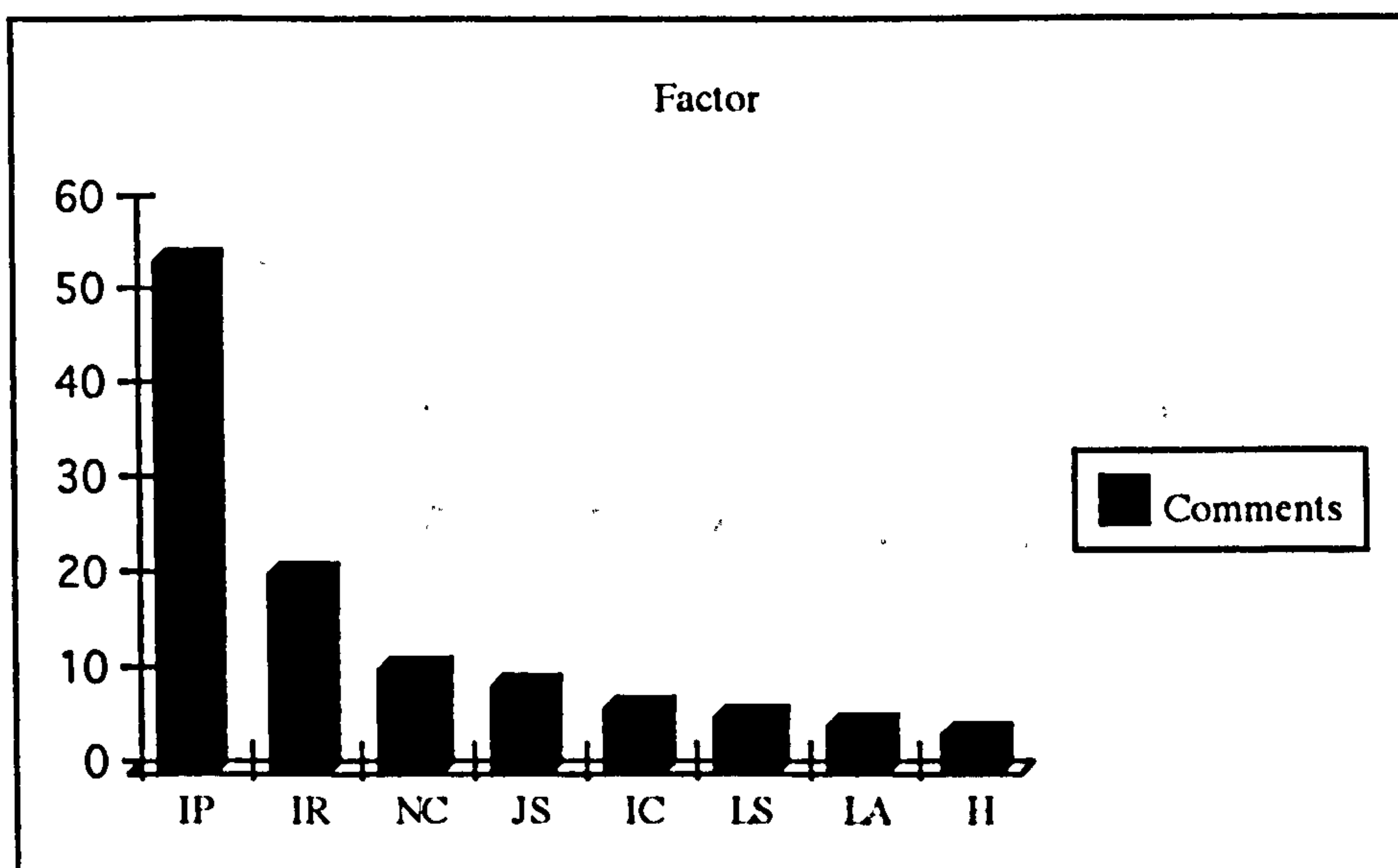
Extrinsic Stay Factors.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Improved Pay	IP	54
Improved Resources	IR	21
Abolition of NC /SATS	NC	11
Job Security	JS	9
Improved Conditions	IC	7
LEA Support	LS	6
Less Admin	LA	5
Holidays	II	4

Table 12.3.

Student Teachers' extrinsic stay factors.

[N = 89]



Graph 12.2.

Graph of student teachers' extrinsic stay factors.

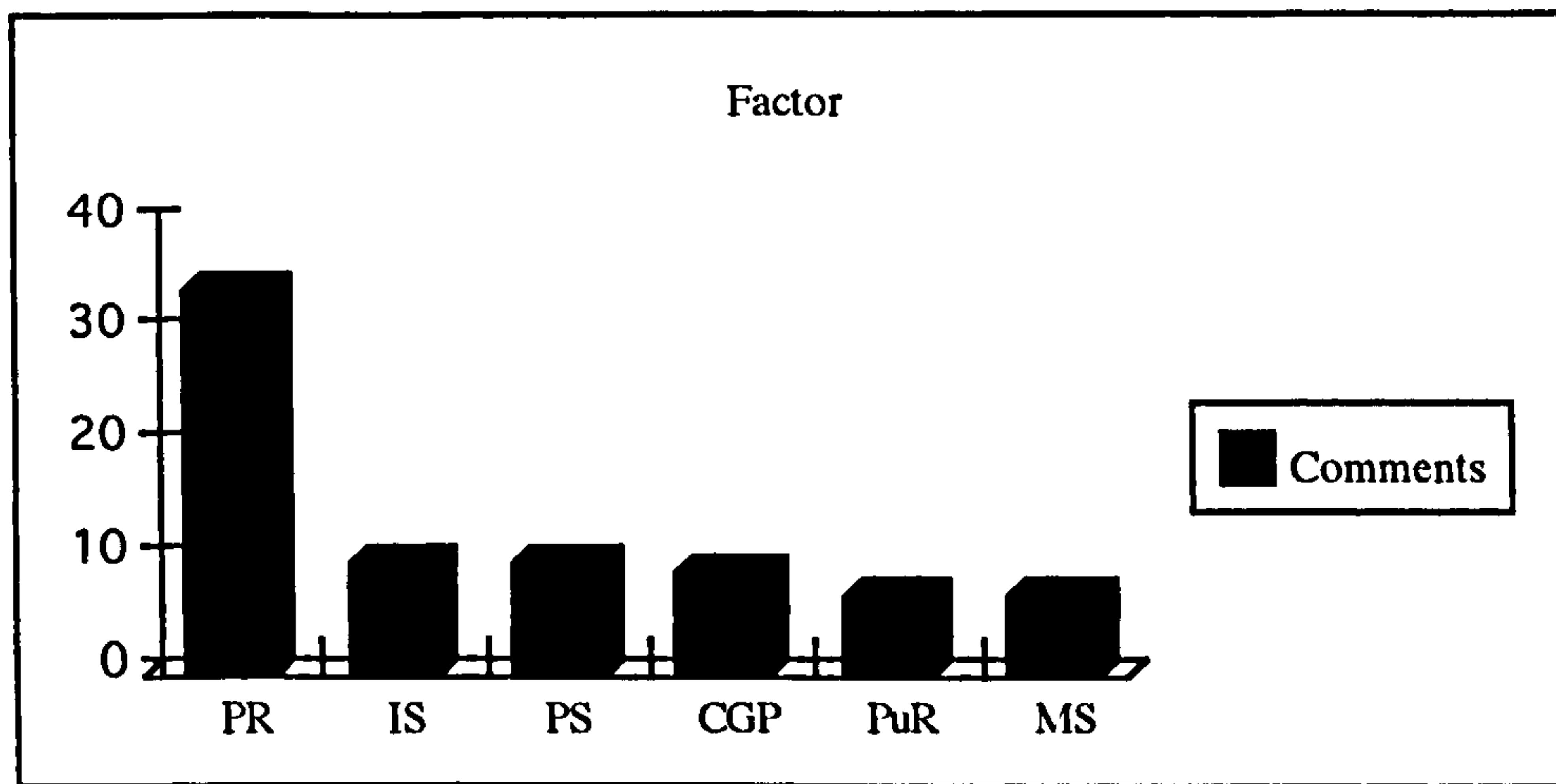
The biggest single retention factor from outside school would be improved pay (54) for these student teachers. If this could be matched with improved resources (21), then so much the better. Additionally, job security (9), longer holidays (4) and improved working conditions (7) would have a positive effect on their retention. In effect, they are looking for a package of improvements to their own status and conditions of service which also includes the school itself and greater support from the local education authority (6).

Abolition of the national curriculum and standard assessment tests (11) as well as GCSE (1) would also make them stay. In other words, they would like to regain control of teaching content, particularly objecting to the administrative burden (5) involved in the national curriculum and standard assessment tests.

Contextual Stay Factors.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Professional Recognition	PR	34
Improved Status	IS	10
Parental Support	PS	10
Change in Government Policy	CGP	9
Public Recognition	PuR	7
Media Support	MS	7

Table 12.4. Student teachers' contextual stay factors.



Graph 12.3.

Graph of student teachers' contextual stay factors.

Of the contextual factors which would retain the teachers, by far the most significant is professional recognition (34). This needs to include an improvement in status (10) and would be considerably enhanced by parental support (10). Changes in government policy (9) would improve retention as would public (7) and media (7) support.

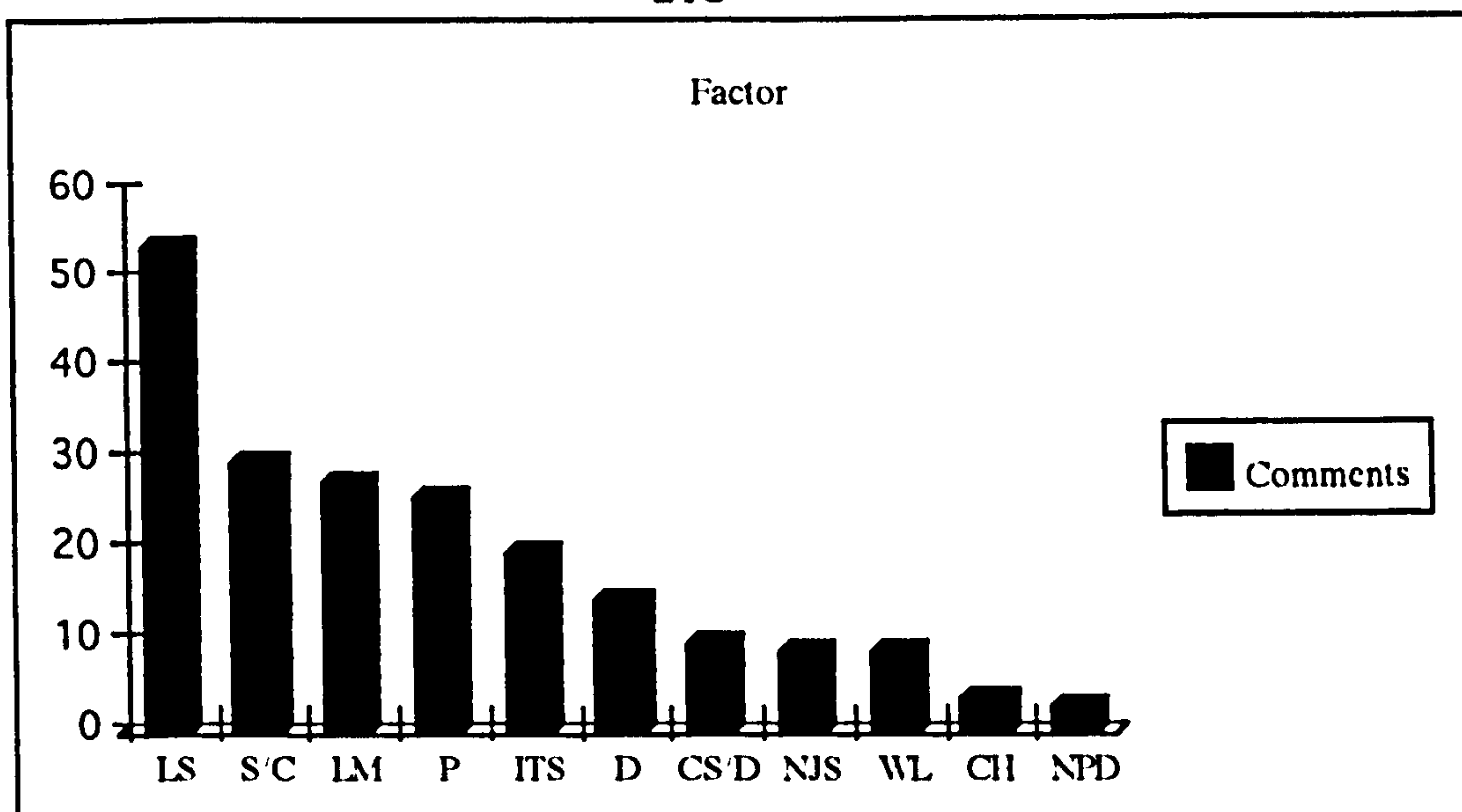
A Quantitative Analysis of Qualitative Quit Factors.

Intrinsic Quit Factors.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Lack of Support	LS	54
School/Colleagues	S/C	30
Low Morale`	LM	28
Pressure	P	26
Imposed Teaching Style	ITS	20
Discipline	D	15
Class Size /Duties	CS/D	10
No Job Satisfaction	NJS	9
Work Load	WL	9
Children	CI	4
No Professional Development	NPD	3

Table 12.5.

Student teachers' intrinsic quit factors.



Graph 12.4.

Graph of student teachers' intrinsic quit factors.

Factors which would make these student teachers quit teaching are, again, focused on the people with whom they work, with lack of support being the most frequently cited, closely followed by poor school or indifferent colleagues (30).

Low morale (28) and pressure (26) are the next set of factors. These two, taken together, are numerically equivalent to lack of support which suggests they would have prominence in decisions to quit. Taken together with imposed teaching style (20), there is a strong implication that good morale, lack of pressure and autonomy of style are vocational prerequisites as far as these student teachers are concerned. In other words, they will choose to leave if the 'personality' characteristics of teaching are not allowed to flourish in their working environment. Taken together, these responses (74) outnumber lack of support.

Discipline (15) and class size plus duties (10) represent a sub-group of quit factors within the remit of the school to address. Work load (9) and lack of job satisfaction (9) seem to be closely linked and, again, represent a sub-group of factors which could be addressed within the school.

Finally, children themselves (4) might be a reason for leaving as would lack of professional development opportunities (3).

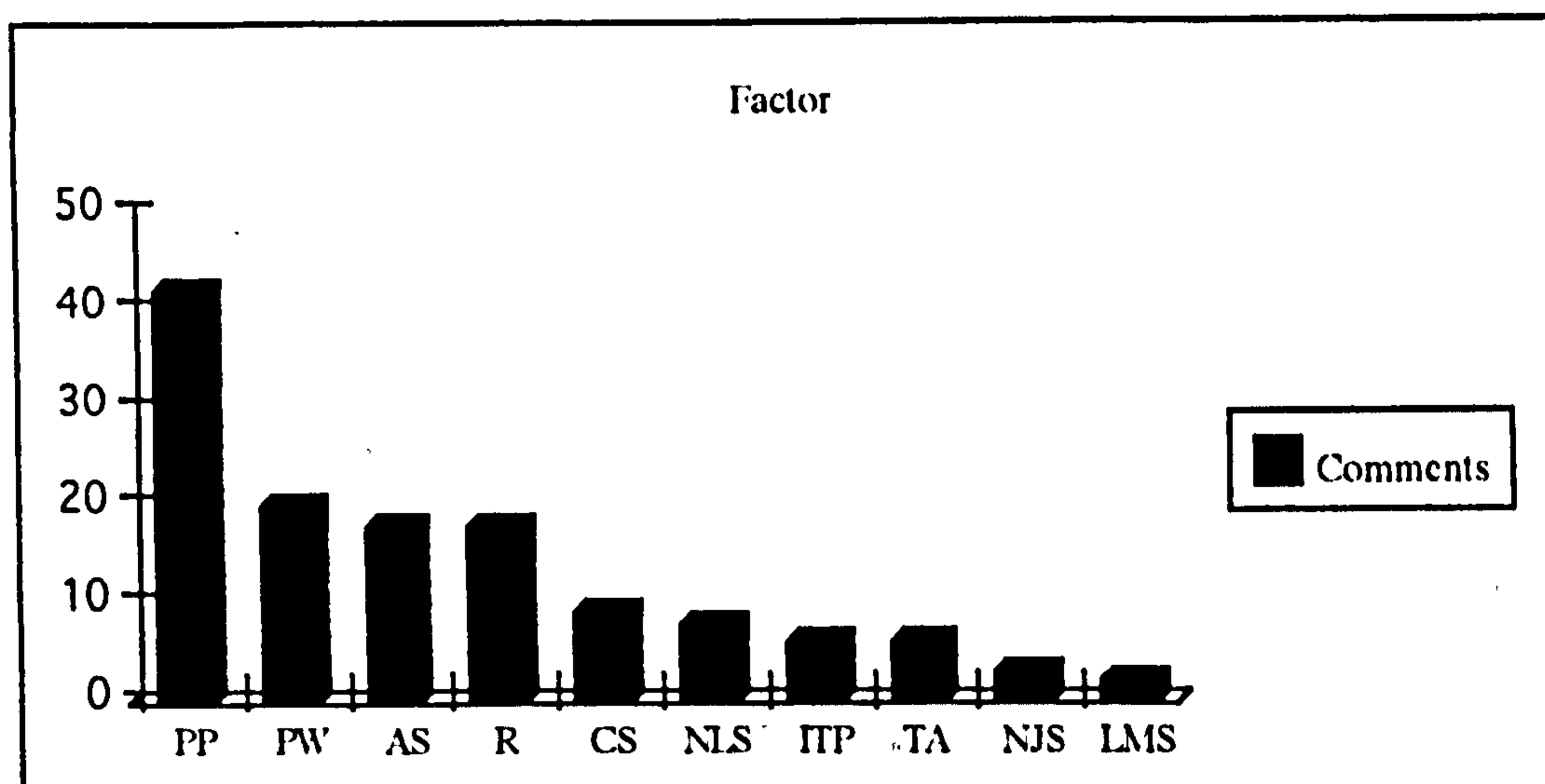
Extrinsic Quit Factors.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Poor Pay	PP	42
Paperwork	PW	20
Assessment	AS	18
Resources	R	18
Conditions of Service	CS	9
No L.E.A. Support	NLS	8
Imposed Teaching Policy	ITP	6
Teacher Appraisal	TA	6
No Job Security	NJS	3
Local school management	LMS	2

Table 12.6.

Student teachers' extrinsic quit factors.

[N = 89]



Graph 12.5.

Graph of student teachers' extrinsic quit factors.

The biggest single factor which would make these student teachers quit teaching is poor pay (42). However, taken together, paper work (20) and assessment (18) could be almost as influential in decisions to quit in that these student teachers obviously do not see themselves as administrators or assessors.

Neither do they want to work with poor or limited resources (18) or with poor conditions of service (9). They also consider that local education authority support is very important (8).

Imposed education reforms, especially in the guise of an imposed teaching style (6), the introduction of teacher appraisal, lack of job security (3) plus local management of schools would all have some influence on decisions to quit.

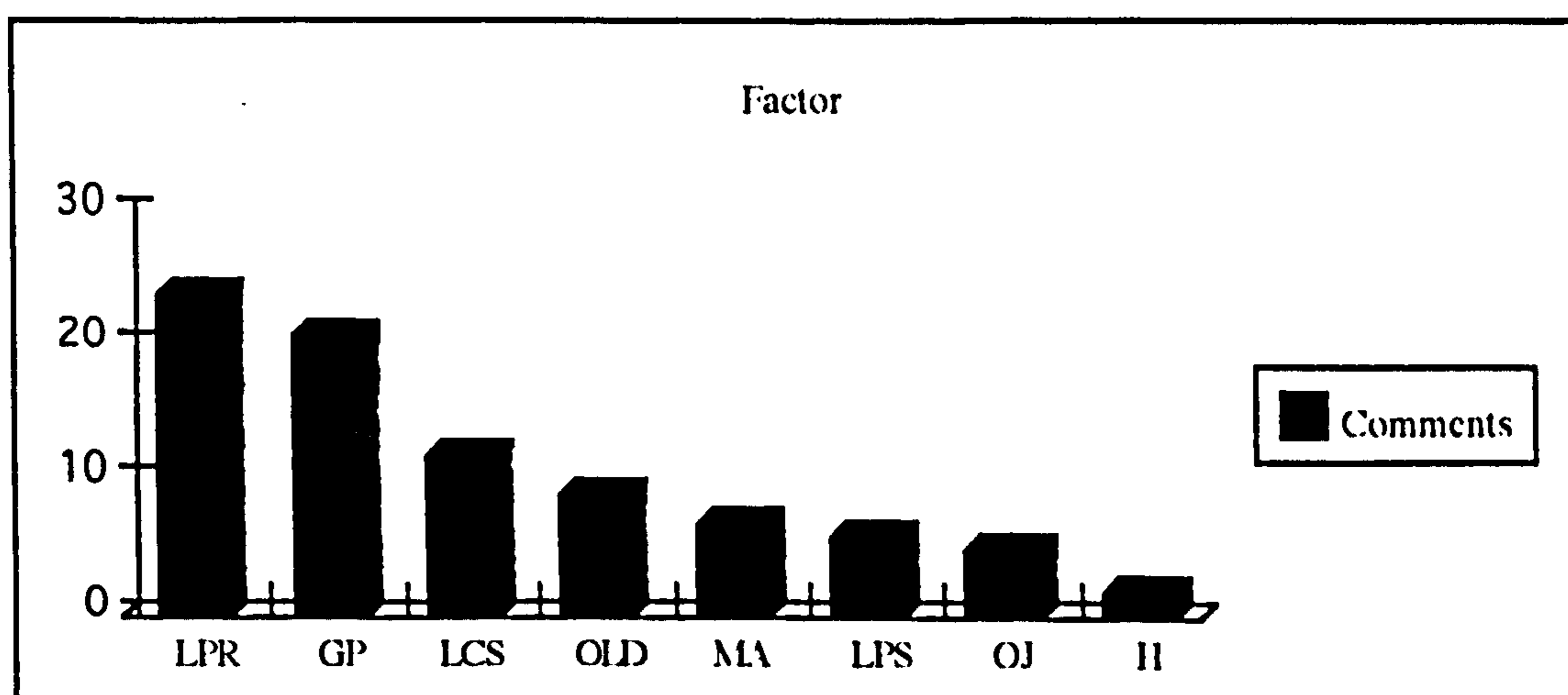
Contextual Quit Factors.

Factor	Abbreviation of Factor	Number of Comments
Lack of Professional Recognition	LPR	24
Government Policy	GP	21
Lack of Community Support	LCS	12
Own Life Disturbed	OLD	9
Media Attitudes	MA	7
Lack of Parent Support	LPS	6
Other Job	OJ	5
Health	H	2

Table 12.7.

Student teachers' contextual quit factors.

[N = 57]



Graph 12.6.

Graph of student teachers' contextual quit factors.

Lack of professional recognition (24) and government policy (21) would tend to make these students decide to quit, as would the continuing 'negative press' (7) which teaching attracts. In the local context, lack of community support (12) and lack of parental support (6) would also constitute reasons for leaving teaching.

A small group of contextual features concerning the teacher as an individual were also

referred to; these included the impact of teaching on private life (9), the possibility of another job (6) and health (2).

Whereas the intrinsic stay and quit factors are an amalgam of features concerned with the actual job of teaching, the extrinsic stay and quit factors each contain one predominant feature (pay, and lack of public support) which the student teachers cite overwhelmingly as having decisive decision-making potential.

Stay Factors : A Content Analysis.

Intrinsic Stay Factors.

Intrinsic comments were further analysed into the following sub-headings.

<i>Teacher - centred</i>		<i>Child - centred</i>	
Colleagues	: 63	Children	: 43
Job Satisfaction	: 47	Child's Learning:	32
School	: 30	Total	: 75
Success	: 27		
Personal and Professional Development : 22			
Enjoy	: 21		
Leadership	: 13		
Style	: 13		
Job Value	: 12		
Atmosphere	: 12		
Class Size	: 11		
Environment	: 7		
Personal motivation :	6		
Promotion	: 2		
Total	: 286		

Table 12. 8.

A numerical representation of qualitative data : intrinsic stay factors.

The highest number of comments in this category referred to teaching as a job (286), as

opposed to the 75 comments about children.

Colleagues (63) were cited as the most important single factor for staying. They could be expected to provide support (29). Staff relations could be good (9) and levels of co-operation could be high (8) as could collaboration (7). Staff could be encouraging (5) and display positive attitudes (5); they could also show appreciation of each others' contribution (5) and value their co-teachers. They might also become friends (5) and, hopefully, their morale (2) would be good. They would be capable of 'allowing mistakes to be made' and give 'support with difficulties'. They would foster 'constant learning through working with colleagues' and 'sharing of ideas'. They would also 'provide support for each individual', and give 'strong back-up'.

One student-teacher hoped for the 'removal of miserable and cynical teachers who are depressing' and another looked forward to 'staff parties'!

The next most significant retention factor for the student teachers was job satisfaction (47), so they were anticipating this as a feature of their daily teaching having, presumably, gained feelings of satisfaction during their teaching practices.

Third in significance in 'stay' factors would be school qualities (30). Six students wrote of the school being 'supportive'; five wanted a school ethos which was variously 'strong', 'positive', 'good' (3). Its atmosphere should be 'good' and 'happy'. Three people were seeking schools which showed a whole school commitment to children's learning; were 'working for children' and 'concerned with children's welfare'.

Various comments concerned school's policies and aims which would :

- reflect (my) areas of interest : eg. multi-cultural education;
- have a policy which coincides with my own;
- (display) direction and focus
- (have) good school aims (3)
- (have) clear policy.
- (have) good ... structure.

It should also be 'lively' and 'friendly', and provide teachers with 'back-up'. These student teachers also identified a variety of job experiences and also requirements which would keep them in teaching. The experiences they would seek in their first jobs would be :

- positive feedback / work experience (2)

- challenge (3)
- variety of experiences (3)
- rewarding aspects (2)
- success (4)
- reduced pressure / stress (3)
- being happy in school
- coping with the workload
- enthusiasm.

They were keen to 'get on with real teaching', apply their 'specialist subject' as well as to make 'opportunities to take responsibility in certain areas of school life'. One person wrote of teaching as 'a two way process, give life skills, get satisfaction'.

They also thought that they would need to have :

- accessible resources
- good class structure
- special needs provision
- enough time
- room to move

In order to experience these positive aspects they would also be looking for professional development opportunities (24). In this context, they would be looking for schools with :

- INSET
- whole school commitment to teacher development
- (providing) opportunities for further training and staff development plans.

Six people mentioned career opportunities, six wrote of professional development and five of personal development. The student teachers had hopes of :

- continuing my education to help expand my teaching skills
- becoming more competent
- opportunities to reach (my) full potential as a teacher.

One person mentioned 'curriculum development' and another was seeking 'scope for development'. Two people specifically mentioned promotion. Twenty-one people specifically mentioned enjoying teaching. They also mentioned the 'workload', 'children's enjoyment', being with children, enjoying the work (job) and enjoying 'being in class'.

Thirteen people saw effective leadership as being an important retention factor. This was variously characterised as : supportive (3), friendly, positive (3), clear, strong, enthusiastic, good and co-operative. One person hoped to receive :

- encouragement from management

Thirteen people made comments about teaching style. Nine of these concerned autonomy.

Two wanted freedom to work:

- with the children in a way I feel most beneficial to them.

Two people wanted to:

- teach in (my) own way'.

Others were looking for :

- opportunities to develop my own teaching style.
- able to run the classroom and decide (my) destiny.

Four people were seeking opportunities for team work. One person wrote of

- working as a team for the same objectives.

Twelve people made comments about the value of the job and their own need of purpose.

Three were convinced that :

- (I) can make a positive difference to a child's experience.

Three people wrote of 'doing something worthwhile'. Two people saw teaching as 'useful', two as 'worthwhile'. Two wrote of a 'sense of achievement and purpose' and two wrote of 'needing to be needed'.

Twelve people were also seeking a certain kind of school atmosphere. This was characterised as : friendly (7), positive (2), warm encouraging good (5), relaxed (2) informal and happy. This atmosphere should be a 'good, working' one which fostered

'successful learning' and the staffroom should be 'relaxed'.

Eleven people wrote that small or smaller classes would keep them in teaching, mentioning 'reduced', 'lower' and 'smaller' class numbers and sizes.

Seven people were looking for a specific kind of working environment. Three wanted this to be a good, working one; one person was seeking a 'friendly' environment; one a happy one and one a healthy working environment. One person wrote of an:

- environment enabling me to cater for the individuals in my care.

Six people wrote of their own motivation and commitment, saying they had:

- a strong desire to be a teacher (3)
- (having) the ability to teach
- (being) able to help children
- (being) able to accept change.

Forty-three people wrote about the children as a reason for staying in teaching. Fourteen simply wrote 'the children', seven wrote of 'relationships with children' and five of 'working with children'. Children variously demonstrated :

- encouragement
- positive attitudes (2)
- enthusiasm and life (2)
- respectful(ness) (2)
- satisfaction
- enjoyment (2)
- friendliness
- good motivation
- thoughtful(ness)

The student teachers wrote of their own :

- commitment to children
- love of children
- ability to help children

One person wrote of : 'introduce(ing) children to activities ... sparks of interest that the children will get enjoyment from for the rest of their lives'. Another mentioned 'working with people, young and old'.

Thirty-two further comments concerned children's learning and its impact on the student teachers. Five people mentioned the 'rewards from children's development ;'feedback' was linked to this for two people. Four people wrote of children's 'development'. Six people mentioned 'children's progress and achievement'. Three people saw this as giving them job satisfaction. Five people were aware of helping children achieve. Two student teachers wrote of seeing the children:

- growing in skill and confidence
- progress(ing) in academic and personal lives

Three people wrote of 'success with children'. Four people mentioned the school as being central to children's success. Ideally it would be :

- working for children
- concerned with children's welfare
- (have) children at the centre of all policies
- (have a) child-centred approach
- (have a) whole school commitment to children's learning

One person thought that :

- there are always children wanting to learn.

The reasons which the student teachers give for staying in teaching are wholly consistent with the qualities identified by the head teachers. The impression the students convey of their ideal school is that of a microcosm where mutuality of values underpins the teaching philosophy and the school's ethos. Perhaps 'the secret garden of the curriculum' identified by Prime-Minister Callaghan in his speech at Ruskin College (1976) is more accurately conveyed by teachers as the 'sentient guardians' of a curriculum and ethos founded on commitment to personal and professional development at all levels.

Extrinsic Stay Factors.

By far the most cited extrinsic reason for staying in teaching was pay (54). Twenty-seven people mentioned better or increased pay; four people thought that teachers should receive

a level of pay in line with other professions; two people spoke of needing the pay and one of being able to afford normal living. Pay was the word most frequently used (32) although seven people wrote of 'salary' and 3 of 'wage' or 'wages'. Whether this use of wage which tends to denote a weekly payment; and 'salary' which usually denotes the global annual rewards of a professional job, side by side with 'pay' which is a fairly neutral generic term is indicative of the student teachers' confusion about the status of teaching (blue or white collar) is open to speculation. However, it is interesting to note in the light of teacher/government labour relations post 1979, where the government has attempted to remove professional status in the form of consultation from specific aspects of teaching such as curriculum development (Grace: in Grace G and Lawn M : 1987). Three people mentioned incentive allowances as a factor in determining decisions to stay.

The second most cited extrinsic factor for staying in teaching was improved resources to schools (27). Adequacy, sufficiency and improvement in resourcing were all cited as being important considerations in staying in teaching. One person suggested raising taxation to assure this.

Nine people cited job security as a reason for staying in teaching. Seven people were seeking improved working conditions, ones which were 'good', 'better', 'adequate', 'satisfactory' and which, for one person at least, provided weekly non-contact time.

Six people thought L.E.A. support important in extrinsic decisions to stay. They expected guidance, back-up, good policies and management. Five people wanted less administration and paperwork. One person wrote 'cut the bureaucracy'. Only four people mentioned holidays, the same number who cited the abolition of, or at least a settled pattern for, the national curriculum and SATs. Four others mentioned career structure to include in-service leave and professional development. Only one person mentioned the settlement of negotiating rights.

Contextual Stay Factors.

By far the most commonly cited contextual reason for staying in teaching was appreciation and recognition. The 36 responses in this vein used *recognition* 15 times, *value* 8 times, *respect* and *appreciation* 6 times. Increased recognition of the work teachers do from the general public was called for, together with 'a rise in the public opinion of teachers'. This

recognition was linked in some responses to teaching as a profession, as was 'value' and 'respect'. One person wrote of the 'respect due to a teacher's role'; one person sought 'more acknowledgement'. One person was looking for 'meaningful qualifications instead of GCSEs'.

Ten people cited *improved status* as a contextual reason for staying in teaching. They were seeking a 'feeling of worth' of 'being important', of recognition of 'the usefulness of my work'. Six people wrote of increased *standing* or *status* for the teaching profession.

A further ten responses concerned *relations with parents*, from whom the student teachers were seeking encouragement, appreciation (3), positive support (2), acceptance, involvement and good relations. One person wanted 'well motivated parents'. Eleven people thought that the government and politicians should revise their attitudes and policies towards education. Two specifically cited government funding to education, two were seeking policy change : 'more realistic / human government policy'. Two people were looking for more recognition and encouragement. One person wrote : 'less government attacks'. Seven people thought that the general public should develop more understanding of education and of initial teacher training, as should the immediate communities surrounding schools . Three people thought media attitudes could be more appreciative and less negative. One person wrote of the 'challenge of being part of the development of future society'. as a contextual reason for staying in teaching.

Quit Factors : A Content Analysis.

Intrinsic Quit Factors.

<i>Teacher - Centred</i>		<i>Child - Centred</i>	
Support	: 54	Discipline	: 15
Ethos	: 30	Children	: 4
Morale	: 28		19
Stress	: 26		
Style	: 20		
Class size	: 10		
Leadership	: 10		
Workload	: 10		
Job satisfaction	: 9		
Career	: 3		
Age	: 1		
	204		

Table 12.9.

A numerical representation of student teachers' qualitative data : intrinsic quit factors.

Only 19 comments in this section referred to children as opposed to 204 comments concerning teaching as a job.

Fifteen people cited *poor discipline* as a reason for leaving teaching. This could be as a result of : 'lack of whole school discipline' (2) or it could lie with the children themselves. The latter might be : difficult, rude and uncontrollable (2), disrespectful, unfriendly, unenthusiastic. They might give 'constant abuse' or have 'behavioural problems'. Situations where the 'classroom hassle (was) greater than (the) enjoyment' would prompt decisions to quit.

In the same way, realisation that 'tasks (were) not benefiting children' or where the children 'were not improving' would also be reasons for leaving as would 'not being able to communicate with (the) children'. Only four people seriously envisaged this possibility.

In contrast, there were ten job features which could be so negative that they might prompt decisions to quit.

Lack of support was most often cited as a quit factor. Thirty-eight people specifically used the term 'support', seven people wrote of lack of co-operation, three people wrote of 'lack of help' and three of negative feedback.

Reasons cited for lack of support were :

- a disorganised school
- negative atmosphere
- school with uncommitted head and staff
- staff non co-operation (2)
- no team work
- lack of encouragement (3)
- destructive criticism

This group of responses powerfully illustrated the collegiality of teaching and its importance to new entrants to the profession.

Collegiality is further emphasised by the thirty responses which cited a *poor school ethos* as

a quit factor. 'Poor staff relationships' (4), negative attitudes (4), a 'bad staffroom atmosphere' (3), a bad working environment (3) are all indicative of a 'poor school atmosphere'. In this situation, the atmosphere can be characterised as 'tense and formal', or 'uncaring and business-like'; there may be 'staff conflicts', staff may be 'unfriendly' (2) and 'lack enthusiasm'.

The atmosphere may be one of 'the end of the world is nigh' and teachers will 'not (be) valued and appreciated for their strengths'. All very good reasons for contemplating leaving! Low morale, unhappiness and lack of enjoyment could also prompt decisions to quit.

The 'atmosphere of the profession' with its low morale (9) might prompt decisions to quit, as would 'lack of enjoyment' (9), disillusionment (3), unhappiness (3) and bad experiences in the first year (2). 'Getting nothing from it' (teaching) would also be a quit factor as would 'loss of motivation', and 'miserable, disillusioned staff'. The implication of these comments is that low morale would be more likely to be engendered by the staff of the school, almost like an infectious disease, which new entrants to the profession could catch in certain circumstances.

The *stress* and *pressures* of the job might also prompt decisions to quit (26). 'Pressure' (15) could come from :

- pleasing teachers, head and children
- delivering a coherent curriculum
- work (3)

It could impinge on 'personal time' and could be 'unreasonable' as in 'continued pressure on teachers'. *Stress* (11) could be due to the 'overburden of the workload'. 'Out of class work' could cause stress as could the 'staff and the children'.

Twenty people cited an *imposed style of teaching* as a quit factor. The strong underlying theme of this group of responses was that even new entrants to teaching bring with them an individual style and philosophy which have to be respected and be in tune with their practical teaching circumstances.

These responses were quite difficult to summarise. On the one hand there was a strong suggestion of being coerced from outside into adopting an 'imposed teaching style' where

'the holistic approach to teaching' would be lost and there would be 'a move away from teaching children as individuals', with a consequential 'losing sight of what education is about'. On the other hand, the student teachers did envisage potential 'conflict over teaching methods' (5). This conflict might be about 'school policy' (1), or being 'unable to run (the) classroom and decides (my) destiny'. It might involve an 'infringement on professional judgement' or result in being 'forced to use inappropriate methods'. A 'return to traditional education' might result, with 'tasks not benefiting children'. Three people were concerned about 'not doing justice to the profession'. Two people envisaged 'less contact with the children'. Three people were worried about 'not being able to make a difference', one person was particularly concerned about special needs children.

Those responses suggest that the student teachers intuitively feel that there will be a difference between teaching practice and the daily reality of being a teacher, but that they are also experiencing the uncertainties engendered by the changes of teaching style implied by the national curriculum and organised testing.

One organisational feature which would prompt ten people to quit would be an *over large class* or an *overloaded timetable* with its accompanying burden of planning and preparation.

A further ten people would quit if the school were *poorly led* or *managed*. Head teachers should be 'enthusiastic', 'committed', 'clear', positive and not 'autocratic'. The educational direction of the school should also be well defined.

Ten people would leave if the *workload* were too great and resulted in 'lack of time', 'over work' or 'problems'. Nine people would quit if they experienced *no job satisfaction* (7) or *felt they were failing* (2). Three people would quit if there were few *career* or *personal development opportunities* and a further three might need 'a change'. One person would only quit in 'old age'.

Extrinsic Quit Factors.

Ninety-four responses concerned extrinsic reasons for leaving teaching. Of these, forty-two cited *pay* as a quit factor. Twenty-five specifically used 'pay', only four people wrote about 'salary' and six wrote of 'money' or 'lack of money'. One underlying theme was

of teachers' pay being inadequate to meet the cost of living. This was mentioned by six people. Another theme was the poor pay structure, mentioned by five people. Two people would leave if they had better offers from elsewhere and two would leave if payment by results were introduced 'as it goes against my principles'. Two wrote of financial pressures / demands. Only one person used the word 'wages'.

The next largest group of extrinsic reasons for leaving teaching (20) was the *pressure of paper work* which was characterised as 'excessive' and 'overloaded'. It impinged on out of school time (1), took teachers away from teaching (6) both actually, and in their thinking, causing 'too much stress' and 'pressure'. The paperwork itself was characterised as 'bureaucracy' and 'red tape' by three people and one person felt 'as if I was no longer a teacher but a paper pusher'.

Eighteen people wrote about the *pressures engendered by the national curriculum*, particularly in terms of *standard assessment tests*. They also mentioned 'confusion with the national curriculum; 'imposed teaching style and content', 'no curriculum freedom' and 'the English, maths and sciences bias of the n.c.' 'Pressure' was used eight times in this group of responses.

The same number of responses (18) cited *poor resources* as a reason for leaving teaching. 'Lack' was used six times and 'poor' four times. Space, buildings and inadequate facilities were specifically mentioned. Resources were also characterised as 'diminished', 'limited' and 'disorganised'. Inadequate funding was mentioned twice.

Nine people mentioned bad or poor working conditions as a reason for leaving teaching. These included 'longer hours, shorter holidays' (1) and no negotiating rights (1).

Allied to this was *education policy* which seven people cited as an extrinsic reason for leaving teaching.

'Unreasonable policies', 'lack of education direction nationally' and 'continuous change' were mentioned, as was an 'over-emphasis on facts', an HMI directed change to 'chalk and talk', 'early streaming of children' and 'schools becoming factories'. Six people saw lack of L.E.A. support as an extrinsic reason for leaving. One person mentioned 'poor morale in the L.E.A.' in this context.

Three people were concerned about *teacher appraisal* and cited this as an extrinsic reason for leaving teaching. Three people cited *insecurity, failure to find a first appointment* and a

better offer from elsewhere. Finally two people thought that the full introduction of *local management of schools* could be a reason for leaving teaching.

Contextual Quit Factors.

The largest number of contextual reasons for leaving teaching (24) concerned the *appreciation, value* and *respect* which student teachers felt they should be accorded. 'The degrading and demoralising of teachers' sums up their feelings. 'Lack of value' was mentioned eight times, lack of recognition seven times, lack of appreciation four times and lack of respect three times. This lack of recognition was applied not only to teachers but also to the profession and to the work undertaken by teachers.

- teaching hardly recognised as a profession
- lack of recognition of the importance of teachers
- work not valued.

This was leading to : 'deterioration of status' so that teachers were 'undervalued by public and professionals'.

The next most significant group of contextual reasons for leaving teaching concerned *government policy*. 'Government' was cited thirteen times within the twenty-one comments. Again, the theme of the devaluation of teaching was significant for four people:

- constant devaluing of the profession by government

Four people were concerned about the level of change and interference :

- Government intervention extremely damaging (to the) education system.

There was also concern that policy was being made and imposed by non-teachers '... new directives from people who have never taught'.

Three people were predicting curriculum and teaching style change, 'a subject-centred teaching approach' and 'being dictated to as to what I have to teach'. Government was accused of 'controlling', 'dictating', 'interfering', 'enforcing policy', 'criticising', 'damaging' and 'intervening'. One person was feeling : 'anger with right-wing politicians'. One person would 'leave teaching if the Tories won the fourth general election'. (This subsequently happened !)

The next most significant group of reasons (10) concerned the *immediate community of the*

school. Student teachers feared 'negative community attitudes' (2), 'a hostile environment', 'lack of support from the community' and 'low status' (2). They also spoke of 'struggling in certain communities' which one person thought could lead to job stress. Three people were aware of children's social circumstances and their inability to change these.

Nine people cited *their own family circumstances* as a reason for leaving. Four of these wrote of 'having a family', three mentioned lack of time for their own family and one thought that teaching could have a bad effect on home life. Eight people thought that they might leave teaching because of '*better prospects elsewhere*' with 'better job satisfaction in another occupation' and opportunities for personal development.

One person wrote of 'the need for a change', another of 'exploring another career area related to my personal interests'. One person wanted to go to bible college and work for the church. Six people envisaged *difficulties with parents*. These could range from interference to aggression, violence and attacks. Three people mentioned negative parental attitudes. Two people mentioned *lack of public support*, including that of 'the future King'.

Six people also cited *negative media attitudes* as a potential contextual reason for leaving teaching. A bad press and constant criticism, plus a negative view of the teaching profession were mentioned. Four people found the *atmosphere within teaching* so bad that they would want to leave. Two people cited *health problems* as a reason for leaving teaching.

A Second Look at the Data. : Axial Coding.

Grouping the highest number of responses for staying or quitting within the three categories of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual produces the following table :

	Intrinsic	Extrinsic	Contextual
Stay	Colleagues : 63	Pay : 54	Professional Recognition: 34
Quit	Lack of Support: 54	Poor Pay : 42	Lack of Recognition : 24

Sociability

Social Status

Table 12.10.

Principal stay and quit factors grouped in terms of sociability and social status.

The highest scores suggest that the student teachers see themselves as people holding a social position, to whom pay and professional recognition are important. Their work is contextualised by support from their professional peers. Thus, the comparative weighting the student teachers place on the different contexts of the job is important, too.

This would suggest organising the data under five headings : *national circumstances, school, colleagues, children* and *self* in order to reveal potential retention and quit factors. These would become apparent through matching stay and quit factors. Those factors which had no balancing positive or negative counterpart would show up as the important ones in the student teachers' decisions to quit teaching or stay.

Intrinsic Stay or Quit Factors.

Using this methodology, the following table can be established for *intrinsic* factors.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances		Imposed teaching style : 20
School	Good school : 30 Good resources : 27 Atmosphere : 19 Good Leadership : 13 Class size / duties : 11	Negative school : 30 Class Size / Duties : 10
Colleagues	Colleagues : 63	Lack of support : 54
Children	Children : 43 Child's learning : 32	Discipline problems : 15 Children : 4
Self	Job satisfaction : 47 Professional development: 22 Enjoyment : 21 Autonomy of style : 13 Valuable job : 11 Own ability : 6 Promotion : 2	Low morale : 28 Pressure : 26 No job satisfaction : 9 Work load : 9 No professional development: 3

Table 12.11.

Student teachers' intrinsic stay and quit factors compared.

National Circumstances produces only one quit factor : imposed teaching style.

School produces the following retention factors : good resources, atmosphere, good leadership, with good school and negative school cancelling each other out, as do class size and class size / duties in the quit category. In the *colleagues* category, the two factors cited counterbalance each other, so no quit or stay factors emerge.

Again, in the category of *children*, the factors cited counterbalance each other, so that no distinctive quit or stay factors emerge.

In the category of *self*, job satisfaction and no job satisfaction counterbalance each other, as do the two professional development factors. Therefore, the following stay and quit factors emerge.

	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances		Imposed teaching style : 20
School	Good resources : 27 Atmosphere : 19 Good Leadership : 13	
Self	Autonomy of style : 13 Valuable job : 11 Own ability : 6 Promotion : 2	Pressure : 26 Work load : 9

Table 12.12.

Student teachers' intrinsic factors prompting decisions to stay or quit.

Thus, the student teachers will seek to quit if they feel that a teaching style is being imposed on them or that the pressure and work load are unacceptable. Conversely, they will stay in a school which has good resources, a good atmosphere and good leadership, particularly if their autonomy of style and their own ability are respected, within the context of valuing teaching as a job and, therefore, promotion prospects being available.

Extrinsic Stay or Quit Factors.

Extrinsic factors cited by the student teachers for staying or quitting are shown in Table 12.13.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Improved pay : 54	Poor pay : 42
	Less Administration : 5	Paper work : 20
	L.E.A. support : 6	Lack of L.E.A. support : 8
	Abolition of the NC /SATs: 11	Assessment : 18
	Abolition of GCSE : 1	Imposed teaching policy : 6
	Holidays : 4	Local management of schools:2
School	Improved resources : 21	Poor resources : 18
	Improved Conditions : 7	Conditions of service : 9
Self	Job security : 9	No job security : 3
		Teacher appraisal : 6

Table 12.13.

Student teachers' extrinsic stay or quit factors compared.

In the category of *national circumstances*, the two aspects of pay counterbalance each other, as do the items on local education authority support, administration, the abolition of standard assessment tests, the national curriculum and GCSE. This leaves holidays as a retention factor and imposed teaching policy and local management of schools as factors for quitting.

In the *school category*, the four factors counterbalance each other. In the category of *self*, teacher appraisal emerges as a reason for leaving teaching.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances		Imposed teaching policy : 6
	Holidays : 4	Local management of schools:2
Self		Teacher appraisal : 6

Table 12.14.

Student teachers' extrinsic factors prompting decisions to stay or quit.

Thus, the student teachers will contemplate leaving if a teaching policy is imposed upon them, especially if it encompasses teacher appraisal. They are apprehensive of the full effects of local management of schools but will stay for the amount of holiday time they have.

Contextual Stay or Quit Factors.

Contextual statements fall into the categories shown in Table 12.15.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Professional recognition : 34	No professional recognition :24
	Government policy change : 9	Government policy : 21
	Media support : 7	Media attitudes : 7
	Public support : 7	
Children	Parental support : 10	No parental support : 6
		No community support : 12
Self	Status improvement : 10	Own life disturbed : 9
		Other job : 5
		Health : 2

Table 12.15.

Student teachers' contextual stay and quit factors compared.

In the *national circumstances* category, recognition and lack of it, government policy and policy change, plus media attitudes and support all cancel each other out, leaving public support as a retention factor.

In the category of *children*, the two aspects of parent support or lack of it counterbalance each other, leaving lack of community support as a quit factor.

As far as the student teachers themselves are concerned, they would stay if their status were improved but will quit if teaching disturbs their own life unduly or if they can find another job or if their health is affected.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Public support : 7	
Children		No community support : 12
Self	Status improvement : 10	Own life disturbed : 9
		Other job : 5
		Health : 2

Table 12.16.

Student teachers' contextual factors prompting decisions to stay or quit.

The student teachers will stay if public support and status improvement are forthcoming but quit if there is no community support, if their own life is disturbed or their health

threatened. They will also quit for jobs elsewhere.

Stay and Quit Factors Summarised.

Table 12.17. summarises the stay and quit factors identified by the student teachers.

Category	Stay	Quit
National Circumstances	Status Improvement	Imposed teaching style
	Holidays	Local management of schools
	Abolition of the NC /SATs	Assessment
	Public support	
School	Good resources	
	Atmosphere	
	Good leadership	Pressure
Children		No community support
Self	Valuable job	Own life disturbed
	Own ability	Other job

Table 12.17.

Student teachers' stay and quit factors summarised.

When factors which mirror each other in all categories are eliminated, ten retention factors and eight resignation factors emerge. Of the retention factors, two, status improvement and public support, look towards an 'upgrading' in being a teacher. These student teachers are seeking an improvement of their status, with an accompanying recognition of their professionalism expressed through abolition of the national curriculum and GCSE. Whilst holidays obviously are a powerful retention factor, any imposition of teaching style, plus the local management of schools will make them review their employment prospects. In fact, four of the eight quit factors concern current policy changes and their immediate effect on day to day teaching.

Within the school, the student teachers hope for good resources, a good atmosphere and good leadership without undue pressure. Pressure also is inevitably associated with policy changes.

Colleagues have no influence on decisions to stay or leave, as far as this group of student

teachers is concerned. The children's influence is minimal, being expressed in terms of lack of community support.

The student teachers have a robust concept of themselves within their professional context, seeing their job as valuable and citing their autonomy, their own ability and promotion as retention factors. At the same time, they delineate the extent of their professional involvement, mentioning disturbance of their own life and health as potential quit factors. The prospect of another job is also a quit factor.

Thus, significant stay or quit factors around the immediate teaching role emerge as being professional recognition and rights, including a right of access to reasonable resources. Moreover, the students see the teaching role as requiring major social support and recognition, not only within the context of the school and its community, but also on a broader national basis.

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Chapter Thirteen.

Job Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers.

This chapter deals with the two open-ended items in the questionnaire where student teachers and teachers were invited to write about the most and least enjoyable aspects of teaching.

Student teacher data are treated first, taking most enjoyable aspects before the least enjoyable ones. This is followed by an analysis of the data provided by the teachers. Again, the data are grouped under three main headings : *intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual* and are analysed for content and key words.

The second part of the chapter considers distinctive job satisfiers and dissatisfiers for the student teachers and the teachers. These are identified by eliminating satisfiers and dissatisfiers which counterbalance each other.

Student Teachers' Job Satisfiers.

Intrinsic Job Satisfiers.

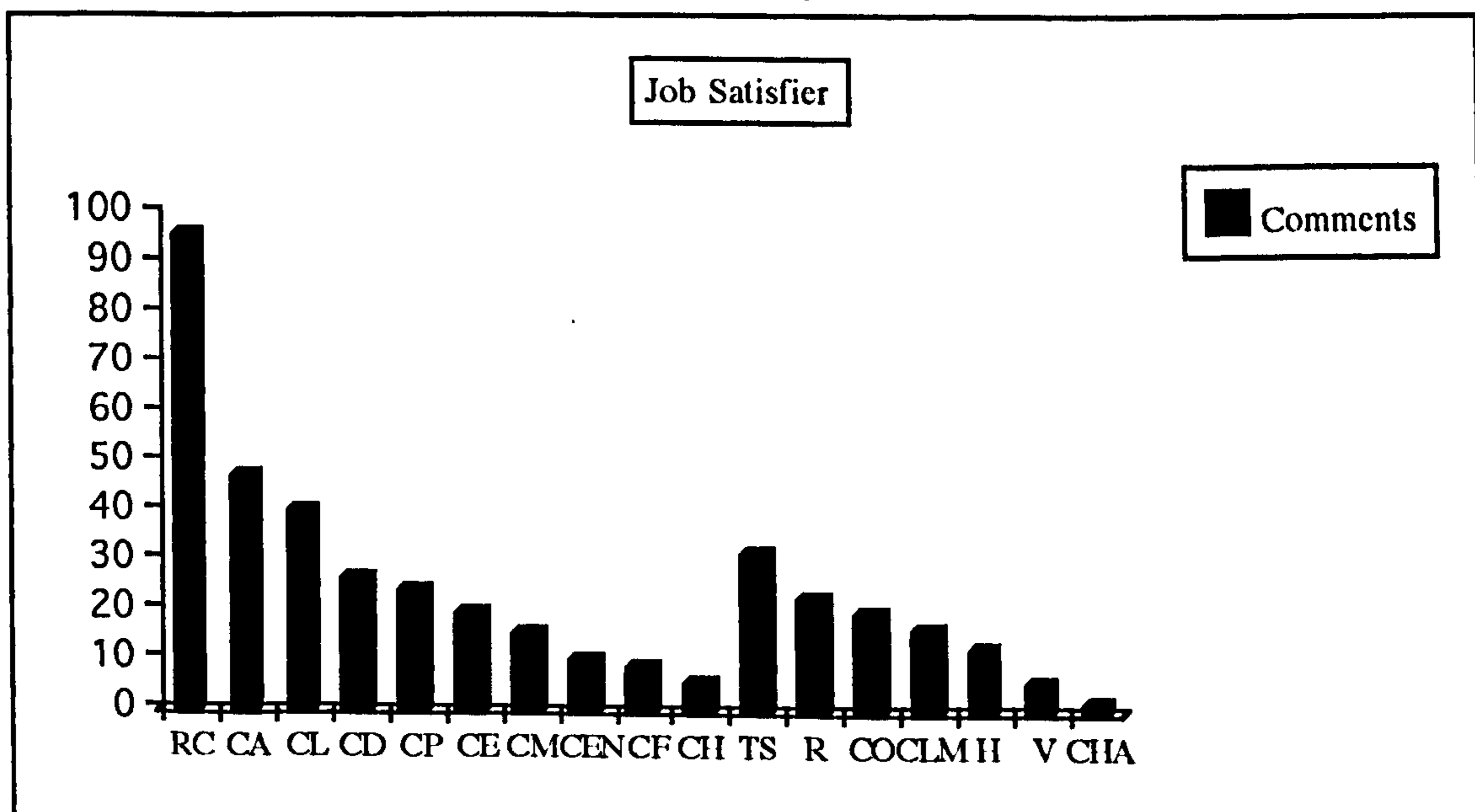
Intrinsic job satisfiers fell into two main categories : child related and teacher-related as Table 13.1. shows.

Factor Type	Factor	Abbreviation of	Number of
Child-related		Job Satisfier	Comments
299 comments	Relations with children	RC	96
	Child's achievement	CA	48
	Child's learning	CL	41
	Child development	CD	27
	Child's progress	CP	25
	Child's enjoyment	CE	20
	Child maturing	CM	16
	Child's enthusiasm	CEN	11
	Child's fun	CF	9
	Child's happiness	CHI	6
Teacher related	Teaching style	TS	32
113 comments	Reward	R	23
	Colleagues	CO	20
	Class management	CLM	17
	Helping	H	13
	Variety	V	6
	Challenge	CHA	2

Table 13.1. .

Frequency of student teachers' qualitative intrinsic job satisfiers.

[N = 412]



Graph 13.1.

Graph of student teachers' qualitative job satisfiers.

Almost two-thirds of the comments in this category concerned the children, as opposed to the third which concerned the job itself, as Graph 13.1. shows. This suggests that student teachers are pulled into teaching by children, rather than by the activity of teaching for itself.

Child-Related Job Satisfiers.

The most enjoyable intrinsic aspect of teaching for the student teachers was *relationships with children* (96). This included :

- developing good relationships
- getting to know children
- being involved with children's lives
- (receiving) affection from children
- working with children
- children confiding in you, sharing special moments with you.

Two people specifically mentioned young children. One person wrote :

- Infants make me forget worries outside class.

another person was aware of

- the broadening effect they (children) have on me.

An accompanying aspect of working with children was *children's success* (48) and *achievement*. In this section of responses achievement was mentioned 25 times, and success 9 times. Three themes emerge : firstly the part played by the teacher in children's achievements:

- (the) successes I achieve with children, small or large.

Nine responses concerned this category of achievement and mentioned active teacher intervention. The key verb was '*help*'.

A further 24 responses concerned seeing children succeed. Here, the key verb was *watch* or *see* and there was the implication of less active teacher intervention.:

- seeing children achieve
- watching them (children) achieve

A third category concerned *overcoming difficulties* (11). These responses conveyed a sense of struggle and also a sense of the developmental aspects of teaching.

- children achieving concepts not before understood
- child succeeding on something which has been a struggle
- reward of finally teaching a child a concept s/he had been unable to grasp

In this context, *breakthrough* was mentioned in two responses, *good* in 3 responses and *potential* in four. There was a sense of enjoyment of success, both for children and teachers:

- child's sense of enjoyment from first time achievement
- rewards when children succeed

Sharing success with the children was also a theme of these responses.

Forty-one comments concerned *sharing* in the sense of *learning with the children*. Seven people wrote of 'learning with the children', one person thought that '(teachers) never stop learning'. Eight people wrote of 'watching children learning'.

Other responses in this category concerned :

- aspects of learning which occur spontaneously
- children learning socially and academically
- children's response to learning (2)
- encourage learning (2)
- children enjoying learning
- thinking of ways to stimulate learning (2)
- delight at new learning

One person wrote of '*enabling children to learn at their own pace*'. Two people specifically mentioned the '*rewards*' in enabling children's learning.

Twenty-seven responses concerned *child development*, as distinct from children's learning. Twenty-two people mentioned '*develop*' or '*development*'. This included *individual development* (3), *intellectual maturity, independence* (7). There was a strong sense of development over time :

- seeing children develop over a period of time
- same children for a year.

Twenty-five further responses concerned children *gaining in confidence*. '*Progress*' was used eight times in these responses, where the underlying theme was that of autonomy :

- seeing children have resources to discover things for themselves

One person spoke of : 'children growing from low self esteem to pride in their work'.

Five people mentioned children's *social progress* :

- seeing children grow into nice people
- seeing children develop in personality and maturity
- seeing children relate well to each other (2)

Twenty responses in this category actually mentioned *enjoyment*. Nineteen of these concerned children's *enjoyment of learning*. One person spoke of 'fostering enjoyment'.

The following comment sums up this group :

- sense of enjoyment children get from activities.

Forty-two comments were child-centred and concerned children's *motivation* (16), their *enthusiasm* (11), *fun with children* (9) and *happiness* (6). Motivation was characterised by:

- all children participating;

children being :

- interested, keen, excited, open-minded, curious;

and confirmed by :

- positive answers from the children at the end of the day.

Children's *enthusiasm* was characterised through : ' ideas flying!'

Fun was marked by laughter (3) and was shared :

- laughing with the children.

'*Happy*' could characterise the children, the atmosphere (which would also be relaxed), the class and the school.

Teacher - Related Job Satisfiers.

This theme was explored extensively in a group of thirty-two responses which concerned teaching style. Six people mentioned:

- independence
- being (one's) own manager
- making (one's) own decisions'.

Five people mentioned specific curriculum areas; five people mentioned *particular teaching*

styles. Fifteen people mentioned *curriculum development* as an important intellectual aspect of teaching. In this context, creativity (3) was mentioned, as well as providing new experiences for the children, even giving them 'opportunities not available elsewhere'.

Other significant aspects of this intellectual aspect of teaching were :

- the development of a rationale (to address children's needs) (2)
- experiments with new things
- teaching a wide range of subjects (2)
- making school experiences worthwhile

The student teachers enjoyed *planning, organisation and participation in activities* (3) as well as *sharing knowledge*. They also mentioned *organisation of resources and creating a stimulating environment*.

Twenty-three people made comments about the rewards of teaching. 'Reward' was used eight times, as was 'satisfaction'. Both came from children's success and achievement, as well as from the knowledge of 'a job well done' which led to personal 'fulfilment'.

The same number of responses concerned *working with colleagues* (8). Good staff relations (7) were seen as vital to enjoying teaching by this group of student teachers. Good relations implied working as a team (7).

- co-operative working with teachers
- supportive approach (3)
- supportive staff atmosphere and sharing (3)
- shared commitment with other staff

Two people wrote of the development of good relations to the point of :

- developing friendships and professional relationships

A group of thirty-eight responses, which were essentially teacher-centred, dealt with the day-to-day routines of the job. Thirteen concerned helping children to :

- learn
- understand
- overcome difficulties

☐ experience new things

Seventeen concerned *class management*, and included successful lessons (4), a 'smooth running class', feeling useful and responsive, 'getting something right' and 'contributing to the school's aims and policies'. A further six comments concerned the *variety within teaching*, including the 'unpredictability of each day'. Two people commented on the 'challenge' of teaching.

The underlying theme was that co-operation equated with 'shared commitment', the ultimate aim of which was 'to benefit children'.

Extrinsic Job Satisfiers.

The most enjoyable extrinsic aspects of teaching according to the student teachers, were *holidays* (2) and *retirement* (1).

Contextual Job Satisfiers.

The most enjoyable contextual aspects of teaching were *relationships with parents* (6). These included 'helping and encouraging' them and 'learning with parents through a partnership approach'.

Student Teachers' Job Dissatisfiers.

Intrinsic Job Dissatisfiers.

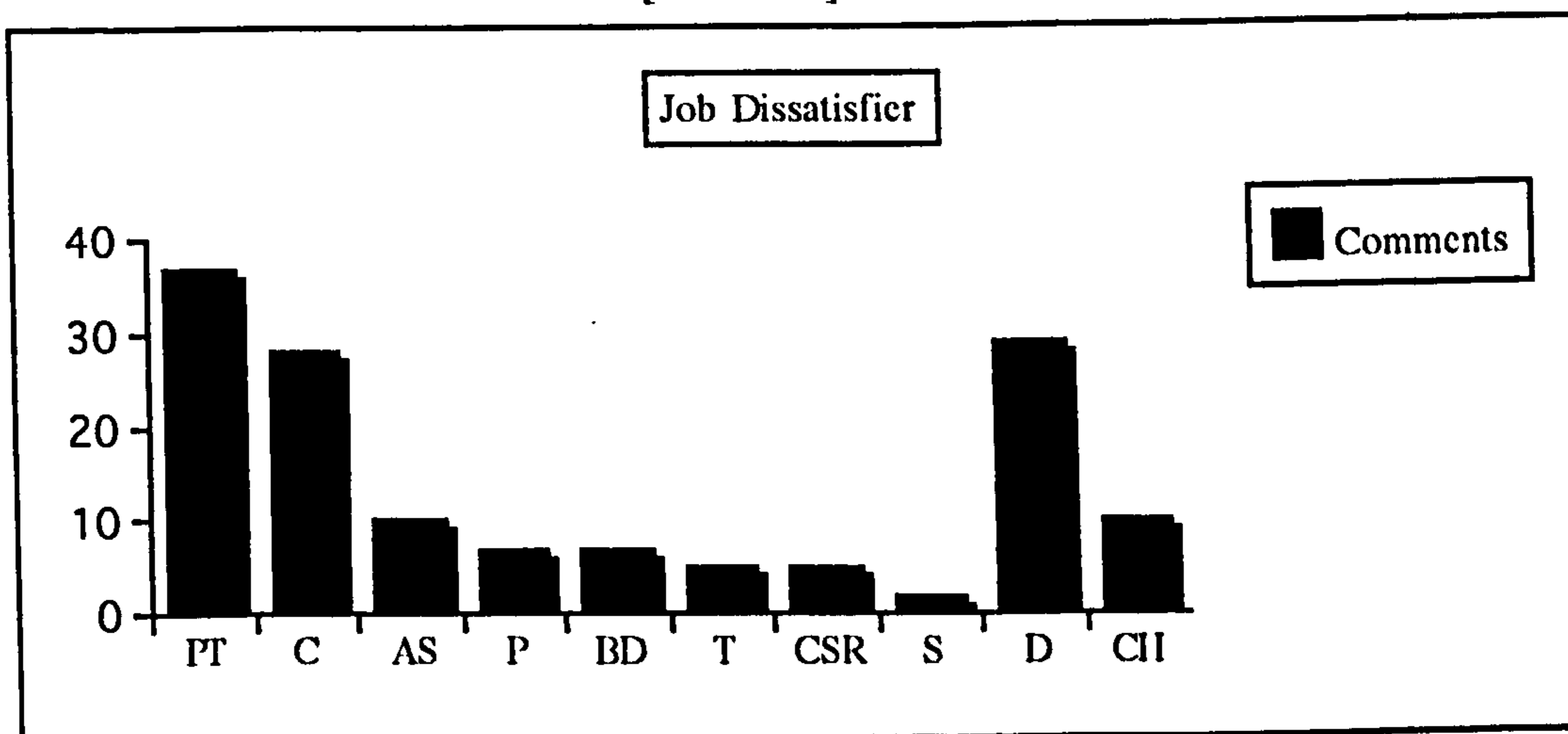
The *least enjoyable* intrinsic aspects of teaching were largely job, rather than child related as Table 13.2. shows.

Factor Type	Factor	Abbreviation of Job Dissatisfier	Number of Comments
Job related	Professional tasks	PT	37
Total :101	Colleagues	C	28
	Affective state	AS	10
	Pressure	P	7
	Bad days	BD	7
	Time	T	5
	Class size/ability range	CSR	5
	Imposed teaching style	S	2
Child related	Discipline	D	29
Total : 39	Children	CI	10

Table 13.2.

Frequency of student teachers' qualitative intrinsic job dissatisfiers.

[N = 140]



Graph 13.2.

Graph of student teachers' qualitative intrinsic job dissatisfiers.

As graph 11.2. shows, professional tasks, colleagues and discipline are by far the most significant potential job dissatisfiers as far as the student teachers are concerned.

Professional tasks encompassed a wide range of activities associated with teaching. Twelve people mentioned *preparation* and *lesson planning* as being one of the least enjoyable aspects of teaching :

- preparation : what to do next; ideas don't come easily

Nine people mentioned *specific activities* or *curriculum areas*. Assemblies (4), teaching RE, PE, dance and drama, teaching music to the whole school, displays, tidying-up, register and playground duty were all quoted. Five people commented on the *workload*:

hard, draining work.

Five people commented on marking particularly. Three people disliked the amount of work they had to do 'out of school hours'.

Colleagues were the next potential source of unhappiness to these student teachers (28). They were characterised as 'unsupportive' (6) moaning (5), having poor morale (3) and low expectations. Three people wrote of : 'having to work with colleagues unwilling to challenge or develop' . Staff rooms were characterised as 'bitchy', 'gossip-ridden' and full of 'bickering'. Teachers could 'perpetuate values based on prejudice'. They could be 'unenthusiastic', 'unfriendly', 'close-minded'. Sometimes they did 'not communicate honestly' and they tended to 'perpetuate staff problems' (4). This group of responses suggests that the student teachers have witnessed (and worked with) some fairly extreme levels of disaffection amongst teachers during their teaching practices.

Ten student teachers cited *a poor affective state* as one of the least enjoyable aspects of teaching. Three mentioned tiredness, two spoke of headaches, three spoke of the confinement and isolation of being in class without non-contact time. One person mentioned the demands of time and energy, and one wrote of 'not being able to switch off'. A further seven people wrote of *stress* and *pressure* as being among the least enjoyable aspects of teaching.

Seven people specifically wrote of *bad lessons* or *bad days*. 'Disaster lessons' and 'when something has gone badly' were one of the least enjoyable things about teaching.

Five people specifically wrote of *lack of time* and 'long hours'. A further five mentioned *over large classes* and a *wide ability range*. Two people were frustrated by the 'limits on what you can do'.

Thirty-nine responses concerned *child-related aspects* of teaching which the student teachers characterised as least enjoyable. Twenty-nine of these related to *discipline*. This was typified by terms such as discipline (5), (bad) behaviour (9), disruptive (4), aggressive (2). Children were characterised as unruly, unpleasant, disrespectful, crazy. Exercising discipline was seen as getting in the way of teaching. The student teachers disliked :

- having to base teaching around control
- dealing with pupils who have no regard for authority

- nagging certain children
- getting cross
- having to shout at children
- having to be a policeman
- reprimanding bad behaviour

They really disliked 'disrespectful children who don't appreciate what you're trying to do, who mess around ...' and found 'having to deal with behavioural problems without losing (your) temper' very difficult indeed!

Ten people also found *disaffected children* or *children who did not achieve their potential* a very unenjoyable aspect of teaching. Three people were concerned about children and their potential, particularly children with special educational needs. Three people were concerned about children's lack of interest or the inherent irrelevance of the subjects they were required to teach. Two people were concerned that they were not able to spend enough time with the children to promote their learning.

Extrinsic Job Dissatisfiers.

The least enjoyable extrinsic aspect of teaching for these student teachers was *paperwork* (72) which they considered irrelevant, pointless, excessive, poor, and not related to the curriculum. Twenty-nine people particularly mentioned *record-keeping*.

The next most cited factor was *mass assessment* (34) which created an unacceptable workload. After this, national curriculum requirements reduced the enjoyment of teaching for ten people, particularly when they were required to:

- cover all areas ... especially those I am not familiar with!'.
They felt pressured, found themselves involved in:

They felt pressured, found themselves involved in:

- endless discussions about the national curriculum ...

and did not enjoy:

- having to refer to the national curriculum even when you know you are right.

The same number of responses concerned *lack of resources* (10). Classrooms, buildings and teaching materials which were out of date, as well as consumables, were mentioned in this context.

- Teachers fighting over new packs of pencils

is indicative of the poor resourcing implied in these ten comments.

Five people wrote of an *externally imposed teaching structure* as reducing their enjoyment of teaching :

- having to conform to a teaching system in which I may not believe.

Two people cited *pay* as a source of dissatisfaction.

Four people wrote of *time pressures* and the 'infringement' of school work on (my) own time'.

Contextual Job Dissatisfiers.

Contextually, the least enjoyable aspect of teaching for nine student teachers was *the parents*. They imposed pressure (3), were difficult to negotiate with (2) and demonstrated negative attitudes (2) and lack of respect. There was a tension between:

- trying to please the parents and deliver a coherent curriculum.

One student teacher saw 'bad parent / staff links' as a potential job dissatisfier.

Almost as significant as parents were *media attitudes* (8). Five people wrote of:

- negative media attention

which two people saw as shaping:

- society's attitude to the teaching profession.

Equally significant were the *politics of education* (8):

- dealing with people who know nothing about education but who wield power in education

was a powerful theme in this set of responses. Their ignorance was leading to the enforcement of the national curriculum, testing and the collection of unnecessary statistics. 'Fighting the politics' had become a preoccupation for these student teachers.

This was manifest in seven responses which concerned *defending the profession*. It was painful to face:

- the low opinion many people have of the job I do (2)

and difficult:

- to defend yourself and justify (your) actions'.

Low public opinion' and a 'decline in respect for the teaching profession' were also painful.

Of almost equal concern were the *social worker* aspects of teaching (6) including:

- issues like child abuse which is beyond my control.

Some (3) responses in this category betrayed surprise at having to tackle social issues, others resentment (3).

Six people identified *pressures* from a variety of sources, three of which were categorised as 'outside' pressures. 'Union duties' and 'pressure from governors' were also cited in this category, as was 'narrow mindedness' (presumably of other teachers?)

Teachers' Job Satisfiers.

Intrinsic Job Satisfiers.

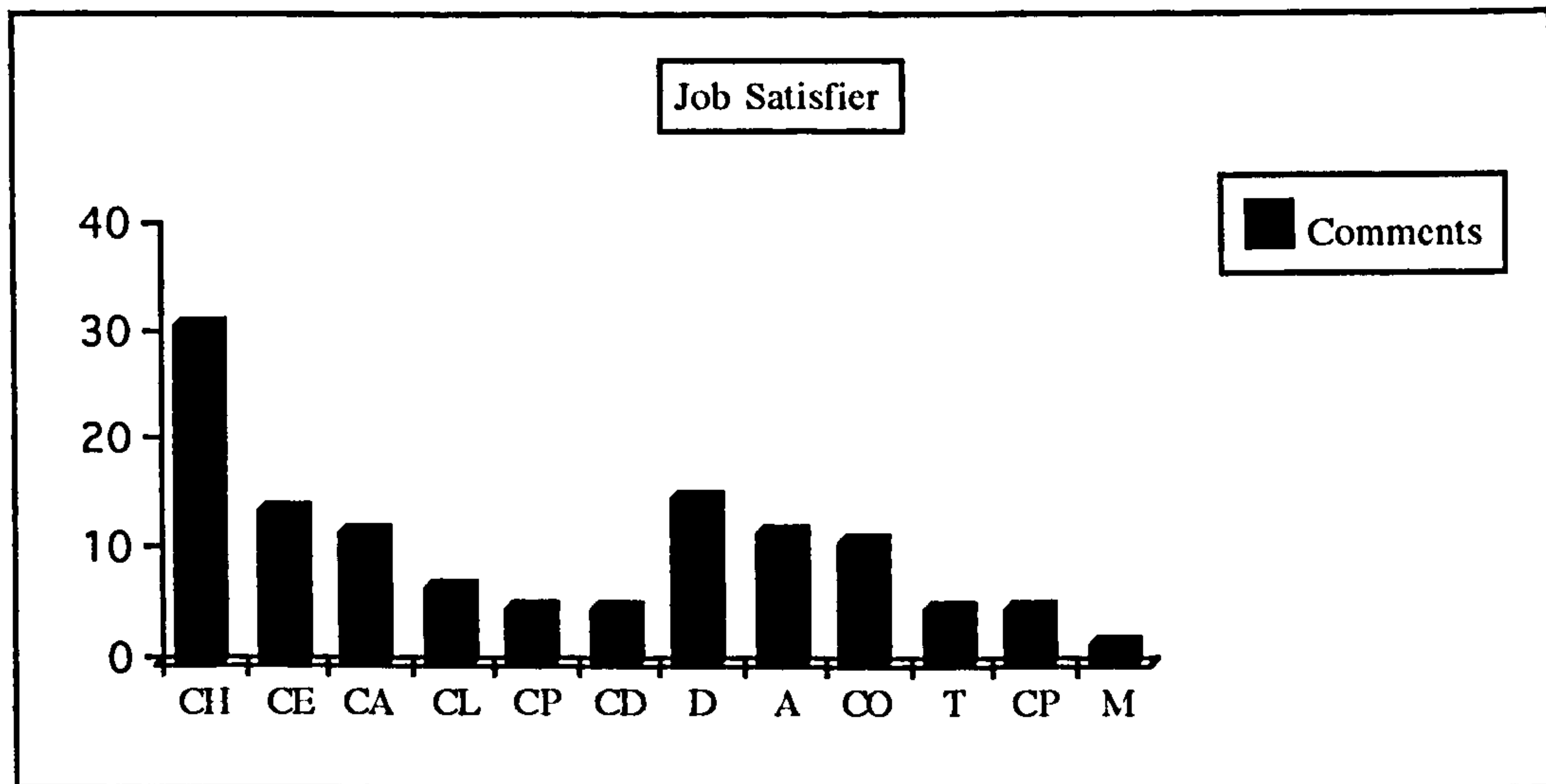
Factor Type	Factor	Abbreviation of Job Satisfier	Number of Comments
Child related	Children	CH	31
Total : 74	Child's enthusiasm	CE	14
	Child's achievement	CA	12
	Child's learning	CL	7
	Child's progress	CP	5
	Child development	CD	5
Job related	Duties	D	15
Total : 40	Autonomy	A	12
	Colleagues	CO	11
	Teaching	T	5
	Co-operation	CP	5
	Miscellaneous	M	2

Table 13.3.

Frequency of teachers' qualitative intrinsic job satisfiers.

[N = 124]

Table 13.3. resumes the teachers' intrinsic job satisfiers. The teachers make almost twice as many comments about the children as they do about aspects of the job. This suggests that children themselves are a powerful retention factor, almost twice as powerful as established teaching expertise. Graph 13.3. shows these job satisfiers in diagrammatic form.



Graph 13.3.

Graph of teachers' qualitative intrinsic job satisfiers.

The most enjoyable intrinsic aspect of teaching as a job was a whole range of duties and experiences about which the teachers wrote. Ten of these concerned curriculum development and were variously described as :

- practical, creative, intellectual and theoretical
- exciting work in a range of subjects
- planning what to do and how to do it
- teaching a well prepared, resourced lesson
- developing the curriculum (2)
- challenge of making subjects accessible
- development of love of books
- pursuing interests derived from teacher/pupil interactions (not laid down by the national curriculum necessarily)
- display work

Four concerned the children themselves :

- getting good results
- working with small groups
- knowing I can help prepare a child for living

One concerned the overall teaching function

- being involved in all aspects of school

The next most frequently cited job satisfier was autonomy (12). Factors mentioned here were : freedom to be creative; (3) in charge of own work; autonomy (3); independence (2); developing the curriculum.

Colleagues, too, could be a source of satisfaction. Here, the teachers mentioned : good relations with staff (2), team work (2), interaction with colleagues (2), working with other adults, friendships, the staffroom.

Cooperation (5) was another positive job satisfier, be it with children or colleagues. Here the key words were 'sharing' and 'cooperation'.

Teaching (5) itself was a source of great enjoyment, particularly the 'teaching situation' and 'developing ideas about teaching and learning'. Additionally, two people mentioned their enjoyment of 'being in a well-organised school' and 'providing a valuable service'.

Almost twice as many child-related satisfiers were mentioned as job satisfiers. The largest category concerned being with children and having a good relationship with them (27). There was a strong sense of a two-way process of interaction in 'mutually beneficial class relations' (4).

These were further explored in statements about children's enthusiasm (14). They were characterised as : 'happy, busy', 'well behaved', 'well-mannered'. They showed 'enjoyment', 'delight ... (at) grasping a concept', 'motivation to understand and ask questions', 'satisfaction' and 'social development'. They took 'pleasure from learning' and could be made to 'feel excited about learning'. above all, they contributed to a 'lively atmosphere'.

The teachers derived great pleasure from the children's achievements and their part in them (2). 'Achieving children' (8), 'joy of children's success' were comments categorising this group of responses.

Children's learning (7) was also a source of satisfaction :

- When children ... learn from what I present
- Seeing children learn.

Equally important was seeing children's progress, as well as following their later success (5). Linked to this was the development of the children (5) in which the teachers shared on a day-to-day basis, particularly as children 'become independent learners' showing 'autonomy' (3) and 'independence' (2).

Extrinsic Job Satisfiers.

Only three teachers made any response in this category. All three cited holidays as the most enjoyable extrinsic feature of teaching.

Contextual Job Satisfiers.

Only six teachers made responses in this category. Four concerned good relationships with parents and school / community contacts. Two teachers felt that they were making a worthwhile contribution to society.

Teachers' Job Dissatisfiers.

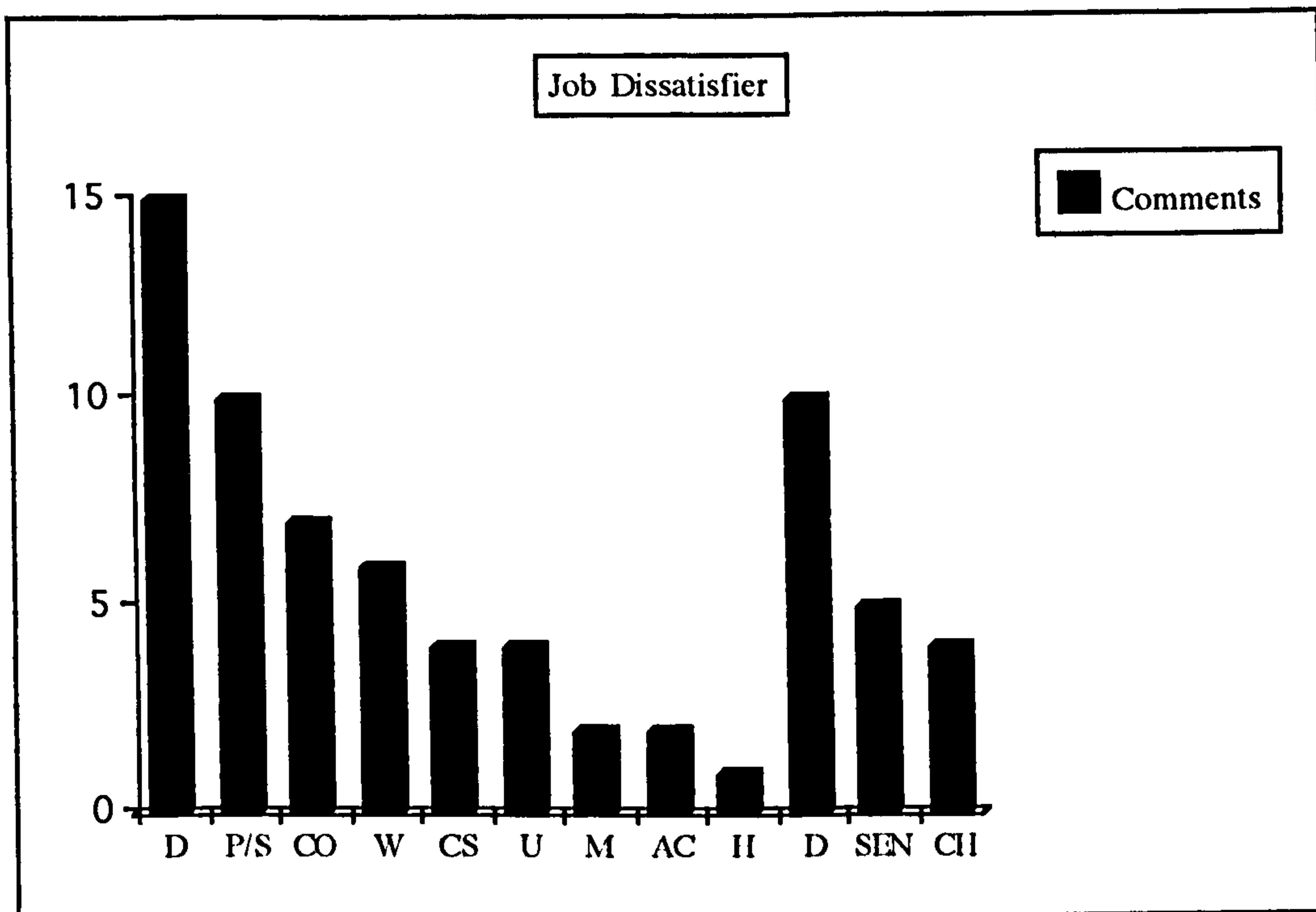
Intrinsic Job Dissatisfiers.

Factor Type	Factor	Abbreviation of Job Dissatisfier	Number of Comments
Job related	Duties	D	15
Total : 51	Pressure / stress	P/S	10
	Colleagues	CO	7
	Work load	W	6
	Class size	CS	4
	Under valued	U	4
	Management	M	2
	Adult contact	AC	2
	Health	H	1
Child related	Discipline	D	10
Total : 19	Special needs	SEN	5
	Children	CHI	4

Table 13.4.

Frequency of teachers' qualitative intrinsic job dissatisfiers.

[N = 70]



Graph 13.4.

Graph of teachers' qualitative intrinsic job dissatisfiers.

The biggest group of job dissatisfiers in the intrinsic category concerned specific duties. These included :

- cover of other classes (2)
- disruption of routine and timetable (4)
- planning and marking (2)

In addition, the teachers mentioned :

'watching a favourite lesson fail' , 'juggling', 'where pupils are restless while waiting', 'dinner registers' and 'education jargon'. One person felt that 'too much (is) expected from the class teacher' and another disliked 'the classroom environment all day'. One person disliked vertically grouped classes. One person hated marbles in class !

'Pressure' and 'stress' were the next most significant job dissatisfiers. Pressure was felt, particularly with children who needed extra individual attention within the class (3) but was also cited generally by three teachers. Stress was mentioned generally by three teachers, was characterised as 'excessive' by one and was linked to feelings of inadequacy by two. One person wrote of 'exhaustion'.

Work load, including long hours, was mentioned by six people. It regularly took up

evenings and weekends, precluded a social life and resulted in long hours of preparation and marking.

Colleagues could be difficult, too. They could indulge in 'petty disputes', contact with them during the day was 'limited' (2). They might be 'lazy and old-fashioned in their teaching style'. They might even be 'scruffy ... setting a poor standard to the children'. One person deplored : 'having to moan if staff ... fail to carry out their responsibilities'. Two people mentioned management as being 'destructive' and failing to provide 'back-up'. One person wrote :

(Teaching) dominates my life.

Four teachers felt undervalued. One wrote : 'I have never felt so undervalued before.' Another spoke of 'feeling inadequate', another of 'feeling incompetent'. One experienced 'exhaustion' and another 'constant tiredness'. Two teachers were conscious of the limited contact with adults during the working day. This was characterised by 'limited mobility: Classroom environment all day'.

One person was concerned for her health.

The most significant child-related job dissatisfier mentioned by the teachers was discipline (10). Nine responses concerned the management of bad behaviour. One person wrote of : 'seeing the darker side of children's natures' another of : 'having to serve (sic) strict discipline.' Five people expressed concern about children with special educational needs. The latter were not receiving enough support and were suffering because of the time taken for statementing. Meeting individual needs within the class was difficult in these circumstances and could lead to 'poor teaching'. Such children were a 'constant pressure' for one teacher.

Children's distress and problems were also a concern for four teachers who found this aspect of teaching difficult to deal with.

Class size could be a problem too, in terms of giving individual children the help they needed.

Extrinsic Job Dissatisfiers.

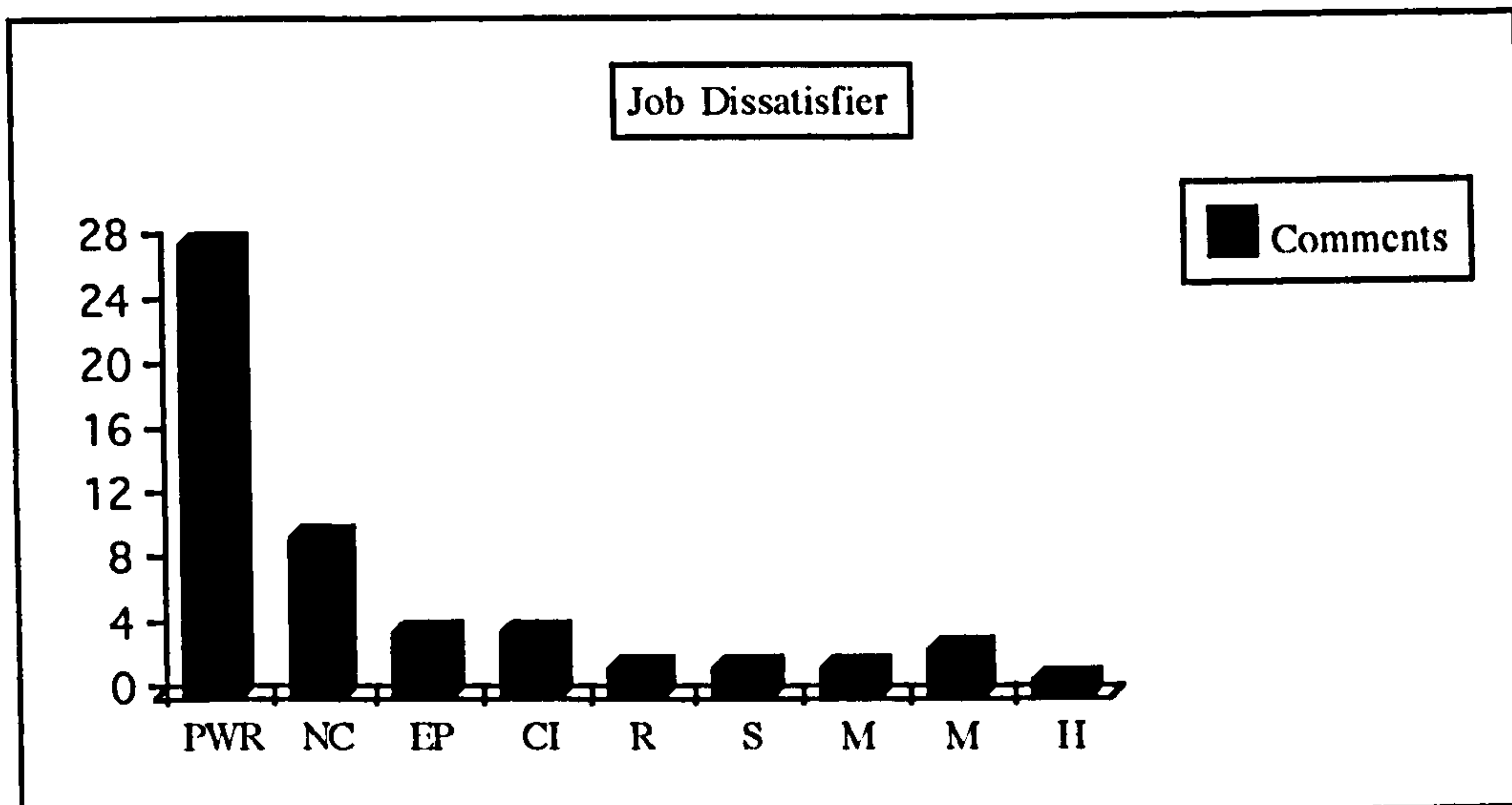
Table 13.5 resumes the teachers' extrinsic job dissatisfiers and Graph 13.5. shows their relative significance in comparison with each other.

Factor Type	Factor	Abbreviation of Job Dissatisfier	Number of Comments
Job related	Paper work / records	PWR	28
Total : 55	NC and SATs	NC	10
	External pressure	EP	4
	Current issues	CI	4
	Resources	R	2
	Salary	S	2
	Management	M	2
	Miscellaneous	M	3
	Health	H	1

Table 13.5.

Frequency of teachers' extrinsic job dissatisfiers.

[N = 55]



Graph 13.5.

Graph of teachers' qualitative extrinsic job dissatisfiers.

By far the least enjoyable extrinsic aspect of teaching for these teachers was the paperwork, specifically mentioned as such by ten people. This was further characterised as being : 'pointless administration' (7), 'red tape', 'bits of paper wanted by everybody' and 'unnecessary bureaucracy'. Three people specifically mentioned report writing in this context.

The next most important job dissatisfier was the national curriculum, with its standard assessment tests. The national curriculum itself engendered 'confusion', had 'deadlines', involved 'prescription'. Unfortunately, 'not enough support' was provided for its implementation. Standard assessment tests were mentioned as a continuing difficulty for four teachers, and had caused stress which one person characterised as 'excessive'. Four

others were highly dissatisfied by having to cope with :

- trendy new ideas, changing anything a bit old

They did not appreciate : 'dealing with all the literature'. There was 'too much bumph to keep up with' and they were sick of 'following all the current buzz fads and "in-issues"'.

Two people felt that the resources at their disposal were inadequate. One lacked storage space and the other was aware of : 'the effects of cuts in funding'. Two people were dissatisfied with their salary; one said she was underpaid. One person deplored 'the system'; one a 'local education authority obsessed with jargon' and one person was struggling with the in-service education for teachers accounts in her school.

Contextual Job Dissatisfiers.

The teachers made 24 comments on contextual job dissatisfiers. The largest number (8) were job related and concerned government attitudes. Almost as many comments were made on (lowly) teacher status (7). Three teachers commented on press attitudes. A further six made comments about parents.

The attitude of the government was described in the following way:

- government criticism
- the politics (P)
- increasing central control

The effects of government attitudes were described as :

- pressures passing down through the system
- impositions from above
- education ministry and DES trivia
- taking notice of people with no experience of life in school

The next most significant group of responses concerned teacher status, which was seen as being very low :

- not being recognised as doing the best we can
- the forever declining standard of status (sic)
- low status

One teacher deplored :

- not (being) treated as a profession; being checked up on.

Another deplored 'lack of esteem by society' and a third spoke of :

- being slagged off by the... public.

The media, too, were cited as contributing to teacher's lack of enjoyment of teaching :

- bad media coverage
- being slagged off by media
- media ignorance

were all mentioned as significant in this respect.

One person also wrote of 'the deteriorating state education system' as being a very unenjoyable contextual feature of teaching.

Six teachers wrote about relationships with parents as being one of the least enjoyable factors of teaching. 'Lack of parent support', 'unco-operative parents', 'bad relations with parents' and 'unsupportive parents' could all cause difficulties. One teacher also cited : 'distressed families' and another : 'parents' evenings'. These were the only contextual job dissatisfiers which related to the children.

Job Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers Compared.

In this part of the chapter the job satisfiers and dissatisfiers identified by the student teachers and teachers are compared within categories to see if they do mirror each other or if, as the Herzberg (1967) study found, they are different. One of the recommendations of this study was that job satisfiers should be maximised and that job dissatisfiers should be at least minimised, if not eliminated.

A Comparison of Student Teachers' Job Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers.

Table 13.6 shows the student teachers' intrinsic job satisfiers and dissatisfiers compared.

Intrinsic Job Satisfier	Intrinsic Job Dissatisfier
Relations with children *	Professional tasks
Child's achievement	Colleagues *
Child's learning	Affective state
Child development	Pressure
Child's progress	Bad days
Child's enjoyment	Time
Child maturing	Class size / ability range *
Child's enthusiasm	Imposed teaching style *
Child's fun	Discipline
Child's happiness	Children *
Teaching style *	
Reward	
Colleagues *	
Class management *	
Helping	
Variety	
Challenge	

Table 13.6.

Student teachers' qualitative intrinsic job satisfiers and dissatisfiers compared.

Only the starred items could be said to counterbalance each other as satisfiers and dissatisfiers which suggests that colleagues, the nature and composition of the class and children can either enhance or detract from teaching as a job. Intrinsic factors which definitely enhance teaching are to be found in all aspects of children's development, in the rewards of teaching, in the feeling of helping children and in the variety and challenge of the job.

Intrinsic factors which definitely detract from teaching as a job are some professional tasks, the low affective state which can be caused by teaching, pressure, lack of time and discipline problems.

The only extrinsic job satisfiers the student teachers mention are *holidays* and *retirement*, whereas they cite *paper work*, *mass assessment*, *the national curriculum*, *time pressure* (as a result of extrinsic demands) and *pay* as extrinsic job dissatisfiers. Not only are there are no counterbalancing factors in this category, but the job dissatisfiers can be seen as consequences of externally imposed change on working conditions..

Contextual job dissatisfiers are far more numerous than contextual job satisfiers, as Table 13.7. shows.

Job Satisfier	Job Dissatisfier
Relations with parents *	Relations with parents *
	Media attitudes
	Politics
	Defending teaching
	Social work aspects
	Outside pressures

Table 13.7.

Student teachers' qualitative contextual job satisfiers and dissatisfiers compared.

Apart from the *social work aspects* of teaching, the other factors cited by the student teachers can be directly attributed to the political climate established around education by successive governments and is symptomatic of the erosion of a partnership approach between teachers and employers to the delivery of state education.

A Comparison of Teachers' Job Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers.

The same pattern of job satisfiers and counterbalancing dissatisfiers can be seen in the data from the teachers. Intrinsic job satisfiers and dissatisfiers are compared in Table 13.8.

Intrinsic Job Satisfier	Intrinsic Job Dissatisfier
Children *	Duties *
Child's achievement	Pressure / stress
Child's learning	Colleagues *
Child development	Work load
Child's progress	Class size
Duties *	Under valued
Autonomy	Management
Colleagues *	Adult contact
Teaching	Discipline
Co-operation	Health
Being in well-organised school	Special needs
	Children *

Table 13.8.

Teachers' qualitative intrinsic job satisfiers and dissatisfiers compared.

Only three factors counterbalance each other in comparing the teachers' job satisfiers and dissatisfiers. These are *children*, *colleagues* and *duties*. The teachers gain great satisfaction from the progress and achievements of their children, as they do from their *autonomy*,

teaching, co-operation and being in a well-organised school. They do not enjoy pressure and stress, their work load, the size of their class, nor the fact that they are undervalued. Neither do they always appreciate management decisions, lack of adult contact, discipline problems and trying to provide for children with special educational needs. They also recognise that teaching is potentially damaging to their health.

The only *extrinsic* job satisfier which the teachers mention is *holidays*. However, *extrinsic* job dissatisfiers abound as Table 13.5. shows. These are largely attributable to the effects of educational changes on conditions of service as well as their impact on the relationship between local education authorities and the schools for which they are responsible.

Contextual job dissatisfiers identified by the teachers are *government attitudes, low status, negative media coverage and parents*. The only counterbalancing factor in this category is *parents and community links*, both of which could be rewarding.

Conclusion.

The high degrees of agreement between the student teachers and the teachers about job satisfiers and dissatisfiers are indicative of a shared vocationalism towards the job of teaching, a vocationalism which seems to be only partially understood by employers.

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Chapter Fourteen.
Conclusion.

Main Findings and Overview of the Study.

This chapter reviews the findings of the study in the light of its initial objectives, making a set of policy recommendations on teacher employment which might have a positive effect on their retention. It concludes by discussing the findings of the study in terms of the proletarianisation of teaching as an occupation and its particular impact on a largely female work force.

1. The Objectives of the Study.

The study had five principal objectives which were :

- I. to explore student teacher responses to the statements made on attitudes towards teaching by their peers whose training had included informal educational experiences in the form of community work;
- II. to explore student teacher responses to the retention features which head teachers consciously put into place within their schools;
- III. to investigate factors which student teachers saw as leading to retention or resignation;
- IV. to investigate factors which student teachers considered to be prospective job satisfaction and dissatisfaction features;
- V. to find out the extent to which these factors were relevant to serving teachers.

2. Summary of the Main Findings.

2.1. Attitudes to Teaching.

The student teachers and the teachers express high degrees of agreement on the attitudes towards teaching expressed by their peers whose training had included informal educational experiences in the form of community work. This suggests that one component of teaching as an occupation is a community affiliation.

2.2. Retention, Recruitment and Resignation.

2.2.1. Retention Features.

The student teachers also expressed agreement on the retention features which head teachers

consciously put into place within their schools.

2.2.2. *Commitment.*

Intending teachers' commitment is positively influenced by inner city teaching practices. It is job related and child related, as well as being linked to relationships with parents and pay. Teachers' commitment is linked to a series of significant scales of factors which include job and child related elements, but which also incorporate references to the community context of teaching and to professional status.

2.2.3. *Conditions of Service.*

Intending female teachers are looking for a guaranteed job which is linked, in their thinking, to professional development and career progression.

2.2.4. *Retention and Resignation.*

Reasons for staying in teaching are largely linked to relatedness needs in terms of affiliation to colleagues and parents and growth needs in terms of autonomy and professional development. They also relate to expectancy in terms of resourcing, management and organisation within the school.

Reasons for leaving teaching are linked to relatedness and growth needs in terms of status, to existence needs in terms of pay parity and to the impact of external changes in education.

2.2.5. *Recruitment.*

The data provide evidence that intending teachers may be pulled into teaching by experiences of working with children and taking on responsibilities in voluntary organisations.

2.2.6. *Job Satisfaction.*

Job satisfiers resemble stay factors and are principally linked to relatedness and growth needs, although there is an expectancy of adequate resources and organisation.

2.2.7. *Job Dissatisfaction.*

Job dissatisfiers resemble quit factors. They relate to existence needs in terms of pay and job status and to relatedness and growth needs which are affected adversely by the pace and extent of educational changes.

2.3. Serving Teachers.

Data from the teachers confirmed that given by the student teachers by showing that teaching as an occupation is based on scales of significant features which constitute the key elements of the job.

3. Policy Recommendations.

Two sets of policy recommendations emerge from this study. One set is directly linked to the initial objectives of the study and one set occurs through data analysis.

The policy recommendations linked to the objectives of the study are the following :

- * that the importance of community affiliation in teaching is recognised and promoted through community based informal educational experience during initial teacher training.
- * that the retention features identified by the head teachers and confirmed by the teachers and student teachers are recognised and strengthened in line with good management practice;
- * that the role of head teachers in retention is recognised and appropriately resourced;
- * that the resignation factors identified by the teachers and student teachers are recognised and minimised in line with good management practice;
- * that the job satisfaction factors identified by the teachers and student teachers are acknowledged, recognised and strengthened in line with good management practice;
- * that job dissatisfaction factors identified by the teachers and student teachers are recognised and minimised in line with good management practice;

The policy recommendations arising from the data analysis would seem to be :

- * that inner city teaching practices are offered more widely to initial teacher training students in order to ensure the future supply of committed teachers;
- * that the professional status of teachers is properly acknowledged and recognised;
- * that the issue of pay comparability with other graduate professions is addressed in accordance with the equity principle ;
- * that the need of an increasingly feminised work force for a guaranteed job, career structure and particular conditions of service is acknowledged and recognised.

4. Discussion of the Main Findings.

4.1. Degrees of Agreement.

Table 14.1. shows the degrees of agreement between the student teachers and teachers on the intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual aspects of teaching. These are established by taking the mean scores for each category of qualitative response and dividing this by the standard deviation to show the degree of homogeneity.

Variable	Rank	Teachers : response range	Student teachers : response range	Teachers: degrees of homogeneity	Student teachers: degrees of homogeneity
Intrinsic +	1	0 - 9	0 - 9	2.14	2.12
Extrinsic -	2	0 - 5	0 - 5	1.2	1.21
Intrinsic -	3	0 - 8	0 - 9	1.15	1.15
Extrinsic +	4	0 - 3	0 - 3	0.7	0.83
Contextual -	5	0 - 5	0 - 5	0.7	0.68
Contextual +	6	0 - 3	0 - 3	0.7	-0.48

Table 14.1.

Degrees of agreement on the least and most enjoyable aspects of teaching.
Teachers and student teachers.

The response ranges differ only on intrinsic negatives where the teachers' range is lower than that of the student teachers, suggesting that these factors may decrease as teachers become socialised into teaching. The only significant disparity in the degrees of agreement seen in the teachers' and student teachers' responses is on contextual positive statements, which suggests that student teachers have limited contact with the immediate community of the school during training and, therefore, do not see its positive side. This is a further argument for community work during initial teacher training.

The data on intrinsic positive factors has not been subdivided to distinguish between expressions of relatedness and growth needs but it could be assumed that they are both present in this category. Thus, the ranking of items shows that relatedness and growth needs are most important to this group of teachers and student teachers but that existence needs come second in their scale of job satisfaction items. Alderfer's (1972) proposition that these needs may be acted on simultaneously seems to be demonstrated here.

The data also show the relevance of expectancy theory to teaching although they strongly suggest that valued personal outcomes lie in classroom interaction rather than in public status or pay.

4.1.2. *Student Teachers.*

Very high degrees of agreement on attitudes towards teaching, particularly on the need to know about pupils' background and home influences, demonstrate the importance of the community context of teaching. Communication with parents figures prominently in this set of factors which suggests an element of relatedness to the community being expressed by the student teachers.

The student teachers express almost as high a degree of agreement on the retention factors identified by the head teachers, particularly with regard to their teaching being valued. The highest degrees of agreement registered on these items all concern relatedness and growth needs. This suggests that head teachers have identified the steps which should be taken to increase teachers' motivation and, thus, their willingness to be retained. One way of recognising and reinforcing the head teachers' role in retention would be for employers to provide support for their initiatives.

Experience of working with children is the only significant link between the background of the student teachers and their commitment to teaching, so children are undoubtedly a powerful recruitment factor. The only significant link with commitment to teaching in their training is the opportunity for teaching practice in an inner city school.

Their commitment is also connected to a series of factors which are both job and pupil related, but which include parents as well as payment. Two of the variables which perform distinctively in the student teacher data acknowledge the need for the school to reflect its community and for good communication with parents, thus confirming the importance of the partnership with parents and the community dimension in teaching as an occupation. This finding also confirms the relevance of the ULF's student teachers' comments on the influence of community work on their concept of themselves as teachers.

The student teachers link gender to a guaranteed job which suggests that guaranteed jobs are extremely important to women, particularly those who have had no significant work experience but have worked in voluntary groups. It is also linked to ambition, so they are predicting a career in teaching.

Those student teachers who express uncertainty about teaching or an intention to teach abroad are obviously qualifying their vocationalism. Whilst there is a proliferation of literature on the qualifications for the vocational calling to teaching (see, for instance, Kohl : 1986), the qualification of vocationalism displayed by these student teachers is seldom commented upon. Idealism has to be quantified, as this study demonstrates, and qualified, as seen in the 'quit' factors identified by the student teachers and the teachers.

The principal components analysis, provides an analysis of the prospective vocational role

identities of the student teachers which can be linked to Flower's and Hughes' (1973) classification of workers' attitudes and Graves' (1970) typification in so far as ambition is concerned.

Factors I and II can be seen as mind-sets which try to link the teaching function to its community context through a greater understanding of pupils, their background and behaviour. Moreover, both mind-sets see the school as a potentially unifying force for the community. Whilst it could be argued that both mind-sets display high levels of vocation, both emphasise incentive allowances (Factor I : 0.46; Factor II : 0.62). Expectancy theory suggests that recognition through extrinsic reward (and the status thus implied) has powerful valence for these mind sets.

In contrast, Factor III shows far less affiliation to a context, despite taking pupil behaviour into account and does not stress extrinsic reward. Seemingly, the vocational role identity of this mind-set springs from subject expertise. Whilst it may exemplify secondary teachers, it may also be connected to older, male teachers in both age phases.

Factor IV of the principal components analysis seems to represent the mind set of the most ambitious student teachers, coming close to the typification of the manipulative worker. A manipulative worker mind-set such as this looks for extrinsic inducements, such as help with housing. It also balances extrinsic negative features of teaching against intrinsic positive features and contemplates teaching abroad, only being retained as long as job satisfaction remains high and expertise is acknowledged through extrinsic inducements. However, there is a strong sense of vocation in this mind set, as evinced by prior experience of voluntary groups and taking on responsibility within these groups.

Evidence from the correlation matrix of the association of young female student teachers with infant age children in suburban or rural schools suggests occupational stereotyping and the sexual division of labour. DES (1990) figures on the teaching stock and recruitment to teaching confirm this. However, the distinct behaviour of the 'guaranteed job' variable suggests that even these young women teachers are not prepared to accept lower salaries and worse conditions of service than their male counterparts.

The latter show evidence of being 'leisure' specialists, particularly the specialist subject teachers, in that they do not belong to voluntary groups nor do they have voluntary group responsibilities. They could be 'locked into' teaching by extrinsic factors such as holidays and pension rights.

4.1.3. *Teachers.*

Data (tables 11.5. and 11.6.) from the teachers amplify the linkages which the student teachers make into two scales of significant characteristics about teaching as an occupation.

Both concern professionalism but contain elements which refer to school / home compatibility, professional autonomy, collaboration and the size and stability of pupil groups. These scales could be said to constitute the key elements of teaching. Each contains reference to the community context of the school. The teachers link this to a positive classroom atmosphere, implying that community knowledge improves interaction with pupils.

The teachers' commitment is directly linked to their ambition, suggesting that ambition and commitment reinforce each other. Moreover, they equate a guaranteed job with professional autonomy, working conditions, notably space, and a balanced turnover of children in their class, plus equity and recognition of their professional status through restoration of their negotiating rights.

Thus, conditions of service based on administrative and professional adherence to an external curriculum would seem to be unrelated to the role identity and vocation of the teachers and the student teachers.

4.2. Retention and Resignation.

The qualitative data show very high degrees of agreement between the student teachers and the teachers on the factors which will keep them in teaching or prompt them to quit. Tables 14.2. and 14.3. show a comparison of the stay and quit factors identified by the student teachers and the teachers.

The comparison has been established by eliminating counterbalancing stay and quit factors identified by the student teacher group and the teacher group independently of each other. However, factors identified by each group which had no counterbalancing opposite are retained. This explains the reason for 'holidays' appearing in the student teacher and the teacher responses because both groups mentioned these as a reason for staying and there was no counterbalancing quit factor. Numbers of responses have not been included as these are small because of the elimination by matching of stay and quit factors.

Stay factors can be considered as ones which would retain teachers and prospective teachers; quit factors can be considered as those which will prompt teachers and prospective teachers to resign. Table 14.2 shows the student teachers' and teachers' stay factors compared and Table 14.3. shows the student teachers' and teachers' quit factors compared. Again, factors are grouped under the headings which suggested themselves through axial coding of the data.

STAY	STUDENTS	TEACHERS
NATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES	Status improved	Better funding and resourcing of all schools.
	Public Support	
	No national curriculum or standard assessment tests.	Less change
	Holidays	Holidays
SCHOOL	Good resources	Space
	Atmosphere	Atmosphere
	Good leadership	Head
		Better childcare facilities
CHILDREN		Recognition of competence by governors.
COLLEAGUES		Continuing collegiate approach to the profession
SELF	Autonomy	Personal growth
	Valuable job	The job
	Promotion	Career advance
	Own ability	Recognised status
		Lack of job choice

Table 14. 2.

Student teachers' and teachers' stay factors compared.

QUIT	STUDENTS	TEACHERS
NATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES		Media
	Imposed style of teaching	National Curriculum
		Paper Work
		Government legislation
	Assessment	Testing
		4 term year
	Local management of schools	Grant maintained schools
		Market forces in education
		Lack of pay comparability
SCHOOL	Pressure	Understaffing
		Discipline
CHILDREN	No community support	
SELF		Retrospective analysis
		Stress / fatigue
	Own life disturbed	Work-load
	Health	No travel opportunities
	Other job	Poor housing
		Retirement
		Rich husband
		Sudden wealth

Table 14.3.

Student teachers' and teachers' quit factors compared.

4.2.1. *National Circumstances.*

The head teachers are correct in citing the relationship between national education policy and its implementation in schools as being important in issues of retention, as are nationally agreed conditions of service.

Both the students and teachers cite 'holidays' as a stay factor but then diverge in their opinion on other reasons for staying. For the teachers, it would be important to provide 'better funding and resources to all schools' and to temper the pace of change. The student teachers would welcome the abolition of the national curriculum but they are also seeking 'status improvement' and 'public support'. Presumably the teachers have become accustomed and inured to lack of both.

Quit factors cited by both groups largely concern current educational change. The students, thus far, can only apprehend the effects of assessment and local management of schools possibly leading to an imposed teaching style.

The teachers are able to be more far-sighted but are also pessimistic in their outlook, predicting that government legislation, already leading to excessive paperwork, testing and curriculum control, will culminate in a four term year, and a return to selection, with education becoming subject to market forces. They cite grant maintained schools as a quit factor. Additionally, they are concerned that their pay is not comparable to other professions. They also deplore media coverage of education.

Thus the teachers spell out the 'quit' factors from their own experience of involvement in national education policy changes.

4.2.2. *School.*

The students cite three reasons for staying which head teachers can, to some extent, control. These are good resources, a good atmosphere and good leadership. The teachers agree with these. In addition they would look for space and better childcare facilities.

The only quit factor cited by the students is 'pressure'. For the teachers, quit factors would be 'discipline' and 'understaffing', both of which could equate with pressure, but again which are partially within the control of headteachers.

The head teachers are also correct in emphasising the collaborative characteristics of teaching, as the teachers confirm by citing 'continuing collegiate approach to the profession' as a factor for staying.

4.2.3. *Children.*

Whilst the teachers would be retained if governors acknowledged their competence more openly, the students can only imagine that lack of community support would make their job as teachers more difficult.

4.2.4. *Self.*

Head teachers also stress the personality characteristics of teaching which are, again, cited by the students and the teachers as reasons for staying. These include a conviction that the job is essentially worthwhile, that it does allow for autonomy and personal growth and that it also has status. Both groups mention career advancement as a factor for staying. The teachers, being more realistic, also recognise their lack of job choice.

Personal quit factors can only be imagined by the students as they have not yet started teaching. 'Disturbance of their own life' and 'health' are given as two personal reasons; they are also sufficiently independent in their thinking to envisage the offer of another job.

The teachers mention nine personal quit factors, some of which, such as 'rich husband' and 'sudden wealth' emphasise the negative side of teaching as far as existence needs are concerned, as does 'poor housing', one of the factors stressed by the head teachers. Other factors in this category are 'frequent invitations to self-examination', too much retrospective analysis, plus stress and exhaustion, all of which indicate the emotional investment that teaching requires. This is matched by a degree of inflexibility which leads to 'lack of travel opportunities', because leave of absence is not easy to negotiate. A final factor is the natural one of retirement.

4.2.5. *A Numerical Comparison of Retention and Resignation Factors.*

	Stay		Quit		Total	Total
	STUDENTS	TEACHERS	STUDENTS	TEACHERS	Stay	Quit
National Circumstance	4	3	3	12	7	15
School	3	5	1	2	8	3
Children			1	1		2
Colleagues		1			1	
Self	4	5	3	9	9	12
TOTAL	11	14	8	24	24	32

Table 14.4.

A Comparison of Complexities: the features of staying and quitting.

[N = 56]

As Table 14.4. shows, the student teachers and teachers cite 24 'stay' factors and 32 'quit' factors. The majority of the 'stay' factors concern themselves, the school and national circumstances, whereas the majority of 'quit' factors concern themselves and national circumstances. The teachers are particularly badly affected by national circumstances impinging on their work practices and put forward twelve reasons for quitting in this category. Thus, the table gives an interesting insight into the effects of legislative change on

teachers' working lives.

However, 'school', 'colleagues' and 'self' account for 20 stay factors and 15 quit factors, showing, perhaps, that the balance of thinking of both students and teachers is towards staying, and that both groups know what makes for good working circumstances, as defined by the headteachers.

4.3. Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction.

4.3.1. Job Satisfaction.

Table 14.5. compares the job satisfiers identified by the student teachers and the teachers within the intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual categories. Counterbalancing satisfiers and dissatisfiers mentioned by each group have been eliminated but not factors mentioned independently by each group. For instance, both groups mention 'paperwork' as a dissatisfier.

Job Satisfiers	Student Teachers	Teachers
<i>Intrinsic</i>		
	Relations with children	Children
	Child's achievement	Child's achievement
	Child's learning	Child's learning
	Child development	Child development
	Child's progress	Child's progress
	Child's enjoyment	
	Child maturing	
	Child's enthusiasm	
	Child's fun	
	Child's happiness	
	Teaching style	Autonomy
	Reward	
	Colleagues	Colleagues
	Class management	Duties
	Helping	Co-operation
	Variety	
	Challenge	
		Teaching
		Being in well organised school
<i>Extrinsic</i>	Holidays	Holidays
	Retirement	
<i>Contextual</i>	Relationships with parents	Parent community links
		Contribution to society

Table 14.5.

Student teachers' and teachers' qualitative job satisfiers compared.

As Table 14.5. shows there is virtual unanimity amongst the teachers and the student teachers about job satisfiers in all three categories. Excluding the category of children where the student teachers mention additional child attributes, such as *enthusiasm*, *fun* and

happiness, the only intrinsic factors mentioned by the student teachers not mirrored by the teachers are *reward*, *variety*, and *challenge*. Whilst the student teachers refer to the immediate rewards in the classroom, the teachers see the reward of teaching within the context of society, considering that they are making a *worthwhile contribution*. Arguably, variety and challenge are implied in autonomy which the teachers cite as a job satisfier, so this item probably goes beyond teaching style, to encompass a concept of professionalism. All the job satisfiers are connected with the actual carrying out of teaching, with the exception of the extrinsic factors of *holidays* and *retirement*. It is interesting that the student teachers mention *retirement* whereas the teachers do not ..!

4.3.2. Job Dissatisfaction.

Table 14.6. compares the student teachers' and the teachers' job dissatisfiers, showing that only the intrinsic category is concerned with actual teaching and that the extrinsic and contextual categories have more to do with externally imposed conditions of service and society's valuation of education.

Job Dissatisfiers	Student Teachers	Teachers
<i>Intrinsic</i>		
	Professional tasks	Duties
	Colleagues	Colleagues
	Affective state	Health
	Pressure	Pressure / stress
	Bad days	Child's progress
	Time pressure	Work load
	Class size / ability range	Class size / special needs
	Imposed teaching style	
	Discipline	Discipline
	Children	Children
		Undervalued
		Management
		Adult contact
<i>Extrinsic</i>	Paper work records	Paper work records
	Mass assessment	NC and SATs
	Lack of resources	Lack of resources
	Imposed teaching structure	The 'system'
	Pay	Salary
	Pressure	Pressure
		Administration
		Current education issues
<i>Contextual</i>	Parents	Parents
	Media attitudes	Negative media
	Politics of education	Government attitudes
	Defending teaching	Low status of teachers
	Social work aspects	
	Outside pressures	

Table 14.6.
Student teachers' and teachers' qualitative job dissatisfiers compared.

Again, the same high levels of agreement on job dissatisfiers can be seen between the student teachers and the teachers.

In the intrinsic category, the only distinctive dissatisfier mentioned by the student teachers is *imposed teaching style* which presumably they fear, having just developed their own autonomous style in their training.

In contrast, the teachers mention three distinctive dissatisfiers: *being undervalued*, *management* and *adult contact*. They seem to suggest that management decisions, at best, take them for granted and, at worst, can be positively quirky but equally undervalue them. Lack of adult contact is one of the negative features of teaching. It can be particularly bad for primary teachers who are confined to one classroom and who may also have duties which virtually eliminate their contact with other adults during the working day. Because the student teachers will only have spent comparatively short periods of time in schools (normal final teaching practice lasts for eight weeks, although this will be increased from 1995), they are not likely to have suffered from this too much.

In the extrinsic category, the only distinctive dissatisfier is *administration* which is mentioned by the teachers. Again, the student teachers will have had limited exposure to this (new) aspect of teaching.

In the contextual category, two distinctive job dissatisfiers are mentioned by the student teachers. These are the *social work aspects of teaching* and *outside pressures*. Again, the student teachers have probably had little experience of teaching children with social problems. The outside pressures they identify are probably closely linked to teachers' status within society and may well come from their peer group.

Interestingly, *pressure* occurs in all three categories of dissatisfiers, probably because of the impact and rhetoric of rapid educational change at all levels from the classroom to the community. It is certainly a job dissatisfier which it is in the power of the national employer (the government) to alleviate.

5. The Research Process.

5.1. Initial Propositions.

This study did not set out to formulate a list of retention factors, nor to predict who would be retained in teaching, but to investigate the thinking of student teachers and teachers on the retention factors they identified as being important. The same approach applied to its findings on job satisfaction. The policy recommendations are tentative rather than prescriptive. As such, they may appear to stray from accepted areas of human resource

management and challenge the traditional stereotype of teaching.

However, the paradox of witnessing the growing demand for teachers, particularly in inner city schools, during the 1980s yet of observing the enthusiasm with which ULF students sought first appointments in East London, once qualified, was the origin of this study. It led to initial conjectures that teacher retention revolved around notions which originate in the training process and might be enhanced by certain kinds of experiences, particularly in informal attachments to inner city community work organisations.

Considerations of demand led to thinking about supply and to the first proposition of this study which was to investigate the supply side of teacher recruitment. The second was that intending teachers could provide a perspective on teacher supply. So, too, could head teachers who coped routinely with the supply problem and had, themselves, been retained in the education system. The third proposition was that if retention began in training, certain kinds of experience leading to attitude formation could be very important.

5.2. Aspects of Employment.

Private sector studies of employment proved to be relevant and applicable to an occupational group in the public sector. The Glacier Factory study (Rice and Trist : 1952) demonstrates that turnover will be affected by internal and external change. As these changes become more accepted, turnover readjusts to reflect the retention rather than the loss of workers. By 1994, this trend was apparent with teacher supply, although the DES (1990) predicted that some subject shortages would persist beyond the end of the century.

The costs and consequences of turnover were well documented in the head teacher interviews as were the personal effects of dissonance in the comments of the teachers. The Flowers and Hughes (1973) retention study provided a motivational classification of workers in terms of *turn-offs*, *turn-ons*, *turn-on pluses* and *turn-overs*. Again, the qualitative data given by the student teachers and the teachers provides evidence that all these types exist within the respondent groups. Some responses, particularly from the teachers, confirm Flowers' and Hughes' (1973) concept of 'golden handcuffs' and lack of perceived job choice.

Clegg's (1983) study of behaviour, sanctions and subsequent affect is illustrated in the comments dealing with self-worth, or lack of it, engendered by media coverage and political statements. Herzberg's (1967) study on motivation and psychological needs shows the distinction in people's reactions to extrinsic (hygiene) and intrinsic job factors. This can be seen in the response ranges and high levels of agreement from the teachers and student teachers on the most and least enjoyable aspects of teaching. Their responses provided a

third set of data concerning the context of teaching. This potentially extends the classification of job factors.

Student teacher career development data (Appendix G) may show evidence of the future exercise of McClelland's (1961) three motives associated with work behaviour: the need to achieve (NAch), the need for power (NPow) and the need for affiliation (NAff). Three principal career projections are apparent. The largest group of responses describes a functional career with gradual assumption of responsibilities. These responses may originate from prospective teachers who display NPow behaviours. The second largest group of responses projects a formative career, as class teachers. They may be made by prospective teachers displaying NAff behaviours. The smallest group of responses projects a specialist career development and may come from the group of achievers (NAch).

5.3. Intrinsic, Extrinsic and Contextual Job Factors.

The categorisation of the qualitative data into *intrinsic*, *extrinsic* and *contextual* categories provided a useful starting point for processing these data. Evidence from the quantitative data suggests that the three categories of intrinsic, extrinsic and contextual job factors interact in thinking about job satisfaction and retention. Despite the prominence of the intrinsic category, extrinsic factors such as pay seem to be more important, at least to these student teachers and teachers, than Herzberg's (1967) study suggests. This may reflect the timing of the fieldwork which coincided with a period when teachers lost pay negotiation rights. However, the equivocal role of pay as a source of job definition and dissatisfaction or satisfaction is evident in the data. The qualitative data supplement this finding with indications that pay comparability with other graduate professions is of extrinsic importance as a sign of intrinsic worth and contextually important as a sign of the value of teaching to society.

6. The Feminisation of Teaching as an Occupation.

Although the sample of respondents was opportunistic, it indicated the extent to which teaching has become a feminised occupation. This feminisation is reflected in data on the teaching stock, and in the high number of female entrants to training (Buchan and Weyman: 1989), but not quite to the extent seen in this sample.

The responses to the questionnaire may represent the thinking of entrants to primary rather than secondary teaching, although one mind set in the principal components analysis (Factor III) characterises the older secondary trainees. This mind-set is influenced by the

final teaching practice location (which is more likely to have been in an urban or inner city school), and its community affiliation is linked to pupil behaviour. It is more subject focused, which may be a general trend in the thinking of secondary teachers.

However, the principal components analysis shows high levels of shared opinion, with four distinct mind-sets, which suggests that the questionnaire contains a large number of items universal to teachers' thinking, despite gender differences.

7. The Proletarianisation of Teaching.

Whilst the data on retention and job satisfaction generated by this study can be seen as the legitimate personal and professional concerns of the teachers and student teachers who took part in the survey, they can also be connected to the wider occupational issue of proletarianisation, and its particular impact on a largely female work force.

Evidence of the proletarianisation of teaching can clearly be seen in the stay / quit data. The student teachers and the teachers value their autonomy and apprehend its loss. They recognise bureaucracy and increased assessment requirements as intensifying and fragmenting their teaching function, as well as causing stress and fatigue. The same factors are apparent in their job satisfiers and dissatisfiers. Conversely, they value the caring role and close relationships they enjoy with the children.

If, as predicted (Buchan and Weyman : 1989, DES : 1990), teaching will be competing with other sectors to recruit a diminishing number of largely female graduates, more attention will need to be paid to the effects of proletarianisation on their work, particularly within the context of national educational change.

Therefore, the final suggestion of this study is that the proletarianisation of teaching may have a powerful, if hidden, negative influence on teacher retention and merits further study. It may have particular impact on the retention of women whose traditional caring role, judging by the data in this study, seems to be a fundamental part of their self definition as teachers.

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and
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Appendices.

Appendix A.
A Community Work Diary.

Students on teacher training courses at the ULF are required to keep a community work diary, recording their involvement with their placement over the period of their course. They are encouraged to find out as much as possible about the area in which they are working and about the specific needs of the local community. Here are extracts from the diary of one student who worked with a community association catering for the needs of a multi-racial community in Tower Hamlets.

In the context of a community work association which provides a variety of services for local people, including ESL teaching, the student finds herself acting as an interpreter of two contrasting and often conflicting cultures. As the ESL teacher to a small group of young Bangladeshi men, she establishes social and linguistic objectives for them and is careful not to lose sight of these as her involvement increases.

This was her programme :

Wednesday evening : Men's English as a Second Language
Thursday morning : Women's English as a Second Language
Friday afternoon : Men's English as a Second language
Possible day outings.

[nb: all names have been changed to preserve anonymity]

COMMUNITY DIARY

PLACEMENT: A community association.

April 29th.

First visit to project to meet volunteers and talk about my free time and what I'd be interested in doing. Overall impression; extremely friendly, caring group of people, down to

earth, keen to encourage as many opportunities as possible for the surrounding community.

Sat in on the 10.00 am. Women's English as a Second Language class taken by Mary:, 2 Somali women, 1 Italian, 1 Spanish, 2 Chinese, 2 Bengali (plus Ann worked with 2 women - beginners)

Mary gave them a comprehension exercise, the women took it in turns to read out loud.

Due to seating arrangements, more than anything else, the four women around me began asking me translation questions. So we quite naturally split from Mary and two groups emerged at the table.

I found explaining the meanings of words, sentences, feelings, great fun and I felt as if the women and I worked well together. Looking forward to next meeting.

May 2nd.

Men's English as a Second Language.

Met Joe, leader of men's group. He gave me the beginner group: 2 boys, only been in England three months, do not hear English anywhere except at the language classes. Ali and Motin.

Ali's step-mother is in the women's class.

I was asked just to talk to them - felt daunted, a little, because no idea of what / how to say things. So I just started asking them questions, talking a little bit about myself. The most immediate problems being:

1. They were shy,
2. they were sitting talking to a female. I don't think they ever have a chance to chat to a female unrelated to them.

Motin, much quieter than Ali does not understand as much ... or rather seems to understand but cannot reply.

Overwhelming feeling - very frightened and scared about being in London. Have only been as far as Whitechapel Mosque. They go there twice a week - nowhere else. Have no friends.

I want to try to convince them that London is a good place to be, that there is 'nothing' to be scared of, ie how easy it is to travel around, see things etc...

Motin has a travelcard - but only for zone 3.

Ali has been told by his family that if he ventures out of this area he will be beaten up !

- mentioned to Joe the chances of taking the two boys via tube / bus into London.

- now need to convince them !!

May 4th.

3,00 - 5.00pm : class with Ali and Motin

Aim : to introduce ways of buying fruit / groceries from shops.

Use role play to establish pattern of speech.

Ali arrived 3/4 hour late. I could not establish his excuse. I think it was just too hot. Motin has far little knowledge of English than Ali, so I felt it was a good chance to work with him.

Basic starting point : how are you ?

what is the weather like today ?

Taught him the colours green and brown, as those were the colours we could see sitting in the gardens + tree and bush (he knew flower).

This gave opportunity to practice language used when buying fruit at a grocers. Gave phrases of what to expect. Gave Ali and Motin a chance to play shop-keeper and purchaser. -Several attempts at practices (nb: understood monetary values - wouldn't like to go to a shop run by them)

Tried to encourage them to visit each other during the week. Tried to persuade them to practice language taught and use it to buy some fruit and to come back if / with any problems.

May 16th.

Men's ESL

Aims :

- Situation dialogues
- market
- at the doctors

Have now grasped an understanding of buying items in a shop. - Ali understands but has problem in recalling quickly what to say.

-Motin is thinking in English rather than translating and so has a far greater grasp on ideas.

Test is to go out with them to a shop / market to see how they cope.

-Practised how to explain an illness to a doctor and the procedures.

May 18th.

Men's ESL

Once Ali and Motin arrived, Joe and I chatted about ways of making them more sociable. We suggested introducing them into youth club.

- Problems :

1. scared about meeting groups, frightened of being attacked.
2. cannot understand East End accent. 'They do not speak English' - they cannot understand each other speaking English, only me !
3. don't know what they'd talk about.
4. don't know where they'd meet people.
5. don't know what the community association is or what goes on.

Therefore showed them around, took them to where the youth club is normally held. Used this time to teach them how to play snooker. Main aim was to give them confidence to join

in on a group / youth activity.

Gave rise to far more learning opportunities than anticipated. Learnt different colour names, only know green and brown. Made them each explain how to play... to me. Taught them words like rules and asked them to explain the rules to me.

We sequenced events and wrote them down. We were able to enjoy an activity in a social setting. This gave rise to other social questions and my role became very different. I had to sit back and let them play against each other. I didn't want to beat them as the whole idea was to raise their confidence but it involved different body language and a role which I didn't want misinterpreted. Therefore my control was asking questions, quizzing them for explanations.

I was far harder on them as far as expectations of language are concerned. I didn't settle for 'Dis is ball' from Ali but pushed both of them far harder for sentences.

Most exhausting ESL class so far.

May 23rd.

Men's ESL

New member to the group - Abdul.

He understands English extremely well but cannot answer questions, has been in this country for only one month. Introduced basic question and answer situations which he coped with reasonably well. Then played role play games - shop-keeper or doctors.

NB: Ali enjoys reading text because then he doesn't have to think.

NB: Motin says he understands but then cannot reply to a direct question and therefore changes his mind to 'No understand'. Abdul immediately understood and could explain to the others.

NB: Be careful not to exclude Motin. Ali and Abdul both intelligent and talkative and together they take the pressure off Motin who is happy not to say anything. We chatted about settling into this country, what they do every day - only go to mosque, nowhere else. - About religion - completely amazed that many English do not go to church or believe in God / Allah. They were really stunned and speechless. I imagine that many things will stun them before too long. Discovered that Abdul is very keen on history and wants to see around London but doesn't know how. Therefore suggested a day trip which

they 'organise' / pick a couple of places each which they want to see.

May 25th.

Men's ESL

Decided to take the bull by its horns - and fix a day for a trip into London. Took in underground maps and bus routes and postcards of 'significant' places to spark some kind of interest. Spent the afternoon talking about what they had heard about London (not a great deal - Tower Bridge).

Practised giving directions using the tube maps which they found confusing. Also arranged half term meetings.

June 1st.

Men's ESL : Whitechapel Mosque

Although arranged meeting with all, only Motin arrived with younger sister, Faridha, to escort me. At 2.00pm. a mass exodus of Muslim men spilled from the mosque - even Motin looked frightened, so we waited on the opposite side of the road. Once clearer, I donned head scarf, buttoned up shirt, rolled sleeves down etc. Unfortunately, in the confusion, I tried following Motin in the main doorway and was told politely but with a firm hand on my arm to use the door for women ! Having lost Faridha I managed to find my way to the women's gallery, washing feet and face first. The gallery would have overlooked the main prayer area but for a high wall and thick net curtains about that. A notice proclaimed : 'Silence at all times, otherwise this gallery will be closed immediately'. It was nice to see that no notice was being taken of this.

At one part in the curtain a kink allowed me a view of the men's area. Some were individually praying, others sat in groups chatting, or having lessons. The mosque would have been a relaxing place but for the noise which was incessant. I caught the eye of one man involved in a group lesson (white Muslim); he held my eye for what seemed like ages. I felt immediately challenged by him. Normally I would not let a situation like that get the better of me, but here I felt empowered (sic) to remove my gaze - he won ! I thought / imagined thunderbolts would strike me down for daring to gaze at the men ! Peter (a fellow student) says that when shown round a mosque, the reason given for segregation was that women and men were distractions to each other whilst praying - and that women were placed above the men facing Mecca. - I don't buy that one. It's (as the

community tutor says) a power struggle. Not an opportunity is missed to control and repress women. What is it that women have which is so frightening to men that through history they've needed to destroy? And so many women submit to this way of life.

Faridha (8 years old) was told by Motin to say her prayers. Only I was with her - she had no-one watching over her whilst she prayed - but her concentration was incredible. She went through the motions but it seemed to mean something to her, she knew exactly how to behave and what was expected of her. She seemed so mature, far older than 8 years.

June 2nd.

Men's ESL - 10.00am. Bow Road to 5.00pm (ish)

Day's schedule:

1. Bow Road to Tower Hill; walk round Tower of London, St. Katherine's Dock.
2. No. 15 (bus) to St. Paul's Cathedral.
3. St. Paul's to Trafalgar Square - National Gallery.
4. Walk along the Mall to Buckingham Palace and Green Park
5. Green Park - tube to Covent Garden.
6. Covent Garden to Bow Road (tube).

Although Faridha was invited, her father would not let her out as she had to go to the mosque. Day was definitely a success, had a relaxing time, in that it was enjoyable being with the three as they are good company - that surprised me!

1. *Tower of London* - that baffled them, explanations of Beefeaters and ravens with wings clipped to prevent Tower / Empire from crumbling were received by exclamations of 'tradition, English tradition' and laughter.
2. *St. Paul's* - very interesting thing happened which I was completely unaware of. They didn't want to go inside because they would be insulting Allah - brought home the subtleties of tolerance! It took nearly half an hour of talking and convincing that people visited to look at architecture, beautiful paintings, carving etc. Not everybody prayed who visited etc.. Interesting that they wanted me to visit their mosque but not prepared to visit mine. It was Abdul who eventually made decision to stand just in entrance for 2 minutes. (others followed) We stayed for half an hour. They did not wander around but sat in the middle looking up at dome and all around. Were truly impressed. Did not like explanations of altar, shocked by singing and presence of music and revolted by the eating and drinking body and blood of Christ - Perhaps I got a little

carried away !! Also confused by me lighting a candle as they know my views on religion. Found it difficult to explain the difference between their structured prayers and ones (mine) said for a specific person.. The idea that a prayer can be abstract and not necessarily religious was a trifle difficult to explain, but we got there.

3. National Gallery.

Abdul had previously said that he didn't want to go to an Art Gallery as he didn't like paintings. We went to the National. Took them to my favourite Monet...and they liked it. Found it strange that no-one could, buy the paintings and they were a collection for the public ! Were amazed by dates and ages of the paintings. Fascinated by Renoir's naked arms and Goya's Maya (I didn't think I'd ever be able to get them away from the naked women). Abdul even suggested he would like to come here again (before he saw the naked women).

4. Buckingham Palace.

We walked along the Mall to look at Buckingham Palace. I was constantly being asked what every building was. 'In Ethiopia, I can tell you every building. Why you not know London ? You live here !' - Argh !

Then Abdul wanted to know how he could see the Queen and could we go in today. As we were walking along the Mall, a little child was asking his mother the same thing : ' But why can't I see her ?' (it made me laugh).

Once in Green Park, I told them to take me to Covent Garden - as I wasn't going to help. We studied the maps for a while (and with help) decided on the best route.

5. Covent Garden.

Arrived safely, one change on the tube - without help. Hurrah ! We spent the time here watching entertainers and mime acts. They found it very difficult keeping track as so much of the entertainment relied on puns and fast flowing jokes. After a while they told me that they were exhausted and had seen enough for one day. They had a quick discussion together and suggested I remained at Covent Garden as I was enjoying it so much, as they could find their own way home. These are the same three who have not been past Whitechapel because they were frightened. However I thought three tube changes was a little too much to tackle on their own and anyway I'D (sic) be worrying about their safety so I travelled to Mile End, with them (actually Ali) leading the way.

Had no idea the day would turn out so well. Seemed to have overcome problems of travelling - want to travel on their own - perhaps arrange a trip to the British Museum - as we didn't have time on Saturday.

Student Teacher Statements on the Influence of Community Work..

This appendix lists the statements made by student teachers in their accounts of the ways in which community work influenced them as teachers and which are referred to in Chapters 5 and 6. The statements are grouped under five headings : *teaching, racial, cultural and linguistic diversity, children, home / out of school background and experiences, parents and knowledge and learning.*

Teaching :

- Organisational and managerial skills necessary for teaching
- Successful working environment needs good team work with clear roles laid out.
- There is more to teaching than just teaching; you need to attempt to understand children.
- Complementary experience did influence my concept of my role as a teacher.
- It made me feel more comfortable when I dealt with pupils.
- Think more deeply about my concept of my role as a teacher in the classroom.
- Of benefit to any professional and caring teacher.
- Became aware of needs.
- Teacher to offer a certain amount of stability to children.
- A teacher needs to accept what individuals have to offer.
- More understanding towards children.
- Made me more sympathetic and patient towards troubled children.
- Friendly relationships.
- To build up two kinds of relationships - in school and out.
- Awareness of children's individual needs.
- Experience in a small way the experience of ESL teachers
- Important teachers see themselves as having many different roles
- An overall change in my view of my role as a teacher, therefore an actual change in my teaching
- Understand better the actions and thoughts of pupils
- The project leader is a friend and role model to the children, so should the teacher be to her pupils, guiding them and supporting them through all life's experiences

- Teacher needs to have clear aims, objectives and methods of assessment.
- What a teacher is, doesn't only mean a teacher of children but also a teacher of adults.
- I learned from the Asian community, so the community has been my teacher.
- A teacher must adapt to changes of circumstance and fit teaching methodology to the needs of students.
- The more enriching experiences a teacher has, the wider her foundation is from which to help the children.
- Be aware that there are no hard and fast rules to say exactly what a teacher's role is.
- One should adapt one's teaching method and style, to some extent, to suit the needs and backgrounds of children.
- I am more aware of bad behaviour, language and a poor attitude towards adults, especially those in authority, and the importance to clamp down on it.
- More aware of my importance as a primary teacher of teaching language and reading.
- Life for children does not stop at 11 or 12 when their special needs (in language and reading) become somebody else's responsibility to deal with.
- It (community work) has helped me to grow and mature as a teacher.
- I have gained a lot from the other teachers' ideas, experience and attitudes to teaching, and the children.
- The placement has broadened my horizons as a teacher.
- I have gained a lot of experiences I can transpose into the classroom.
- As a teacher, I have to be constant, yet always changing to adapt to their (children's) developments.
- Enabled me to build on my foundations for teaching and be better prepared for my career.
- Working with junior children has shown me what an infant teacher is aiming for.
- Redefining my own sense of direction.

Racial, Cultural and Linguistic Diversity :

- I have gained a lot from the different cultures and religions I have encountered.
- Clashes in culture can bring further problems
- Bengali girls confronting the pressures of their family's expectations
- Whether to force boys and girls to work together or whether to respect their religious beliefs

- Aware of the many different backgrounds
- Greater understanding of multicultural issues, not merely in a sympathetic academic sense but in real life situations
- English as a Second Language
- Insight into difficulties children may encounter by not speaking English
- Sensitive to different cultural needs
- Diversity of cultural background
- Insight into the lives of Bengali children
- The amount of Bengali children
- It is really important to understand something of the cultures represented in the classroom
- Knowing about general attitudes, values and priorities of a culture and being sympathetic towards them helps to alleviate misunderstandings and means one can exploit the richness and variety of them in lessons.
- Having direct contact with Asian parents has helped me understand their beliefs and practices, which in turn helps me to appreciate the behaviour of Asian children.
- Asian girls are expected to dress beautifully, have arranged marriages and fulfil their role as wife and mother. This doesn't really allow for equal opportunity in the Asian community. Isn't this against what we are encouraging in school ?
- Learned from the Asian community, so the community has been my teacher.
- Getting to know Asian women and the role they play in the home...has meant that I have a greater understanding of how many of the children in my class ...are influenced by their home environment.
- Many Asian girls....appear rather passive and reticent....this doesn't mean that they are not willing to participate or not interested - it is just that their culture doesn't promote extrovertedness in women.
- Valuable insights into the different sections of the community, thus strengthening my personal understanding of the scope of multicultural education.

Children:

- Be aware of the individuals for whom various aspects of school are disagreeable if not intolerable.
- Be aware that not all individuals can be expected to fit into the same system with ease

- Children should develop a good self concept
- Teachers being sensitive and responding to children's individual needs is essential
- Teacher to be aware of children's background and social needs
- Likes, dislikes and interests of children
- Interacting with children in a non-teaching role
- Insight into the lives of Bengali children
- Children's enjoyment in school
- Older children's influences on younger children
- Difficulties that exist in transferring from primary school
- We ask a lot from young children
- Helping pupils reach their full potential
- Many of the handicapped children are as normal and intelligent and naughty as children in school
- The amount of Bengali children
- Opportunities for trying out new things not experienced in the home
- Greater understanding of the type of children and their culture
- Time to understand children
- See children's different situations and backgrounds - better insight into children's behaviour
- Needs of children
- The importance of monitoring and recording children's progress
- The more enriching experiences a teacher has, the wider her foundation is from which to help the children learn.
- My responsibility to the children in my class will extend beyond the school gates - with the knowledge I should build up of their social background - vital ..to respond sensitively to their individual needs.

Home / Out of School Background and Experiences:

- School and teacher are part of the community
- Issues affecting children's behaviour and attitudes in school
- Insight into social problems
- Children's background, family situations and pressures

- Social problems families have to face
- Insight into the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives
- Pressures children have to face inside school and outside have shown me, through different eyes, the society that school is preparing children to enter
- Making sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home
- Insight into the community and pupils' views and opinions
- Know about types of background children come from; I couldn't allow for their behaviour on these grounds but the knowledge does help to interpret certain actions and opinions
- Explore pupils' out of school experiences
- Living conditions
- Important for the teacher to be aware of the whole community
- Appreciate the effect this (the environment) has on children raised in urban depression
- Opportunities for trying out new things not experienced in the home
- Understanding of how many children in my class are influenced by their home environment.
- One should adapt one's teaching method and style, to some extent, to suit the needs and backgrounds of children.
- How important groups like this are (community drama) in the work they do with childrenmore are needed with good school/company liaison.
- The role it is possible for the school to assume in unifying the community.
- Vital importance of encouraging home/school links...encouraging communication on all levels with parents.

Parents:

- Parents need to be included in educating their child
- Importance of working and communicating with parents, so as not to allow rifts between home and school
- Explain policies and theories so they don't misunderstand you
- Establishing relationships with other adults, especially parents
- Important to know parents
- Contact with community members and parents and their real concerns.

Knowledge and Learning :

- The experience gained here will be valuable in any teaching situation
- The importance of monitoring and recording children's progress
- Creating an understanding of initial learning processes
- Community work is unique and should be considered an integral part of teacher training
- Time to understand children
- Awareness and issues of truancy (2)
- Transfer (community work) skills into everyday classroom
- Needs of children
- See children's situations and background - better insight into children's behaviour
- Greater understanding of the type of children and their culture
- The community concept is relevant and worthwhile in terms of integration of learning experiences.

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Appendix C.

Membership of Voluntary Organisations and Voluntary Responsibilities.

Student Teachers : Voluntary Responsibilities.

A third of the students had no voluntary group membership nor responsibilities. Table AC.1. shows the voluntary group membership and responsibilities of the remaining two-thirds.

Scouts and Guides	:	36
Charity Work	:	26
Church	:	23
School Helper	:	22
Work with Children	:	22
College Responsibilities	:	21
Special Needs Groups	:	19
Sunday School	:	19
Youth Clubs	:	12
Play Schemes	:	10
Teaching	:	7
Music	:	7
Play Groups	:	5
Parent-Teacher Associations	:	3

Table AC.1.

Student Teachers' Voluntary Group membership and responsibilities by category.

[N = 232]

The students named 232 voluntary responsibilities, 155 (66%) of which were directly related to children. 36 students helped with cubs, brownies, guides, scouts or affiliated organisations catering for both the very young and adolescents. Seventeen of them had leadership roles; thirteen were helpers in same capacity. Some combined the two roles, helping in one branch of the organisation whilst leading in another. Six also sat on various scout or guide committees, particularly college ones.

The next most significant group of voluntary responsibilities concerned work for charities or on committees. Major charities mentioned were : Amnesty (2), Friends of the Earth, UNICEF, Greenpeace and Women's Aid. Other charitable activities mentioned were :

Soup kitchen (2)
 Volunteer Bureau
 Social Action
 Volunteer Driver
 Community Centre Work (2)
 Collections
 Fund - Raising (4)
 Visiting the Elderly
 Helping Asian Women
 Hospital Visiting
 Charity Shop
 Table AC.2.

Student teachers' charitable activities by category.

Three people mentioned committee work for charity. Other committee work tended to be for special interest groups such as swimming clubs (2) and local associations.

Twenty-three people mentioned church related activities. Six specifically mentioned youth clubs or youth groups, eight mentioned the Christian Union and three the Scripture Union. Other duties ranged from playing the organ to secretarial duties. Twenty-two people mentioned helping in school, three in nursery schools, two with special educational needs, two with art and craft activities and the rest as general helpers. Nineteen people helped special needs groups in some capacity. The skills they offered ranged from helping, instruction in swimming (2), outdoor pursuits, to recording tapes for the blind. They also mentioned working with adults as well as children. Nineteen people were Sunday School teachers; two were teachers.

Twelve people helped with youth clubs. Of these, two worked with special needs youth groups and one with a church youth club. Ten people had helped on play schemes, three of which were for special needs groups .

Seven people mentioned teaching. Two were adult literacy tutors; one had worked as a home tutor, two had taught swimming, one skiing, one ESL in Nicaragua and one had taught learner motorcyclists.

Seven people were active in music associations of one kind or another. Four mentioned choirs, five orchestras; two people were involved in both. One person had two voluntary responsibilities connected with music. One person was the publicity officer for the choir.

Twenty-one people had college responsibilities; seven represented their fellow students on subject committees, five had responsibilities for college sports' teams, five had responsibilities connected with the student rag. Two had union responsibilities and five residential responsibilities. Other responsibilities mentioned were publicity for societies (2) and editor of the college magazine.

Five people were play group helpers and three were active in parent-teacher associations.

Two-thirds of the voluntary responsibilities mentioned by the students were explicitly related to children and young people and, therefore, role related. An exception to this was the special needs category where the students did seem to work with the full age range. The biggest single group of responsibilities was in the guide and scout movement which works specifically with school age children and young people. Although the church related activities, including Sunday school teaching outnumber these, only half are connected with young people. This suggests that the church connection reflects the colleges' religious affiliation rather than the vocational orientation of the students. It is also interesting to note that youth organisations such as scouts and guides offer one of the very few chances of informal contact with children.

It could be argued that these voluntary responsibilities are a form of pre-vocational training and that the student teachers are going through a vocational search process. This is particularly pertinent in terms of their work with special needs groups, given the number (see Appendix G : Careers within Teaching.) who express an intention to become SEN teachers. It is now impossible to have initial teacher training in special education, so prospective SEN teachers have to gain experience through some kind of voluntary activity to be able to formulate this career intention.

Five categories of voluntary responsibilities were outside the scope of vocational search behaviour. These were church duties, charity and committee work, college responsibilities and music.

Music is the exercise of a personal talent and obviously very satisfying. Church work results from personal conviction and is closely linked to notions of service to the

community. Charity and college work have the same connotations, reflecting a commitment to the immediate community.

This student group could be said to be balancing their commitment to the groups immediately surrounding them with an affiliation to a wider set of concerns within a conscious search process for experience which complements their vocational choice. It could be further argued that a synergistic process is taking place in which the transfer of concepts, knowledge and skills from one context to another will inevitably take place. Thus they can be considered as pro-active participants in their own vocational training through their voluntary responsibilities.

Teachers : Voluntary Responsibilities.

Just over half the teachers (32) surveyed gave no information about voluntary responsibilities. One person wrote that she was 'too tired'; another wrote 'numerous' but did not specify further. Those who did give information had voluntary responsibilities in the following areas :

Youth Work	:	12
Church	:	11
School-based	:	9
Charity	:	7
Adult Education	:	4
Political	:	3
Professional	:	2
Leisure	:	1

Table AC.3.

Teachers' Voluntary Group membership and responsibilities by category.

[N = 49]

A fifth of the teachers were involved in some kind of youth work. Six teachers had one or more responsibilities connected with the scout and guide movement, four worked in youth clubs and two were involved with child protection organisations.

A sixth of the teachers took part in school-based activities of one kind or another. These

the schools where they taught. These were a drama club, an environmental awareness club, a chess club which involved the teacher in a local schools' chess association and a Spanish club.

Three teachers took on responsibilities with parents, two as parent-teacher association committee members and one as a school governor. Two other teachers had taken on responsibilities at their own children's schools, helping with trips and holidays and with the after school club.

Church responsibilities were numerous and varied. One person had five different functions which included being a deacon, outreach counselling, lecturing at Bible college and being a treasurer. Two people had responsibility for church based youth clubs - one person ran two and one person was a Sunday school teacher and Bible college lecturer.

Three teachers mentioned charity work. Two of them each had three responsibilities. These included campaigning for charities such as Amnesty, Oxfam, Mother Theresa's orphanage and MENCAP. One teacher was involved in adult education with the hearing impaired.

Three teachers were involved in professional activities and associations. One person was a member of three national education committees; another was a member of the local SACRE and another was a technology co-ordinator.

Two teachers were politically active. One was a fund raiser and sat on the education committee of the constituency party. Another was ward secretary.

Two people mentioned voluntary associations. One sat on the committee of a local urban farm and one was actively involved with a resident's association as membership secretary. One person mentioned being a chess team captain and one person mentioned motherhood.

Thus the teachers' voluntary responsibilities, though less numerous, largely mirror those of the students, with the exception of music. All the categories of responsibility are people focused and few would attract major public recognition but many do provide a supplementary service to groups of people within the community who have very specific needs.

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Appendix D.
Work Experience.

Student Teachers.

A fifth of the students had had no work experience at all. The remaining four-fifths had worked in the following occupations :

Work with children	:	63
Hotel and catering	:	54
Retail sales	:	46
Clerical	:	25
Teaching	:	20
Medical	:	9
Social / probation / care assistant:		10
Manufacturing	:	19
Agriculture	:	10
Finance / banking	:	7
Miscellaneous services	:	12
Self-employed	:	5
Post office	:	5
Arts	:	4
Research	:	5
Library	:	3
Animals	:	2
IT	:	2

Table A D.1.

Student Teachers' Work experience by category of occupation.

[N = 301]

Work with children

Play schemes provided the greatest number of opportunities for work with children. Twenty of the 63 respondents had worked on these. Only one person mentioned play groups, so the students were obviously working on play schemes during vacations rather than committing themselves to an all the year round play group.

The next largest category was commercially run holidays for children, where fifteen students had worked. Eight students had worked on summer camps in the USA. Five mentioned summer camps in the UK, including one person who was 'a children's auntie'. One person had worked in the children's section of an amusement park, one at an activity holiday centre and one person had been the matron at a boy's boarding school.

Ten people had worked as nannies or mother's helps. Two of these mentioned NNEB qualifications. One person had been an au-pair.

Nine people had worked as childminders or baby-sitters. Four people had worked in the residential care services for children and three had looked after children with special needs. Three people mentioned parenthood, two school related child work functions (but not teaching). One person had run a play group and one person had worked on a church-linked play scheme.

Hotels and catering provided the next largest group of jobs, probably because of the ease with which temporary labour is taken on at specific points in the year. The location of the colleges from which the students came, in popular tourist areas, also implies easy access to seasonal jobs.

Twenty-four students mentioned bar or pub work; twenty-two students had been waiters or waitresses. Five mentioned hotel work in general. A further four had been chambermaids. Three were cooks and two had worked in food manufacture. Only one person mentioned McDonalds.

The next most significant sector for jobs was the *retail trade*, mentioned by forty-six students. Only five people had worked in supermarkets, two people had been in retail management and one person had a Saturday job at W.H. Smiths.

Twenty-five people had worked in *clerical or secretarial jobs* for a variety of different employers including the High Court, the Civil Service and the Ministry of Defence. One person had worked as a zoo appeals organiser and another had done telesales.

Despite specifying that responses to the work experience section of the questionnaire should exclude teaching, twenty people gave details of their *previous teaching experience*.

Seven had been instructors in specific sports or outdoor education. Three had taught EFL; three had taught adult literacy and three people had worked with adults with special education needs. Two had been involved in training, one on a YTS scheme and two people mentioned teaching, respectively, science and arts and crafts.

Nine people had worked in various *medical* services. These included a dietitian, two hospital physicists, a dental receptionist, a hospital administrator and a dental nurse. Ten people had had experience of *social and care work*, including one probation officer.

Nineteen people had worked in factories or *manufacturing* of some kind. This included engineers, machinists and lorry loaders. Ten people had worked in *agriculture* or *horticulture*. Occupations ranged from fruit picking and tree planting to work on an urban farm.

Twelve people had worked in a range of *service industries* which included contract cleaning, refuse disposal, car restoration, leading expeditions, archeology, leaflet distribution and packing. Seven people had been in banking and financial services.

Five people had worked in the *post office* and five had been *self-employed*. These included a technical illustrator and a builder. A further five had been engaged in *research*. Four people had worked in *arts* allied occupations, including photography. Three had occupations connected to the armed services; three had worked in libraries, two with animals and two in information technology.

Teachers.

Obviously the teachers, most of whom were established, had much less other work experience than the students; thus forty-four gave no information on this item. Table AD 2. shows the work experience of those who did respond.

Teaching	:	7
Parenting	:	4
Arts	:	4
Technical	:	3
Management	:	2
Young children:		2

Table AD.2.

Teachers' work experience by category of occupation.

[N = 22]

Seven mentioned other kinds of *teaching*, which included working as an adult basic

education co-ordinator, as a speech therapist, a traveller liaison teacher, teaching ESL, teaching practice supervision, teaching swimming as well as being an advisory teacher.

Four mentioned *parenting*. Four had been involved in *artistic* activities. These included being an artist, being a freelance flute player, involvement in music workshops, and being a freelance publisher.

Three had been involved in *technical activities* such as carpentry and design technology, information technology for ethnic minorities and tree surgery. Two had been involved in the world of *commerce*, one in management and one working in a financial futures exchange.

Two teachers had been involved with, variously, play schemes, a youth club and work in a nursery. Finally, one teacher had been a guide at Madame Tussaud's !

Both the student teachers' and the teachers' work experience other than teaching is either focused on people or requires contact with people. This would suggest that they are predisposed, if not to teaching, at least to occupations where contact with people is a major part of the job.

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Appendix E.
Questionnaire.

1. Your life so far:

What is your date of birth ?

and your gender ? Male Female

At which college/university did you train to be a teacher ?
.....

How long have you been teaching? Years

What is your age range ? Primary Secondary
and specialisation ?

2. What voluntary responsibilities, if any, have you taken on in the past five years (eg. helper, committee member in youth clubs, Scouts or Guides).

What was the name of the organisation and what were your responsibilities?

3. What significant work experience have you had other than teaching in the last five years ?

4. Where was your final teaching practice ?

Primary Secondary

Age range/s 3/5 5/6 7/8 9/10 11/12 13/14 15/16 16+

School Location Rural Suburban Urban Inner City

5. Opinions about Teaching.

The following statements have been derived from a recent survey. Please indicate your own opinions about the views expressed by putting a circle around the opinion which most nearly matches your own:

TEACHERS SHOULD BE AWARE OF :

- A** issues affecting children's behaviour in schools.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- B** pupils' views and opinions.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- C** the ways in which children are influenced by their home environment.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- D** the whole community.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- E** the atmosphere and environment of pupils' lives.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- F** pupils' out of school experience.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree

TEACHERS MUST :

- G** make sure that the school environment is not a direct contrast to home.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- H** know about their children's backgrounds in order to interpret certain actions & opinions.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- I** adapt their teaching method and style to suit the background of the children.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- J** encourage communication at all levels with parents.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL.

- K** the school and teacher are part of the community
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree

- L the school can assume a role in unifying the community.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree
- M the school is preparing children to enter a society full of pressures.
 [1] Strongly Agree [2] Agree [3] Disagree [4] Strongly Disagree

6. The following factors could be important to teachers. How important are they to you ?

- A Incentive allowances.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- B Help with housing.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- C Help with travel expenses.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- D Inducement packages.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- E Child care facilities.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- F Staff welfare unit.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- G Ease of leave of absence,
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- H Provision for children with special needs.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- I Reasonable numbers of statemented children.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- J Reasonable class sizes.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- K Good resources.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- L Enough teaching space.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- M Balanced pupil turnover.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- N Professional management by the l.e.a.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- O Equal opportunities policy.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- P School based INSET.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant
- Q Professional development opportunities.
 [1] Very Important [2] Important [3] Unimportant [4] Irrelevant

R	Cover of vacant posts.	[1] Very Important	[2] Important	[3] Unimportant	[4] Irrelevant
S	Guaranteed job.	[1] Very Important	[2] Important	[3] Unimportant	[4] Irrelevant
T	Restoration of negotiating rights.	[1] Very Important	[2] Important	[3] Unimportant	[4] Irrelevant
U	Media attitudes.	[1] Very Important	[2] Important	[3] Unimportant	[4] Irrelevant

7. The following qualities may have significance for everybody in a school. How significant are they to you ?

A	Positive leadership.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
B	Career encouragement.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
C	Stable staff.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
D	Good staffroom atmosphere.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
E	Collective decision-making.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
F	Co-operative teaching.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
G	Allowing people to make mistakes.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
H	Being valued as a teacher.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
I	Having your classroom work recognised.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.
J	Allowed to use your strengths and competence.	[1] Very significant	[2] Significant	[3] Insignificant	[4] Meaningless.

8. Attitudes to Teaching :

Please complete by listing or writing about what has the most significance for you :

The factors which would make me stay in teaching are :

The factors which would make me leave teaching are :

The most enjoyable aspects of teaching for me are :

The least enjoyable aspects of teaching for me are :

The ways in which I would like my career to develop are :

How would you express your commitment to teaching ?

Very Weak

Weak

Average

Strong

Very Strong

Appendix F.

Data Matrix.

Question	Variable	Column	Description	Coding
			Personal Details	
1	1	5,6	Age	Age chart
2	2	8	Gender	Male=0; female=1
3	3	9	School Type	Primary=0; secondary=1
			Subject Codes	
4	4	10	Shortage Subject	shortage=1; non shortage=0
4	5	11	Specialisation	CDT=0(s) Geog/History=5 RE=1 Mod.Language=6(s) Music=2 English=7 Creative Arts=3 Movement/PE=4 Maths=8(s) Sciences=9(s)
			Previous Experience	
5(2)	6	12	Membership of voluntary groups	Number of responses
5(2)	7	13	Responsibilities held	
5(3)	8	14	Significant work experience	
5(3)	9	15	Child related work	
			Final Teaching Practice	
5(4)	10	16	Final Practice School Type	primary=0; secondary=1
5(4)	11	17	Age range	3-5=1 11-12=5 5-6=2 13-14=6 7-8=3 15-16=7 9-10=4 16+=8
5(4)	12	18	School location	rural=1 urban=3 suburban=2 inner city=4

Question	Variable	Column	Opinions about Teaching	
			<i>Teachers should be aware of:</i>	
5A	13	20	issues affecting behaviour	Strongly Agree=4
5B	14	21	pupils' views and opinions	Agree=3
5C	15	22	influence of home environment	Disagree=2
5D	16	23	the whole community	Strongly Disagree=1
5E	17	24	atmosphere and environment	
5F	18	25	pupils' out of school experience	
			<i>Teachers must:</i>	
5G	19	27	school not contrast to home	Strongly Agree=4
5H	20	28	know about pupils' background	Agree=3
5I	21	29	teach to suit child's background	Disagree=2
5J	22	30	communicate with parents	Strongly Disagree=1
5K	23	31	school and teacher part of community	
5L	24	32	school unify community	
5M	25	33	society full of pressures	
6A	26	35	Incentive allowances	Very important=3
6B	27	36	Help with housing	Important=2
6C	28	37	Help with travel expenses	Unimportant=1
6D	29	38	Inducement Packages	Irrelevant=0
6E	30	39	Child care facilities	
6F	31	40	Staff welfare unit	
6G	32	41	Ease of leave of absence	
6H	33	42	Provision for SEN children	
6I	34	43	Statement children	
6J	35	44	Reasonable class sizes	
6K	36	45	Good resources	

Question	Variable	Column			
6L	37	46	enough teaching space		
6M	38	47	Balanced pupil turnover		
6N	39	48	LEA management		
6O	40	49	Equal opps policy		
6P	41	50	School based INSET		
6Q	42	51	Professional development opportunities		
6R	43	52	Cover of vacant posts		
6S	44	53	Guaranteed job		
6T	45	54	Negotiating rights		
6U	46	55	Media attitudes		
7A	47	57	Positive leadership	Very important=3	
7B	48	58	Career encouragement	Important=2	
7C	49	59	stable staff	Unimportant=1	
7D	50	60	Good staffroom atmosphere	Irrelevant=0	
7E	51	61	Collective decision-making		
7F	52	62	Co-operative teaching		
7G	53	63	Allowing mistakes		
7H	54	64	Being valued as a teacher		
7I	55	65	Class work recognised		
7J	56	66	Use strengths and competences		
8	57	68	Commitment to teaching	Very weak=1	Strong=4
				Weak=2	Very strong=5
				Average=3	
	58	70	Intrinsic Negative	Number of responses	
	59	71	Extrinsic Negative		

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Appendix G.

Careers within Teaching.

Student Teachers' Career Progression.

Student teachers' projected careers within teaching fell into three main categories which could be described as *functional, formative, and specialist*. The largest category of responses concerned functional career development which was taken to mean gaining increasing responsibility of one kind or another. The next largest was formative which concerned consolidating class room expertise. The smallest was specialist. This group comprised the student teachers who had specific subject or sector goals. Twenty respondents did not know how their career would develop; fifteen wanted to leave teaching and six were concerned about getting a job at all. In the functional category, fourteen respondents stated that they would not seek headship; one respondent did not even intend to become a deputy head.

37% of the responses projected a functional career development which is probably to be expected at the start of a career. 29% of responses concerned a formative career development teaching. 12% of responses made no projection at all.

	Total Responses	Negative Responses
Functional	144	15
Formative	112	2
Specialist	49	-
No information	27	-
Don't know	20	-
Quit	15	-
Get job	6	-

Table A.G.1.

Student teacher responses to career progression by category.

[N = 390]

Functional Career Development.

A third of the responses in this category concerned posts of responsibility, a seventh headship and a further seventh advisory posts. Fourteen people were thinking of headship,

nine of head of department, seven were envisaging promotion and five wrote of management.

Posts of Responsibility.

33 people made general statements about seeking posts of responsibility, writing of :

- gain responsibility in areas of strength
- gain a significant 'stand' (sic) in a school
- increased responsibility
- moving to positions of high responsibility

They also mentioned becoming a 'post-holder', 'moving up the system', 'becoming a curriculum co-ordinator' and 'becoming a year leader'. Only three people actually mentioned scale posts.

Twenty nine people made specific reference to subject specialisations. The most frequently mentioned was English. The least frequently mentioned were maths, geography, health and inter-cultural education and information technology, as the Table A.G. 2. shows :

English	:	7
PE	:	5
Arts	:	4
Science	:	4
Drama	:	2
Music	:	2
Geography	:	1
Health	:	1
Information Technology	:	1
Intercultural Education	:	1
Mathematics	:	1

Table A G. 2.

Student teachers' career progression by subject.

[N = 29]

This particular group was almost equally split between knowing about the specifics of

promotion, in terms of subject specialisations and scale posts (32) and expressing a general commitment to promotion within school. Whether those who made a general statement were simply being cautious about their career development or whether they were unaware of the promotional ladder can only be open to speculation, but the near numerical equivalence is interesting in itself. Another possible explanation is that they were less enthusiastic about teaching their subject specialisation and would, therefore, be seeking other roles within school which would lead to promotion. This is borne out by the fact that almost a quarter of the student teachers gave no information on their subject specialism in the questionnaire but is challenged by the principal components analysis.

Headship.

Eighteen people mentioned headship. Of these, five expressed some degree of uncertainty and thirteen made a firm statement. One person expressed thoughts of headship in the following terms:

- to continue to work with children to the greatest possible effect

These eighteen potential heads were matched by fourteen people who specifically discounted headships, mainly on the grounds that the job entailed administration and took teachers away from the children.

- I have no real ambition to 'climb the ladder' as I feel strongly that I want to be with the children, not at governors' meetings.
- I really have no desire to become head since I want to stay in the class.
- I do not aim to be a HEAD (sic), children not (a) managerial position for me.
- I want to stay in class and not take up a mainly admin post.

Thus, these fourteen trainee teachers have already seen the dangers of losing sustained contact with the children, a contact which the Tower Hamlets heads considered 'a daily source of affirmation'. (Court : 1987).

Deputy Headship.

Fourteen people thought that deputy headship would be desirable. Two specifically mentioned that they would still wish to teach :

- Deputy head of school (still teaching)

- I would most likely be looking for a teaching deputy head(ship) - I wish to stay in the classroom.

Thus, deputy headship is attractive because contact with the children is maintained.

Head of Department / Promotion.

Nine people were aiming to become heads of department. Two mentioned becoming heads of PE departments, one mentioned becoming the head of an infant department, the other six made no subject or age range reference. Only one person envisaged a time scale of five years to achieve departmental headship.

A further seven people wrote about promotion but in non-specific terms. Typical of these comments was :

- rise up the ladder
- the promotion that a classroom career will allow

One person rejected promotion, at least at that stage of her career.

Advisory Teacher / Management.

Twenty-one people mentioned these two options, either in terms of being subject advisers at local education authority level (16) or of going into education management (5). One person spoke of becoming an education officer, four of management in general and one of pastoral management.

Of the potential advisory teachers, eight wrote of becoming advisers without mentioning a subject or age range specialisation. Subjects mentioned by the remaining eight were : science, P.E., maths, arts, drama and RE.

One person was contemplating becoming an advisor on multicultural education. One person saw an advisory post as the opportunity to 'get a bit of common sense into the system'. One person was planning to do an M.Ed. in order to become an advisor.

In all, there were 144 responses covering functional career development, fifteen of which limited the respondents to not seeking specific posts, particularly not headship, twenty-one of which envisaged appointments at LEA level and the rest which envisaged responsibilities within the school.

Formative Career Development.

In the formative category, the largest numbers of responses, 24, concerned 'adequacy' and

'future hopes'. The next largest category was 'developing as a class teacher' (22), followed by 'gaining experience' (21), 'professional development' (13) and 'further qualifications' (6). Two people mentioned lack of experience.

Adequacy.

'To become a more than adequate teacher' sums up the spirit of this set of responses. The theme is that of developing professional competence; the tone and vocabulary are equally developmental. *Successful* is used eight times, *good* or *well* five times, *effective* and *competent* five times and *confident* four times. The most frequently used verbs are *to become* and *to develop* (8 times), demonstrating in the thinking of the respondents a concept of process in their development as teachers. They speak of 'settling into my new job', (2) 'improving', 'becoming helpful and reliable', 'organised', 'knowledgeable', 'developing style as a class teacher', 'establishing myself', and 'sustaining a philosophy ... in practice in the classroom'.

This process requires time : 'to complete (the) probationary year with as little stress as possible'; 'reaching what I feel to be my potential' and implies professional, if not personal, development to competence level, and beyond.

Future Hopes.

These concerned children (8), happiness (4) colleagues (4) and personal fulfilment in a variety of ways.

Children

Here the theme was that of responding to 'children's learning needs' by becoming more aware of the ways in which they learn. This approach could enable the children '(to) live to the full with as many experiences as possible', 'help ... (them) to achieve to the best of their ability', 'learn(ing) with the children' in (a) class (which) is relaxed but industrious' could lead (to being) 'of greater value to the community'.

Personal happiness was also a consideration

- in the pursuit of happiness - hopefully in teaching
- into a career which makes me happy...
- no hopes other than that I am happy and enjoy the job
- achieve an enjoyable, rewarding post

The idea that enjoyment and happiness were attainable through a career in teaching was as central to this group of responses as was the idea of *working with colleagues* to achieve this :

- I hope to gather ideas from others ...

- Teachers to be supportive and work as a team
- School which offers support, resources and team work ...
- To relate well to others ...

Personal fulfilment of a variety of kinds could result. This included *intellectual fulfilment* as well as a *specific life style*.

Intellectually, there was a wish :

- not to stagnate
- (to be) stretched in my responsibilities
- (to) achieve ... a rewarding post
- those (ways) which match my intellectual needs

In terms of *life-style*, teaching was viewed as a means of :

- being able to have a family and family life also
- doing the things I want to do in my life and achieving them via the job I do
- a flexible career allowing for travel, family, progress
- into a career where I could earn a more comfortable living,.... to be successful

Finally, four respondents were aspiring to an *unflustered start* to their teaching career :

- under control
- I'm going to take it a day at a time
- not too fussed
- free atmosphere where there will be no pressure of the national curriculum.

These responses complement those on professional adequacy, illustrating the extent to which teaching relies on personal performance and commitment, allied to colleagues and the children but also showing the personal rewards which it is perceived to offer, even to student teachers at the start of their career.

Developing as a Class Teacher.

Twenty-two respondents saw their career essentially in terms of class or subject teaching.

Ten of these went so far as to reject other options :

- I will always want to be in contact with the children
- I want to be with the children
- that I maintain a full-time. teaching (class-room) career

- happy years in class
- to be a content teacher
- I wouldn't like to be an out of the class teacher

Eight people put a time limit of some kind on their classroom involvement.

- several years teaching
- I would like to remain in the classroom for a few years

Three people put geographical as well as time limits on class teaching :

- work in Great Britain for 2 years (2)
- Teach in London 2 / 3 years

One person saw the possibility of greater responsibility but did not wish to lose contact with a class :

- increase leadership role whilst maintaining contact with a class of my own, if at all possible.

One person was more concerned with :

- strengthening relationships with children and parents.

This desire to remain in the classroom was mentioned by almost the same number of student teachers as those who were keen to gain a *variety of experiences*. This included experience outside teaching as well within it.

Within teaching, seven respondents were seeking experience of other schools :

- varied experience of situations and school
- teach in a variety of schools

Three people saw this experience as being geographically based :

- moving around areas encountering different challenges
- 3 / 4 years inner city experience (3)

For five others, a wider experience of the curriculum was the aim :

- extend my knowledge of ... variety of curriculum areas I only have a basic awareness of..

For one person this also included teaching across the age range :

- experience over the whole primary age range.

This need for greater general experience was summed up by one respondent who spoke of :

- just keep learning as much as possible about education.

Two people specifically mentioned lack of experience as a reason for not being sure of how their career would develop :

- unsure as to exactly what I want
- to date I've had little experience of teaching since I've yet to start my final teaching practice.

This category of responses was both wider and less specific than those which concerned *professional development*.

Here respondents were looking to improve their own subject skills (9), complement their training in curriculum areas where they felt less confident (2) and also develop expertise in cross-curricular areas such as information technology (1) and multicultural education (1). Other curriculum fields mentioned were health education, personal and social education, R.E. and pastoral care.

Six people specifically mentioned further qualifications. Four were envisaging master degrees in education; three were also contemplating M.A. or M.Sc. degrees and one person noted an M.Phil. as a possibility. This category of responses illustrates the awareness of the student teachers that initial teacher training can only be considered as a basic apprenticeship, with much learning to be undertaken during the course of a career in teaching.

Specialist Career Development.

Within the group of responses on specialist career development, thirteen people expressed an interest in teaching children with special educational needs, thirteen wanted to teach abroad, eight were envisaging teaching in higher education and / or initial teacher training, four were seeking experience with a different age range, four wanted to go into outdoor education, three into research, two into writing educational texts and one into extra-curricular activities. One person intended to read some long neglected education study notes !

Responses on *special educational needs* ranged from a wish to have more training :

- have more support and professional training in SEN
- to mentioning specific educational needs. Eight people made general statements about becoming SEN teachers, one person mentioned group size as a factor :
- towards working with smaller groups, individual children, possibly in SEN

Two people specifically mentioned working with children who had emotional and behavioural difficulties, one person mentioned hearing impaired and one wrote of eventually becoming an educational psychologist.

The same number of people mentioned *teaching abroad*. 'Abroad' was mostly used to indicate outside the UK although three people mentioned the third world, one Brazil and one named a series of countries for exchange teaching. One person wanted to teach with a missionary society. Four people saw teaching abroad as a way of increasing their experience, thereby implying eventual return to the UK. One person wrote

maybe use my skills abroad to widen my horizon

Only one person specifically mentioned English as a foreign language teaching.

Bearing out the dictum that 'those who can, teach, and those who can't, teach teachers,' one of the eight respondents who mentioned *higher education* wrote :

If I can't teach, I will become a lecturer.

Three mentioned subject specific lecturing in areas of the primary school curriculum such as language and presentation techniques. One person saw this as a move after experience of teaching :

later lecture at a college of H.E.

Four people mentioned a *change in age range*, one specifically hoping to become a science specialist in a secondary school, two others aiming for secondary teaching and one envisaging teaching adults.

Four people specifically mentioned *outdoor education*, three of whom wished to become involved in outdoor pursuits such as canoeing and hill climbing. One mentioned developing outward bound ideas in an urban environment and one wrote of involving children actively in environmental education.

Three people were interested in going into *research*, although it was not entirely clear whether this would be in education.

Twenty people did not know how their careers would develop. One person wondered if there was any career development and two wrote of no long-term ambition. One person thought it was too early to say anything; another person intended to see what happened after three or four years.

Fifteen people were expressing a desire to *leave teaching*. Seven saw themselves moving away from the classroom. One person wrote of going into industry, one into conservation,

one into social / community work and one of seeking work experience. Four spoke of trying a different kind of work or of having a career change; one person mentioned having a family, and one 'another career with people'. One person was not 'expecting a life-long commitment' and one person wrote :

- sadly, if current attitudes towards education do not improve, I cannot see myself in teaching long enough to consider future career moves within the profession'.

Six people expressed concerns about *getting a job* in the first place. Two wanted to be sure of increments and incentives, one wanted to work in a village or community school and one was looking for a 'steady job'.

In all, fifty-one people expressed reservations about teaching as a career, ranging from not being sure about their career development, to not being convinced that jobs were available, to an active desire not to enter the profession.

This represents almost a quarter of the respondents and suggests several issues. Firstly, that a small number of entrants to ITT have no career commitment to teaching and ought, therefore, to be redirected into other vocational courses. Secondly, that career counselling may be underdeveloped in initial teacher training or under-used by trainees. Thus, more individually focused career advice could usefully be provided as an integral part of teacher training. Thirdly, that initial teacher training institutions should develop a greater awareness of job opportunities, particularly for older entrants to teaching whose job chances may be made particularly precarious, as they command higher salaries which schools may not be able to afford under LMS.

On a more encouraging note, this sample of 214 student teachers' career aspirations does indicate that a range of teaching and teaching allied jobs can be filled adequately at all levels.

Teachers' Career Progression.

As with the students, the teachers' career progression wishes fell into the categories of functional, formative and specialist, with a sixth (11) not sure or seeking some way of leaving. A seventh of the respondents (9) gave no information to this item.

<i>Functional</i>		<i>Specialist</i>	
Post of responsibility	: 8	SEN	: 7
Headship	: 7	Research	: 2
Deputy	: 4	ITT	: 2
Adviser	: 2	Subject	: 4
Promotion	: 1		
Not head	: 1		
<i>Formative</i>		<i>Other</i>	
Class teacher	: 15	Not sure	: 3
Professional development:	2	Early retirement	: 3
		Leave	: 2
		Too late	: 2
		Abroad	: 1

Table A G.3.

Teachers' responses to career progression by category.

[N = 66]

Functional Career Development.

Eight teachers were seeking *posts of responsibility*. Two specifically mentioned a 'managerial' role. Two were seeking opportunities to expand the number of pupils and resources available to the school. Three wrote of seeking more responsibility, with one person seeking this as a short term aim.

Seven people were contemplating headship. Two people wanted to be heads of combined junior and infant schools.

headship and further although the career path seems unclear.

One person wrote : 'a year ago I would have said progression through to headship. Now I'll probably teach for two years and leave...'

Two people would review their headship aspirations

when education has sorted itself out...

One person saw headship as administration:

... definitely not admin ... e.g. head (paper pusher) teacher.

Four people were interested in being deputy heads. Two were thinking about becoming advisers; one mentioned her subject specialisation, the other was interested in the role

because of :

- working with other teachers.

One person mentioned 'promotion'.

Formative Career Development.

Fifteen people wanted to stay as class teachers.

- Back into the classroom
- I love class teaching
- become a good class teacher (10 years)
- I'm happy where I am (3).

These teachers wrote of enjoyment, and fulfilment and were hoping for a 'less frantic pace of change'.

Two people were seeking opportunities for a range of further professional development.

Specialist Career Development.

Seven people wanted to become *special educational needs* teachers. Two mentioned reading recovery and literacy development. One wanted to apply her 21 years of infant teaching to the teaching of handicapped children, one wanted to qualify in audiology and become a peripatetic teacher of deaf infants. Two mentioned special needs in general terms. Four people wanted to become *subject specialists*, one in environmental education, one in libraries, one in music and one in pastoral care.

Two people expressed an interest in *educational research*, one in action research in the classroom. Two people wanted to go into teacher training. One person would welcome a secondment to another age phase.

Other.

Three people were seeking *early retirement*, the sooner the better for one person, preferably with an enhanced pension for another, who wrote :

- 3 years ago my commitment would have been very strong.

Three people were *not sure* about their career progression. Two people wrote that it was too late :

- At 50, my career development will be nil. Motherhood prevented career development / and cowardice.

Two people wanted to *leave teaching* and find a less stressful job which had a more flexible

environment and which allows for more independent interest or direction.

- Now I'll probably teach for 2 years and leave - financially it's not worth the stress (commitment has been very strong for 4 years - I have never felt so undervalued before)

One person wanted a year off 'on full pay to "recharge".' One person would have liked 'overseas experience'.

On the one hand, these data do support that the Df E's claim that there are sufficient teachers to adequately full the range of jobs in education. On the other hand, they do show a sizable minority of student teachers and teachers who are locked into an occupation which is becoming much less satisfying as a result of extrinsic and contextual change.