

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Male teachers' perceptions of factors influencing career progress: A study of career-passage strategies

Thesis

How to cite:

Greer, William (1989). Male teachers' perceptions of factors influencing career progress: A study of career-passage strategies. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1988 The Author

Version: Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

DX 86028

UNRESTRICTED

WILLIAM GREER, B.A. (Hons), M.Ed.

MALE TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING
CAREER PROGRESS: A STUDY OF CAREER-PASSAGE
STRATEGIES.

Doctor of Philosophy

The Open University School of Education.

June, 1988.

Author's Number: B0072370
Date of Submission: 28th June 1988
Date of Award: 21st March 1989

To Alison.

Acknowledgements.

I would like to thank my tutor, Professor Peter Woods, for the help which he gave me in writing this thesis. His criticisms of my work were always gently delivered and his encouragement and praise always generously given. I am grateful, too, for his willingness to read the numerous drafts of the thesis, for the time he took in discussing these patiently with me, and for arranging opportunities for me to present my ideas to interested audiences within the Open University. I am also grateful to Dr. Martyn Hammersley for including me in meetings of the Ethnographic Research Group of the Open University. The discussions which took place at these, and the opportunities which they gave me to converse with other researchers, were especially helpful at the beginning of my research when clear routes ahead were not always easily recognised. My respondents - teachers who gave of their time willingly - are not forgotten, and although they must remain anonymous, I extend my thanks to them for making this work possible. I would like to thank my wife for the support and help which she gave me throughout the years of the study, as always, and for suppressing house-decorating drives at critical points in its writing.

CONTENTS

	Abstract.....	page 1
PART ONE		
Chapter 1	Introduction.....	page 2
Chapter 2	The Concept of Career in Teaching.....	page 25
PART TWO	THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	
Chapter 3	Sampling.....	page 49
Chapter 4	Recruiting.....	page 92
Chapter 5	Interviewing.....	page 100
PART THREE	AREAS OF FAVOURABLE SELF-PRESENTATION	
	POTENTIAL.....	page 146
	Introduction to the data.....	page 147
Chapter 6	Extra-curricular activities.....	page 149
Chapter 7	The Teaching Subject.....	page 176
Chapter 8	Study Activities.....	page 195
PART FOUR	THE INFLUENCE OF OTHERS	
Chapter 9	Positive Influences.....	page 223
Chapter 10	Negative Influences.....	page 254
Chapter 11	Canvassing.....	page 291
PART FIVE	THE PROMOTION INTERVIEW AND THE	
	PRESENTATION OF SELF.....	page 309
	Introduction to Part Five.....	page 310
Chapter 12	Making application for teaching posts....	page 320
Chapter 13	Preparing for interview.....	page 338
Chapter 14	The interview setting and the interview..	page 354
Chapter 15	Post-interview understandings and	
	activities.....	page 400
PART SIX		
Chapter 16	Conclusions.....	page 418
	Bibliography.....	page 439

HIGHER DEGREES OFFICE
LIBRARY AUTHORISATION FORM

STUDENT: WILLIAM GREER SERIAL NO: B0072370

DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

TITLE OF THESIS: "MALE TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF FACTORS
INFLUENCING CAREER PROGRESS:
A STUDY OF CAREER-PASSAGE STRATEGIES."

I confirm that I am willing that my thesis be made available to readers
and maybe photocopied, subject to the discretion of the Librarian.

SIGNED: William Greer. DATE: 25th May, 1988

Abstract.

This study is located in the time period of 1980 to 1987, a time of change and disruption in teaching, and focuses upon men teachers' perceptions of their past and present career. It suggests that reduced promotion opportunities have led teachers to a preoccupation with strategic presentations of self for the advancement of their professional career, and examines the detail of this through the utterances of teacher-respondents in the course of tape-recorded interviews with the researcher. Attention is given to respondents' accounts of factors which, in terms of achieved rank, they perceive to have influenced career both favourably and unfavourably. The study examines teachers' understandings of the opportunities, in various areas of their work, where effective self-presentations may be made, but also shows the importance of the promotion interview as the crucial 'rite of passage' which transports the teacher to higher levels of rank.

The data consist of the accounts which respondents have provided; these have been tape-recorded, and selected passages are presented verbatim and analysed. Thirty-one respondents have been involved in the production of the data, some of these providing several interviews each, and developing the role of 'key respondent'. The methodology of the study is presented in some detail, with particular attention being given to methods of conversation-type interviewing and the influence upon this of factors within the setting. In its conclusion the study attempts to draw attention to some under-examined areas of teacher research, and particularly to the need for additional information on the perceptions of selection-panel members - and other 'gatekeepers' - and of the role of the 'sponsor' in the promotion of teachers at various bureaucratic levels.

PART ONE.

Chapter 1. Introduction.

Contents:-

Page 3	-	The Background to the Study.
Page 8	-	The Aims of the Study.
Page 13	-	The Structure of the Study.
Page 17	-	The Perspective used in the Study.

There are some aspects of this study which I feel are best to be presented at this point so that my logic in arranging and grouping the data may be made fully clear. It may be of help too, to the reader, if I disclose some of my own motivations which generated energy for the study, together with a presentation of the aims of the study and an explanation of the perspective used.

The Background to the Study.

The period of time, the second half of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, was one which influenced the careers of many teachers in unfavourable ways. The drop in the birth rate of some years before this period was now manifesting itself in the phenomenon of 'falling rolls' in schools. Briault and Smith (1980) recorded this phenomenon in secondary schools but the thinning cohorts of children had been advancing through the schooling system for some years before this. This coincided with a time of economic recession when there was a significant rise in the numbers of people unemployed, and was accompanied by a reduction in the amount of money available for public spending. Education 'cuts' in spending were a feature of the times and since a very large part of this spending was upon teachers' salaries, it is not surprising that the supply of new

teachers was affected; Mann (1979, p232) reports that, in the year 1976, 20,000 newly qualified teachers were unemployed and the potential for upward career mobility was also diminished. The closing of some schools, and the amalgamation of the teaching staff of these schools with those of preserved schools, also affected the careers of some teachers in adverse ways; although of course, some teachers did profit from these changes (see Riseborough, 1984).

During this period, my work brought me into the staffrooms of many schools and I learned, through conversation with numerous teachers, of the way in which some were perceiving the effects of 'falling rolls' and 'education cuts' upon their professional career and their career hopes. Sikes et al (1985, p3), comparing past and present career perceptions of teachers, claim that teachers' careers '....are currently held to be in a state of crisis', that their 'sense of well-being' is disturbed and their 'teaching efficiency' threatened.

In late 1979 I completed a Master's degree thesis (Greer, 1979) which had examined the perceived effects of reorganization and amalgamation upon the careers of physical education lecturers in colleges of education. This had been begun in 1975 when the effects of the reduction in teacher-training places in colleges of education had begun to be experienced and tutors in these

establishments were beginning to feel some anxiety about their career future. The 114,000 teacher-training places of the 1970s were expected to fall to between 60,000 and 70,000 by 1981 (see Mann, 1979, p231) and the recommendations of the James Committee White Paper of 1972 set in motion the closure of some colleges of education and the amalgamation of others with polytechnics. My (1979) study was concerned with these tutors' perceptions of their own professional career, and data were collected by means of single tape-recorded interviews with twelve physical education lecturers in six colleges of education in Yorkshire.

My involvement in this study had awakened me to the situation of many other tutors and teachers, and not just those concerned with teaching physical education, and I felt that a larger study which involved some of the research skills which I had gained from the work for the 1979 study, and involving a larger and more varied selection of teachers, might be formulated to make a contribution to an understanding of teachers' adaptations to reduced career opportunities, and to to the prospect of a static career. This general notion of the proposed study, with its focus upon the particular career problems of this time period, gave way to aims rooted in a broader base, drawing upon teachers' wide experiences of career movement and not just to those pertaining to the

problems of the 1980s. This allowed an acceptance of older teachers and some lecturers into the study who were able to provide understandings of career passages, strategies, disappointments and adaptations located in earlier time periods and which could augment and contrast with the present situation.

My inclusion of some few lecturers into the study perhaps requires some explanation, since the title of the study indicates teachers specifically. Those lecturers whom I interviewed were all members of the staff of one polytechnic school of education; all trained as teachers, and all having spent many years in classroom teaching before being appointed to a teacher-training post. A number of these lecturers had experience of teaching overseas and were originally contacted because of their experience and capacity to inform me of the procedures which were necessary for them to make re-entry into teaching in the U.K. after some years in a foreign country. Pressures of space forced me to exclude this theme from the finished write-up of the study, but many of the accounts which these respondents made were useful in informing other areas. In short, I allowed their training and experience to act as definers of them as 'teachers', especially since the accounts which they gave related to that period in their lives when they were concerned with classroom teaching in schools.

A feature of this study which I feel needs to be disclosed early, and explained, is that of its focus upon the careers of male teachers only. The exclusion of study of women teachers' careers was a decision which I reached after much consideration and only after the difficulties of the proposed study became clearer to me through the yields of the first few interviews. These are the reasons for my focus on male teachers only:-

- 1) Since the data were to be gathered through tape-recorded interview methods, I felt that the likely settings and arrangements for interview would be more conducive to the interviewing of male, rather than female teachers. Initial approaches to teachers; extending invitations to be interviewed in my house, or my tutorial room; or to have a discussion over a drink in the pub, would all be made more difficult for me if women teachers were to be included in the sample.
- 2) I felt that the rapport needed for the yielding of relevant data might be more easily gained, by me, when working with other males. There is some evidence to suggest that interviewing women might constitute a different skill, and perhaps one not readily acquired by men (see A.Oakley,1981; J.Finch,1984).
- 3) The pattern of the careers of women teachers, and their

perceptions of them, might be very different from those of men (see Sikes et al, 1985; Purvis, 1973) and a study therefore of the careers of both men and women teachers was likely to be too large and too unwieldy. Since I anticipated the common difficulty of containing the thesis within the length limitations, I felt it legitimate to restrict this study to a consideration of the careers of male teachers only.

The Aims of the Study.

Possibly the dearth of opportunities to advance career during the time of the data collection, 1980 to 1987, stimulated in teachers an exaggerated preoccupation with the idea of promotion. The wish to increase one's status and salary within the teaching profession has perhaps always been prominent in the consciousness of many teachers, and the phenomenon of promotion as a scarce commodity perhaps intensified this. The downturn in the career possibilities of teachers is likely to harm the careers of some teachers more than others. Age and teaching rank are factors which might influence teachers' perceptions of their capacity to survive the recession and to enter a time period when their careers might resume an upward course. Some teachers, on the other hand, might take some

comfort from their already achieved rank, discard ideas of gaining further promotion, and make the best of their situation. Other teachers, however, seemed to devote much of their energies to the problem of effecting their own promotion and of evolving strategies to accomplish this - staffroom conversations often revealing such expressed notions. Although these strategies may be employed in the course of the teacher's working day to impress influential persons, many status passages require being interviewed by a panel of selectors. The strategic 'career work' in which some teachers indulge is often effective only in bringing them to the point of interview, and the task of earning the selectors' endorsement must then be faced. The importance of the promotion interview and the hazards and stresses of this, in respondents' perceptions, makes it a point of focus of this study and a large section of this will be devoted to the promotion interview as a critical point in career progress.

Although I do not wish to diminish the complexity of the various elements of the study, I feel that the presentation of its aims, in the form of three questions to be answered, will provide an indication of the scope and the boundaries of the study. These questions are:-

- 1) Is the use of strategies to advance career a common

perception among teachers?

2) What are these strategies?

3) In what ways are teachers' careers affected by the actions of powerful others?

It was not intended that data collection for this study would constitute a particular stage of the research process. Data collection continued throughout almost the whole study, from 1980 until 1987, and it was only the pressing demands of producing a finished draft in 1988 which enforced a concentration upon this activity to the exclusion of continued data collection. Tape recorded utterances of respondents constituted the data of the study, and the analysis of these produced notions which sought elaboration in further interviewing (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). With the interviewing of respondents of different professional locations and of different biographical features, themes were developed and organized into specific areas of inquiry. In all the interviews respondents were encouraged to speak about features of their career experiences which they felt to be of greatest importance and significance to them (see Denscombe's, 1983, 'areas of relevance').

In an effort to gain rapport with respondents, first interviews were always preceded by informal meetings where the research

was discussed; respondents' questions answered; and the first gentle probings made into discovering the shape of their career, their aspirations and sensitivities. In this way, the first formal interview with a respondent could be made very productive, with much less time being required for 'warming up' preliminaries, and with haste diminished in rapport building work. There were also many meetings with respondents during the period of the study when informal and un-recorded conversations took place; sometimes for the preparation of the next interview, but sometimes these happened by chance in schools, in libraries, and even in 'Sainsbury's'. My intention was to continue each interview for the duration of a ninety minute cassette, but for some respondents this proved to be too long a period of time, and for other respondents this was too short. There was a variation within different respondents as well as in the same respondent on different occasions. On one occasion a respondent could speak at great length on a topic which was important to him, but in other interviews the same respondent could show a reluctance, or inability, to speak at any length. Eleven of the thirty-one respondents were interviewed on more than one occasion; some of these were interviewed two, three, or more times, and one respondent provided eight one-and-a-half-hour tape-recorded interviews, together with as many between-interview discussions.

I felt that an important aim of the study was to provide a means of involving respondents in its production and to dispel feelings of powerlessness which they might have over material produced at interview. To this end I offered completed transcripts, or the tape itself, to the respondents for their perusal and for their reaction. The following five points indicate my intentions in this strategy:-

- 1) To pass control of the information, which was to be used as data for the study, to the respondent and to accept his veto of any of his accounts.
- 2) To increase the respondent's feelings of being involved in the study and to reduce the likelihood of those 'fobbing off' tactics of respondents observed by Denscombe, (1983, p115).
- 3) To increase trust in the researcher and in his motives, and to produce valid data through this.
- 4) To give the respondent an opportunity to 'think again', and to withdraw or amend his accounts if he chooses.
- 5) Through gaining the respondent's considered approval of the use of his utterances, to found the thesis on a system of

ethical values which is perceived and accepted by the respondent.

Respondents did not always show interest in reading the transcript of their interview, nor in listening to the tape recording of this, so the above objectives were not always realised. This problem will be discussed more fully later in the study.

The Structure of the Study.

The study will be divided into six parts, with some parts containing two or more chapters, arranged in the following way:-

Part 1, Chapter 1,	The Introduction.
Chapter 2,	The Concept of Career in Teaching.

This will present an overview of the present understanding of the concept of career in teaching, and will attempt to explain the conceptualizing of teachers' careers through reference to analogies which are used to typify career, and through understandings of career which I suggest are partly generated by the operation of a Protestant Work Ethic.

Part 2 (methodology).

The three chapters in this part will be devoted to the methodology used in the study, as follows:-

Chapter 3,	Sampling.
Chapter 4,	Recruiting.
Chapter 5,	Interviewing.

The chapter on 'Interviewing' will comprise the main bulk of Part 2 and will provide the detail of the conversational techniques which were used in collecting the tape-recorded interview material.

Part 3 (areas of favourable self-presentation potential).

There are areas where teachers perceive opportunities to draw attention to themselves in ways which can be effective in enhancing their career progression. These 'aids to promotion' are possibly different in different areas of schooling; or in different teaching subject areas; or at different locations in the hierarchical system, as promotion is sought at successively higher ranks. In this Part the theme is that of competence, an endowment which enables the teacher to make representation of self as an able and industrious member of the teaching community. This does not necessarily guarantee promotion but

it could be convincing of promotion worthiness to those who control or influence passage to higher teaching ranks.

Respondents were particularly alive to three areas of their work where they perceived opportunities to present themselves as the embodiment of this model. These were by means of:-

Chapter 6, Extra-Curricular Activities.

Chapter 7, The Teaching Subject.

Chapter 8, Study Activities.

Teachers' understandings of the role of each of these in displaying their competence and industry, and thus serving as aids to promotion, will be examined through an analysis of respondents' utterances at interview.

Part 4 (the influence of others).

To be effective in the career advancement of the teacher, the competence and industry which he is able to display must be perceived and acted upon by 'others' who are in some position of influence which will be used to facilitate the teacher's promotion. The roles of sponsors and gatekeepers (Lyons, 1981; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) are ones which are enacted by such powerful others and these will be examined in this section of the study, together with teachers' tactics for the

presentation of self to these others.

Chapter 9. Positive Influences.

Chapter 10. Negative Influences.

Chapter 11. Canvassing.

Part 5 (the promotion interview and the presentation of self).
Despite teachers' representations of themselves as competent and promotion-worthy, and of the actions of influential persons in assisting their career passage to higher ranks, there is still the obstacle of the promotion interview to be scaled. In this section of the study, teachers' understandings of the processes of being interviewed for teaching posts will be examined, together with other activities associated with this, both before and after the event of the promotion interview.

Chapter 12. Making application for teaching posts.

Chapter 13. Preparing for interview.

Chapter 14. The interview setting and the interview.

Chapter 15. Post-interview understandings and activities.

Part 6 (conclusions).

Although summaries and conclusions will accompany each chapter,

there will be a general 'Conclusion' at the end of the thesis where the broadest strands of the ideas of the study will be drawn together and pointers made to possible future research. The part of the study will be contained within Chapter 16.

The Perspective used in the Study.

Since the method of the study concerns the use of interviews and teachers' accounts of their own activities, thoughts and understandings, the concept of self is a central one for the study. These interviewing methods ask that the respondent becomes an object to himself, views himself as he would another and enters into an interaction with himself, and this focus on self is consonant with the methods of Symbolic Interactionism (see Rose, 1962; Woods, 1979; Denzin, 1970; Williams, 1976; Rock, 1979). An Interactionist view of self assumes a constant adaptation, through interaction with others, to the experiences to which one is subjected. In this study, there will be a focus upon, in particular, teachers' understandings of their experiences of the processes of promotion, and the strategies which they perceive being adopted to accomplish this. A key factor in the concept of self is its reflexivity which marks off its differences from the psychological self-like concepts of 'ego' and 'self image',

which attempt explanations based upon needs, motives, norms, attitudes and values, all of which lack the reflexive, inward lookingness of the Meadean concept of self (see Mead, 1934, and Blumer's 1965 re-working of this study; also Sikes et al, 1985, p240).

There will also be a focus on respondents' views and understandings of the teaching world which they inhabit, and of their perception of the customs and activities of their professional group, and in this sense the study is ethnographic in nature (Denscombe, 1983). Respondents' accounts will be analysed and interpreted by the researcher, but respondents will also be encouraged to involve themselves in this activity, (see Hammersley and Atkinson's 1983, pp3-4, 'principle of reflexivity').

Although respondents' utterances will tend to entangle notions of their professional work with other areas of their lives - for example, family consideration may be a prime factor in a person's decision to remain where he is and forego promotion which necessitates a move of house - it is not within the purview of this study to engage life-history methods. Although one feature of this study is consonant with the life-history method, 'the prolonged interview' (Denzin, 1970), there are few opportunities for this study to support respondents' accounts

with documentary evidence, or to verify respondents' accounts of events with the reports of other respondents in a triangulating way (Woods, 1985; Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985; Goodson, 1980).

The interviews will be used to encourage respondents to speak about their perception of their career experiences; bring to mind their interpretations and understandings of these, and discuss the perceived effects which these experiences have had upon their subsequent views and actions, especially with reference to strategies for career management which they have developed. While a macro view of the hierarchical structure of career in teaching might explain some elements of the bureaucracy of career passage, a micro view is necessary to uncover the detail of this passage and especially the teacher's understanding of this experience. The teacher's understandings of the event of promotion, or in not being promoted, are important because of the effect which these understandings are likely to have upon his subsequent thinking and decision making. His interpretation of his experiences will be used to structure future actions and to shape his strategies for career advancement in the future.

The dominant theoretical device for the organization of data in this study is that of Goffman's (1959) concept of the

'Presentation of Self'. Since the impressions which audiences form of performers may not be the impressions which the latter have believed they were projecting (see Goffman's 1959, p14, 'sign activities' of 'giving' and 'giving' off'), the need for 'impression management' may come to be seen as a necessity in interactions with others (Goffman, 1959, ch 6). If an audience forms a particular impression of a person's performance, then it may be said that this impression is the one which has been 'given off', whether or not the performer had intended this, or had even known that this impression was being projected (Goffman, 1959, p18). This notion emphasises the importance of understanding that presentations of self are not always under the control of the performer, and that performers' impression management intentions do not always result in such messages being received in the way which the performer had intended. The activities which go towards 'defining the situation' and establishing a 'working consensus' may then pose some difficulties for the performer, and these are likely to be put into bolder relief in events which are highly charged with importance and significance. I suggest that the promotion interview may be one such event, and for this reason is likely to bring forth intensive and concentrated presentations of self as the teacher strives to achieve status passage to a higher rank in interaction with selectors.

That intended impressions are transmitted to important audiences becomes particularly salient when the audience has considerable power over the career destiny of the performer. Gatekeepers, who guard passageways between teaching ranks, elicit performances from aspiring teachers which are intended to persuade the gatekeeper of the teacher's suitability for the post. Gatekeepers for teaching posts are sometimes well known to the teacher - often even in daily contact - and any performance which the teacher attempts is likely to be influenced by the teacher's knowledge of this gatekeeper; a situation which might obtain when a teacher applies for a post within his own school, where the headteacher will be an important gatekeeper in a panel of selectors, or even the sole gatekeeper. For posts in other establishments, where the selectors are unknown to the applicant, there will be a need to recognise the importance of 'first impressions' and to make conscious decisions about an appropriate presentation of self to these unknown gatekeepers.

This study will attempt to tap respondents' perceptions of gatekeepers, and of the strategies for self presentation to these persons which are developed by teachers in their efforts to further their career. The study also recognises the importance of sponsors. Sponsors are unlike gatekeepers in that they do not have the power to make the award of a

particular post, but they are important for their capacity to influence the gatekeeper on the applicant's behalf. The study will attempt to identify and analyse the mediating roles of sponsors in their efforts on behalf applicants.

The essence of the study lies in teachers' perceptions of their careers and the data are produced through respondents' utterances of their career experiences and understandings. This may seem to demand a naive belief in all that respondents say and in an unquestioned acceptance of their views; however, while all that is produced will be viewed as data, it will be subjected to a scrutiny which is informed by knowledge from other sources. For example, the researcher's own understandings and interpretations; the perhaps counter views of other respondents; and the sometimes contradictory views of the same respondent on different occasions. Some researchers are able to use various methods of data collection so that triangulating checks may be made upon their data, and although the sole method used in this study is interviewing, this does not preclude the employment of the triangulating devices which I have suggested above. Besides this, there seems to be no way of gathering the perceptions of people without encouraging them to speak and then listening carefully to what they have to say, since people's perceptions cannot be collected simply by observation. They might be collected through whatever people

write about themselves, but this would be a difficult method to employ in research and could lead to the production of stiff, self-conscious data which might deprive the research of the stimulating and encouraging influences of the researcher.

Although for various reasons some respondents were interviewed on only one occasion, I would have had several un-recorded discussions with them, and I have already made reference to this (see page 11). I believe that these meetings were useful in building rapport between the respondent and myself; in uncovering possible areas of investigation; and also in acting as a check upon material produced at interview. If there was some inconsistency between what was said in these two areas of interaction, I would draw the respondent's attention to this and encourage him to resolve the apparent contradiction.

It is important to note however, that whatever was passed to me through discussion at these informal meetings was not treated as data. That is, I did not attempt to take notes at the time, and I was careful to make the respondent understand that these utterances were 'off the record' and that he would not be quoted in the eventual write-up of the study. In a later interview I would perhaps invite the respondent to pick up the threads of some topic which he had raised in one of his earlier, un-recorded discussions with me. The only

note-taking which I sometimes did, following these informal discussions, was to jot down a few words to remind me to raise a particular topic with that respondent at the next interview. Respondents' utterances would sometimes be used as a stimulus for other respondents, when this was needed, but without divulging to him the source of the expressed notion.

I felt that it was important that the respondent knew when he was providing data and when he was speaking 'off the record'. All respondents were informed of my intention to use, with their permission, whatever was recorded on tape, and they were also informed that informal discussion was not concerned with data collection but could be used to generate topics at interview. Although it was possible to eschew use of 'off the record' material as data, it was not possible for me to dismiss this knowledge from my understanding. Whatever I was told, I then knew, and inevitably this coloured my perception of respondents and added to my general understanding of the area of teachers' careers which I was attempting to comprehend. As a researcher I felt that everything which passed between my respondents and myself was of potential use to the study, but that any employment of this material had to be governed by respondents' knowledge of its collection and by their approval of its use.

PART ONE (cont).

Chapter 2. THE CONCEPT OF CAREER IN TEACHING.

Contents:-

Page 26	-	1) Objective and Subjective Career.
Page 31	-	2) Typifications of Teachers' Careers through Analogies.
Page 36	-	3) Understandings generated by the Protestant Ethic.
Page 43	-	4) Movement through Career Stages.

1) Objective and Subjective Career.

Although there is a sociological use of the term 'career' which limits its meaning to that of a sequence of changes of position in an occupational hierarchy (Slocum, 1966; Wilensky, 1960), there is another broader interpretation of this concept which extends these sequential changes into all areas of a person's life. Whether the term is used in either of these ways, the qualifying adjective of 'objective' or 'subjective' may be applied to it. For example, not only might a person's occupational career be conceptualized in terms of rank, office and salary, but his other careers in life - his married life, education, health, social relationships, sporting pastimes, and others - might also be viewed as a series of sequentially ordered events. However, despite these objective facts, a subjectivity may be imparted to them through the person's own recollection, understanding and interpretation of them, and might be used in explaining and legitimating his actions in them.

Objectively, career is concerned with the factual reality of events. It is relatively without problem since it is assumed to be composed of objective facts - sometimes labelled as 'the truth' - which may be verified or refuted through the application of appropriate checks. Subjectively, career

focuses upon the person's own construction of meaning imparted to all facets of his life. These notions are encapsulated in the following passage:-

'.....subjectively career is the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole, and interprets his attributes, actions and the things that happen to him..... objectively it is a series of statuses and clearly defined offices.....typical sequences of position, responsibility and even adventure' (Hughes, 1937, pp 409 - 410).

Partly because of the segmented nature of the teaching profession (Bucher and Strauss, 1961) and the various career avenues which exist in teaching, different teachers are able to experience widely different career patterns. For example, some teachers move through a series of posts, promotion succeeding promotion, moving to progressively higher positions, sometimes eventually leaving the classroom and devoting their working day to activities which might not involve teaching at all - management and administrative tasks, inspecting and advising. Leaving teaching for administrative work within the teaching profession is claimed by Lortie (1975) to be the aim of many of the American teachers in his sample. Other teachers, on the other hand, receive few experiences of promotion to higher ranked and better paid posts. Purvis (1974) has described such teachers as having 'flat' careers, in that they exhibit horizontal rather than vertical patterns, and although she perhaps intends this to apply only to women teachers, there are

many men teachers whose career in teaching corresponds to this pattern. Lortie (1975), Lyons (1981) and Woods (1983) all suggest that the typical career path of the majority of teachers is a 'flat' one.

Whatever the objective reality of teachers' professional career, subjective interpretations are likely to be used to account for these patternings, and to validate and legitimate their own actions in these. This could involve a development of changed attitudes to cope with new situations and new realities, and might inspire development of new strategies for future career planning. For example, teachers may come to learn that some teaching subjects are more effective than others when career advancement is sought (Hilsum and Start, 1974; Warwick, 1974), or that graduates are favoured over non-graduates in the award of promotions (Delamont, 1980; Riseborough, 1984). Teachers informed in these ways could develop strategies which they believe assist in the control of their career path. Both Lyons (1981) and Hilsum and Start (1974) have produced studies which demonstrate that teachers may develop understandings of factors which are believed to influence promotion, whether or not these have any foundation in objective reality.

Although the theoretical breakdown of the concept of career

into the sub-divisions of 'objective' and 'subjective' careers is analytically convenient, real-life separation of these in the consciousness of the teacher is unlikely. The teacher is able to take a unique perspective of his own career, since he is the one to whom the events of this occur, and the need for the protection of self might interfere with a clear view of 'what actually happened', or 'what went wrong'. It is possible that an emphasis upon subjective interpretations of career might be used by some teachers to compensate for the factual disappointments of objective career. Becker's (1964) concept of 'situational adjustment' and Lacey's (1977) 'internalized adjustment', indicate those processes of coming to terms with career disappointments, which seem to be a common feature of teaching, and an acceptance of other intrinsic rewards as ambitions for higher posts are abandoned.

While there seems to be little doubt that teachers seek subjective rewards in their professional work, this does not always preclude their search for objective promotion also. Woods (1983) suggests 'better classes', increased security and the acquisition of skill, as representing subjective advance in career. Lortie's (1975) teachers hoped for a move from the 'downtown' school to one containing more middle-class pupils; while Becker (1976) notes how familiarity with a school and the establishment of reputation and colleagueship can function to

lessen the teacher's desire to forego these in return for promotion elsewhere.

In discussions with teachers there were suggestions of an understanding of a separation of rank from status. Objective career advancement, although involving increases in rank and salary, were not always automatically assumed to confer greater status upon the teacher. There are powerful, influential figures in schools who do not occupy the highest teaching ranks; one example of this may be the teacher who serves as the representative of a teachers' professional association - the 'union man'. Thus status may be gained in ways other than through higher ranked teaching posts, perhaps providing a vehicle for ambitious but disappointed teachers who nonetheless seek the good regard of their colleagues.

2) Typifications of Teachers' Careers through Analogies.

Words and phrases which are used by teachers to describe their careers, and more especially by those who write of teachers' careers, often disclose the imagery and metaphor of their conceptualizing of career paths and patterns. People in general, and not just teachers in speaking of their work world, often use phrases such as, 'getting on'; 'getting a step up'; 'placing a foot on the first rung of the ladder'; 'climbing to the top', and many others. These phrases present a view of career advancement which emphasises the meaning of the word 'promotion' in terms of progression through a series of bureaucratic ranks only. It emphasises, too, the perceived need to strive in one's career, to 'climb' ever upwards, and to 'scale' ever higher career heights. It is perhaps this image of 'rising' which has provoked the common use of the 'ladder' metaphor in depicting the paths of careers. In the physical world a ladder is a useful artifact for scaling heights; so also the metaphorical 'ladder' may be seen as an appropriate device for scaling metaphorical career heights. There is also a semantic relationship between the word 'scale' and 'ladder' which perhaps encourages this metaphor, crystallizing in 'scale points' and 'scale posts' common in teacher rhetoric. Writers in the field of the sociology of education provide frequent examples of the use of the 'ladder' image, for example Woods,

(1983); Roy, (1983); Riseborough, (1984); Cave and Cave, (1984); Sikes et al, (1985).

The 'ladder' image is not, however, the sole metaphor which is used to represent and explain the paths of teachers' careers. Lortie (1975) sees teachers' careers conforming to a gentle incline rather than to a steep climb; while Lyons (1981) compares the teaching career with a tree. In developing this idea Lyons (1981) shows that as his career progresses the teacher becomes more specialized in his work until he is unable to retrace his steps, or transfer to other branches of teaching, just as the tree, in its growth, ramifies into ever diminishing branches.

The pyramid is a device which sociologists have used, especially in studies of social class, in separating the many at the bottom from the few at the top; but this has not been a popular device in career studies. Indeed, Lyons' 'tree' analogy and Lortie's 'incline' have been much less used than the ladder metaphor, and this may be because the latter perhaps extends a more attractive image of career to teachers, although perhaps also carrying understandings of the realities of competition.

These analogies succeed in presenting different portrayals of

career, suggesting different possibilities for it and imposing different constraints upon it. The 'ladder' image, for example, seems to present urgent and imperative messages about career. It is on offer to all; it is there to be climbed; its challenge should not be ignored because it is an acceptance of failure to be content to remain on the lowest rungs.

It is difficult to understand why such a harsh, uncompromising image seems to have been so acceptable to writers, and possibly to teachers themselves. For ambitious teachers the ladder metaphor might suggest an attractive directness of route, a clearly marked, well-trodden pathway to higher posts. It perhaps suggests, too, a sure way to 'the top' through the accurate detection of favourable 'rungs'. Lyons' (1981) 'tree' metaphor presents no such direct route. The maze of ever ramifying branches, becoming increasingly narrow and less supporting, suggests a randomness, and hazardousness, which is in marked contrast to the stable directness of the ladder. The imperative message of the 'ladder' is absent in the 'tree' metaphor; perhaps because a tree has functions other than an object to be climbed.

Lortie's (1975) 'gentle incline rather than steep ascent' is at odds with the experiences of many teachers who must endure long periods without promotion. Some teachers' careers 'rise'

quite rapidly, come to an early ceiling, and remain at the same objective rank for the remainder of the teacher's career, a phenomenon noted by Lyons (1981). For example, physical education teachers' perception of their own ageing process can be an important career factor in inducing them to strive for head of department status before they come to be considered to be too old for this level of post (Greer, 1979). Lortie's (1975) 'gentle incline', for many teachers, occurs only in incremental salary increases, which are finite, or by way of negotiated salary awards through the actions of professional teacher associations.

Since it is my intention in this study, consonant with symbolic interactionist methodologies, to attempt to view the world of my respondent from his standpoint, it seems to me to be important that I am alert to his use of symbolic imagery in his accounts. This might not be explicitly stated, nor even consciously presented, but might be amenable to discovery only through the respondent's choice of particular words and phrases, and such typifications, I suspect, are likely to be something more than simply habitual forms of expression. It is possible that they might contain elements of reflexivity (see Taylor, 1984) which induce career to be viewed in ways which correspond to the structure and function of the chosen object of imagery, thereby creating understandings of career

possibilities and constraints which conform to this image object. Viewing career in ladder-like ways could then induce in teachers the expectation of an ordered, regular, step-wise progression in career, perhaps with all lateral movements inhibited. The tree analogy perhaps carries messages of the unlikelihood of retracing steps, or of changing direction of career from one branch to another; while the gentle incline could suggest that sustained, upward career advance is possible. Whether such analogies exist within the teacher culture, or are simply figments of the imaginings of writers, remains to be seen from the utterances which my respondents will provide.

3) Understandings Generated by the Protestant Ethic

The way in which the teaching profession is bureaucratically ordered and stratified provides teachers with the theoretical possibility of career advancement through the series of ranks which is made manifest to them by this. Although abandoned in England in October 1987, at the time of the data collection for this study the scale point system was still in operation. Teachers were able to survey the allocation of points for particular posts and a career ladder could be discerned linking the lowest and highest posts. The regular flow of teachers into retirement inevitably produced vacancies in the teaching ranks and these were filled through movement upwards, a common phenomenon in the 'boom' period in teaching in the 1960s. This period was followed, in the 1970s, by the 'collapse of the boom'; Mann (1979) cites 1976 as the low point in this period. The effect of this collapse persisted into the 1980s and some of my respondents had already experienced many years of static career when I interviewed them.

However, not everyone's career is such. Inevitably the few promoted posts which became available, were filled, and the success of some few teachers possibly increased the feelings of deprivation of the many who had not been so fortunate. The

dearth, too, of promotion opportunities possibly acted to increase desire for it. While some teachers might be disposed to entering into the 'fray' and to struggle for promotion, others might prefer to opt out and seek work satisfactions in ways other than through the acquisition of increased rank and salary. The characteristics of some teachers might permit them to face a promotionless future in philosophic ways, much perhaps depending upon the teacher's present rank and the length of time remaining to him in teaching. Others, perhaps those who at present occupy lowly teaching ranks, are young, and who see few prospects for promotion, might suffer the greatest discontent and frustration, and it is with these teachers that strategies perhaps become a focal point for their attention. Their observation of the success or failure of their colleagues' promotion tactics might assist them to form their own career plans and strategies. The current staffing situation within his school; the headteacher's perception of the 'needs' of the school; and the 'demands' of current education policies, might help in informing the aspiring teacher of his promotion chances, and might perhaps indicate promotion strategies to him (see Hunter and Heighway, 1980; Sikes et al, 1985). The willingness of teachers to adopt contingency strategies in response to bureaucratic or institutional needs, conforms with Becker's (1964) concept of situational adjustment.

Some teachers may be prepared to opt out of the struggle for promotion and invest instead in those features of their lives which afford them their greatest satisfactions. They might, for example, give much of their time and attention to some hobby or money-making activity which allows them to distance themselves from the frustrations of unrewarded promotion strivings. However, this is all too simple a model with which to represent the understandings and actions of teachers faced with such problems. Strategies which have proven successful for one teacher might not function effectively for another. Some teachers, too, well aware of strategies 'required' for promotion, may be unwilling, or unable, to employ these for their own ends; perhaps considering them unprofessional or unethical. There is, too, an understanding of the 'soft' passage which some teachers have enjoyed during their career, perhaps through being in the 'right place at the right time', or receiving help from some influential person. These are often claimed to be a matter of 'luck' and respondents seemed to harbour little resentment against those who had profited by them; however, Lortie (1975) notes how rarely the factor of luck is mentioned in accounts of outstanding success.

To link the concept of 'education' with that of 'bureaucracy' may be one which defies a ready understanding of compatibility,

since a conflict of values seems to be implicit in the association. However, there may be ideals of the concept of 'bureaucracy' which teachers might find attractive if used in promotion decisions. The impersonality and power of the organization is perhaps unlikely to be enthused over by teachers, but a clear mechanism for awarding promotions might be welcomed, as might the bureaucratic ideal of promotion according to ability, achievement and seniority. These ideals seem to bear a relationship to Protestant Ethic values and especially to the secular version of this, the Work Ethic, (Weber, 1930; Gouldner, 1970; Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973). With developed notions of a Work Ethic teachers might be induced to view promotion as legitimate only when it is a consequence of a dedication to duty, to effort, to industry, commitment and loyalty. Promotion within the organization may then be perceived as a reward for past achievements and endorsed by understandings of seniority acquired in the service of the organization.

When promotion deviates markedly from the Work Ethic 'reward' model, which I have outlined above, teachers can become mystified, disenchanted and frustrated. Riseborough's (1984) study of reorganization in a comprehensive school shows the dissatisfactions experienced by those long-serving teachers who were by-passed for promotion in the 'new' organization by those

other teachers who were 'youngish with bloody degrees'. The decision to promote younger and more highly qualified teachers to management positions, to the career detriment of more senior and more experienced teachers, need not be a denial of bureaucratic, or Work Ethic ideals. The reified 'needs' of the organization, in the perceptions of those who are empowered to make such decisions, may be thought to be supplied more effectively through a focus upon those human attributes of qualifications and achievement, rather than upon those of experience and seniority.

The consequences of adherence to a Protestant Work Ethic which stresses the virtues of duty, seniority, commitment, industry, achievement and loyalty, might be to inform teachers of the need to remain in the same school, or with the same L.E.A., so that these virtues may be demonstrated to known gatekeepers. This idea may be reinforced by teachers' understandings of the policy of some L.E.As. to promote those teachers who are already in their employ. Indeed, for some time in the late 1970s and early 1980s - the period of contraction in education - some L.E.As. operated a 'Ring Fence' system which confined promotions completely to teachers already in the education authority's own pool of teachers.

Those teachers whose thinking is much less directed by notions

of the potency of seniority might be encouraged to gain other teaching experiences in different schools, or in different L.E.As., rather than remain in one school in the hope that long service will be recognised and rewarded. Lyons' (1981) teachers were aware that 'experience in a variety of schools' was considered to be a more potent factor for bringing about promotion than 'long service in a particular school'. Lyons does not make reference to the 'Ring Fence' policies of some authorities, nor do we know if his respondents were aware of these.

Understandings of a Protestant Work Ethic might function to inform teachers of the possible formulation of career plans and promotion timetables. Perceptions of the worth of the attributes of seniority, competence, experience, service, commitment, loyalty and duty, could inform the teacher of the legitimacy of his claim to promotion, or the legitimacy of the claims of his colleagues. Sensitive teachers might come to feel, through an application of Work Ethic notions, that they are, as yet, too young, or too inexperienced, or lacking in sufficient seniority, to make a bid for some available post; or that other colleagues are more fitted and more deserving of this. However, my conversations with some teachers uncovered ideas of career advancement which were not cluttered by these self-effacing considerations, nor of the recognition of the

claims of others.

Teachers whose perception of their work, and of their selves in their work - exhibiting links with Protestant Work Ethic values - may be unable to make rapid adaptations to shifts in value systems occasioned by change, such as experienced by Riseborough's (1984) teachers. The changed value system of the 'new regime' may pose problems for some teachers in that they may be unwilling or unable to respond in ways which are deemed appropriate in the system. Conflict between the 'old order' and the 'new regime' is one which is evident in many spheres where very rapid development has occurred, and the problems of adaptation to these are perhaps exacerbated in those teachers caught in a particular time period in their own career which renders adequate response to challenges difficult.

4) Movement through Career Stages.

The bureaucratic structuring of career stages in teaching, in the form of nominal rank and associated salary - the career ladder - confronts the teacher, not only with the promise of promotion, but with the problem of effecting this for himself. If the teacher conceptualizes promotion as the outcome of strategic enterprise, then passages between ranks may be complicated by the possibility of different strategies being required for different levels of post. If this is the case, teachers will be unable to develop any one strategy for all career passages; each new level of passage could demand new and different tactics.

If promotion is awarded to a teacher, his aspirations for further promotion could wane, or he could be spurred on to even higher hopes by this success. As he passes to higher ranks, or attempts this and fails, he will take stock of his career and the possibilities for this in the light of his success or failure and re-align his plans for the future. Many valuables may be involved in this, and consideration may have to be given to the balance of gains or losses which are likely to be contingent upon the passage to some higher post. These could take such considerations as: the difficulty and expense of selling house and buying another elsewhere; the uprooting of

the various careers of close family; loss of the support system of friends, neighbours and colleagues; and the problem of establishing similar systems in the new area. Events, changes, promotions, and disappointments in this will call for a re-alignment of notions of career and of plans for the future. Woods (1983) suggests a process of negotiation and re-negotiation, while Dale (1976) writes of the setting and re-setting of career goals.

Teachers show a range of understandings concerning attitudes to promotion. This extends from those who admit to giving a great deal of thought to strategies for this - just as Lyons' (1981) teachers had 'career maps' - to those who denied ever having viewed career in such self-conscious ways.

Understandings of useful promotion strategies may come to teachers from several sources and I have already suggested the witnessing of the successes or failures of colleagues as one source of information, and his own successes and failures as another. There are likely also to be general notions about promotion which are part of the wider teacher culture, such as those presented by Hilsum and Start (1974), and also those which may be quite specific to a particular region, or school, as suggested by Woods (1983) through 'staffroom ideologies' which may not be generalizable to a wider teacher culture. The localised complexities of such cultural messages possibly

preclude the formulation of any unified understanding of the reliability of strategies in providing promotion success. This is not to deny, however, the potency of teachers' perceptions of the 'folklore of promotion' described by Lyons (1981).

Particular attributes of the person could be important features of career progress, although there seems to be some discrepancy among teachers of which attributes ought to favour promotion and those which, in their perception, actually do influence this (Hilsum and Start, 1974). These researchers showed that this was further complicated by the different perceptions of men and women teachers in this, and also by those who are differently located in the various areas of the school system (Ibid, Tables 7.1, 7.3, 8.1 and 8.3).

Lyons' (1981) study, using a list of factors developed from Hilsum and Start (1974), examined the 'folklore of promotion' and from teachers' ratings of the elements of this list, the following four factors representing the ones most frequently chosen as important in influencing promotion were isolated. Their order of presentation is intended to indicate teachers' perceptions of their relative importance:-

- 1) 'Familiarity with new ideas in education'.
- 2) 'Ability to control pupils'.
- 3) 'Experience in a variety of schools'.
- 4) 'Being a graduate'.

These four factors may be distilled into the following components respectively,

- a) Knowledge,
- b) Ability,
- c) Experience and
- d) Qualifications.

In the perceptions of Lyons' teachers, these components are regarded as the ones which are the most useful aids to promotion; that is, that they are thought to be viewed by gatekeepers as factors enhancing a teacher's chance of being selected for promotion.

Lyons' (1981) study provides little to show how teachers believe that these factors are inter-related with each other. Need they all be, for example, present in the same teacher for best promotion chances; or are combinations of two or three of these attributes sufficient for a strong claim for promotion to be made? It seems to be a simple matter for a teacher to

prove that he is a graduate; or that he has had experience in a variety of schools; but what of the remaining two factors? How does the teacher show, to someone who has not had direct experience of his teaching, that he is able to control pupils? Or that he has a 'familiarity with new ideas in education'. Is this merely a topic for discussion at interview, where the candidate strives to convince the selectors of his knowledge of this? Or are the selectors likely to have some knowledge of the candidate which informs them of his proven expertise in this - a reference from the candidate's headteacher perhaps? All these are left unexplained in Lyons' (1981) study, although he uses the concept of the 'gatekeeper' to indicate the importance of this figure in teacher promotions.

In Lyons' (1981) same list of 'factors influencing promotion', and ranked eighth, nineteenth and twenty-first respectively, are the following:-

- 8) 'Good relationships with the head'.
- 19) 'Contacts with influential people'.
- 21) 'Conformity with inspectors' views'.

These seem to suggest the operation of forces which are different from those of the 'Pedagogic' model - perhaps the term 'Strategic' model might be applied - but the teacher

ratings of the components of this model suggest that it is a relatively weak one for achieving promotion. Lyons' (1981) study provides no indication of the potency of these two models when they are taken in combination with each other. Are teachers, for example, when seeking promotion, able to rely upon the 'Pedagogic' model solely; or do they feel that some attention to the 'Strategic' model must be given? I suggest that the components of this 'Strategic' model are respectively those of

- a) Personal relationships.
- b) Contacts.
- c) Conformity.

The methodology of this study, with its attention to continued contact with respondents over seven of the eight research years, contrasts with Lyons' (1981) method of single interviews, and I feel that the former method is better equipped to uncover the relationships and tensions between these two 'ideal types' of promotion effectiveness - the 'Pedagogic' and the 'Strategic'.

PART TWO

THE METHODOLOGY (i)

Chapter 3. Sampling.

Contents:-

Page 50	-	Introduction.
Page 58	-	Stage One Sampling.
Page 69	-	Stage Two Sampling.
Page 75	-	Summary Details of Respondents.
Page 76	-	Biographies of Respondents.

Introduction

Sampling, in terms of the identification of respondents and the recruiting of these selected members to the research, went on throughout much of the whole period of the study; thus it was an ongoing activity rather than a fleeting stage of the research. Because of the time span of the data collection, 1980 to 1987, numerous changes in the education system occurred during this period and resulted in respondents' perceptions of a variety of events influencing careers. For example, my early respondents of 1980 and '81 still perceived the effects of falling rolls and the over-supply of teachers, while other respondents in 1987 spoke of a shortfall in some subjects. Students who were finishing their training in the early 1980s showed, in interview, that their main concern was in finding a teaching post, but in 1987 this did not seem to be a problem.

Some experienced teachers, in the early 1980s, had endured the period of falling rolls and teacher over-supply of the middle and late 1970s and this had contributed to their experience of a static career. Lack of promotion opportunities and the failure of their applications to be followed up by prospective employers were common complaints in my interviews with them. The 'cuts' in educational expenditure of the times often resulted in vacated posts of responsibility being offered at a

lower rank and salary. Some of my respondents, anxious to distinguish themselves from other ambitious teachers, studied for additional academic qualifications. In many polytechnics and colleges the B.Ed. degree began to be offered to teachers through evening study, and in this way some teachers were able to achieve graduate status.

Perhaps the most disrupting feature of the period of the data collection was that of the teachers' 'action', a period in which teachers' professional associations were held in sustained confrontation with successive ministers of education, Sir Keith Joseph and Mr Kenneth Baker. There was much resistance to the education reform of the times and perhaps especially to those concerning teachers' conditions of work, the professional assessment of teachers and their loss of negotiating rights, but there was also teacher resistance to the introduction of the National Curriculum and to the then proposed adoption of the new General Certificate of Secondary Education. Teachers' 'action', because of the varied instructions of different professional associations, was seldom concerted and uniform during this time. However, there was a general understanding that those activities which teachers tended to perceive as 'voluntary' on their part, should not be continued. This resulted in numerous traditional school activities being discontinued and teachers began to view their

work as limited to the strict time of the school day. Some teachers believe that an involvement in extra-curricular activities can be helpful in bringing about promotion, and for such teachers this period of 'action' imposed this further limitation upon their strategies for career advancement.

There were also differences in the bureaucratic structuring of education within local education authorities which made for a variation in career potential and career crises. Respondents in this study tended to be employed in one of the two education authorities of the region. One of these L.E.As. had used a '9 to 13' middle school system since 1972, while the other L.E.A. had retained the primary school system with an earlier transfer of pupils to the secondary area. Since 1985 the L.E.A. using the middle school system has shown its intention of abandoning this in favour of a return to a '5 to 12' primary system, an abbreviated '12 to 15' secondary area, and the founding of sixth form colleges. Although teachers of the primary area may be enthusiastic at the growth potential of this for their schools, and some secondary teachers may perceive future career advancement in sixth form colleges, middle school teachers are viewing with alarm the demise of their area and the coming hazards of making a career in a new area where an established hierarchy of teachers already exists. Also, those teachers who are not likely to staff the new sixth form colleges suspect

that the secondary area will then be regarded as of a lower status and that careers in this area are likely to be associated with a lowered career ceiling.

The period of contraction in schools had been preceded by a similar period in colleges of education in the late 1970s, and through favourable early retirement schemes staff numbers in these colleges had been drastically reduced. The consequence of this for teachers is that one avenue for potential career mobility - school to higher education in the public sector - has been much reduced, and in some subject areas, virtually closed.

It is important to remind the reader, at this point, of the study's focus upon the perceptions of teachers, and that the objective events of the times were likely to be subjectively interpreted by individual teachers. Thus not all teachers might perceive educational reform affecting them in similar ways; differently located teachers could perceive different consequences for themselves, and even teachers in the same area of schooling could perceive and experience these changes differently. When the bureaucratic facts of educational reform interact with the lives and careers of teachers, there is usually room for individual perceptions, interpretations and adaptations to be made. Thus, although the social and

bureaucratic context of change and reform might thrust an undeniable reality into the lives and careers of teachers, some individual teachers are often able to make adaptations to these in ways which enable careers to flourish.

My intention, in this chapter, is to give an account of the methodology used in the study through presenting this in the constituent parts of 'Sampling', 'Recruiting' respondents, and 'Interviewing' respondents. The relationship between each of these components is a close one and it is important that the theoretical separation of these, for purposes of description and analysis, does not act to mask nor discount this relationship. Although the detail of the interviewing procedures used in the study will be dealt with fully in the third section of this chapter, it is necessary to discuss these briefly at this point so that the methods and problems of sampling are made clear.

The interviewing techniques used in the study were chosen for two main reasons. In the first place, they had to be capable of yielding the sort of data I required, namely respondents' subjective understandings of various elements and facets of their teaching careers; and secondly, these techniques had to be compatible with my own view of the skills which I had, and which I could comfortably employ. In short, the

interviewing methods had to be those which I felt I could do, which I felt would be acceptable to respondents, and which I thought would succeed in producing the desired data. The focus upon the ways in which people construct meaning and make sense of their own 'worlds', derives from the preferred theoretical orientations of this study, which is Symbolic Interactionism, and this has already been outlined in the 'Introduction' (see Rose, 1952; Manis and Meltzer, 1967; Woods, 1983 for summaries of Symbolic Interactionism).

Interviews were conducted in open-ended, free-ranging, conversation-like ways, and were intended to allow respondents to introduce and to discuss those areas of career and self which were of greatest importance to them. To describe the interactions which took place between respondents and myself as simply 'conversations' is to deny much of the complexity of these and of the personal difficulty which I had in adhering to those rules which are associated with conversation in the normal social world. However, for the lack of a more suitable term, and until these complexities are discussed more fully in the coming section on 'Interviewing', these are here referred to as 'conversations' - a term used by other writers in the area of interviewing, notably Woods (1985), and Burgess (1982).

The way in which my interviewing intentions affected sampling

procedures was mainly through the restriction which these imposed upon the number of respondents employed in the study. The time required to transcribe and analyse respondents' long accounts, together with the pre-interview and between-interview meetings which were part of my rapport-building methods, all made for a limitation of numbers of respondents. In total, fifty-three interviews with thirty-one respondents were carried out. Although I do not wish to indulge in problems of generalizability at this point, it is useful to note the views of Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) who point out that, since the variation of understandings existing in the population at any one time is likely to be infinite, no sample can tap all views. My thirty-one respondents, although perhaps a small sample when compared with the sampling possibilities of survey-type research methods, are still able to represent a wide variety of teacher biographies and experiences. I suggest further that the presentation of the fine detail of teachers' understandings of their experiences provides versions of reality which surveys are unlikely to supply. Similarly, survey methods may be used to provide information on a very broad front which ethnographic methods cannot match, but there are possibilities for such studies being used in complementary fashion, with each augmenting the knowledge supplied by the other.

The term 'selection' is one which is often used when sampling techniques are discussed. In this study 'selection' fails to provide an accurate picture of the processes which preceded the eventual interview session. 'Selection' suggests the existence of some passive reservoir of teachers, ready and willing to act as respondents whenever invited. This was not the case and the difficulties of recruiting teachers will be discussed later, but it is sufficient to declare that not everyone who was approached as a potential respondent produced an interview. Many teachers were very obliging and gave their time unstintingly, and I am grateful to them; but there were some who 'got away'. Respondents' availability and willingness were important considerations in sampling.

In the early part of the study I felt it did not matter who was included in the first casting of the sampling net, but it soon became clear that there were certain important omissions which would have to be rectified. This suggested a 'stage one' and 'stage two' sampling structure, and I was attracted to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) concept of 'theoretical sampling' which allowed a dialectic between the collection of data, the formulation of provisional theories, and the provision of guidance for further sampling.

There seemed to be features of teachers' biographies which were

likely to have importance for the perception of their careers. Broad bands of categories, biographically based, and which Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) refer to as 'face sheet' data, were used to ensure that wide variations in respondents were included in the sampling procedures. I used five areas, initially, to mark out these respondent parameters and this served as a blueprint for my 'stage one' sampling. These areas were:-

- 1) The teacher's age.
- 2) His training.
- 3) His teaching rank.
- 4) His subject specialism or 'main' subject of study during his course of initial training.
- 5) His area of schooling.

There now follows some brief comments which will explain my thinking in the formulation of these categories.

Stage One Sampling

1) The Teacher's Age.

It was not my intention to locate a variety of age related perspectives of career since the number of respondents would

not permit a sufficient proportion in each category band for any very effective comparisons. Age, however, is related to the time period in which the respondent received his initial training; to those time periods through which he passed the various stages of his career; the experiences which he gained in these; and the career changes which occurred in these are likely to have had effects upon career direction and progress. For example, in terms of training, although teaching is now an all-graduate profession, there are still many working teachers whose training was completed before the advent of the B.Ed. degree and who might feel that this has necessitated a later study for a degree qualification so that the perceived career disadvantages of a non-graduate status are avoided.

Sikes et al (1985, p24) point out that teachers deal with a 'fixed generation', that is, with pupils who are always contained within the same age grouping, while teachers themselves grow older and consequently, with each passing year, become more distanced, in age, from the pupils. This age relationship could be a source of identity-formation and could provide him with a particular perspective of himself in his work which might influence views of career possibilities and perceptions of career restraints.

I felt, too, that the ageing process might be of greater

significance to teachers of particular subjects, and the case of the P.E. specialist is obvious. Some P.E. teachers are well aware of the significance of particular age landmarks for their continued career, and that certain bureaucratic ranks must be reached before the teacher has become too old to be considered for particular posts.

A categorization of respondents into age bands was resisted. A simple 'old/young', or 'under/over 40' dimension, or 'age phase' categories, as used by Sikes et al (1985, p25), and based upon a model formulated by Levinson et al (1978), seemed to deny the basic interactionist premise of the study, and could obscure the respondent's perception of his own ageing and of the career possibilities which were opened or closed by this. To place the respondent in some pre-ordained age related category, besides perhaps running counter to his own self-perceptions in this, might also distort my own 'taking the role of the other' activities which are part of Symbolic Interactionist methodology.

2) The Teacher's Training.

The cessation of the Teachers' Certificate as the basic teaching qualification, and the advent of the B.Ed. degree, has possibly worked to increase the perception of a graduate/non - graduate divide among teachers. As those who were trained

under the 'old' system reach retirement age and leave teaching, the 'non-graduate' becomes increasingly rare. Such teachers, trained in the pre-B.Ed era, perhaps feel themselves to be in a weak competitive position with graduate colleagues. Some of these teachers have been motivated to study to gain a B.Ed. qualification, or a B.A. from the Open University, and although it would not be accurate, nor fair, to suggest that such motivation is generated by hopes for career advancement, some teachers perhaps had hopes of promotion being aided by these activities. My earlier discussion on the Protestant Work Ethic indicates how the career rewards which may emanate from further study might be linked less to understandings of increasing teaching skills than to reaping the 'deserved' rewards of academic industry. Many teachers set little store upon study for further qualifications and do little to add to their own initial teaching qualification. One respondent was trained under the Emergency Training Scheme of the immediate post-war period, and after this undertook no further formal training to add to his academic qualifications.

3) The Teacher's Rank.

One of the most commonly used means of differentiation among teachers is by way of their teaching rank. Teachers, I found, were well aware of the rank of other members of the staff of their school, and also of the political history behind many of

these promotions. It is clear that teaching rank is an important feature of personal identity and, for some who were disappointed at their own failure to reach the career heights they had hoped, this was a sensitive area of self. Teaching rank, associated as it is with a salary bracket and sometimes a specific bureaucratic role, carries strong messages of status, and many teachers seemed to me to be preoccupied with anxieties about this. Such anxieties seemed to encourage teachers of the need for promotion strategies in their career advancement, and also of an assumption of the operation of these strategies in the competitive activities of colleagues.

The system of scale posts which was in operation until October 1987, although seemingly presenting a clear step-wise means to career progression through the teaching hierarchy, was also a precise measure of career achievement and, as it allowed for a precise comparison with the career achievements of others, could function as an additional source of disappointment and discontent.

4) The Teacher's Subject Specialism.

Although in certain areas of schooling teachers might not have a close relationship with their teaching subject specialism - primary and special school-teaching perhaps - for other teachers whose teaching life pivots on their specialist subject, it becomes not only an important area of identity formation but a potent feature of their career potential. Some subjects, perhaps because of their power to influence pupils' entry into higher education, become regarded as more important than other subjects, and this importance is often reflected in the bureaucratic ordering of the time and man-power devoted to them (see Reid, 1972, for a list of 'A level' subject passes acceptable to 84 university departments. These range from the powerful entrance-gaining subjects of maths, physics and chemistry, to the least effective ones of social science, Latin, music, art and housecraft).

'Important' subjects, commanding large amounts of timetable space and numerous staff members, provide many scale posts for those who teach these subjects. Career possibilities may then become linked, in the teacher's perception, with his commitment to his teaching subject and his career progression seen to depend upon this continued association. This knowledge can become part of the hidden curriculum of subject hierarchies in

school and work to inform teachers of the likely distribution of points in the future, and perhaps how decisions about such distribution might be influenced.

In contrast with this, teachers can also become aware of their specialist subject's lack of power to effect upward career mobility for them. Some subject teachers, for example C.D.T. and P.E., can be aware of 'head of department' ceilings to their career, and of the need to find other vehicles for self presentation if their careers are to advance further. This may come in the form of orientation towards some area other than that of their teaching subject, but which carries enhanced status or importance; for example, 'counselling' or 'special needs'.

If teachers indulge in strategies to advance their objective teaching rank, it seems likely that those who teach 'important' subjects are likely to employ strategies which exploit the high status of their subject. For those teachers whose subjects do not endow them with this high status, or who are in an area of schooling where prestigious subjects cannot be used in career leveraging ways, then other vehicles for promotion may be sought. Some teachers have shown that they consider their teaching subject to be one of scarcity, even although this may be only a temporary state, and although these subjects may not be ones

which are considered to be of high status, the scarcity value of them might open unusually favourable career opportunities for these teachers. This scarcity is often a geographically localized phenomenon, although there are sometimes more official declarations of a shortfall in the supply of teachers of some subjects. Mathematics and science subjects seem to be considered to be in a near-permanent state of under-supply, but at present (October 1987) teachers of C.D.T. and French believe that they now teach a shortage subject. The nation-wide shortage of particular subjects can be discerned through Governmental attempts to introduce differential pay awards to encourage the flow of teachers into these areas - although these are resisted by teachers' professional associations - but schemes to award a higher grant of money to students of certain subjects are now in operation.

5) The Teacher's Area of Schooling.

This inevitably has close associations with '4' above since specialist-subject teaching, or single-subject teaching, tends to be a feature of the secondary area. Schools of the pre-secondary area tend to be smaller and to have fewer staff members and this affords fewer opportunities for mobility within the area. Some areas of schooling, such as 'special' or 'educational priority', provide their teachers with additional amounts of money to their salary and this could

function to inhibit any movement out of these areas.

Mobility between different areas of schooling does not seem to be a common phenomenon, and perhaps especially so if much of the teacher's career has been spent in one particular area and skills associated with this area have been acquired. Moving from secondary to primary may be unattractive to teachers because of the loss of subject specialism; while moving in the opposite direction might entail the resurrection of long forgotten specialist-subject skills, and the perception of the discipline problems of teaching older pupils. The phenomenon of the shift from secondary to middle became marked in the early 1970s when men teachers perceived the career opportunities of the newly created middle school area. If this drift was inspired by hopes for career advancement, it was probably increased by their understanding of their entering a mainly woman's world, and a largely non-graduate world.

Interviewing was begun in the summer of 1980 using the above features as a guide to the first sampling of respondents, and information yielded by these formed a further guide for both the narrower focusing of interviews and for selection of respondents for additional interviews. During the seven years in which the data were gathered, some few respondents emerged who became 'key informants' and who served to provide detail

of information on a wide variety of topics and themes.

'Emerge' is the term which Ball (1984, p81) also uses in describing the way in which certain informants became a key part of his research (see also Burgess, 1985, pp79 - 97). In all, four 'key informants' emerged in my research and the attributes which determined this status were the following:-

- 1) An easy, friendly relationship with the interviewer.
- 2) A variety of teaching experiences.
- 3) A willingness to speak at length on almost any topic.
- 4) A freedom from moods which would create a variation in the quality of interviews given.
- 5) A willingness to give an interview whenever asked.
- 6) A demonstration of interest in the study.

The above attributes were not immediately apparent when the first interviews with latent key respondents were carried out, and it is possible that these qualities developed through my sustained interaction with these respondents over a prolonged period of time.

The initial collection of 'stage one' interviews, and the creation of a preliminary set of 'themes', was completed in the first fourteen interviews. These interviews yielded sixteen themes and it seemed strategic, at that point, to attempt a

deeper examination of these through more focused interviewing, rather than to continue to search for additional themes. I thought that the time available for the study, and the limitations upon the length of the finished thesis, would preclude an examination of all the themes uncovered, but I hoped that some themes would be shown to be more salient than others to respondents and would thus demand greater attention and space. I also suspected that the apparent separation of these themes from each other would be shown to be, with further utterances from respondents, separate in theory only, and that there would be some merging of themes and a consequent reduction in their number. These initial sixteen themes were as follows:-

- 1) Sponsorship; Nepotism; Patronage; Canvassing.
- 2) Extra-curricular activities.
- 3) Study for further qualifications.
- 4) Changing career direction.
- 5) Geographical mobility.
- 6) Possibilities and constraints of teaching subject.
- 7) The influence of powerful people.
- 8) The potential of the teaching subject for demonstrating teacher competence.
- 9) Gaining a variety of teaching experiences.
- 10) Gaining seniority within a school or Education Authority.

- 11) Jumping onto 'Bandwagons'.
- 12) The influence on a teacher's career of performing 'Union' duties.
- 13) Leading innovative changes.
- 14) Submitting application for teaching posts.
- 15) Writing letters of application for teaching posts.
- 16) Understandings of the promotion interview.

Stage Two Sampling

While 'stage one' sampling allowed for a wide catchment of different teachers - that is different in terms of those components of age, training, rank, specialism and area of schooling - 'stage two' continued this but also looked for respondents whose experience and location within teaching could augment and develop further understandings of the original sixteen themes. To do this, I decided it was necessary to find certain 'kinds' of teacher and to recruit these to the ranks of my respondents. These were:-

- a) Deputy-headteachers.
- b) Teachers who had had a period of teaching outside the U.K.
- c) Teachers of particular subjects.
- d) Teachers who had had little success at promotion.
- e) Teachers who had been successful at achieving promotion.

- f) Teachers who had been geographically mobile within the U.K.
- g) Teachers who had served in the same school for a long period of time.
- h) Special-school teachers.
- i) Teachers who had undertaken, or were undertaking, further study on a full-time or part-time basis.

At this time I became aware of the work of Dean, Eichorn and Dean's (1967) classification of respondents:-

- 1) The 'Rookie'.
- 2) The 'nouveau statused'.
- 3) The naturally reflective and talkative person.
- 4) The willing talkers.
- 5) The malcontents and frustrated.
- 6) The 'outs' and the 'ins'.
- 7) The 'habitué' or 'old hand'.
- 8) The 'fixture'.
- 9) The 'subordinate'.
- 10) The 'psychologically needy person'.

Although I felt that these respondent features provided a useful structure for indicating a range of respondents, the theoretical structure of my study was much more linked to the

experiences which they had had, rather than to their characteristics or propensities. Dean, Eichorn and Dean's (1967) study provides a mixture of the experiences of people - the 'Rookie', the 'nouveau statused', the 'fixture' - and the characteristics of people - 'willing talker', 'malcontent' and 'psychologically needy'. I felt that this (1967) study showed theoretical weaknesses in that more than one of the named features was often found in the same person; in fact there could be multiple manifestations of these in one individual person and this weakened these features as effective differentiators of respondents. For example, among my respondents there was one person who was, at the same time, a willing talker, an 'in', a 'psychologically needy person', and during my years of contact with him became a 'nouveau statused' headteacher. Another, a 'naturally reflective person', an 'out', a 'subordinate', and an 'old hand', took early retirement and provided several interviews in his 'nouveau statused', retired identity. In brief, my search for teachers who had certain experiences seemed to throw up many of the features which Dean et al (1967) outline, but which also made for a more effective differentiation than a sole reliance upon the features of respondents presented by these researchers.

Another criticism which I make of the Dean et al's (1967)

classification is their focus upon characteristics of respondents which are unlikely to be permanent features. The so-called 'willing talker' might not always be so; the 'reflective' person can appear as something very different at interview; and there may be aspects of his teaching life about which the 'malcontent' is optimistic and cheerful. I found the 'snapshot' summary of Dean et al's (1967) features of respondents of little use to my sampling strategies, although this is not to argue against the comprehensiveness of their range of types.

As 'stage two' sampling progressed and key respondents developed and emerged, so too did the focus turn to aspects of teaching career which respondents showed were of particular importance and consequence to them. This resulted in a concentration upon some of the original themes, a withering away of others, and a splitting of some major themes into two or more separate ones as more information was gathered. The amount of data which flooded in through these long interviews precluded giving attention to all of the themes suggested by respondents' utterances, and it was not until a later stage in the work that eventual decisions about which to be included and which to be omitted, were taken.

The perception of his own life, his career in teaching, and the

interplay between these, may be unique to the individual person since no-one is able to observe this from his unique standpoint. The symbolic interactionist perspective of the study attempts to take the actor's viewpoint, as far as this methodology and the researcher's powers of empathy will allow. Insights into respondents' views, understandings, biases, prejudices and value systems, will all assist in seeing the world through the actor's eyes, but it is important too to attempt an understanding of the pressures which are exerted upon respondents towards particular views because of their own biography and the times during which experienced events occur. Although something of the macro events of the times during which these data were gathered have been discussed earlier in this study, it is important to realise that such events may be experienced in different ways by different actors, and that part of these variations may be due to differences in personal biography. Some of my older respondents for example were much more phlegmatic about proposed structural changes in the education system than those who were younger. It is clear that the perception of a limited remaining amount of time to be spent in education functioned to convince older respondents of the unlikelihood of their having to adapt to these changes. In these various ways, the different biographies of respondents could function to influence their construction of their teaching world and of the role which they might play in it.

It is not possible to see all, to know all, and to understand all about each respondent, however it may be of help to the reader in this if some additional material about respondents' lives is provided. To that end I now supply a brief biography of each of my thirty-one respondents, together with some details which might help to give an insight into the person and into his particular world. The summary of the brief biographical details of respondents on the next page is intended to provide the reader with access to a quick and easy reference to these, while the pages after this are designed to flesh out the bare bones of this information and to add a little colour to the picture.

On the page to follow I now provide the following information about informants using the letter coding system shown below:-

- a) The protective pseudonyms of respondents.
- b) The number of interviews they have provided.
- c) Their age at the first interview.
- d) Their area of schooling.
- e) Their teaching rank, or post.
- f) Their 'main' subject studied during initial training.
- g) Their academic qualifications.

Contents of columns:-

'A' = Pseudonyms. 'B' = Number of interviews.
 'C' = Age at 1st interview. 'D' = Teaching area, (Sp = Special).
 'E' = Rank at last interview. 'F' = Qualified teaching subjects.
 Numbers = Scale point.
 'G' = Academic Qualifications.

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
1)	Greg	5	36	Middle	Head	Hist/PE	BA
2)	Alph	2	31	Secondary	1	French	BEd
3)	Glen	3	37	Secondary	1	CDT/Maths	BEd
4)	Don	1	50	Teach/Trn.	S/L	Eng/Hist.	BA
5)	Justin	1	31	Secondary	1	Art	BEd
6)	Roy	8	59	Teach/Trn.	Retd	History	TC
7)	Alan	1	53	Middle	2	Geog/PE.	BEd
8)	Andy	2	22	Secondary	Student	PE/Geog.	BEd
9)	Monty	1	35	Secondary	3	Sc/Maths	BEd
10)	Cliff	1	39	Special/Sec	3	PE	BEd
11)	Will	1	40	Secondary	2	PE	TC
12)	Alwyn	1	29	Middle	2	Science.	BSc
13)	Ivor	2	52	Teach/Trn.	P/L	Geog.	BSc.MSc
14)	Jeff	3	35	Special/Mdl	3S	History	BA
15)	Walter	1	35	Secondary	1	CDT	BEd.MA.
16)	Frank	1	49	Teach/Trn.	S/L.	Biology	BSc
17)	Peter	1	37	Primary	Depty.H.	History	BEd
18)	David	2	34	Secondary	2	PE	BEd
19)	Nick	1	21	Secondary	Student	PE	BEd
20)	Mike	1	53	Primary	3	Music/PE	TC
21)	Thomas	2	37	Secondary	1	CDT/Maths	BEd
22)	Perry	1	52	Teach.Trn.	P/L	Eng.	BA.MA
23)	Vincent	1	22	Secondary	Student	PE	BEd
24)	Paul	1	42	Special/Mdl	3	PE	TC
25)	Richard	1	44	Middle	3	English	BEd
26)	Jack	1	62	Teach.Trn.	S/L	English	BA.MA
27)	Len	1	46	Secondary	3	History	TC
28)	Austin	1	53	Teach.Trn.	S/L	Geog.	BSc.MSc
29)	Bruce	1	35	Middle	2	Craft	TC
30)	Jerome	2	51	Teach.Trn.	S/L	Craft	TC.MEd
31)	Barry	2	38	Middle	Depty.H.	Geog.	BA

Biographies of Respondents.

1)

Greg.

Age at interviews:-

36, 36, 37, 38, 39.

Number of interviews :-

5. A key informant.

Dates of interviews:-

May '82/ Nov.'82/ July '83/
Feb.'84/ Jan.'85.

Year of birth:-

1946.

Area of schooling:-

Middle.

Teaching subject:-

History and P.E.

Qualifications:-

Teachers' Certificate; B.A.

Rank:-

Headteacher.

Greg was promoted to headteacher in the course of the research so that I was able to collect interview material from him at both the deputy-head and headteacher ranks. Greg was a very valuable respondent, not only because of his change of status during the research, but for his willingness to give interviews and to be prepared to talk at length on a wide range of topics. He became a key informant. Although his chosen subject during his training was history, he does not seem ever to have taught this, but instead has focused on mathematics, P.E. and French. As will be seen from the data, Greg was able to adapt very successfully to changing requirements and limited opportunities in teaching, so that at a time of reduced career potential, he was able to progress quickly through the hierarchy of teaching ranks. After only three years in his first headship post he left this 'black', urban school, and took up another headship in a 'white', middle-class school in the suburbs. Married. Divorced. Married a second time. One child by second marriage.

2)

Alph.

Age at interviews:-

31, 32.

Number of interviews :-

2.

Dates of interviews:-

June '82/ Oct.'83.

Year of birth:-

1951.

Number of interviews:-

2

Area of schooling:-

Secondary.

Teaching subject:-

French.

Qualifications:-

B.Ed.(Hons).

Rank:-

Student at first interview.

Scale 1 at second interview.

Alph entered teacher training as a mature student after having worked in many different jobs in Europe and the U.S.A.; he says that he and his wife were eventually 'expelled' from Mexico. He is a Frenchman and a gifted linguist; he even learned to speak Welsh during a prolonged stay in Wales. Married. No children.

3)

Glen

Age at interviews:-	37, 38, 40.
Number of interviews:-	3.
Dates of interviews:-	Oct.'84/ May '85/ Feb.'87.
Year of birth:-	1947.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	C.D.T., Maths.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed.(Hons).
Rank:-	Student at first interview. Later interviews, Scale 1.

Glen had worked in industry for twenty years and had been a works' manager before being made redundant; he then decided to enter teaching as a mature student. His expertise in engineering seems to have made C.D.T. an obvious choice for B.Ed. study. He recently completed his first year of the M.A. in Education of the Open University. Married. Two children.

4)

Don

Age at interview:-	49.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	April '82.
Year of birth:-	1933.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	English, History.
Qualifications:-	B.A.(Hons. 1st), P.G.C.E.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Senior Lecturer.

Don was a senior lecturer in a large college of education which was absorbed by the local polytechnic in the late 1970s. His teaching subject expertise was superfluous to the needs of the 'new institution' and he had to adapt to other areas. He has had long service as a 'union' representative and he seems now to feel that there will be no further advance in his career. He says that he is now content to use his 'union' role as a 'thorn in the flesh' for people in polytechnic higher management echelons. Married. Two children.

5)
Justin.
Age at interview:- 31.
Number of interviews:- 1.
Date of interviews:- Oct. '84.
Year of birth:- 1953.
Area of schooling:- Secondary.
Teaching subject:- Art.
Qualifications:- B.Ed.(Hons 1st).
Rank:- Scale 1 Probationary teacher.

Justin entered a very large rural comprehensive school immediately on qualifying as a teacher. Through movement of his departmental colleagues, he became a scale 3 head of the art department within two years of the end of his probationary year. Married. Two children.

6)
Roy.
Age at interview:- 59.
Number of interviews:- 8. A key informant.
Dates of interviews:- March '81/ April '82/
Nov.'82/ Sept.'83/
April '85/ Sept '85/
Oct.'86/ Feb.'87.
Year of birth:- 1922.
Area of schooling:- Teacher training/Primary.
Teaching subject:- History.
Qualifications:- Teachers' Certificate.
Rank:- Polytechnic Senior Lecturer.

Roy trained as a teacher under the Emergency Training Scheme of the immediate post-war period. He used his experience and expertise as a musician to gain a lectureship in music in a college of education in the early 1960s and when this college was amalgamated with a polytechnic in the late 1970s, he took early retirement. All of the eight interviews which he gave were conducted after he had retired. His teaching experiences included work in primary schools and in a technical college. He was a willing and helpful key informant.
Married. Separated. No children.

7)

Alan.

Age at interview:-	53.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	July '84.
Year of birth:-	1931.
Area of schooling:-	Middle.
Teaching subject:-	Geography and P.E.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.Ed.
Rank:-	Scale 2.

Alan entered teaching as a mature student in the late 1960s and was forty years old when he began to teach. He is deeply unhappy at his inability to advance his career beyond scale 2, and especially of the failure of his B.Ed. degree to assist in this. Unmarried.

8)

Andy.

Age at interview:-	22.
Number of interviews:-	2.
Dates of interviews:-	June '81/ Feb.'84.
Year of birth:-	1959.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subjects:-	P.E. and Geography.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed.(Hons).
Rank:-	Student at first interview; Scale 1 at second interview.

Andy trained as a P.E. specialist and on graduating he took up a teaching post in an international school in Portugal. After two years in this post he returned to England and since then he has had a series of temporary teaching posts in various parts of the country. Unmarried.

9)

Monty.

Age at interview:-	35.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	Feb.'86.
Year of birth:-	1951.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	Science and Maths.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.Ed. Diploma in Special Needs.
Rank:-	Scale 3.

Monty was recruited originally because of his experiences of teaching abroad and of rejoining the teaching profession in England. He taught for three years in the Bahamas, and also provides an interesting account of a 'failed' interview which he had for a post in El Salvador! He teaches in a 'tough' school and his great physical size and ferocious bearing have earned him respect and reputation as a 'good' disciplinarian. He speaks with pride of his willingness to give 'bad lads' 'thick ears'. Unmarried.

10)

Cliff.

Age at interview:-	39.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	Nov.'85.
Year of birth:-	1946.
Area of schooling:-	Special Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	P.E.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.Ed. Diploma in 'Backwardness'.
Rank:-	Scale 3.

Cliff studied as a specialist teacher of P.E. and became head of P.E. at his school. At the time of the interview he had recently effected his transfer to the area of counselling, having become qualified to teach in this area through part-time study. Married. Two children.

11)

Will.

Age at interview:-	40.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	April '83.
Year of birth:-	1943.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	P.E.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate. Diploma in Physical Education.
Rank:-	Scale 2.

Will was granted a one-year period of secondment to study for a specialist physical education qualification. This enabled him to transfer from his position as a middle-school teacher to one of head of P.E. in a secondary school. He is also an athletics' coach of some reputation. He is ambitious to gain membership of the British Psychological Society and to this end he is studying psychology through Open University courses. Unmarried.

12)

Alwyn.

Age at interview:-	29.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	March '84.
Year of birth:-	1955.
Area of schooling:-	Middle.
Teaching subject:-	Chemistry/P.E.
Qualifications:-	B.Sc.(Hons), P.G.C.E.
Rank:-	Scale 2.

Alwyn is a dedicated marathon runner and has won high placings in various races at this distance. He was able to equip himself to teach P.E. through his P.G.C.E. course, although his degree is in science. Almost all of his teaching timetable was devoted to P.E. Alwyn resigned from teaching in 1987 to train with a well known finance company as an agent selling life insurance, pension funds, and advising clients widely on money management. He served as the 'union' representative in a middle school throughout the period of the teachers' 'action' of the mid-1980s and had some experience of confrontations with his headmistress during this time. After this period of 'action', he made several attempts to find a teaching post in private sector schools, but failed to be appointed to any of these posts although he was interviewed for several. Married. Two children.

13)

Ivor.

Age at interviews:-	52, 53.
Number of interviews:-	2.
Date of interviews:-	Feb.'83/ Dec.'84.
Year of birth:-	1931.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	Geography.
Qualifications:-	B.Sc.(Hons); P.G.C.E.; M.Sc.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Principal Lecturer.

Ivor was a casualty of the amalgamation of his college of education with a polytechnic, losing his head of department status and access to geography teaching. He was given a one-year period of secondment to 'retrain' in education management by way of an M.Sc. degree, and returned to his polytechnic school to launch a course in this area. After four years in this post he retired at the age of fifty-five. He was born of Welsh parents, educated in Wales, and as a teacher taught in Welsh schools, and this allowed him to provide an account of the canvassing practices of teachers in the Rhondda Valley. Unmarried.

14)

Jeff.

Age at interviews:-	35, 38, 41.
Number of interviews:-	3. A key informant.
Date of interviews:-	July '80/ Nov.'83/ March '86.
Year of birth:-	1945.
Area of schooling:-	Special Middle.
Teaching subject:-	History.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.A;
Rank:-	Scale 3 'S'.

From his beginnings in teaching, Jeff has been interested in children with problems of vision and has undertaken courses of study to qualify himself to teach in this area. He too is interested in becoming a member of the British Psychological Society and has gained a B.A. of the Open University, with an emphasis on psychology courses, to further this end. His ambition is to be employed as an educational psychologist in schools. He undertook part-time study for a Master's degree but withdrew from this after three years. Married. One child.

15)

Walter.

Age at interview:-	35.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	March '81.
Year of birth:-	1946.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	C.D.T.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed.(Hons); M.A.
Rank:-	Student

After his four-year B.Ed. course, Walter proceeded immediately to a one-year, full-time M.A., and when he gained this, to a three-year full-time Ph.D. In all, his full-time student status was continued for eight years. Before entering teaching, Walter had had numerous jobs in many different parts of the world, but especially in Europe, Asia and America. He owned a 'milk round' in England immediately before beginning his B.Ed. studies. My last contact with Walter was in 1986 when he was on the point of submitting his Ph.D. thesis. Married. Three children.

16)

Frank.

Age at interview:-	49.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	March '85.
Year of birth:-	1936.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	Chemistry.
Qualifications:-	B.Sc.(Hons); P.G.C.E.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Senior Lecturer.

Frank was another casualty of the amalgamation of his college of education with a polytechnic in the late 1970s. His subject, chemistry, could find little space in the 'new institution', and he was not willing to adapt to the pressures to teach watered-down versions of his subject in general-science courses. In bitter and frustrated mood, Frank took early retirement at the age of fifty. Married. Two children.

17)

Peter.

Age at interview:-	37.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	Dec.'83.
Year of birth:-	1946.
Area of schooling:-	Primary.
Teaching subject:-	History.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.Ed.(Hons. 1st).
Rank:-	Deputy-head.

Peter studied part-time, in the evenings, for his B.Ed. degree. He declares that his initial teacher training was marred by his his own unwillingness to work to his full capacity, and this seems to have been part of his strong desire to excel in his B.Ed. studies and to gain his 'first-class' degree. Married. Two children.

18)

David.

Age at interview:-	34.
Number of interviews:-	2.
Dates of interviews:-	Jan.'85/ Feb.'85.
Year of birth:-	1951.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	P.E.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.Ed.(Hons).
Rank:-	Scale 2.

David is anxious to teach in an area other than P.E. He feels that his B.Ed. has not equipped him to make entry into another school area and so, at the time of these interviews, he was engaged in a one-year, full-time course of study leading to the award of a diploma in the teaching of children with special needs David's strong desire for career advancement, and for change of teaching area, is combined with feelings of frustration at his inability to achieve his ambitions. Married. Divorced. Married again. One child by second marriage. Wife a teacher of P.E. in the same school.

19)

Nick.

Age at interview:-	21.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	March '81.
Year of birth:-	1960.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	P.E.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed.(Hons).
Rank:-	Scale 1.

Nick was one of the students I interviewed in their final year of study in the hope that contact with them could be renewed in later years. In Nick's case this did not happen. I believe that he has not moved from the school to which he was first appointed, and where he is involved with 'remedial' pupils. Unmarried.

20)

Mike.

Age at interview:-	53.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	July '84.
Year of birth:-	1931.
Area of schooling:-	Primary.
Teaching subject:-	Music/P.E.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate.
Rank:-	Scale 3.

Mike entered teaching as a mature student in the 1960s. He had been a professional musician and had travelled widely on cruise liners as a member of the ship's dance band. He felt that it was unusual for a primary school to offer a scale 3 post for a head of music and he considered himself fortunate to hold this post. Married. Two children.

21)

Thomas.

Age at interview:-	37.
Number of interviews:-	2.
Date of interviews:-	Dec.'84/ July '85.
Year of birth:-	1947.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	C.D.T./Maths.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed. (Hons).
Rank:-	Scale 1.

Thomas was a fourth year student when first interviewed, and this was followed up in the following year when he was a probationary teacher. He had some difficulty in negotiating his probationary year and had to repeat this. His post, on qualifying, was in a girls' secondary school. Thomas came to teaching as a mature student after having served ten years as a soldier-bandsman in the regular army. He was not academically qualified to gain entry to a teacher training course and had to devote himself to study for 'O level' qualifications in order to gain this entry. Married. No children.

22)

Perry.

Age at interview:-	52.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	Dec.'83.
Year of birth:-	1931.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	English.
Qualifications:-	B.A.(Hons); F.G.C.E.; M.A.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Principal Lecturer.

Perry was approached for interview because he had served for some years as a teacher in Singapore; at the time I thought it would be possible to include a theme concerning tactics which teachers used to facilitate a return to teaching in the U.K. after a period abroad. He was one of the two survivors of a fifteen staff department in the 'old' institution before the ravages of amalgamation with a polytechnic happened. In the time before amalgamation, Perry had done a considerable amount of research for the award of a Ph.D. and had had a year of secondment to complete this. However, he withdrew from the final stages of this work and the study was left unfinished. Married. Two children.

23)

Vincent.

Age at interview:-	22.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	March '81.
Year of birth:-	1959.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	P.E.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed.(Hons); M.Sc.
Rank:-	Student.

At this interview, Vincent showed that he already viewed his chosen subject, P.E., as an unfavourable career vehicle. He felt that there might be greater career prospects in the administration of sport, and to make himself competent in this area, he immediately followed up his B.Ed. study with one-year, full-time M.Sc. in sports' management. Although I was unable to contact him again, I discovered that he had completed this successfully and is now employed as an assistant manager of a sports complex in England. Unmarried.

24)

Paul.

Age at interview:-	42.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	June '85.
Year of birth:-	1943.
Area of schooling:-	Special/Middle.
Teaching subject:-	P.E.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate. 'Special Needs' Diploma.
Rank:-	Scale 3.

Although Paul's teaching area was P.E., his duties in this 'special' middle school were those of a class teacher, but with responsibility for the P.E. throughout the school. He had been born in the Republic of Ireland and it was his ambition to return there. When I spoke with him, he had recently been to the Republic in pursuit of the headship of a special school. Although he had not been appointed, he believed that there was every possibility that the next vacant headship in that region would be his. This seems to have been strongly indicated to him at his interview. Married. Two children.

25)

Richard.

Age at interview:-	44.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	July '85.
Year of birth:-	1941.
Area of schooling:-	Middle.
Teaching subject:-	English.
Qualifications:-	B.Ed. (Hons).
Rank:-	Scale 3.

Richard originally intended to become a doctor, and he studied for this for a period of six years before deciding that this was not what he wanted to do. After a long period of time in Spain attempting to write a novel, he returned to England and sought employment. This seemed to be very difficult for him and he could only find a succession of jobs requiring digging skills. It seems that he dug ditches in various English counties before finding work on a magazine. He eventually turned to teaching and at the time of the interview was studying for a polytechnic M.Phil. degree through study leave. Married. Two children.

26)

Jack.

Age at interview:-	62.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	Oct.'83.
Year of birth:-	1921.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	English.
Qualifications:-	B.A.(Hons); P.G.C.E.; M.A.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Senior Lecturer

Like some other respondents, Jack had come to his position in a polytechnic through his college's amalgamation with this in 1977. He had been a naval officer in the Second World War and had served in ships in the North Atlantic and in Arctic waters in convoy duty. The ill health of his wife had placed some restrictions upon his geographical mobility in teaching, and thus possibly upon his career progress also. Jack retired in 1986, shortly before his 65th birthday. Married. One child.

27)

Len.

Age at interview:-	46.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	July '84.
Year of birth:-	1938.
Area of schooling:-	Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	History.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; Advanced Diploma in Education.
Rank:-	Scale 3.

Len came to teaching as a mature student and now teaches in the school of his first appointment. He says that he now plans to spend the rest of his career in his present school. He has had some heart trouble and that is perhaps another reason for this decision. He gave an account of his attempts at finding another post elsewhere, in his earlier years at this school, but says that none of his applications ever resulted in his being granted an interview. In his 'twenties' he was a professional sportsman - football and cricket - and this background made his heart defect difficult for him to understand and accept. He gained very rapid promotion in his first few years at this school but he feels that the head's perception of his damaged health has put a stop to his further career progress. Married. Divorced. Married again. One child by second marriage. Wife a teacher in the same school.

28)

Austin.

Age at interview:-	53.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	July '83.
Year of birth:-	1930.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Secondary.
Teaching subject:-	Geography.
Qualifications:-	B.Sc.; P.G.C.E.; M.Sc.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Senior Lecturer.

When his college of education was amalgamated with a polytechnic, Austin made a successful adaptation to the new situation by deploying his expertise in social psychology, gained by M.Sc.study, to teach this subject. He was of interest to this research because of his years of experience in the Far East. Married. Two children.

29)

Bruce.

Age at interview:-	35.
Number of interviews:-	1.
Date of interview:-	June '82.
Year of birth:-	1947.
Area of schooling:-	Middle.
Teaching subject:-	Craft.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate. Diploma in Mathematics.
Rank:-	Scale 2.

Bruce made a transfer from secondary teaching to the middle school area in 1972 when this came into being in his region. He trained as a teacher at a time when the term 'Craft, Design and Technology' was not in use, and he still refers to his teaching area as 'craft'. He is head of craft and head of mathematics in his school, and he believes that his relatively lowly rank is due to his headteacher's deliberate blocking actions. Some years after I had interviewed Bruce he informed me that he had now been promoted to scale 3. Married. Three children. Divorced. Married again. No children by second marriage.

30)

Jerome.

Age at interview:-	51.
Number of interviews:-	2.
Dates of interviews:-	Oct.'83/ Nov.'83.
Year of birth:-	1932.
Area of schooling:-	Teacher training/Primary.
Teaching subject:-	Craft.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; M.Ed. Member of the British Psychological Society.
Rank:-	Polytechnic Senior Lecturer.

Jerome is another casualty of the reorganization processes of the 1970s. His college of education for mature students was absorbed by the local polytechnic. Although his subject is declared as 'craft', and was originally intended to fit him for work in the secondary area, it seems to have been a long time since he actually taught this subject. His study for his M.Ed. with a focus upon psychology, helped to gain him a lectureship in a college of education. He is also a member of the British Psychological Society. Before entering teacher training he had been a deputy-headteacher in a primary school, and before that he had taught in army schools in Cyprus and Germany. He has had wide experience in many different schools, both primary and secondary.
Married. Three children.

31)

Barry.

Age at interview:-	38.
Number of interviews:-	2.
Date of interviews:-	Jan.'86/ Nov.'86.
Year of birth:-	1945.
Area of schooling:-	Middle.
Teaching subject:-	Geography.
Qualifications:-	Teachers' Certificate; B.Ed. (Hons).
Rank:-	Deputy-head.

Barry entered the middle school area when it began in his region in 1972, and gained very rapid promotion to the rank of scale 4. (This was a rank of an earlier salary structure and corresponds with the later scale 3). His next career step to deputy-head was an arduous one, and was achieved only after many attempts. Because of these experiences of being interviewed, he became a key informant. He has recently been applying for headship posts. Barry was given a one-year period of secondment for full-time study for the B.Ed.(Hons) degree. Married. Two children. Wife a teacher.

PART TWO (cont)

THE METHODOLOGY (ii)

Chapter 4. Recruiting.

Throughout the study I experienced recruiting respondents as, in the main, a rather unenjoyable task. I was unhappy with the thought that my requests for interviews were likely to exert some pressure upon teachers to comply with this. I felt that the topic of the study exerted some moral pressure upon the teacher since it was likely to be perceived as one to which a contribution 'ought' to be made. My presence in school - the site where my contacts with potential respondents were usually made - as a supervisor of students' teaching practice, also seemed to me to put me in a position of strength and I was reluctant to take advantage of any favourable leverage which this afforded me. I felt that unwilling or resentful respondents were unlikely to produce valid data. Benney and Hughes (1956) claim that the validity of interview data is associated with the freedom with which these are given and upon the voluntary character of the interview. However, they go on to weaken their argument by reminding us of those enforced methods which are used to elicit 'the truth' in other settings; police enquiries and courtroom proceedings for example. Besides this, I would be suspicious of information too readily given by respondents. Interviews may be taken by some respondents as opportunities to indulge their favourite prejudices, to ride hobby-horses, or to vilify some hated superior. Such information is often very freely given but I cannot agree with Benney and Hughes' (1956) interpretation of

this as necessarily contributing to the validity of the account.

My aim of creating respondents' interest in the study, and of returning to them later for subsequent interviews, made genuine willingness to be interviewed a high priority. The aim of meetings and discussions between interviews, I felt, would not be realised unless the respondent viewed the study as a legitimate and useful venture in which there might be some personal intrinsic rewards and satisfactions for himself in this. Some respondents did experience this, and said so. There was, for some, a cathartic 'blowing off steam' in our sessions together, and one respondent who gained a headship during the period of the interviews claimed that these sessions had helped him to practise putting his thoughts together in an orderly fashion and that this had, in turn, assisted him in his promotion interviews. Such feedback was gratifying for me and encouraged me in my continued approaches to new respondents since the rewards of the interview, it seemed, did not always flow solely in my direction. Despite this however, my fear of 'press-ganging' teachers, I am sure, allowed some potentially valuable respondents to remain uninterviewed. My view of the importance of willingness of the respondent to be interviewed without persuasion, and without 'salesman' techniques, has confined the data to those

respondents who have been prepared to be interviewed. If this is construed as a bias, then it must be declared now.

Few researchers have written of the personal difficulties with the activity of recruiting which I describe above and I am led to the conclusion that I have been unduly sensitive about this. However, Mary Porter (1984, p146) writes in rather similar vein of her initial telephone approaches to respondents as, '....one of the more unpleasant aspects of being in the field'; and this even although these potential respondents had already been approached by the research director.

No teacher whom I approached ever gave an outright refusal to be interviewed. I suffered no rebuffs. It was usually that teachers would give good reasons why, although saying that they were prepared to be interviewed, it would have to be when some school event, project, examination, marking, parents' evening, mid-term break, or whatever, was out of the way. In these ways I felt that I was being effectively put off and that this was a polite way of the teacher showing me that he did not wish to be involved in the study. I did not persist for long when I decided that individual teachers were doing this, and after one or two attempts at recruiting I would abandon hopes for that particular respondent. Part of my inhibitions against persisting was due to my perception of the need to retain good

working relationships with these teachers; they were vital to my continued functioning in the school and to placing my students with co-operative teachers. That these avoiding tactics on the part of potential respondents are common ones are noted in Hoffman (1980) who writes of the way in which powerful respondents, in this case members of the boards of Quebec hospitals, demonstrated their reluctance to be interviewed through making excuses about being busy. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, pp60-61) provide a short account of Hoffman's study.

Since my work in a polytechnic school of education provided me with an easy accessibility to student teachers, and to education-tutor colleagues, I employed a few of these as respondents. I approached only those students who were about to complete their fourth and final year of study; part of my intention here was to seek follow-up interviews with these same people in later years when they were functioning as teachers in schools. Because of their wide geographical dispersal after the completion of their course, these follow-up activities occurred with fewer respondents than I had hoped. However, some of them found teaching posts within the same geographical area and the interviews which resulted from contacting these respondents again were characterised by strong rapport and useful data were gathered.

The few interviews which I attempted with tutor-colleagues were much less useful and much less rewarding for me. Some of the problems of interviewing one's peers have already been recorded by Jennifer Platt (1982) and I too found that colleagues were either uneasy and suspicious about the purposes to which the data might be put, or they assumed that I had more knowledge of the substance of their accounts, especially the internal politics of our common work place, than I did have. None-the-less, these yielded some useful data from older respondents who were able to provide accounts of careers in teaching in an earlier time period. They were also a useful source of respondents with special biographies, and especially of those with experience of teaching abroad and of the detail of making re-entry into the education system in the U.K. One of these older respondents had spent most of his life in Wales and was able to speak of the canvassing activities which were perceived as a necessary component of teaching appointments in South Wales in the 1950s.

The recruiting activities required for the second stage of the sampling was in many ways easier for me than those of stage one. Although the latter also involved, sometimes, a return to some of the respondents of stage one, the main reason for stage two sampling was to contact teachers who were able to

add to the understandings of themes raised by stage one respondents. The approach which I made to new respondents in stage two could then be rooted in my need to know more about specific features of teachers' careers, and in my recognition of these particular teachers' capacity to supply this. This made for an easier approach to respondents and I believe resulted in a more willing and positive response from them.

Providing the respondent with a copy of his interview transcript sometimes encouraged him to look kindly upon my request for another interview. My focus upon sections of the transcript which required further clarification, or ideas which needed to be discussed more fully, seemed to be received in favourable ways by most respondents since second interviews were often granted. When the respondent could be persuaded to read his own interview transcript, this acted as a useful check upon the accuracy of the detail and also fulfilled one aim of the study, which was to pass to the respondent some control of the material to be analysed. As I have mentioned already in the 'Introduction', many respondents had little interest in reading their transcript or even in listening to the tape, and I suspect that many transcripts were left unread until the second interview when we would look at this together.

Sometimes some respondents, in discussion of the data, would

make reference to some teacher-colleague, or teacher-friend, who could make a contribution to a topic, and respondents sometimes offered to arrange to introduce me to these teachers. This was a useful and relatively painless way 'in', but I found it to be a rare event (cf Cohen and Manion, 1980, p70 who label this phenomenon 'snowballing').

PART TWO (cont)

THE METHODOLOGY (iii)

Chapter 5. Interviewing.

Contents:-

Page	101	-	1) Interviewing as Conversation: the Problem.
Page	106	-	2) The Structure of the Interview.
Page	113	-	3) The Presence of the Tape-Recorder.
Page	120	-	4) Kinds of Questioning.
Page	127	-	5) Listening and Attending.
Page	130	-	6) Familiarity with the Teacher Culture.
Page	134	-	7) The Site of the Interview.

1) Interviewing as Conversation: the Problem.

In the interviews which I carried out during this study, I tried to cultivate a style of interaction which would enable conversation-like exchanges to occur, and in this I followed the methods of many other researchers, such as Cottle (1977); Woods (1985); Burgess (1982); Sikes et al, (1985); Webb and Webb (1932). Respondents and I both made substantial contributions to the discussions and looked to each other for responses to our utterances, much in the manner of people engaged in normal conversation.

However, there are other features of such interactions which are unlike the patterns usually exhibited in conversations. For example, I tried never to interrupt my respondent, nor to signal to him that I wished to 'take the floor'. I tried not to disagree with him, nor to show signs of disagreement with his utterances, and I tried not to challenge him on his claims or opinions. I state these as ideals of conversation-like interviews and I suggest that these are very unlike real-life conversations. There were occasions, during interviews, when I felt that in order to reach hitherto inaccessible data some of the above rules had to be broken, and I did this consciously and intentionally. There were also occasions when I broke these rules inadvertantly by interrupting or being unable to

conceal my reactions to the respondent's utterances. In these interactions the respondent was always invited to do the great bulk of the speaking, indeed many respondents were willing to do this and it seemed to be part of their understanding of their interviewee role.

Although interactions between interviewer and respondent might be facilitated by a conversation-like approach to discussion, the self-imposed interviewer prohibitions which I mention above suggests that there are special features of these interactions which weaken their claim to description as 'conversations'. Measor (1985, p67) describes the ethnographic interview as 'an unnatural social setting' because it is an interaction in which the respondent is encouraged to talk about himself without regard for the normal proprieties of polite conversation where the roles of speaker and listener would be expected to be alternated from time to time in fairly equal proportions. Measor goes on to suggest that it is unusual 'to find someone who is prepared to listen to you talking about yourself for one and a half hours' (ibid, p67). There is then a tension between the claim of these interactions as 'conversation' and the understanding of both researcher and respondent of the special nature of these, and of the associated roles of those involved.

The main thrust and aim of these conversations was to provide a setting in which the respondent would feel able to speak freely about those features of his own life and career which were of greatest importance to him, and as only he knew which features these were, then only through his freedom to lead the conversation in his chosen directions could they be uncovered. I found that this ideal was more frequently realised in the earlier interviews before firm categories for further focus had as yet emerged. Once the categories had begun to manifest themselves, I found there was a need to focus strongly upon these and this sometimes entailed my influencing the direction of the discussion.

Different researchers make different claims about their own research methods and there is a wide spectrum of notions about the extent of interviewee freedom and the extent of interviewer control which is compatible with this. For example, Gouldner (1970) claims that his respondents were at liberty to follow whichever route they chose during the interview; while Woods (1985, p16) urges caution and sensitivity in any guidance which the researcher may feel inclined to give. Palmer (1928, p171) writes of a 'controlled conversation'; Webb and Webb (1932, p130) of 'conversation with a purpose'; and Burgess (1982, p107) states that 'the unstructured interview is flexible, but is also controlled'.

Perhaps with limitless time available to both respondent and researcher, complete respondent freedom might eventually uncover the whole panorama of his life and career through a series of many interviews. Indeed, Woods (1985, p18) states that 'more than ten' interviews are sometimes necessary. Such ready availability of large amounts of respondent time was not a common feature of this study, and a compromise had to be found between complete respondent freedom to go wherever he chose, taking however long and producing however many interviews, and in achieving my own research objectives of collecting relevant data from busy teachers in whatever time was available to do this. At the same time, I was alert to Woods' (1985, p17) criticism of ethnographers' failure to allow respondents' perspectives a sufficient representation.

I aimed too to develop features of participant observation in the interview. Cottle (1932) and Woods (1985) subscribe to the view that the researcher must be actively participating with the respondents in their conversations. Woods (1985, p16) describes such interactions as '.....definitely not interviews, but more akin to participant observation'.

This argues for greater commitment and involvement of the interviewer in interaction with the respondent and a rejection

of the researcher's traditional interviewing role as that of passive recipient of information. It suggests a much greater partnership between researcher and respondent in the production of data but raises the problem of 'respondent reactivity' (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, pp110 to 112). By this is meant the respondent's perception of the researcher's objectives and the danger of a too ready willingness to subsume his own interests to those of the researcher.

All this leaves the researcher with a number of objectives which may seem to represent potential conflict for each other. The researcher must participate in the interview interaction in such a way that the production of data is a joint venture (see Laslett and Rapoport's 1975 concept of interactive research); he must allow the respondent to take the subject matter of the interview in his own chosen directions, yet he must retain control over some aspects of the interview so that his research objectives may be fulfilled. There is a danger of the researcher's participation in the interview interaction influencing the respondent's production of data. Even making efforts to avoid any 'steering' through direct participation or questioning, the unintentional emission of other signals by the researcher could carry influencing messages to the respondent. Measor's (1985, p62) efforts at a self presentation which is 'ultimately rather bland', might not be sufficient to stave off

respondent reactivity.

For the researcher to achieve the goal of collecting relevant information, and at the same time to grant his respondent freedom of topic choice, may be difficult to accomplish, and here perhaps lies the essence of interviewing skills. These are not easily reduced to a technique, nor to a set of well-tried procedures, but rely more upon skills of social interaction and are drawn from reservoirs of human feeling and sensitivity which crystallize in symbolic interactionist notions of role-taking and of casting of self into the viewpoint of the other.

2) The Structure of the Interview.

It has already been explained that the recruiting methods which I employed entailed informal meetings with respondents both before the first interview and between interviews. These meetings were intended to achieve two objectives. Firstly, and most importantly, they were intended as builders of trust and rapport; and secondly, they were intended to provide background information of the respondent's life and career which helped in uncovering areas which might be relevant to the study and alerted me to these. Preliminary discussions with

respondents made it possible to approach the first interview already knowing something of their biographies, their feelings about their professional career, their 'bees in bonnets' and 'chips on shoulders', and of those areas on which they seemed to be prepared to speak. Because of this preliminary work the first interview could be highly productive since the respondent could assume my knowledge of some areas of his career, and some familiarity and rapport had been established. The respondent's biographical details were, of course, committed to tape at the first interview but this could be done in a direct way, rather than time-consuming circumspect approaches which would have been required if the first interview had also been the first meeting. Some researchers, like Woods (1985), use the first interview as a getting-to-know-you activity, and as a gentle introduction of the respondent to his interviewee role. If the researcher can be certain of the respondent's availability for future interviews, I think that Woods' (1985) method is probably a more economical use of time than that of preliminary meetings. However, I was never certain of respondents' reception of requests for further interviews and so I had to act as though the first interview might be the only one with that respondent. I thought too that the preliminary meeting helped in convincing the respondent of my committed attitude to the research; that it was important enough to prepare for the first interview in this way and perhaps paved the way for a

favourable response to requests for further interviews.

The structure of the first interview was influenced by the preliminary meeting. By this I mean that the rapport which had been created, the information imparted and the issues broached, were all outcomes of the first meeting and helped to shape the first interview; similarly subsequent interviews were influenced by interviews and meetings which had preceded them. The time distance between interviews with the same respondent varied with his availability and my perception of the need to collect information at some propitious time; for example, to interview a respondent as soon as possible after he had had a promotion interview, or immediately before this. With one respondent, David, the time distance between adjacent interviews was one week; while another respondent, Jeff, gave his first interview in 1980, his second in 1983, and his third in 1986, a time span of nearly six years.

Interviews which occurred close to each other had the benefit of the momentum of the earlier interview and the continuity which this offered. Discussions on particular topics could be recalled, themes and strands of thinking revived. Interviews which were distanced from each other in time did not have these advantages, and if a year or two had elapsed since interview, there may have been many changes in the respondent's

career situation and perception. The methodological strength of between-interview meetings, however brief and fortuitous, becomes apparent here. These would alert me to the need to arrange an interview soon if some important happening had occurred, or was about to occur, in the respondent's life and which could have effects upon his career. At these meetings I could learn of approaching promotion interviews, changes of school, additions to family, part-time or full-time courses of study, decisions about retiring, and on one occasion, a decision to leave teaching.

The term 'unstructured' is one which is associated with the ethnographic interview and is used to differentiate this from the survey-type interview with its predetermined categories. However, this does not mean to say that the ethnographic interview has no structure. Burgess (1982, p19) describes unstructured interviews in the following way:-

'Unstructured interviews involve the sort of conversation that is developed through a sustained relationship between informant and researcher'.

Burgess's (1982) elements of 'conversation' and 'sustained relationship', which he employs to identify unstructured interviews, seem to be ineffective in distinguishing these from structured interviews since both types of interview could embody these elements. By this I mean that the most structured

of interviews will contain unstructured elements caused by the researcher's adaptation to unexpected contingencies; and similarly the most unstructured interview, because of the researcher's perception of the objectives of the interview, will have a starting point and will proceed along lines of thought and intention. Hammersley and Atkinson's (1983, p13) terms 'standardized' and 'reflexive' perhaps allow for greater differentiation between interview types than do the terms 'structured' and 'unstructured'. 'Standardised' refers to those interviews which comprise compiled lists of questions to be answered, while 'reflexive' carries the notion of data being the active product of the interaction between researcher and respondent.

Although I endorse the idea that respondents take the initiative in shaping the content of the interview - I referred to this earlier as 'freedom' - I felt that this often resulted in a very disorganized presentation of utterances. Left to themselves, respondents would often flit from topic to topic without dwelling long enough on each one to provide a full understanding of it. Information on individual topics would then occur in various parts of the completed tape and the task of ordering the material for analysis would be made more difficult. The structuring which I attempted within each interview was to encourage the respondent to remain on a chosen

topic long enough to elicit all the relevant information about it. This required that I gently return the respondent to the topic from which he had wandered away. On playing back the recordings of interviews, it was evident that the respondent's speed of utterance and his rapid and subtle change of emphasis within a topic, would sometimes mask the fact that there had been a departure from the topic. However, topics themselves are analytical structures, with demarcating boundaries determined by the researcher, and these may not be perceived by the respondent in the same way. What I might perceive as 'wandering from the topic' might not be so for the respondent. The events of his life are unlikely to have been structured by him in ways similar to those devised by the researcher in his efforts to impose order upon the interview data and to make sense of the great complexity of utterances produced by the respondent. Possibly the respondent does perceive a structure in his own interview presentation, but since this may not be consonant with the researcher's theoretical ordering, then to to the latter it may seem to be disorganized and jumbled. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983 pp 112 to 113) claim that

'All interviews, like any other kind of social interaction, are structured by both researcher and informant'.

Such presentation of self which occurs at interview is often a difficult task for the respondent and the researcher must help

him to make an effective presentation through assisting him to clarify his own ideas. I feel that the tactic of gently encouraging the respondent to stay with the topic on hand, with cautious invitations to probe particular areas, can often achieve a production of material which is helpful for the researcher and satisfying for the respondent. He can come to feel that he has said what he had intended to say, and is confident that the researcher has received and understood the message in the way that had been intended. There were occasions which, perhaps because of the complexity of the material, or a rambling presentation, or both, I was aware that I was not fully understanding the significance of the respondent's words, and I was therefore unable to make the kind of contribution which might provide a structural framework for further utterances. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p114) state that '.....some structuring is necessary in terms of what is and what is not relevant', and this seems to be part of the understandings which I have outlined above. What is relevant to the respondent in his sequential presentation of utterances might not seem to be relevant to the researcher in his research. It is also difficult for the researcher to judge relevance at the moment of 'impact' of the utterance. It is sometimes only on playing back the tape that the relevance of the respondent's utterance becomes obvious, and the researcher's failure to respond in ways which might have

elicited further utterances on the same topic become starkly clear. However, further meetings and additional interviews may be used to rectify researcher omissions and blunders, and this again seems to be a strength of this methodology with its attention to frequent contact throughout the period of data collection.

3) The Presence of the Tape-Recorder.

Some of my respondents showed a surprising lack of interest in listening to a play-back of their interview and would dismiss my offer of this. The sound of their own voice, or the verbal expression of their own thoughts, seemed to hold little attraction for them. One retired respondent said that the sound of his own voice was as painful to him as the unexpected sight of his reflection in a shop window before he had time to re-arrange his sagging posture. This feeling perhaps contributes something towards explaining reactions generally to tape-recordings, and possibly to an explanation of avoidance of interviews. Woods (1985, p20) notes of the tape-recorder, '....some people are disturbed by their use', and urges that this use should be 'unobtrusive'. If the machine is perceived as posing a difficulty for the respondent then this must be viewed in a serious way by the researcher, not solely in terms of the discomfiture of the respondent but also in terms of the

possible effect of this upon the production and quality of the data.

While the tape-recorder can be of great assistance to the researcher in recording exactly what has been said by both interviewee and interviewer, it is also useful in recording something of the manner in which utterances have been made. Respondents may make statements in confident ways, in emphatic ways, in aggressive ways, in diffident and cautious ways, and utterances can be tinged with hesitancy, doubt, indecision, irritation, and other features which should alert the researcher to sensitive areas, as well as to areas of rich potential. The playing back of the recording, especially in the presence of the researcher, can expose blemishes of speech and presentation which might be embarrassing; for example, strong regional accents, stammers, stutters, repetitions and grammatical errors, and could be another source of aversion. Of course this can be avoided by allowing the respondent to borrow the tape and play it in private. It is important too that, if the respondent is to be given a copy of the interview transcript, then any recording of the colourful blemishes noted above must be avoided. All those 'Uhms' and 'Ahas', errors, omissions of word endings, strong expletives and other evidence of human frailties, could give offence in print; although I feel that they are useful to the researcher in indicating

strength of feeling. This seems to argue the production of two versions of the transcript; one containing all the colour of the respondent's accounts and for the eyes of the researcher only, and another 'doctored' one for the perusal of the respondent. I did not use this tactic and I would find it difficult to defend its ethics. If the respondent is given to understand that the data are to emerge from the interview transcript, then I feel that he must be presented with that transcript which the researcher intends to use in formulating these data.

Despite the good intentions of the researcher to make the respondent feel at ease and unthreatened during the interview, it is sometimes difficult to recreate the easy informality of preliminary unrecorded discussions. There seems to be an inevitable formality about the recorded interview which produces, in some respondents, a self-conscious stiffness, as though the machine was an audience to which some role had to be enacted. I noticed, for example, that some respondents would adopt a much more formal language style when the recording was being made. The word 'one' instead of 'I', and accounts given in the third person; erudite phrases and educational terms which the respondent would not use in normal conversation, would be produced for the tape-recorded interview.

Another difference which I noticed between preliminary unrecorded discussions and the recorded interview was that respondents were less inclined to initiate new topics in the latter. Instead, they would often rely upon my questioning to indicate the direction of the discussion and would thus impute to me a 'quiz-master' role, which I was anxious to avoid, and from which it was often difficult to extricate myself. I would combat this through the tactical use of silence; silence accompanied by reassuring smiling and nodding. If the silence became too prolonged I would resort to encouraging vocal, non-verbal noises which would indicate my expectation of continued utterance from the respondent. If this failed, then some bland comment, such as, 'Is that so?', or, 'Is that what you think?', or 'Indeed?', would sometimes encourage further comment. It seems that in answering questions succinctly, in the manner demanded in questionnaires, respondents believe that they are being co-operative and helpful, providing clear-cut, categorical answers which can be conveniently classified. I suspect, too, that this is what many of them thought a 'proper' interview ought to be.

As I mentioned earlier, it is sometimes difficult to reproduce the informality of preliminary discussion once the machine is switched on, and to encourage this, like Measor (1985, p63), I would indulge in a good deal of small talk immediately prior to

starting the tape-recorder. Although this was clearly successful with some respondents, with others the act of switching on seemed to be a signal for the onset of freezing and the adoption of formal speech. I tried, on several occasions with respondents whom I knew to be particularly apprehensive about the machine, to avoid switching on in their presence. Instead, I would already have the machine running as they arrived so that all the noises of removing coat, walking about the room, making coffee, asking if he had had trouble finding the way, and all the usual polite preliminaries in which people indulge when engaged in normal conversation, were recorded. All this would occupy just a few minutes of the running time of the tape and could avoid the abrupt transition from 'real life' to 'interview' and the phenomenon of respondent 'freezing'. Even if the telephone rang during the interview, or other people entered the room, or spoke to me, I allowed the tape to continue running. In these ways I tried to dispel respondent perceptions of differences between interview and non-interview interactions and to encourage a rejection of the playing of stereotyped interviewee roles.

The above assumes my ability to control various features of the physical environment of the interview setting, and this will be discussed later in the section on 'The site of the interview'. It is sufficient to state, at this point, that only on my 'own

territory' was I effectively in command of the immediate environment to exert this form of control. In the respondent's house, or school, I was much less able to prepare the setting in the ways described above; but there was also less need for these 'putting at ease' procedures when the respondent was on his own territory.

It is possible that the tape-recorder, producing as it does a permanent record of the respondent's utterances, might persuade him to a due regard for accuracy in these. I have noticed that an inability to remember factual details of his biography, or making subsequent discovery of a recorded error in these, can produce embarrassment in the respondents. I feel that the researcher must be ready to alleviate such embarrassment by convincing the respondent that the lives and careers of people are complex and do not readily lend themselves to neat and tidy presentations, or to immediate and accurate recall. It is clear that to be asked to do this 'on tape' is difficult for some people and they might be helped by being informed, at a preliminary meeting, of the biographical detail which the researcher intends to ask of them.

Related to this urge for accuracy in the presence of the tape-recorder, it sometimes happens that inconsistencies and contradictions manifest themselves, and perhaps especially so

when several interviews with the same respondent are compared. In the interests of accuracy and validity, I feel that it is incumbent upon the researcher to seek some resolution of these contradictions through pointing them out to the respondent. This is clearly a source of potential embarrassment for the respondent and such disclosure of these by the researcher must be done in such a way that the respondent is not made to feel that he has been 'caught out', nor that he is being forced to explain himself or his actions. He must not be made to feel that he is in a court of law and under cross-examination. Denscombe (1983, p115) writes,

'The experience of being interviewed, of having answers noted "for the record" and having to justify opinions, can in fact be rather daunting for the respondent and cause him to give defensive answers. Because the answers are "for the record" it is perhaps understandable that respondents will give guarded and considered responses which will neither expose them nor "be used in evidence against them", and such cautious responses are unlikely to reveal the kind of information sought by the researcher' (see also Woods, 1985, p18; and Measor, 1985, p67).

If the researcher suspects that the respondent's reaction to his utterances being recorded could have adverse consequences upon data production, then he might be well advised to seek some other way of recording utterances. Woods (1985, p20) suggests that a temporary abandonment of the tape-recorder might be attempted until such time as a suitable degree of trust is generated between respondent and researcher which will

accommodate the use of the machine. It is the responsibility of the researcher to cast himself imaginatively into the role of the respondent so that he is sensitized to sources of tension and embarrassment in the interaction, and to seek ways of reducing these so that utterances may be produced in a natural, conversational style.

4) Kinds of Questioning.

Questions can be effective manipulators of the direction which conversations take and for this reason must be used cautiously by researchers in their ideal of respondent control of interview topics and the avoidance of mere question-and-answer routines. Questions are of course part of the standard armoury of everyday conversation, used to show interest in the health and projects of others and to facilitate general, polite interaction. Respondents' utterances often invite some follow-up question and to fail to ask this might indicate lack of interest and could endanger rapport within the interaction; as Garfinkle (1967) showed in his deliberately disruptive tactics. Using questions, or comments which are intended to be construed by the respondent as questions, seems to be a convention of normal conversation. However, there are complexities and difficulties in this and I shall now discuss some of these. The work of Strauss et al (1964) offers a

guide to the kind of questioning which is commonly used in interviewing. These are:-

a) The Devil's Advocate Question.

In this the researcher offers the respondent a different viewpoint and thereby tests the strength of the respondent's views. I was often able to put forward an opposite view which had been expressed by an earlier respondent and I felt that the vague personage of 'another respondent' was sufficiently lacking in authority to permit the respondent to disagree and hold to his views, if he so chose. To root this 'opposite view' in some published research, or to link it with the name of some authoritative figure, might be to put pressure upon the respondent to alter his stance.

I found this method of questioning effective in producing a more developed exposition of views but unless carefully done could be construed as a criticism provoking the respondent to shift his ground and perhaps even becoming defensive. Some respondents simply did not react well to 'Devil's Advocate' questions and their lack of success in this sometimes halted the flow of conversation and, I suspected, might have had an adverse effect upon rapport.

b) Hypothetical Questions.

Some respondents seemed to enjoy this kind of question and it was often useful in encouraging them to expand their range of analysis about their past career and to look into the future and identify likely career paths. Proposed changes in the organization and administration of the school system - common phenomena in present-day teaching - could lead respondents into a speculation upon the consequences of these for their future career. Some respondents had poor powers of analysis and made little of hypothetical questions. Their inability, or unwillingness, to look into the future might have its roots in their perception of depressingly poor career prospects rather than to any lack of imagination.

c) The Ideal Position.

In this the researcher presents the respondent with the picture of some 'ideal type' in the expectation of finding a way into the respondent's theorizing. Like 'Devil's Advocate' questions, I feel that the researcher must be careful to avoid the linking of his presented notions with any powerful, authoritative source since this is likely to provoke retreat in all but the most dominant respondents. Some respondents, sensing a criticism of their own ideas or actions, can often strengthen their own view and take up an extreme position.

d) Researcher's Interpretations.

Strauss et al (1964) suggest that this form of questioning should occur at the end of a series of interviews and may be used as a summary and overview of the content of these. I tended to use 'Researcher's Interpretations' more frequently than this however. When I felt that the topic under discussion was coming to an end I would attempt to summarise what I had discerned as the salient points of the respondent's account and this gave the respondent an opportunity, not only to rectify my errors, but also make further elaboration of the topic. The presentation of the researcher's interpretations of the respondent's utterances had to be done with some sensitivity and caution, so that the respondent was not put under pressure simply to accept whatever the researcher had said. Researcher's interpretations must be put to the respondent in enquiring ways so that he is able, without loss of 'face' or without damaging rapport, to disagree, or to correct and make good, the deficiencies and defects of these interpretations.

Although the researcher might approach the interview with a number of issues which he hopes will be raised spontaneously by the respondent, it is unlikely that he will approach the interview with a definite plan of the kind of question to be

used for particular topics. For example, he is unlikely to plan to use a 'Devil's Advocate' question for probing one topic, a 'Hypothetical Question' for another, and 'Researcher's Interpretations' elsewhere. Rather, the nature of the question will be decided upon through knowledge of respondent preferences - some respondents might respond well to one kind of question and badly to others - and the nature of the topic itself might indicate some particular kind of question. Often a simple enquiry such as, 'Will you tell me about.....?', is enough to stimulate respondents to productive utterances.

Although respondents may react more favourably to one form of questioning rather than another, so also researchers may favour a particular kind of questioning. Perhaps some researchers are more effective in the presentation of some of these. It may be possible to use different kinds of questions with the same respondent at different points in the interview, as a means of triangulation. I must confess that when this happened in the interviews which I conducted it was mostly inadvertant on my part. In perusing transcripts of interviews with the same respondent it was sometimes possible to detect apparent contradictions and these demanded sensitive questioning, perhaps in the form of one or more of the types of Strauss et al (1964).

There is a possibility that with some respondents a direct question might produce an unfavourable reaction. Sensitive topics for example, or Measor's (1985, p69) 'danger zones', might be too fragile to withstand any probing directness. For example, some of my respondents told me of their efforts at soliciting the help of influential people in order to achieve promotion, and when this confidence had been imparted to me I felt that I had to proceed with caution and ask any further questions on the topic in some indirect way which avoided the respondent being caused to feel that his actions were reprehensible. The categories of questioning of Strauss et al (1964) might be used to fashion some non-directive kind of questioning through which the respondent responds to a question which he has, in fact, himself posed from the researcher's utterances. In short, he replies to a question which he believes to have come from the researcher but which has been, in fact, the product of his own thinking and reasoning (see Hargreaves, Hester and Mellor, 1975, pp 219 and 220).

A device which I have used with some respondents, and which I would include within the category of 'non-directive', is that of silence. In making no verbal response to the respondent's utterance, I hope that he is led to the belief that I expect him to make further contribution, perhaps as outlined above, responding to an unspoken question which he thinks is in the

mind of the researcher. In the absence of any verbal responses from the researcher, it is important that the respondent is given the compensatory reassurance of the full range of non-verbal signals which are available to the researcher.

I have already drawn attention to the importance which some researchers have attributed to the unsolicited accounts of respondents, Benney and Hughes (1956) and Becker and Geer (1957) being among these. That the respondent has offered information without the researcher's prompting or leading is believed to endow these accounts with increased validity. This might suggest that non-directive questioning, where the respondent's own interpretative work prompts him to answer imagined questions, could be regarded as of strong validity because of this unsolicited quality. I confess to being suspicious of too eagerly given, unsolicited accounts. These, I feel, could be produced by strongly-held but biased views containing self-justifications and ego-protecting masking. I think that they are valuable for the researcher as starting-points and provided that they are treated at least cautiously, if not with suspicion, and that he attempts to probe them preferably over more than one interview, then they could prove acceptable as valid data.

5) Listening and Attending.

Listening and Attending are both important aspects of the interviewer's skill and numerous writers have drawn attention to these. Among these are,

Woods (1985, p20),
'The researcher must cultivate the art of good listening';

Dean, Eichorn and Dean (1967, p302),
'The researcher should be a thoughtful and analytical observer';

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p113),
'The interviewer must be an active listener'.

While respondents are engaged in making utterances the interviewer will have to give attention to tasks which, unless he is alert, will distract him from the business of paying close attention to what the respondent is saying. For example, aware as he is of the nature of the data which he has already collected from other respondents, the researcher will be conscious of the way in which these new data are meshing with what he already knows. He may have already formed categories and will be aware of how these are being developed by the new utterances (see Measor, 1985, p63). Also, he may be formulating plans for the direction of the interview, and how the respondent might be encouraged to broach new topics. In short, there will be many tasks to which attention must be given and these are liable to weaken the researcher's attention to

utterances which require an immediate and relevant follow-up. These distractions, and other considerations, can prevent the researcher noticing opportunities for the following of relevant lines during the interview and potentially rich sources of data can be lost. It is important too that the researcher not only pays close attention to the respondent's words, but also that he is convincing to the respondent that he is paying attention (see Measor, 1985, p62). He will do this by all the usual verbal and non-verbal signals, but also, and I feel more importantly, he will demonstrate this attention-giving by producing a response, possibly in the form of some relevant comment, that he is indeed paying attention and following the respondent's reasoning closely. The researcher must also be aware of the potentially rich material to which the respondent perhaps gives scant attention. An opportunity must be sought to make a return to the topic and the researcher must devise some way of remembering to do so; this perhaps being required of several topics in a short space of time. Using a note-pad to jot down a word which will remind the researcher of the topic is found to be a useful device for some interviewers; Woods (1985, pp20 and 21) recommends this. I have found that the activity of writing breaks eye contact and I feel that this could suggest to some respondents that they do not have the undivided attention of the researcher. When I did attempt note taking at interviews I found some respondents curious

about what I was writing and craned their necks to see. Perhaps, when there are occasions for additional interviews with the same respondent, these missed opportunities to follow up respondents' notions might not be so serious, but I could never be certain that further interviews were to be forthcoming and I had to make the most of each interview as it happened.

The need for note-taking, or some such way of referring back to lightly touched upon data, emanates from the belief that when the respondent is in full flow he ought not to be interrupted. The aim is to encourage the respondent to speak and so it would seem to be defeating the purpose of the interview to stop him from doing this once he has started. However, some respondents speak at very great length, and in great breadth, providing few details and offering little by way of analysis. In these cases I feel that the researcher has no choice but to find some way of halting this flow, without offending, and to encourage the respondent to another style of presentation. However, Measor (1985, p67) attaches some importance to respondent 'rambling'. Some of the difficulty in this may be due to the respondent's misunderstanding of the requirements of the researcher and it is the latter's responsibility to explain these needs and to influence the way in which utterances are presented. This might be regarded as a contradiction of my protestations for respondent 'freedom', but I feel that the

respondent can be allowed freedom to speak about topics of his own choice, but to do this in disciplined ways and within a framework provided by the researcher.

Some respondents can be boring, making listening and attending a difficult and tedious business, and one which the weary researcher might not be able to accomplish in any convincing way. I found that the one-and-a-half hour interview was just too long for some respondents to sustain, and in such cases a shortening of the interview could be found to pose fewer difficulties, and sometimes be more productive. The long conversation-like interview with a long-winded and boring respondent can produce poor material unless the interviewer is able to bring some focus to the topics. Some stimulation of the respondent, perhaps through the use of unusual questioning, or even disagreeing with him, may be sufficient to break the pattern. There is perhaps a danger of damaging rapport in this tactic but it seems to be less damaging than actually falling asleep during his utterances.

6) Familiarity with the Teacher Culture.

Teachers, like other specialised occupational segments of society, generate common understandings and beliefs about their

work and their own lives and careers within that work. Becker and Geer (1957) claim that any social group is culturally distinct from other groups and will have different understandings which will shape their actions; also, these differences will find expression in language usage which is peculiar to that group and which is fully understood only by its members. Other researchers have drawn attention to the dangers of the interviewer's inability to understand the terms used by the respondent; see, for example, Webb and Webb (1932, p1); Stoddart (1974, pp173-179); Becker and Geer (1957, pp77-78). Stoddart's research focuses upon the researcher's difficulty in understanding the precise meaning of the word 'pinched' in the drug addict's argot, while Becker and Geer discuss doctors' precise meaning of the term 'crock' when applied to patients.

In interviewing teachers, besides the need for the interviewer to understand the teacher's use of special terms associated with his work, there is also a need to have a familiarity with the historical background of teaching and those bureaucratic changes which have had recent effect upon teachers' working conditions and career, and which have perhaps demanded the rapid adaptation and socialization of teachers to these. Woods (1985, p21) draws together these strands and shows that a knowledge of the teacher culture enables the researcher to

understand,

'.....meanings, idioms, nuances, range of views and bases for making judgements professed by the teacher, and a good knowledge of the general job structure and occupational culture' (Woods, 1985, p21).

There seems to be two separate strands to the idea of researchers being knowledgeable about the teacher culture. In the first place a knowledge of this culture is needed so that the special terms used by the respondent at interview may be understood in all their historical and social significance. In the second place the interviewer's demonstration of his possession of this knowledge will go towards convincing the respondent of the researcher's membership of the teaching fraternity and of his likely insightfulness into the issues to be explored at interview.

This is not to deny the researcher's seeking information, or asking for clarification, or of declaring his own ignorance. Although he may share broad cultural understandings about teachers and teaching, respondents' specialisms - whether of teaching subject or area of schooling - could render some accounts mystifying for the researcher whose background lacks experience in these specialist areas. Some researchers might feel that any disclosure of their own lack of knowledge is likely to have adverse effects upon his respondent through a weakening of the 'expert' identity which the researcher, in the

interests of the research, might be affecting. I found that my imputation of the role of 'expert consultant' to the respondent seemed to act as a stimulant to the interview interaction and my own undisguised lack of knowledge in many areas seemed to strengthen the respondent's confidence without apparent sacrifice of rapport between us.

The respondent's acceptance of the researcher as an informed member of the teacher culture is subject to individual perceptions and interpretations. Like Platt (1981) I found that some respondents would regard me as a complete 'insider' and would assume my detailed knowledge of a whole range of issues associated with their teaching world. By contrast, other respondents would act as though I had never taught in a school and would tediously explain the most mundane features of school life to me.

When interviewing respondents, and in unrecorded discussions with them, I tried to demonstrate my cultural credentials through showing that I understood the terms they were using, that I was aware of coming bureaucratic changes which would alter conditions in their area of schooling, and also through feeding into the conversation something of my own experiences which would disclose part of my own teaching background. In these ways I felt that the respondent would come to feel that

he was addressing someone who had experienced, and was experiencing, many of the changes and difficulties which he himself was undergoing, rather than just a researcher who had had no experience of the classroom. I tried also to behave in honest ways; that is, I tried not to practise deceptions which might be legitimated as strategies in the pursuit of research objectives. I did not pretend to know when I did not know, and I did not try to feign ignorance when I knew.

7) The Site of the Interview.

Of the fifty-three interviews which were carried out for this study, fifty-two were conducted in one of the following four places. The remaining one was carried out in the respondent's tutorial room and I shall make reference to it at the end of this section. However, I do not include it within these four categories.

- a) My tutorial room in the Polytechnic where I was employed.
- b) My house.
- c) The respondent's school.
- d) The respondent's house.

Respondents were given the choice of place of interview and of the time of day or evening in which they preferred that this

take place. If they were not car users, or had difficulty with travel, I undertook to take them to and from the site of interview. In general, respondents chose to be interviewed in my tutorial room and usually immediately after the end of their school day. A number of respondents chose to come to my house in the evening, while others asked that I travel to their school during the working day at a time when they could arrange to be free. Interviewing respondents in their own house was a rare occurrence although it happened several times with the same respondent. Some of those respondents who were interviewed on two or more occasions gave interviews on different sites and I found this helpful in clarifying my understandings of the effects of different sites on both respondent and researcher. I now discuss the effects which I believe these different sites might have had upon the production of data.

a) The interview being held in my tutorial room.

There was a workmanlike feel to interviews carried out here. This was where I worked; it was a busy polytechnic containing many people intent upon pursuing their daily routine of work and I believe that this helped to convince respondents of my attitude to the importance and value of the research. Some respondents, I suspected, did not view their own accounts of their career as worthwhile data upon which to mount a research

project; that this was not 'proper research' as they understood it. I thought that the openness of holding the interviews in a polytechnic, with colleagues and students demonstrably having to postpone discussion with me until after the interview was over, was likely to be convincing of the importance which I, and others around me, attached to these interviews.

Another feature of interviews taking place on this site, but which applied only to those respondents who had trained here when it had been a college of education, was that they were able to renew acquaintance with those tutors who had taught them when they had been students. To sit in the Common Room, before or after the interview, having coffee and speaking with 'old' tutors, seemed to be a pleasant experience and I felt again that it contributed to the openness of the research project. Colleagues knew what I was doing and discussion about the work during these meetings seemed to endorse its legitimacy and appropriateness.

b) The interview being held in my house.

This site gave the greatest privacy. Colleagues and students did not have the easy access to me here which they had when interviews were conducted in my tutorial room and telephone calls could often be taken by other members of my family. Rapport seems to have been enhanced through the use of this

site although it is difficult to disentangle this from the social pressures to play, on my part, the 'host' role, and for the respondent to play the 'guest' role. I feel that the perception of the demands of these roles is too strong to permit actions which deviate too markedly from them, although Woods (1985, p14) urges 'transcendence of roles' in interviewing interactions.

This site was usually used during the evening so there was an off-duty, social-occasion feel to it. Some alcohol would usually be consumed by both respondent and researcher and on one occasion the respondent and his wife had dinner with my wife and myself afterwards. This was not an impromptu event but had been planned well in advance to fit the needs of this respondent. Although the respondent's wife was not present at interview, discussion at the meal occasionally returned to topics raised at this and she would make comment on some of these. This gave an interesting perspective and caused me to speculate upon the possibility of interviewing the respondent in the presence of his wife, and of the favourable and unfavourable features of this technique, but I did not ever attempt this. These interviews in my house, although not solely limited to key informants, tended to be so. One such key informant who was interviewed on this site on five occasions, consumed gins-and-tonics at an alarming rate, and

although he gave little outward sign of the effects of these, he did talk at great length and with considerable frankness. I felt that it was essential to urge him to read a copy of the interviews so that he might veto any material which he regretted giving and which he would now prefer to conceal. His reaction to one such interview transcript was to consign it to the school shredding machine, which, considering the time I had spent in collecting his utterances and converting them into typescript, was disconcerting and disappointing. However, I had retained a copy of this and after the passage of some months the respondent was persuaded to read the transcript again and this time he consented to my use of it, with deletions.

c) The interview being held in the respondent's school. Some respondents chose to be interviewed in their own school. This seemed to be more acceptable than other arrangements since it did not entail travel nor giving up some of their own time after school. I too was pleased with this arrangement because I felt that it disrupted the respondent's private life least, and that there was a greater likelihood of requests for further interviews being granted when this arrangement was used.

Many respondents had difficulty in arranging to be free for a

one-and-a-half-hour period of time within the working day in their own school. Often too, especially in primary and middle schools, the teacher would not have a room of his own and so interviews were conducted in empty classrooms, or if these were not available, then in some secluded corner of the staffroom. Bells which rang to summon changes of activity within the school would render hitherto empty classrooms into noisy areas filled with pupils. In the same way, secluded staffroom corners could become places where interviewing was impossible. Experience taught me that an extension lead was an invaluable adjunct to the tape-recorder and permitted the penetration of places which were far removed from electrical points. I think that a better plan would be to use batteries in the tape-recorder and so become completely independent of inconveniently placed power sources in classrooms and staffrooms.

In the respondent's school I was much less able to keep control of all the arrangements surrounding the interview. Beginning and ending the interview, for example, was much more subject to respondent decisions and the imperative of school duties would often relegate the interview to a position of low priority. Being taken to the staffroom by the respondent seemed to be an essential part of such visits to schools, as was the consumption of mugs of steaming tea. Respondents seemed to be

pleased to inform their colleagues of the reason for my visit and this often generated some interest and questioning as well as banter and derision. 'You don't want to believe everything he tells you, you know', was a usual comment under these circumstances. I thought it useful to view the respondent in interaction with his colleagues since there was the possibility that things said 'in fun' might alert me to areas of potential richness, or uncover those sensitive topics which might best be avoided.

In their own school, respondents often demonstrated an outward show of great authority and confidence which was not evident when interviewed on other sites, and seemed to be part of a 'presentation of front' (Goffman 1959) which supplied some need in this setting. It was difficult to know if this was a habitual style of self-presentation for colleagues, or if the special nature of my visit had conjured up a perception of the need for some special performance from the respondent.

d) The interview being held in the respondent's house.

This, as I have already stated, was rare and occurred with only one respondent, although on several occasions. He was one of my key informants and as he was retired he preferred to remain in his own house for interview. Being on this site placed me in the position of 'guest' and my respondent in that of

'host'; however, these are the perceptions which I had of this and does not mean to say that the respondent looked upon the relationship in this way also. Being cast in the guest role effectively deprived me of the power which I had indulged in when interviewing on my own territory. Where to sit; how the furniture should be arranged; when to begin and end; when to have coffee, and many other aspects of the interview, and of the preliminaries to it, were removed from my control through my perceived need to act out the guest role.

There were compensations associated with using the respondent's house. The respondent was evidently relaxed and comfortable, and since my only 'at home' respondent was retired, I suspected that the event of the interview was an interesting break from his daily routine. He also seemed to be quite pleased to be invited to recall some of the episodes of his career and was untiring in the provision of lengthy accounts. It is unfortunate that there were not more respondents into whose houses I was invited since this precludes any systematic examination of the complexities surrounding the use of this site. It does not seem to be profitable to enter into any speculation upon the uncommonness of interviewing in the respondent's own house, except for the possible indication of the reasons for preferences of sites. It perhaps causes inconveniences for the whole family when a room is set aside

for the interview and is thus unavailable for normal use. The respondent, perhaps perceiving the host and guest roles to be played, may be reluctant to do this with someone who is not within his circle of friends. There may be the feeling too that since I am the one to profit from the interview, then the respondent, the 'giver', ought not to be expected to give even more by acting as host also.

I would like to make some general comments now about certain aspects of this section on the 'site of the interview':-

1) There was a relationship between the site of the interview and the time of day, or evening, in which these were carried out, and I have already referred to this in terms of 'working hours' and 'off duty'. The association of 'site' with 'time' complicates attempts to associate respondent reaction in terms of purely situational context, or of temporal context.

2) It may be difficult for some respondents to shrug off the role which they habitually play in their place of work and this may be especially so if the respondent occupies some managerial rank where clear, overt, role performances are demanded. A headteacher, or deputy-head for example, may feel that there are are certain presentations of self which

must remain constant and such considerations might make difficulties for that 'transcendence of roles' and 'dissolution of fronts' (Woods, 1985, p14) which the researcher might try to encourage. The perceived need of such a respondent to preserve entrenched role relationships and role performances might render the self-evaluating component of ethnographic interviewing much more threatening in the respondent's own school where the likelihood of an inadvertant penetration of the front by researcher is a possibility. Such considerations indicate that incumbents of managerial rank should perhaps be interviewed on a site other than their own school so that they may feel less threatened by this danger.

3) The control which the researcher is able to exert upon the setting of the interview is likely to be a function of the site. This is entertainingly illustrated by Skipper and McCaghy's (1972) study of striptease artistes (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p123). One such 'artiste', who was interviewed backstage in her dressing room, was able to play a disrupting role during interview and exerted such control over it that she was able to end the interview, unannounced, simply by walking out of her dressing room.

4) Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p125) suggest that many people are able to relax more when they are on their 'own

territory' and that arranging for this is a favourable strategy for interviewing; although they concede that some settings might constrain certain talk. I found that staffrooms were not the most conducive places for the imparting of confidences since the possibility of being overheard by colleagues was an ever-present danger. Any exaggerations, boasts, indiscretions, or other presentation of fronts, are bubbles easily pricked by critical colleagues, and the avoidance of such audiences is likely to be a priority with sensitive respondents.

5) Linked to '4' above are the attractive triangulating procedures which might be achieved through interviewing teachers employed in the same school. However, if these respondents are aware of the interviewee roles of each other, they might become inhibited because of their perception of the checks which each can provide for the other's utterances.

6) Besides considerations for the respondent, it is important that the researcher too feels confident and relaxed during the interview without feeling the need to play a role, or preserve a 'front', and he might be able to do this more effectively on his 'own territory'. However, there seems to be no neutral ground in interviewing; no 'no-man's land'. If some site which is new to both researcher and respondent is used, I feel

it likely that a 'contest' might ensue to establish this as 'own territory' and the power of the researcher, in his role of interviewer, is likely to favour him in any struggle for this.

7) Linked to '6' above is the problem which might be encountered by researchers who interview respondents who consider themselves to occupy a higher bureaucratic rank than the researcher. This could have effects upon the data produced during interview through attention being given to a contest for dominance (see Freidson, 1962, pp218 - 221).

PART THREE

AREAS OF FAVOURABLE SELF-PRESENTATION POTENTIAL.

Chapter 6. Extra-curricular Activities.

Contents:-

Page 147	-	An Introduction to the Data.
Page 149	-	Extra-Curricular Activities.
Page 172	-	Summary and Conclusions.

An Introduction to the Data

I now turn to Parts 3, 4 and 5 of the study in which the data of the research, the utterances of respondents, are presented. The general thematic thread running through these Parts is that of respondents' presentation of selves which they feel they have achieved, or attempted, in their promotion activities. Part 3, which comprises Chapters 6, 7 and 8, discusses those opportunities for the presentation of self which respondents have located in the three areas of,

Chapter 6, Extra-curricular activities,

Chapter 7, Teaching Subject,

Chapter 8, Study Activities.

The presentation of self, which teachers may be able to achieve through their daily teaching activities, is more likely to be contained within the first two areas than in 'Study'. However, as will be demonstrated later, an important component of career advancement is not just the presentation of self, but the reception of the messages contained in this by influential persons. While it seems that 'Extra-curricular activities' and 'Teaching Subject' may allow a direct presentation of self

to some visible and accessible gatekeeper, 'Study' may be intended for presentation to other, more distant and perhaps as yet unrecognised gatekeepers. In the language of modern British capitalism, 'Study' represents a 'medium to long-term investment' while the activities of the teaching subject, and those which are 'extra' to it, are possibly more likely to be given recognition by in-house gatekeepers and sponsors. The activity of study may be less easily demonstrated than the product of study - the academic award - but the proclaimed involvement in study may make a potent presentation to both near and distant gatekeepers.

Although the style of self-presentation made possible by study activities may be very different to those afforded by the teaching subject, or by extra-curricular activities, the three areas are bound together by the common underlying potential of strategic presentations of self to influential persons, and for this reason I contain them within the following 'Part 3' of the data presentation and analyses.

Similar brief introductions to 'Parts 4' and '5' will be given immediately before the presentation of these sections of the research.

Chapter 6. Extra-curricular Activities.

The diffuse nature of the roles which teachers perform in the course of their day-to-day work tends to blur the line between the perceived imperative of these roles and those activities which might be viewed as voluntary, or extra to these. What the teacher might feel to be required of him, or her, in the operational fullness of teaching roles, and what might be chosen to be done or elected not to be done, is not clear. At the time of writing, November 1987, a period of dislocation between some professional teaching associations and Government has left teachers with an even less clear picture of their legitimate duties and there seems to have been a hardening of attitudes of some teachers towards the idea of using their 'own time' in indulging in voluntary activities with pupils, and especially those conducted in 'after-school' time. However, the data relating to extra-curricular activities were gathered before the October 1987 introduction of the changes in teachers' working agreements, and how teachers have adapted to these new agreements must be the subject of later research. I feel that such adaptations have not been in operation for a long enough period of time for assessments of these to be made.

There are numerous activities which take place, both inside and outside of school time and of school premises, to which many

teachers give of their own time and with varying degrees of willingness. Teachers may be persuaded to this involvement for a variety of reasons. It may have a compulsory element; 'parents' night' for example; or teachers might consider certain activities to be essential to the life of the school and the education of the pupils; and some teachers might see, in extra-curricular activities, possibilities to distinguish themselves as competitors for promoted posts. There may also be an understanding residing within the teacher culture of particular teaching subjects having strong traditional links with certain extra-curricular activities, and that it is an accepted part of the teaching role of some subject teachers to associate themselves with these activities. In this way teachers of French might be expected to organize the annual French 'trip'; P.E. staff the games' and sports' fixtures, coaching and refereeing; the music department the school orchestra; teachers of English the production of the school play, with scenery and costumes by curtesy of the departments of art, C.D.T. and home economics. Teachers would perhaps find it difficult to dissociate themselves from activities of this nature and possibly especially so if these required an expertise not available, readily and cheaply, elsewhere.

If some teachers are unwilling to accept the view that their involvement in such activities carries a moral and professional

obligation - and under the new conditions of service, perhaps a legal one also - then some form of inducement, some reward, might seem to them to be a reasonable expectation in return for their time and energy expended. When promotion is hotly contested, as it is in teaching at present because of its scarcity, a demonstrated willingness to participate in extra-curricular activities might be perceived to lend weight to ambitious teachers' claims to higher office. This notion might exist in the consciousness of the teacher himself only, and would be unlikely to yield promotion objectives unless these were shared by influential colleagues, headteachers and others.

It is of course very likely that many teachers involve themselves in extra-curricular activities without having self-seeking objectives of promotion uppermost in their minds, and this is an idea expressed by Sikes et al (1985, p40):-

'Those who do spend a lot of time taking part in and organizing extra-curricular activities might have half an eye on being seen to be committed and involved and thereby improving their chances of promotion, but this is unlikely to be their sole motivation'.

Voluntary work with pupils in non-teaching hours - perhaps selected pupils - may carry many rewards for teachers other than those of career advancement. Such work might permit the teacher to enter into associations with pupils which are free

from the normal disciplinary constraints of the school; the teacher-pupil relationship perhaps being enhanced by the carry-over of a more relaxed relationship into the classroom situation. Sikes et al (1985, p174) suggest that this potential for good relationships with pupils may be a reason for teachers engaging in extra-curricular activities. Such work might also allow the teacher to assume some preferred identity which might not be possible within his normal teacher role. It might, for example, allow him to function as a team coach; a play producer; a travel courier; a mountain guide and expedition leader. If the teacher has some deep interest in a hobby - a sporting pastime for example - great pleasure might be derived from gathering around him those pupils who are interested in it and in increasing their knowledge and skill of this hobby. However, even although the teacher might derive such intrinsic rewards from this involvement, it need not preclude his understanding of the favourable leverage which this might exert upon his promotion attempts.

The moral pressure upon teachers to take on voluntary extra work may be irresistible and perhaps especially so if the head views this as a component of promotion consideration. What the head believes to be for the 'good' of the school might also imply that this is also for the 'good' of a teacher's career. Kanter (1974, p126) gives an account of the articulation

between 'the system' and 'the individual' and of the realization of organizational needs and individual fulfillment through the concept of commitment to the system.

That teachers view their involvement in extra-curricular activities as a useful device for gaining promotion is likely to depend upon their understandings of their headteacher's attitude to this. The staffroom culture of individual schools will inform the teacher of the politics of past promotions and the role of extra-curricular activities in this. The focus seems to fall upon appropriate gatekeepers' understandings of such activities and of the promotion legitimating function of these.

Extra-curricular activities

The following pages are now concerned with the utterances of respondents at interview and I have selected and arranged appropriate extracts from these so that some understanding of respondents' views upon extra-curricular activities may be derived from these. The first of these extracts is from Jeff (1/67):-

Int. "Do you see your involvement in extra-curricular activities helping your efforts at promotion?".

Jeff "Oh yes. There's no doubt about it. If you get in on the 'bandwagon'; which is simply what it is. We have schools in which the headteacher is a singer and dancer, and if you do singing and dancing, you're away. I'm in a situation like that myself. If we did Maths and English to music and dance, it would be a sensation. It would be an education in itself".
(Jeff, 35, middle special, scale 3s, history)

In his customary, rather eccentric style, Jeff makes three points which may be important in the analysis of contributions from other respondents to come. The points are these:-

- 1) The 'Bandwagon' view of extra-curricular activities suggests a cynical involvement of teachers in these. It also seems to suggest that these activities are likely to have a short span of interest focus and that career benefit may be derived from these only by 'getting on the bandwagon' early.
- 2) The second point focuses attention upon the headteacher as the important audience in any tactical presentation of the teacher's apparent industry, involvement and commitment.
- 3) The third point indicates the possible advantages to be had from indulging in those activities which happen to reflect

the headteacher's own interests and priorities.

Greg, who has shown himself to be highly receptive to the advice of his bureaucratic superiors, speaks here of a promotion interview which he had where the adviser, who had offered Greg some career advice, appeared before him as a selector on the interviewing panel. Greg says (9/27-32):-

Greg ".....and he (the adviser) was quite plain, saying that it was what you could offer, over and above the basic skills and specialisms. And my involvement with the (names the Children's Organization here) I think counted a a great deal. On paper it looks quite impressive. And certainly, a great deal of the interview was centred on that".

Int. "But you have never viewed it as a device for obtaining promotion?"

Greg "No. At the time when I was first recruited - I was only twenty-one then - unquestionably 'yes'. I definitely went into it thinking, 'This is the kind of thing you've got to do if you are going to get on in the job'. At that time! Having stuck with it and having gained a great deal from it - and put a lot back into it - obviously I feel differently about it now than I did then. But at the time I was aware that anything that you do out-of-school, especially if it involves kids, counts a great deal. And at the age of twenty-one, twenty-two, I thought, 'A lot of people organize things like Children's Day; school sports; camping holidays; all that kind of stuff, and it all counts if you are going to get on in the job'. (Greg, 36, middle deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg's fifteen-year association with the voluntary organization of which he speaks seems to counter any criticism of career

self-seekingness which might be implied in this. His early 'cynical performance' (see Goffman, 1959, pp 28 - 30) seems to have given way to 'sincerity' quite quickly, although there could have been a fluctuation between the poles of cynicism and sincerity as Greg's career in this organization unfolded and as he succeeded to higher positions within it. It is possible that this parallel career afforded him opportunities to demonstrate skills which were not possible to demonstrate in his normal teaching situation. His work in this voluntary organization seems to have been an area of Greg's work in which the selectors were interested at interview, since he comments, 'And certainly, a great deal of the interview was centered on that'. Later in the same interview Greg was asked to disclose how he had come to realise the tactics to be used, by way of extra-curricular activities, to gain promotion:-

Greg "The team I played football with was ...composed mainly of teachers.....and in the pub afterwards, in the dressing-room, or wherever, you learn what's what. And I quickly became aware of just how much involvement these people had in the field of education outside nine-to-four. And I realised that this was what sorted out the wheat from the chaff. That you could sail along and wait until maybe people picked you out, or noticed you, or you shone in some area. Or you grasped the nettle and said, 'Right, this is what I can do. This is what I regard as something I can do'".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history).

It is not clear if there were other influences shaping Greg's understandings of how advancement in teaching was achieved and

what, in his words, 'sorted out the wheat from the chaff'.

We know that he did part-time study for a degree and this would indicate some belief in the power of formal qualifications to assist in advancing career. That he chose to follow the advice of his football-playing colleagues perhaps testifies to the faith which he has in this normative reference group (Runciman 1966). An alternative explanation might be that the strategies which this group indicated to him were ones which made best fit with Greg's own predispositions and with his perceptions of his own best talents.

I would like to develop Greg's notion of engaging in voluntary work which is separated from the work of the school. In a passage (27/1/23) which is too long and rambling to be reproduced here, he speaks of his own marginal involvement in the processes of selection for his own about-to-be-vacated deputy-headship post. He explains his access to candidates' written applications and he focuses upon two aspects of extra-curricular activities which he feels have an important role to play in promotions at deputy-head level and above. These are:-

- 1) The specific nature of those skills which the teacher has which are extra to the assumed skills of his subject area.

2) The importance of voluntary work which reaches out beyond the confines of the school and into the wider society outside.

A similar idea is expressed by Peter. He is a deputy-head of a primary school and the account describes his own promotion activities in curriculum study work, done 'for the authority', and he believes that this is 'relatively good for getting you known'. Like Greg, he believes that '...you have got to show that you are not only committed to education within the school, but also to a wider community'.

Both Greg and Peter imply that the deputy-head rank is the lowest level at which strategic excursions into a wider community must be attempted if further promotion is to be achieved.

A variation of this 'wider community' concept used by Greg and by Peter is shown by Roy in his explanation of how E.C.A. work in the school can be taken into a more public arena by the use of 'eye-catching activities'. In this extract (8/31) Roy comments upon the capacity of some E.C.As. to advertise the school's image:-

Roy ".... activities which result in a teacher being promoted are almost invariably those which do a great deal for the school's advertising image. Sometimes the advertising image is synonymous with what is happening for the general good of the school, but in many cases this is not so".
(Roy, 60, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

In response to my asking him to identify the advertising activities which he has in mind, Roy denigrates his own subject, music, as a suitable vehicle for this through music productions, but focuses upon 'championship winning teams' as the most effective means of enhancing a school's image, and thus, he believes, providing career opportunities for P.E. teachers. He also mentions the importance of school trips abroad in providing reporting space in the local newspaper and of the career 'good' which this might have for the teacher who organizes such excursions.

The activities to which Roy refers certainly seem to bring the work of the school to a wider audience, but an audience which is perhaps already associated with the school - parents and relatives of the pupils who are involved in the activity - and this seems to be a different phenomenon from that described by Greg and Peter, where the teacher enters another, more public area of society apart from the school. In the case described by Roy, the headteacher is likely to be an important member of this audience since he holds promoted posts in the

school within his gift. The activities described by Greg and Peter seem to be intended for strategic presentation to those who are in influential public positions and who have power to influence teaching appointments beyond the boundary of the school. About teachers' motivations for indulging in E.C.As., Roy comments (8/36):-

Roy "I think that a fair proportion of teachers would be well aware of the possibilities that might result from extra-curricular activities that are engaged in. Not all. But a fair proportion would. I don't think it's idealism or the interests of the school that would lead a teacher to spend hours and hours after school and at week-ends. In many cases an ulterior motive would be in mind".

(Roy, 60, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

Roy is quick, however, to explain his own involvement in E.C.As. and to stress that this was not intended to serve a promotion function but was merely an outcome of his teaching subject, music. He says, on this topic (8/37):-

Roy ".....Although I do not pretend to be the world's greatest altruist, this was certainly not for any objective of promotion at all. The thought never crossed my mind. And there are teachers like that. My concern was to have a school making music".

(Roy, 60, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

Roy's presentation of himself in the above passage is one which contains elements common to the self presentations of other respondents. That is, they provide details of the career career strategies they believe some teachers to use, often

denigrating them as unworthy, but denying their own use of these and distancing themselves from them as tactics which they would ever be prepared to use. The following passage, provided by Len, is another example of this, and although I feel its inclusion is justified on these grounds, it also introduces another aspect of extra-curricular activities. This consists of teachers' involvement in voluntary work which engages them not so much in further contact with their pupils, but with the organization and administration of the school. Len's contribution here is unusual because, while he confirms teachers' involvement in E.C.A.s, he denies the efficacy of these in bringing about the desired promotion. In this passage his focus is upon 'working parties' (30/1/620):-

Len "We have working parties. We're a great school for working parties. You don't have to be on these working parties but teachers think that they have to be on them. They feel it's a way. Some of them are finding now, when money is very scarce, that it's not a way. And it's pretty obvious now that that is what they've done it for. Which to me makes it even more sickening. O.K., extra-curricular activities are important but you should do them because you want to do them".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history).

At this point in the interview Len began to speak about all the various E.C.As. in which he had taken part in the school and then added the following comment:-

Len "I can honestly say, hand on heart, that I have never thought to myself, 'This is going to get me promotion'. What I thought was, 'I've done a lot of work and that promotion would be very nice'".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history).

This seems to link with Protestant Work Ethic notions of deserved reward for the performance of altruistic acts and professionally-based duty.

The involvement in the administrative work of the school is identified as an overt promotion tactic by Alph and in the following account he describes the activities of a woman member of the staff of his school (20/1/211):-

Alph ".....she's a very ambitious woman. She's about my age - early thirties. She's on a scale one. She took as many jobs as she could. She was the Secretary of the N.U.T.; she was on this committee; that committee; and that other committee. She would step forward whenever someone was needed. And it was appalling to watch. She was downstairs in the office more than anyone else. And she's going to get the point as well. It's a successful strategy".
(Alph, 32, secondary, scale 1, French).

The phenomenon described above by Alph is similar to those 'be-seen' activities described by Jeff later in this study (23/1/234). The intention of these activities seems to be to make visible to others the industry and enthusiasm of the ambitious person. The success or failure of a working party is less likely to be attributed to the organizing person, while

the success or failure of school trips, and other ventures, might be associated with the supervising teacher. If a cynical involvement in E.C.As. is contemplated, then it would seem to be a safer strategy to indulge in those activities whose outcomes are likely to be rather non-specific and difficult to assess. Teachers who undertake to coach games' and sports' teams might find their voluntary work producing negative career results unless they could add to the school's display of silver plated trophies, or their acknowledged equivalent. Similarly, teachers who take groups of pupils to various parts of the world on short holidays must demonstrate success through returning the pupils unscathed. The career risk to the teacher, in the event of such ventures going awry, is great, and perhaps testifies to a genuine altruism. Involvement in routine organizational school matters might be more attractive 'be seen' activities since they entail much less risk of recognisable failure and career-damaging exposure.

Although few respondents were willing to acknowledge their own cynical involvement in E.C.As., Justin, a probationer art teacher, speaks here of his own involvement in 'extra work' as a deliberate strategy for his career advancement (32/1):-

Justin "I think you would be fooling yourself if you said you were doing it for purely altruistic reasons.....
...Ultimately I'm never very sure what 'altruism' means. Are people doing it for personal

gratification, or what? I don't suppose you would ever involve yourself in anything which you found to be dreadfully tedious. 'Though people do. People get involved in the fund-raising activities of our school purely and simply because it's a way of coming into contact with the senior management of the school. And, unless you've got a mind like an accountant, I think you'd probably find it desperately dull".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art).

These above comments seem to conform with the notions of Bennet's (1985) art teachers (see especially Table 2, p134).

The extract which now follows is from an interview with a teacher of English who speaks of his involvement in the 'school play' and in the production of the 'school magazine'. It is interesting to note the stimulus of being interviewed acting to jog the respondent's memory and he 'remembers' that he once used his involvement in E.C.As. as a means to promotion. His reference to 'England' is to distinguish this from his teaching in Singapore. Perry (25/1/225) says,

Perry ".....I suppose English teachers always get these jobs, and to some extent they are interesting jobs. In England I had been, as second in the department, running the school play and the school magazine, and that sort of thing.....
Although I always enjoyed producing plays, I never felt very confident about what I was doing. That wasn't my line. But running the school magazine I enjoyed.".

Int. "I just thought that they may be seen as vehicles for promotion, to some extent".

Perry "Oh yes. I think that's true. Yes. I do. You know, that's interesting, because I had forgotten that. Yes. It's true. To some extent I thought that I would get promotion in England from this sort

of activity. I remember going to the head and saying, 'Look, I'm doing the magazine and the play and this O level literature class; don't you think I might get some promotion?' Heads in those days used whatever extra funds they had to attract maths and science graduates; and they got very rapid promotion. And some of us rather resented that. And I did for one. I knew that the head would say that he was sympathetic but that he couldn't do it. And that's exactly what he said. I think I was looking for an excuse to pack it in and go abroad".

(Perry, 52, teacher training, principal lecturer, English).

I feel that an important idea is expressed by Perry in the first paragraph of the above passage where he says that, '.....as second in the department....' he was producing the school play and organizing the school magazine. There seems to be a notion that these tasks fell, traditionally, to the lot of whoever happened to be 'second' in the department. It is possible that these activities are perceived as useful devices for the career advancement of the 'second in command', while for the incumbent head of the department, they were not useful for further career advance. This seems to conform to ideas, already expressed in this section, of aspirants to higher posts having to demonstrate a commitment to other kinds of extra-curricular activities, and possibly to those which are intended for consumption by the wider community outside school.

In contrast with the views expressed by those teachers who saw E.C.As. as a means to promotion, there were others who had a different understanding. The main thrust of the argument of the following respondents is that E.C.As. ought not to be viewed as a device for the advancement of teachers' careers. Some of these notions are linked to the belief that, because of the link between teaching subject and associated E.C.As., this work ought not to be looked upon as extra but should be regarded as part of the normal teaching duties. The first extract which I shall use to demonstrate this view is provided by Alwyn, a science teacher who is also qualified to teach P.E., and working in a middle school (28/1/350):-

Alwyn "I don't think a teacher ought to expect promotion just because he is prepared to do this or that. In the classroom you might be hopeless. At organizing the rest of the department you might be hopeless. If you are going to be in charge of a department you should be there because you are competent to do that particular job. And if you are prepared to do anything extra, then that's a bonus. But I don't think that's anything to do with promotion".

Int. "So you don't think that extra-curricular activities should be used in considering a teacher's promotion? Because many heads use it to decide promotions".

Alwyn "No. I think that stinks. A headteacher using that as a lever? I think that a lot of P.E. staff, as you say, do a lot of extra work; refereeing. etc., because they consider it part of their professional job. I think that if you are a P.E. teacher you should be prepared, as part of your job, to do some extra".
(Alwyn, 29, middle, scale 2, science/P.E.)

Alwyn, in this extract, presents an extreme 'competence' model of promotion; that is, that promotion is given to the teacher who is effective in his teaching tasks, and that the demonstration of willingness to do extra tasks ought not to be a factor in deciding upon promotions. Alwyn shows a curious naivety in expressing surprise at my suggestion that a headteacher might take this teacher-willingness into consideration when promotions are being decided. I find it difficult to believe that this is a new idea to him, and especially so since at the time of this interview he was a forceful 'union' representative in his middle school, and was well aware of all the internal politics of the school. In explanation of his surprising comment I am able only to suggest that his teaching subject, physical education, has engendered in him such a close association with linked E.C.As. that he tends now not to separate his teaching activities from 'extra' work.

In a lengthier and more complex way David, also a P.E. teacher but working in a large secondary school, expresses a view similar to that of Alwyn's about the relationship between P.E. as a teaching subject and those E.C.As. which are traditionally associated with it. In reply to my question which asked if he thought teachers saw their involvement in E.C.As. as a means to aiding their promotion chances, David replies (37/1/630):-

David "I think that this is a lack of understanding of what P.E. is all about. It's certainly a lack of understanding on the part of the head. If you are going to say, 'Look Mr. Head, I've won all these cups. Don't you we're doing well?' And he might say, 'You're doing smashing'. My argument is, if you're doing maths and you come out at the end of the day and say, 'Look Mr. Headteacher, we've got twenty O level passes'. I would tend to say, 'Right. You've got twenty 'O level' passes, but you've got 180 failures. If that's the criterion - how many passes you get, or how many cups you get. If the head is only interested in the name of the school and how well the school appears to be doing in the newspapers, and this sort of thing, I would argue that this isn't necessarily a good thing. I would argue the case for doing away with school sports. Let's have more extra-curricular activities aimed at inter-year or inter-form sports".

Int. "Is it possible for some teachers to think as you do but, in realistic ways, seek promotion by impressing the head through extra work?"

David "I tend to be honest. That's maybe why I don't get very far. My wife said to me, 'You'd get much further if you just played the game'. I just can't. I am what I am. I have only certain things to offer. I'm an honest sort of chap. I care about kids".
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

David's account reverberates with the notions of a previous respondent, Roy, who spoke of the power of some E.C.As. to 'advertise' the school. David's comments suggest that there is a 'game to be played'; that some teachers are able to enhance their career in this way; and that it is, at least for David, incompatible with his notions of professional care for pupils.

An earlier comment made by Justin suggests that there is likely

to be some pleasurable outcome for the teacher who voluntarily involves himself in E.C.As. His comment was,

'I don't suppose you would involve yourself in anything which you found to be dreadfully tedious'.

Justin's statement is not a strong one but it is important in that it suggests a personal-interest component, and possibly a personal-expertise component too, besides the possible career advancing potential which involvement in E.C.As. might carry. This mixture of interest and expertise is well exemplified by Alph - a probationary teacher of French and a Frenchman - who, in his first appointment and in the space of his first year in school, had organized unprecedented 'trips' to France. In this extract he shows the pleasure which he derived from this (20/1/230):-

Alph "There hadn't been a trip for sixteen years in this school. I have now done two; one in February and one in June, and I'm taking one next week. But I'm not getting points for it. No way. I did it, not for that reason, but because it had never been done. Out of that a lot of things emerged. We now have a girls' football team. When I started to think about it, I was a bit on my own. Eventually a chain formed; a group of five of us. Only two from the French department".
(Alph, 32, secondary, scale 1, French)

The impact of the arrival of this dynamic young Frenchman upon the life of the school is modestly sketched out in the above account but momentous things seem to have happened:-

'Out of that a lot of things happened'. For a probationer to implement a French trip within five months of his arrival, and in a school where such a thing had not been done in sixteen years, could be construed as a deliberate attempt at attention seeking. It would have been interesting to discover the views of the established members of the French department about the revived French trip, and of their opinion of this new addition to the department whose extra-curricular efforts seem to make comment upon their own inertia.

Perhaps the strongest denial of the idea of teachers seeking promotion through E.C.As. comes from Jack who, at the age of sixty two, was on the point of retiring. During the interview he made repeated reference to his halcyon days as an English master in a grammar school. This extract contains one of these many references (21/1/330):-

Jack "I co-operated with other members of staff in running football sides and we took great pride in the S***** grammar school football side. The number of games they lost in a season was never very great. We were involved in that, and concerned about the reputation of the side, and we encouraged the talents of the boys. But I really don't think that anybody went into it with promotion in mind".

Int. "So you think that teachers tend not to see extra-curricular activities as ploys for career advancement?".

Jack "I can't say. I think every man has his perception of this situation and acts accordingly. But I would say that the happiest times I have spent in teaching

have been with people and boys who were giving their time for the hell of it".

(Jack, 62, teacher training, senior lecturer, English)

Jack's phrase, 'I think every man has his perception of this situation and acts accordingly', effectively reflects the perspective of this study and I am grateful to him for encapsulating this so neatly. Although a moderate man and not given to ready criticism of colleagues, Jack is clearly averse to those promotion-seeking activities which have been the subject of discussion in this section. I suspect too that he does not restrict this aversion to E.C.As. alone, but to all such acts which are consciously employed to bring about personal career objectives. His own charity does not permit him a direct attack upon such teachers but he ends his comments on this topic through the use of the words of T.S.Eliot's character, Thomas, in the play 'Murder in the Cathedral', to express his views for him:-

'The last temptation is the greatest treason:
To do the right deed for the wrong reason'.

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) There was a general understanding, among my respondents, that involvement in extra-curricular activities can be helpful in advancing the teacher's career, but there was also a division of opinion about the legitimacy of this expectation of E.C.As. Some respondents believed that this so-called 'extra' work was an essential and mandatory feature of the teaching role and that promotion was neither deserved nor to be expected from this.
- 2) There was an expressed notion that with increasing rank, the ambitious teacher, conscious of the career potential of E.C.As., must shift his focus of concentration from the narrow confines of the school to projects in the wider, extra-mural community. The benefits of this tactic seemed to be gained through the presentation of self to those gatekeepers who possessed more pervasive powers which would open career gates other than those located within the school. The headteacher's gatekeeping powers could perhaps be viewed as weak beyond the walls of the school and perhaps also for posts above his own bureaucratic rank.

- 3) Some respondents confessed to deriving pleasure from their voluntary work with pupils and especially when this was associated with the respondent's own area of interest. This pleasure did not necessarily preclude hopes of promotion rewards for their time and effort, although promotion did not seem to be the mainspring of their motivation.
- 4) While some respondents were able to identify colleagues' promotion-seeking intentions in E.C.A. involvement, few were prepared to admit the use of this tactic as the prime mover in their own commitment to E.C.As.
- 5) The teaching of some subjects seemed to involve respondents inevitably in certain E.C.As., and in some cases, almost as a daily routine; for example, music teachers' involvement in orchestral practice and P.E. teachers' coaching of 'of games' and sports' teams. Teachers of some subjects could be involved in E.C.As. at particular times of the year; the French trip; the school play; the production of the school magazine; the visit to Stratford-upon-Avon, or to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The different natures of the involvement required by the teacher in these different activities could evoke

different understandings of the role which E.C.As. might play in the furtherance of his career. If involvement in extra work is perceived as a requisite of teaching role, then it seems likely that E.C.As. will be regarded as neither a useful nor legitimate career enhancer. Teaching subjects which have a perceived normative element of extra work, such as the examples of music and P.E. given above, might however have recourse to other projects which could be viewed as extra to role requirement. Visits to musical festivals and performances or sporting visits to international matches, might serve as examples of these and could be perceived as levers in matters of promotion.

- 6) Some extra-curricular activities have the power to act as effective publicity agents for the school and might be perceived as useful in making career appeals to the headteacher through the projection of an enhanced school image.
- 7) Extra-curricular work which enhances the teacher's chances of promotion need not be confined to activities with pupils. The acceptance of administrative tasks or the initiation of change within the school, might increase the teacher's 'visibility' to gatekeepers. There is the possibility also that such activities might be viewed as of

greater worth to the school than any extra, recreative work with pupils.

PART THREE (cont).

AREAS OF FAVOURABLE SELF-PRESENTATION POTENTIAL.

Chapter 7. The Teaching Subject.

Contents:-

Page 177 - The Teaching Subject.

Page 190 - Summary and Conclusions.

Although teachers might have well-founded notions of the intrinsic worth and importance of their teaching subject, in matters of career advancement they will have access to another set of understandings which inform them of the ways in which different teaching subjects are regarded by colleagues, parents, general public, and by various gatekeepers who guard passage to higher posts. Hargreaves, D. (1980, p133) states that 'Subject expertise is the primary attribute of status differentiation among teachers.....' and Sikes et al (1985, p203) cite the headmaster's view of any subject as important for the award of both resources and status to it. This however may depend upon other factors too and the one head's views need not always be in accord with those of other heads. Some headteachers could be influenced by the traditional honour accorded to subjects which are able to claim high academic reputation (Ball, 1982; Goodson, 1981); while other heads might be influenced by the subject's ability to provide a favourable economic return in the world of work (Ball, 1981).

Through the variation in entry requirements to higher education (see Reid, 1972; Watts, 1981); through lingering prejudices of 'academic' and 'practical' subjects; of 'basic' and

'peripheral'; of 'compulsory' and 'optional'; an edifice of subject hierarchies is constructed in the consciousness of both teachers and general public. Variation in people's perception of subject hierarchies might soon have to adapt to the unifying force of the Education Reform Bill which received its second reading in the House of Commons in December, 1987 and which specifies the three core subjects of English, science and mathematics, and the seven foundation subjects of history, geography, technology, a modern foreign language, art, music and physical education (H.M.S.O. 1987, p1).

The hierarchy of teaching subjects is manifested in schools in a number of observable ways and these have palpable effects upon the careers of teachers, both positively and negatively. For example, the greater amount of timetable time allocated to some subjects, with a consequently larger teaching staff; the greater number of scale points available to certain subject departments; and the generally higher scales available to the heads of these departments, are all manifestations of the relative importance which can be attributed to some subjects over others.

These variations can function to inform teachers of their likely career trajectory. In the respondent utterances which I have used in this section of the study, few respondents

claimed that their own teaching subject had been, or was likely to be, a positive help in the furtherance of their career; more testified to their perception of the handicap which they felt themselves to be under because of their subject. However, although generally critical of the lack of power of subject to influence career, some respondents were acutely perceptive of what they saw as the career benefits which they believed were enjoyed by colleagues who taught other subjects.

Through these understandings it might be thought that the ambitious teacher, conscious of the handicap of his lowly-rated subject, might attempt a strategical shift to some more promising subject area. However, there may be reasons why teachers cannot, or will not, do this. There may be, for example, few opportunities for them to study an academic subject to a sufficient depth; many of the degrees and other awards for which teachers study, after their initial training, are not subject based but are oriented towards the conventional education disciplines of psychology, social psychology, sociology, philosophy, etc. and thus do not fit teachers to make a shift of teaching subject expertise. In addition, the teacher's original decision to enter teaching might have been founded upon an interest in some particular subject (see Measor and Woods, 1985, p180); the decision to teach might have come after the subject expertise had been

gained, as in traditional degree study at university followed by a P.G.C.E. at a college of education or polytechnic. Departure from original subject area might be associated with loss of status, through leaving a position within a department, and the loss of identity as a teacher with specific subject expertise.

Shift of teaching subject expertise might be more easily possible in pre-secondary schooling where the level of subject expertise is perhaps lower. It might then be possible to effect these changes more in primary and middle than in secondary schooling, and in the main, I think that teachers are likely to remain within an academic area which is familiar to them and in which they feel comfortable.

A number of my respondents were aware of a 'career ceiling' which they perceived being imposed upon them by the constraints of their teaching subject. Some subjects were believed to be ones which were not often used as a recruiting source for headteachers or deputy-headteachers and so a career ceiling of head of department, or head of year, seemed to be the highest office to which these teachers could aspire. Peter, a teacher of music who became a deputy-head in a primary school, here explains that he accomplished this only through the deliberate strategy of refusing a head-of-music post and thus avoiding the

narrowed career confines into which he felt this would place him. He explains his thinking in the following passage (24/1/120) and shows his belief that the career ceiling of scale 2, or 3, is the social cost of specialization in music:-

Peter "..The idea of a musician becoming a deputy-head, doing solely music, is a non-starter. The musician is never promoted. He's good enough for a scale 2, or a scale 3, but above that.....!
(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

Roy also provides some evidence to support this view of the music teacher, and others, being excluded from management posts because of their envelopment in their subject which insulates them from the wider problems of the school (5/1/8-20):-

Roy "I think that people who study art, P.E. or music, are normally considered to be particularly single-minded in the pursuit of these subjects. And, in a sense, classed as being in a world of their own".
(Roy, 59, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

Although Roy does not mention the term 'specialization' in the above passage, he seems to be making reference to this in his notions of single-mindedness and being 'in a world of their own'. However, in the following passage he explains that there are other views of music teachers which also inhibit their career advancement. He suggests, like Peter, that the music teacher tends not to receive promotion because they are not considered able enough to perform management tasks (5/15):-

Roy "When I began teaching, local authorities tended to take the view that music teachers, on the whole, were rather impractical men and women who could not be trusted to deal with the kind of administrative problems one finds occupying the life of a head, or a deputy head. And so music specialists, on the whole, get rather a poor deal when it comes to matters of promotion".
(Roy, 59, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

Some teachers of physical education also felt that their subject imposed a career ceiling upon them, although this was made more complex by their perception of strongly age-related landmarks; for example, the need to achieve head of department status before being considered too old for this rank and the understanding that they will not be able to continue to teach P.E. through to the end of their career. An extended career in P.E. may not then be contemplated and so some shift into another teaching subject, or administrative area, might have to be sought. David, in his mid-thirties and alive to the prospect of ageing without promotion in physical education, regrets his lack of sufficient preparation for this contingency in the following passage (37/1/234):-

David "I wish I had done something else as well. But I was so keen on P.E. that I didn't want to teach anything else".
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

There was some confirmation of Sikes et al's (1985) view of the power of headteachers to impose their own understanding of a

subject hierarchy in David's account of his head's unwillingness to award periods of 'secondment' to subjects which were not considered to be important enough to warrant this. In this way, teachers of 'less important subjects' were perceived to suffer some career damage through failure to gain further expertise, or added academic qualifications, through a period of full-time seconded study. Will believes his headteacher holds this view of P.E. (15/1/582):-

Will "I don't think the 'Boss' sees P.E. having a very important bearing on the school".
(Will, 40, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

The extreme in views of P.E. as an unlikely career vehicle was expressed by a university tutor when addressing a group of teachers who had just completed a one year, full-time Master's degree course in physical education. His advice to them is reported by Andy (26/2/575):-

'If you want to get on, get out of P.E.'

Some P.E. respondents had already given thought to their second subject and of the possibility of teaching this if necessary in later years. Biology and C.D.T. were both mentioned as useful second subjects and Andy showed how notions of subject shortage influenced his perception of the suitability of C.D.T. as a support for his physical education teaching. He says (26/1/316):-

Andy ".....My geography second subject is not as strong.
I feel job chances would be better if my second
subject had been craft rather than geography.
Only because of supply and demand".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

The understanding of certain subject teachers being in scarce supply was particularly mentioned by C.D.T. teachers and I produce two examples of this here. Walter, speaking here as a student in his first interview with me, shows his confidence about finding a suitable teaching post (2/9):-

Walter "We are supposed to be somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000 'Craft' teachers short".
(Walter, 35, secondary, scale 1, C.D.T.)

The date of this interview was March 1981, a time when some newly-qualified teachers were still unable to find a teaching appointment.

Thomas, a C.D.T. teacher, shows in this extract that he believes that the three subjects which he is able to offer are all ones of short supply (34/1/480):-

Thomas "I've got a second string to my bow. In fact I've got a third string. I've got music and I've got maths as well. All three of these are shortage subjects. You see, music's a shortage subject too".
(Thomas, 37, secondary, scale 1, C.D.T./maths)

Although it may be convenient to regard teaching subjects as wholes and to perceive these to have the influence to enhance

the career prospects of teachers, one teacher of biology showed that this notion was made complicated by the varied statuses accruing to different components of the subject. In the following utterance he shows that, among the physical sciences, biology is regarded as of inferior status to other sciences and thus provides reduced career opportunities for its teachers. This is the extract from Frank's account (39/2/330):-

Frank ".....for some reason biology was a sort of Cinderella subject when compared with the physical sciences, and therefore heads of science departments were rarely biologists. They would be chemists or physicists. And therefore, I suppose, there was more chance of one of those, if they were interested in going further, becoming deputies or whatever. But the biologist couldn't even become head of the science department".
(Frank, 49, teacher training, senior lecturer, biology)

The term 'Cinderella subject' is one which some of the respondents of Sikes et al (1985) use in their accounts (see for example Christine, 33, physics, p 204).

Frank goes on to show that he feels that the status of physics emanates from the arduousness which the study of the subject presents; 'I think (physics) is the most demanding of all subjects'. And of physicists he says, 'There are not so many of them and they are therefore in great demand'. Compare this with the comments of Margery, one of Sikes, Measor and Woods'

respondents (1985, p184) and head of chemistry who says,
'.....physicists are rather peculiar people. They keep to themselves but they are rather odd'.

Jeavons (1969), referring to the teaching of science, suggests that as well as differences between disciplines there may also be many differences within the same disciplines.

Although other respondents did not mention this complication of differential status within a subject area, it is conceivable that the component parts of the subject of craft, design and technology, might be so distinguished from each other. The Education Reform proposals of 1987 make mention of one 'foundation' subject as 'technology in all its aspects' (H.M.S.O., 1987, p1), but there is no corresponding mention of 'craft' or 'design'. The great number of different areas in physical education seems to indicate this also as an area where a variation in status, or importance, might be accorded each of these; for example, water sports, athletics, gymnastics, dance, major games, and others, and a teacher's career could be influenced perhaps by the regard in which his particular area of expertise is held. Almost any teaching subject in school seems to provide a range of areas in which a variation of importance and status might be located. Modern foreign languages, for example, do not provide equal opportunities for their teachers since some of these languages are in greater

demand than others. This is a topic which was not well articulated by respondents but it seems to complicate notions of subject hierarchy in terms of a simple identification with a broad subject categorization.

Some respondents associated their career prospects with the status of their initial-training institution. Physical education teachers, in particular, believed that the reputation of their college would single them out in the first sweep to compile a 'long list' for teaching appointments. Since my interviews were carried out in the north-east of England, the comments of respondents in this matter tend to focus on only one establishment. Here are a few comments on this subject:-

Vincent "Heads of P.E. departments in school, 'ex-Carnegie' men,..... ask for a 'Carnegie' man".
(Vincent, 22, secondary, student, P.E.)

Andy "Coming from 'Carnegie', I think my chances are good. I think it will get you an interview, if not the job. I think that 'Carnegie' has a wide reputation. Certainly, I think that the chances of getting a job in the north would be strongly influenced by 'Carnegie'".
(Andy, 22, secondary, student, P.E./geography)

Some respondents were happy about their chosen teaching subject and of its potential for enhancing their career. Even Alan, an over-fifty middle school teacher of geography and disappointed with his scale two rank, speaks favourably of geography as a useful subject for career, although he limits his comments to middle-school teaching. He says (29/1/582):-

Alan "I think, if you are aiming for middle schools, that geography is an ideal subject to have. Geography and history are good subjects for career because social studies are grounded in geography and history".
(Alan, 53, middle, scale 2, geography/P.E.)

More respondents, however, were not happy with their subject choice and in the following extract Greg, whose main subject at college was history, shows here that he now prefers to teach mathematics. His notions are located in middle school teaching and do not seem to involve conscious career tactics. In response to my question 'What subject would you study now if you had your opportunities again?' he replied (9/1/14):-

Greg "I would have taken maths, I think. It's a subject in which I am particularly interested now. I would say 'though, from a teaching point of view, at the time you go to college you want to develop a subject which is your strength and in which you have an interest. But I think that I can say without a shadow of doubt that I could get more pleasure out of teaching maths in a middle school than out of teaching history".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Some respondents showed that their perception of the increased career opportunities offered by some subjects encouraged them

to seek some formal training in this so that a transfer to the teaching of the new subject could be made. Greg shows how the introduction of French teaching in first schools afforded him an opportunity to increase his own expertise in this in the hope of career advantage (9/19):-

Greg "I had been a bit of a pioneer in the first school, especially in L***** R***, where the kids were highly prejudiced academically; had little or no chance to shine at all but.....It all started as a bit of a gimmick. We started to do a bit of French teaching. The school got a bit of a reputation for this and I saw this as another area which might be useful to me, and I followed up with several courses out of school time; teachers' centre, polytechnic, that kind of thing".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Some respondents saw potential in their teaching subject for publicising the school and enhancing its reputation, although the activities which might accomplish this tend to be done as extra-curricular activities and were discussed earlier in Chapter 6 of this study. Jeff, however, showed his perception of the favourable career opportunities of teaching certain subjects and of the lack of reward in teaching other subjects. I stress that these are Jeff's own perceptions of these phenomena and perhaps represent a minority viewpoint. These are his views (1/16):-

Jeff "I think there's a bit of a drawback in the structure in that some subjects can be seen to be taught. If you are, say, an art teacher, or a woodwork teacher, or a P.E. teacher, your abilities are seen to be done.

You get a football team that wins a cup; then the reward is self-evident. But if you teach subjects like geography, and history, and English and maths, then these tend to be more abstract by comparison. The results are not so obvious so the credit that you get for these is a little bit limited. Unless you spend your days putting things on the wall with the sole intent of advertising what you have done.
(Jeff, 35, special middle, scale 3S, history)

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) Many respondents spoke of the poor potential for self presentation of their teaching subject and this perception perhaps created an increased awareness of the need to resort to other areas of self-presentation, for example, extra-curricular activities, or study for further qualifications, in an attempt to advance career.
- 2) There was an understanding of the differential power of subjects to further teachers' careers. Certain subjects, for example music, P.E. and C.D.T. were thought to be weak ones for advancing the teacher's status beyond that of head of department. The low regard with which these subjects were often held by colleagues, headteachers, and others, was thought to contribute to this potential for a low career ceiling.

- 3) There were understandings expressed of the power of some subjects to publicise the school, or to project a favourable school image to the public by way of games' and athletics' teams, school orchestra, school plays, etc., and this notion overlaps with the potential of extra-curricular activities in enhancing the teacher's career (see Part 3,i, of this study).
- 4) P.E. teachers were unique in the attention which they gave to the importance of their second subject. It is possibly through a reference to ageing and a curtailed career in P.E. that attention to second subject was perceived to be necessary. New entrants to teaching showed a greater awareness of this problem than did other, older P.E. teachers, and this could be due to attitudes imbued in these new entrants during their more recent college courses (see Sikes, 1986, pp193 -201 on P.E. teachers' perception of their own ageing).
- 5) An awareness of a shortfall in the numbers of teachers in a particular subject encouraged a presentation of self based upon the scarcity of subject expertise; C.D.T., music, maths and French were mentioned by respondents as shortage subjects. Although there may be a general

shortfall in some subjects throughout England, there are likely to be local variations in this which produce gluts and shortfalls in different areas and which do not correspond with the current national picture.

- 6) There were notions of stereotypes attaching to some subjects and that these could influence career progress. Teachers of P.E. were thought to be, for example, good disciplinarians and were then in a favourable position when posts requiring this attribute were being offered. However, the practical, non-academic image of the P.E. teacher and the C.D.T. teacher, were thought to function to retard career progress beyond the level of department head.
- 7) P.E. teachers, and in particular the few newly-qualified teachers who served as respondents, spoke of the power of the reputation of their initial-training establishment in enhancing opportunities for their first appointment. This was not well articulated in terms of continued career but a perception of geographically-based preferential consideration was expressed about promotion within the area of P.E. when in competition with teachers trained in other, P.E. establishments. These notions were not extended into university education by respondents, but there may be

perceptions among gatekeepers of the reputation of particular universities, polytechnics and colleges for the teaching of particular subjects, and these perceptions could be effective in projecting a self-presentation when in competition with others.

- 8) There were also notions of specialization which worked to lock certain teachers into the confines of their own subject and provide few opportunities to demonstrate more general qualities which might fit the teacher for management and administrative school tasks and statuses. However, this notion might be confined to those areas of schooling where generalist skills are perceived to be a greater requirement than specialisms.
- 9) The variations of status between different teaching subjects were shown to be more complex when the variation within subject areas was exposed. Although science was a subject of high status, not all sciences were accorded the same honour. Physics, for example, was thought to be the highest ranking science - its difficulty of mastery was given as the reason for this - and heads of science departments were perceived as tending to be physicists and rarely biologists.

I suggest that this variation within subjects might be found in other teaching subject areas, with similar consequences for differential objective career rewards. Perceptions of the high status of some foreign languages for example, might allow a favourable self-presentation; similarly, craft, design and technology, physical education and other subjects contain components which could act as differentiators of those who teach in these areas.

PART THREE (cont).

AREAS OF FAVOURABLE SELF-PRESENTION POTENTIAL.

Chapter 8. Study Activities.

Contents:-

Page 196	-	Study Activities.
Page 199	-	1) Reasons for Study a: Self-improvement and Satisfaction.
Page 202	-	Reasons for Study b: Widening Career Prospects.
Page 207	-	Reasons for Study c: Competing with Others.
Page 212	-	2) Effects of study.
Page 220	-	Summary and Conclusions.

Apart from final-year students, probationers, and some other teachers who were in the very early years of their teaching career, the majority of my respondents had undertaken some study, additional to their initial teaching qualification, in the course of their teaching career and some were engaged in study during the time of their interviews. Some respondents had had various periods of secondment for full-time study for specific academic or professional awards while others had studied for similar awards on a part-time basis. Some few were able to give accounts of both these arrangements for formal study.

At interview, respondents were asked to make comment upon the study they had done, or were doing; of their reasons or motivations for this, and of their perceptions of the career effects which study had had, or were likely to have. Since such study can be difficult and stressful, it seemed likely that teachers who undertook further study would perceive some reward in it for them, and it is with teachers' reasons for study and the career outcome of this that this section of the work is concerned. Twenty-one of my thirty-one respondents were able to provide accounts which developed the notion of

'Study' and I have given space to the utterances of many of these in the pages to follow.

Respondents produced a great deal of material in articulating their reasons for study, much of this being very complex, diffuse, and not easily contained within discrete categories. However, after isolating and scrutinizing utterances which informed this topic, I have reduced the content of responses to the following three broad elements:-

- a) Self-improvement and satisfaction.
- b) Widening career prospects and options.
- c) Competing with others.

There were other aspects of study which were clearly important to teachers which came to light in the course of interviewing but which have not been incorporated into this section. For example, what some respondents chose to refer to as 'paper qualifications' were criticised as features of some of the study courses which they had experienced, while the perceived difficulties of both full-time and part-time study provoked strong comment also, but particularly part-time study.

Respondents' condemnation of some of the courses of study which they had experienced, and the difficulties they had had in the study of these, seemed to me to pose difficulties for valid

inclusion within the parameters of this thesis. However, I feel that it is important to record that strong emotions were aroused by both of these topics and it is with some regret that I structure this section of the study without them and in the following way:-

1) Reasons for Study.

- a) Self-improvement and Satisfaction.
- b) Widening career Prospects and Options.
- c) Competing with Others.

2) Effects of Study.

1) Reasons for Study a: Self-improvement and Satisfaction.

I use the accounts of four respondents in this section to illustrate the components of 'self-improvement' and 'satisfaction' derived from study. The first example is from Jeff (1/1/63) and he speaks here about his study for an Open University degree:-

Jeff ".....There is nothing to work for, in the sense of striving for promotion, to better yourself".

Int. "Why do you continue to work for further degrees then?"

Jeff "This is for my own satisfaction. There is not much point in packing in. You've just got to keep on and ticking over".

(Jeff, 35, special middle, scale 35, history)

Jeff's notions about his reasons for study are confusing and his comments tend to be negative, betraying the disenchantment he feels about his career and evident in all three of his interviews. However, he seems to be firm about his own Open University degree having been done for intrinsic reasons - - 'my own satisfaction'. Later in this section it will become evident that Jeff has other career intentions of his study activities.

Greg provides the next example (13/1/9) and speaks of his Open University degree:-

Greg "I feel that the letters you get after your name, which you get through having obtained a degree, are regarded as more substantial as a recognition of your academic ability than just the Teachers' Certificate.....
.....I did my Open University degree in sociology, psychology and curriculum. So I was not just obtaining a 'B.A.', full-stop; or being able to quote that for personal glorification; or regarding myself as any better than any of my colleagues. I was, at the same time, doing something that would benefit me in my job. The real reason for embarking on the 'O.U.' course was self improvement.
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg's feelings of 'self-improvement', which he claims to have gained from his study, seem to be bound up with his acquired capability to present himself as someone who has more 'academic ability' than someone with a teachers' certificate only. This is perhaps how he has come to regard his study as 'something that would benefit me in my own job'.

Like Greg, the following account by Alan (29/2/107) shows an awareness of the career potential of study for a part-time B.Ed. but claims that the dominant reason is 'for me really':-

Alan "..... I had just finished a three-year, one-night-a-week course on geology; an 'extension certificate' they call it, and I was in the mood for listening. It was the first year of the part-time B.Ed. and so I thought I'd have a bash and see".

Int. "And so you didn't see this particularly as a lever for promotion?"

Alan "No. It was for me really. Although as I was doing it, I thought, 'Maybe when it's over, there may be something in it for me'. To me, it seemed to

misfire".

(Alan, 53, middle, scale 2, geography/P.E.)

The last extract in this section is from an interview with Len (30/2/71-117) who cites intellectual stimulation as well as professional reasons for his one-year of full-time study for a diploma in education:-

Len "I wanted it just for my own satisfaction, but the main reason was that I had taught in this school for fifteen years and I felt that I needed to stimulate myself. I'd been on short courses - odd days - but this was the first 'secondment'. The reason I had not done this before was because I didn't feel a need to. I didn't feel frustrated. I knew what I was doing. I felt that promotion would come. Although I didn't see this as a means towards promotion".

Int. "You didn't?"

Len "Not really. I thought it might help me if I applied for promotion outside the school, and I think it will, if I ever come to that situation. But in fact, that won't arise - unless it's a school locally - because we have already decided that we are going to stay where we are. And I've spent a lot of money doing the house up".

(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Although I do not deny respondents' urge for 'self improvement' - whatever is meant by this term - through study activities, there is the possibility that they might also hope to make a presentation of self as an 'improved person' in settings where career rewards are available.

This notion seems to be consonant with understandings of the

Protestant Ethic which has received some attention earlier in this study. The essence of this is that industry is perceived not simply as its own reward but deserves some more tangible recognition. The teacher who gains a formal academic award through study may indeed reap a reward which he may associate with his inner self, but if some promotion happens his way then his study efforts might serve to justify and legitimate this promotion to himself, and perhaps also to his colleagues. There seems to be an ethic at work in some of these utterances which suggests that study for a formal academic qualification, for the sole purpose of gaining promotion, is professionally unacceptable. The theme of 'self-improvement' seems to be needed to justify study efforts and to protect the teacher from accusations of career self-seeking.

Reasons for Study__b: Widening Career Prospects.

Another reason which some respondents gave to explain their motivation for study was that of increasing their career options through gaining an award, academic or professional, which might permit entry into some other area of teaching. Here are the accounts of five respondents which best exemplify this understanding.

Vincent, at this time a fourth-year student specializing in

physical education, informed me in preliminary discussion that he intended to proceed directly to Master's degree study on completion of his B.Ed.(Hons) degree. He had been accepted for this on condition that he received a 'first' or a 'top second' class degree. He speaks here about the topic in a subsequent interview (3/1/8).

Vincent "..... It's (the Master's degree) in recreational management. The reason I've chosen this is because I feel that teacher training in physical education, which is what I have done, limits me to that and only that. There are no other real outlets. And I don't see myself teaching for the rest of my life. And I felt that this is the one way that I could get out into other fields such as business management and things like that".
(Vincent, 22, secondary, student, P.E.)

Andy (6/1/14), an exact contemporary of Vincent above, is also about to graduate in physical education and speaks here of his intentions for further study:-

Andy "..... I would like to do a 'Master's'. I think that would open up other fields.....
I think I would choose a specific area of P.E. to do my 'Master's'. The academic side of P.E."

Int. "Hoping for another kind of post through this?"

Andy "A lectureship, I suppose, in the end".
(Andy, 22, secondary, student, P.E./geography)

Although many teachers of physical education may come to see a need to leave their area of expertise as their career unfolds, perhaps because of their own ageing or their perception of

poor promotion prospects, Vincent and Andy both consider further study for career mobility reasons while they are still in their student days. Andy is prepared to remain in physical education, although he does speak of 'other fields', but Vincent already perceives the limitations of his proposed area of teaching and seems to be determined to leave (see McDonald, 1981; Sikes, 1986).

The following two respondents, Jeff and Will, are now discussed together because of their similarities. Jeff has already obtained an Open University degree while Will is in the process of studying for a degree of the same university. In their studies both have selected courses mainly in psychology, so that for both of them the same objective is attained, that is, membership of the British Psychological Society. At the time of the interview Jeff had recently made a move from the special school area to a middle school and now teaches there in a unit for children with defective vision. Through a full-time year of seconded study in P.E., Will effected his transfer from middle school teaching to specialist P.E. teaching in a comprehensive school. In the following passage (15/2/110) Will explains how the Open University courses which he has chosen to do will help him to gain membership of the British Psychological Society:-

Will. "I'm doing Psychology, E201; 'Personality and Learning'; and DS262, 'Introduction to Psychology'. Both are recognised as qualifications for the B.P.S." (Will, 40, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

In the same interview (15/1/687) Will shows that he is contemplating further study when his Open University courses are completed:-

Will. "I've been thinking about educational psychology, because I think I could get another secondment".

Int. "To do what?"

Will. "A one-year diploma in educational psychology, and then I could actually start practising as an educational psychologist. Another possibility is to move into sports' psychology, and maybe a part-time 'Master's'". (Will, 40, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

In the following passage Jeff shows that, although he already has his Open University degree, he has returned to study further courses in psychology at this university so that he might gain eligibility for membership of the B.P.S. Like Will, he too has plans for a Master's degree but is much further forward in these:-

Jeff "I can speak very highly about that (O.U.study). This is the ideal opportunity for people who, for domestic reasons, are unable to pack in their full-time employment but you can gain a qualification. And in a sense, we are hoping that the qualification is on a par, if not having a slight edge on these full-time courses. Because employers hopefully realise the merits of this and that credit is received for the efforts that have to be made, after work, to

study for this qualification".

Int. "Which courses did you follow for your 'O.U.' degree?"

Jeff "All were psychological courses. I have gone back at the moment and I have one half-credit to do. I am hoping to gain membership of the British Psychological Society. In the meantime, in October 1980 this year, I start my M.Ed. at Leeds University. This is a two-year, part-time study".
(Jeff, 35, special middle, scale 3S, history)

In a later interview with Jeff, some three years after having provided the above comments, he shows that although he has not yet been awarded B.P.S. membership he still hopes to receive this. He is also engaged in further planning for a Master's degree (23/2/60):-

Int. "And what about your own study? Have you now qualified for the B.P.S.?"

Jeff "Yes. But I haven't got it yet. I hope to get it next year. I've done all the exams and it's now just a matter of waiting to see if I'm accepted. It's a 'closed shop'. But I want to be part of this 'closed shop'. I've worked for this since 1973 with only one year off. Ten years!
.....this could lead to a one-year course at Sheffield or Manchester for the M.Sc. in Educational Psychology. The numbers they take are low. Eight or ten students a year. It's a lottery".
(Jeff, 38, special middle, scale 3S, history.)

There seems to be a need in Jeff to have some project, in the form of a course of study, on his horizon. He has had little good fortune with applications for other teaching posts and is possibly the most disillusioned of my respondents. Perhaps the prospect of some course of study provides him with

a hope for the future which has been denied him in his quest for promotion. He seems to have no other tactic to increase his chances of promotion other than to think in terms of further academic awards and thus to present himself eventually as an academically well-qualified educational psychologist.

Reasons for Study c: Competing with Others.

The extracts from interview transcripts of the following four respondents show the hopes which they had for the power of their study activities to help in the advancement of their career, through placing them in a more powerful position vis-a-vis their competitors. The first passage is provided by Jack (21/1/538) a sixty-two year old tutor in a polytechnic school of education who speaks of his Master's degree study of the early 1960s when he was teaching in a State school:-

Jack "..... It was done the hard way. Part-time. Two evenings a week. Examinations and a dissertation. I think I began it prior to being a senior English master and I thought that a Master's degree might possibly help".

Int. "So you had a sort of plan?"

Jack "Well, if it was a plan, that was as far as it went. It was merely a case of having comparable qualifications with people with whom one had to compete. And also it was an opportunity of extending one's experience, in as much as I did it in adult education".
(Jack, 62, teacher training, senior lecturer, English)

Greg (9/1/20) shows a clearer understanding of the competitive power which he felt the possession of a degree would bring. He suggests, however, a recent devaluation in the currency of bachelor degrees - 'Nowadays there are far more graduates in education' - a reference, it would seem, to the demise of the teachers' certificate and the establishment of the B.Ed. degree as the mandatory teaching qualification:-

Greg "I think that that was also one of the things that motivated me to do the Open University degree. That I could see, again if I was ambitious enough to climb the ladder, that all things being equal, the graduate would get it over the non-graduate. Nowadays there are far more graduates in education".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

In a later interview (13/1/9) Greg shows further his belief in the power of added qualifications in overcoming competition:-

Greg ".....if you are going to seek promotion, people are going to look for extras, as it were. If everyone is a qualified teacher with a certain amount of experience, they are going to look to see what people can offer as a bonus. To see what else you've got".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

This seems to be a policy for the ever increasing acquisition of higher academic qualifications. In the near future, when all teachers are graduates, a Master's degree might then be looked upon as the extra of which Greg speaks and which will function to distinguish ambitious teachers from their competitors.

Greg has, it seems, a very firm idea of the stronger competitive position which his Open University degree will afford, despite his perception of the recent flow of graduates into teaching. Because he trained at a time before the establishment of the B.Ed. degree as the basic teaching qualification, he views his 'O.U.' degree as an 'extra'. His phrase, 'The graduate will get it over the non-graduate', confirms his view of the power of degree qualifications in enhancing a teacher's promotional chances.

David (37/1/364) is frank about his aim of increasing his earning capacity through the acquisition of a B.Ed.(Hons) degree but shows that he at first thought that this might also be helpful to him in his search for another post, which implies being successful in competition with others, and perhaps also in making a move out of physical education:-

Int. "What was your motivation for doing this study?"

David "Well, two things really. The main thing was financial. I got five increments on completion of the degree. I went straight to the top of my scale. So it was worthwhile for that. But also, I thought it was a good qualification; which I hadn't got, because I felt, when I was applying for jobs, I was applying with a teachers' certificate, and I thought that an honours' degree would go some way. So, having got that, I thought, 'Here I am. Reasonably well qualified. I'll apply for jobs'. So, I must have applied for about thirty jobs in the space of four or five months. All scale three or four. You

see, I'm on a scale two but with an E.P.A. allowance; so I'll have to go for a 'three' or a 'four' to make the move worthwhile".

Int. "Were they all P.E. posts?"

David "No. Some of them were for head of middle school; head of house; that sort of thing.

Int. "So you applied for about thirty jobs. How did they turn out?"

David "I had my references taken up for one. I got replies from about four; 'Thank you for your interest in this post, which has now been filled'. The one reference that was taken up was for the head of P.E. at another school".

(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

In the above passage David shows that he viewed the addition of a B.Ed.(Hons) degree as an important one for his teaching qualification in physical education and he has been encouraged to apply for head of P.E. jobs on that basis. He shows, too, that he is prepared to leave the area of P.E. and to seek head of house or head of year posts. As yet, his academic attainments seem to have gone unrewarded, apart from the award of additional salary increments, and in the following passage he tries to account for the failure of his newly acquired degree to facilitate his promotional efforts.

David "You see, with a degree in education, a B.Ed., I'm still limited to teaching P.E. Fair enough, I had got a degree; but what had I got a degree in? What else could I put on my application form? I could perhaps teach sociology, if the school had a sociology course".

(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

David feels that his degree in education does not have the power to effect a move out of P.E. and he shows, in the following passage, how his P.E. identity puts him in a weak competitive position with his colleagues for posts within the management area of the school:-

David. "Since I have been at this school, there has been the head of lower school job and the head of middle school job. So I had been to the head when I knew these were coming up and I told her that I would be interested in doing them. Her reply was that she didn't want - she was honest with me - she didn't want a P.E. person in that job. She said that if she had an urgent problem she didn't want to have to send to the playing fields for me and have me come up in my dirty kit to talk to parents".
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

The headteacher here declares herself to be apprehensive of the presentation of self which a P.E. teacher, as head of middle school, might make to visiting parents.

Mike (31/2/25) has a comparatively simple and uncluttered understanding of teachers' purposes in studying for degrees:-

Mike "But if a person feels that gaining a B.Ed., or any qualification, is going to help him, he will do it for only one reason; and that's to aid his chances of promotion".
(Mike, 53, primary, scale 3, music/P.E.)

2) Effects of Study.

Whatever purposes which teachers have in mind when they embark upon a course of study, the outcomes of this may not always coincide with the original intentions. Those 'reasons for study' which were discussed earlier in this section may have been realised by those who declared them, but there are also those who have failed to profit from their course of study in the ways which they had expected. Study for some specific award may then produce unexpected effects, favourable as well as unfavourable for the teacher, and so the presentation of self which was intended as the outcome of his study efforts, may not be possible. It is to this topic which I now turn. My first extract is from Greg's second interview. Greg has experienced rapid upward career mobility in teaching and although a deputy-head at the time of this interview, his appointment to headship was not far off. In the following passage I enquire of him his opinion of his Open University degree in helping him to gain his promotion (13/1/9):-

Greg "I don't know that it has. All I do know is that it has instilled more confidence in me. It also gave me the confidence to know that the job I was going to do, I was capable of doing. Because I had studied the areas in which I was supposed to be an expert and I had proved I could do it.

Int. "I meant, rather, do you think that it impressed those people whose task it is to promote teachers?".

Greg "Yes. I think it must do. People recognise that anybody who embarks on an Open University degree, or any external degree course, has got to have a fair bit of mettle. Because they are doing a job, 8.30 'till 4.00, and then picking up in the evening in their own spare time. And being prepared to put a lot of work into it. I think it gets recognition from that point of view. The dedication that you are prepared to show. The drive that you are prepared to show. The drive that you are prepared to show in an effort to increase your education and to get on".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

The way in which study has favourable effects upon career, as expressed by Greg, is less through a gaining of knowledge and expertise than by a self presentation of qualities of 'drive', 'dedication' and 'mettle'. The favourable effects of study upon the perceptions of these 'others', in Greg's experience, is in contrast with the experiences of Alan. His part-time B.Ed. degree, which he studied for in his late 'forties', is perceived by him to have had repercussions upon his social relations with his immediate colleagues, all of which seem to have been unfavourable. This is Alan's account (29/1/304):-

Alan "I went off and did a B.Ed. course and the climate changed - the climate between me and some of the staff. The deputy-head for one. We became poles apart. He came into the staffroom one day and told me to get off my backside and start earning my scale two. I was sitting down during a free period, as it happened; it was non-teaching time. And that was because somebody had complained that people were not helping enough with teams. I went to see the head about it".

Int. "Are you one of the few people with a degree in the school?".

Alan "The head did an 'O.U.' degree and the deputy-head has a degree in English".

Int. "And was it no leverage at all for promotion?".

Alan "None at all as far as I could see. Maybe I should have thought about getting out of the school at the time. The staff cooled out towards me".
(Alan, middle, scale 2, geography/P.E.)

It is possible that Alan's acquisition of his B.Ed. degree fostered in him a changed presentation of self to which his colleagues reacted unfavourably. They perhaps also saw his new degree as an addition to his promotion-worthiness and which distanced him from the general 'non-graduate' level of the staff. For whatever reasons, Alan's popularity with his colleagues seems to have been adversely affected by his course of study.

Jeff also speaks of the difficulties associated with acquiring additional academic awards and particularly the hazards of the presentation of an over-qualified self (1/1/34):-

Jeff "If you go for an interview the deciding factor can be your experience and your qualifications. But on the other hand, qualifications can be a threat.....
.....(Teachers).....have taken advantage of the Open University, and other courses, and we are now faced with headmasters who have virtually nothing. If you come across these people, and you have striven for a qualification, you are a threat. And this is the mainstay of my present position. A comparatively young teacher, coming in at age thirty-five with my qualifications, I am a threat".
(Jeff, 35, special middle, scale 35, history).

If Jeff believes that headteachers are sensitive about their own lack of academic qualifications, it seems to be an unwise strategy to acquire additional degrees which could render him even more threatening to any appointing head in the future. I questioned Jeff about this strategy and he showed, in the following extract, the long-range perception he has of this matter and of his hopes for making a well-qualified self presentation in the more opportune years which he claims are to come (1/65):-

Jeff ".....I'm working on the premise that this (the economic recession) can't last for ever".

Int. "So you do see hope?".

Jeff "Oh yes. I'm hoping, and that's the only thing that's keeping me going. I work on the premise that if I do these courses, even although they may be no use to me now, when the 'Day of Judgement' comes and times get better, suddenly there might be a big population boom and they'll be clamouring for people with experience and qualifications. It'll be just like looking for Moses in the 'Promised Land'".
(Jeff, 25, special middle, scale 3S, history)

Although David's newly acquired B.Ed. degree has not yet helped in his promotion, he reports a new confidence in approaching the head to discuss his ambitions with her. However, although this presentation of self seems to have made little impression upon the head, it did produce from her a suggested strategy which could have been interpreted as a promise of sorts:-

David "Anyway, she thought it would be a good idea for me to go off and get another qualification and she suggested maths. Because there's a shortage there. But I wasn't really interested in maths and I wouldn't like to do that for the rest of my life. So, rather than do that, I decided to do something that I'm interested in and which I feel I am capable of doing. And so I chose 'special needs' because I think that's a developing area as well. And so far, on this course, I've enjoyed it".
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

The headteacher's apparent sympathy for David's career disappointments could have been influenced by her perception of him as a deserving person and illustrates perceptions of a Protestant Work Ethic as a latent function of study (see Merton's 1957, p51 concepts of manifest and latent functions).

Another latent function of study might be the unintended and unrecognised effect of this on the life and work of teachers themselves. Will (15/2/1) speaks of the way in which he adjusted his teaching day to cope with the demands of study and I suspect that this was only recognised by the respondent at the moment of utterance. Despite his adjustment to his teaching efforts, Will's presentation of self seems to be maintained as that of a professional person with all the attendant acceptance of his teaching responsibilities.

Will "..... and I have formulated strategies to make my job as easy as possible, without being unprofessional or disregarding my responsibilities as head of the P.E. department. But I have had to cut down so that I can devote more time to my studies. I mean, I still do my job".
(Will, 40, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

Will is attempting to study for one-and-a-half Open University 'credits' in the year and he seems to be able to organize his working day to enable this study load to be carried. The stress which he says he experienced during his first year of this study has perhaps made him resolve to protect himself from this by a professionally acceptable easing of the demands of his teaching.

One effect of study, described by Bruce, was to facilitate a 'change of direction' of his teaching. The course of which he speaks here, a two-year part-time diploma in the teaching of mathematics, changed the emphasis of his work so that he became involved with the teaching of mathematics and not solely occupied in the area of his initial expertise - craft, design and technology. Although he received no objective reward by way of advancement in his rank, his role of head of C.D.T. was augmented by his new role of head of mathematics. Bruce is employed in a middle school and some of the satisfaction which he seems to feel about this new post is generated by his partial escape from the bounds of C.D.T., a subject which he

shows in the following remarks to have low status in his school (10/30):-

Int. "Did you find this (the diploma) a worthwhile thing to do?"

Bruce "Yes. I think the change in emphasis and the interest I had in the subject made the whole thing worthwhile. The change in the direction of my teaching was particularly helpful when I found myself teaching a subject, of which I was supposed to be head of the department, that is craft, and was clearly of very little importance as far as the curriculum was concerned".

Int. "You now teach mathematics and craft?".

Bruce "Yes. I was the head of the department of craft, design and technology, and I am now the head of the department of craft, design and technology and the head of mathematics".

(Bruce, 35, middle, scale 2, C.D.T.)

The following two respondents are presented together because of their contrasting notions. Justin and Peter both gained 'first class' degrees from the same polytechnic; Justin by the full-time route and Peter by part-time study. At the time of these interviews Justin was teaching his specialist subject, art, in a comprehensive school, while Peter had just received promotion to deputy-head rank in a small primary school. In the extracts Justin shows his unsureness of ever knowing if academic qualifications have been helpful in career advancement, while Peter is confident of the power of his degree in effecting his promotion to deputy-headteacher. Justin (32/1/585) says,

Justin ".....The present head of art was seconded two years to do an M.A."

Int. "Do you think that this is likely to help him in his career?"

Justin "I'm not sure really. I'm sure it can't have hindered him. It's very difficult to be objective about how well qualifications help you to get on. I mean, I don't know because I haven't tested mine yet. I gained the job at G***** on a temporary basis, before I got my degree".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

Peter (24/1/560):-

Int. "And you received promotion after you had begun your degree?"

Peter "Yes. After two years. I'm sure that this is what helped me to get my promotion to deputy-head".
(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

Vincent (3/1/8) shows one of the obvious effects of study, its power to present oneself as an acceptable person for the pursuit of even more study which is, in Vincent's case, study for a Master's degree:-

Int ".....you told me a little while ago that you have applied for entry to a Master's degree course at Loughborough. Have you been accepted?"

Vincent "Yes. On condition that I get a 'two-one'. I am hopeful. I've done the work throughout the year, and with luck on the day, I'll be there".
(Vincent, 22, secondary, student, P.E.)

The final extract in this section of the work comes from Barry. Although he confessed to his anxiety about his period of

full-time study, he felt that one of the compensations of this was the break from teaching. However, he describes in the following extract the shock of returning to his teaching post after this period of study. He says (47/2/100):-

Barry "It was such a shock to the system to go back. I remember driving home after the first day back at school and thinking, 'What the hell am I doing in that place?' I had had all this time off; not working; sixteen weeks holiday; and I had got out of the routine of teaching. Completely out of the routine of teaching. It's a real shock to the system. It's the hurly-burly. I think it's the noise more than anything. It gets you".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography).

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) There was some confirmation of the operation of notions of a Protestant Work Ethic in respondents' utterances. This took the form of the belief that involvement in some formal academic award entitled the teacher to some preferential consideration in matters of promotion.
- 2) The subject matter of any course of study, and the teacher's mastery of this, was perceived to be less important than the convincing presentation of self as having been improved by the course.
- 3) Despite the above understandings there was a notion which

ran counter to these and suggested that academic awards were weak indicators of teacher effectiveness and that appointments and promotions ought not to be too heavily weighted in favour of teachers who possessed these. Experience in teaching, and vaguely defined personal qualities, seemed to be thought to be of greater significance than academic awards in promotion decisions.

- 4) Part-time study was believed to be more demanding than full-time study. The reasons for this being that part-time study was done in addition to normal school duties and had to be sustained over a prolonged period of time.
- 5) More credit seemed to accrue to those teachers who studied by way of part-time methods although there was no indication of distinctions being made between the quality of the awards gained by these different methods.
- 6) The reasons which respondents provided to explain their engagement in study activities were complex and multi-stranded, having their roots in personal, social and career motivations.
- 7) There was some discontinuity, sometimes, between a

respondent's declared intention of studying for some further award and the eventual result of this in professional and career terms.

- 8) There were few expressions of enjoyment in respondents' accounts of study. More attention was given to the elements of work and stress in study than to those of pleasurable experiences.
- 9) Especially in study which had been facilitated through the granting of a period of study leave, respondents spoke of the danger of failure and the ensuing 'loss of face' through exposure to colleagues' scrutiny. The results of part-time study examinations were thought to be better insulated from such observation.
- 10) Respondents often shared common understandings of the nature and value of particular study courses available to them in their area. The unfavourable view held of some of these courses seemed to be used to direct study efforts along other avenues, and to seek academic awards offered by other institutions.

PART FOUR

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHERS .

Chapter 9. Positive Influences.

Contents:-

Page 224	-	Introduction.
Page 227	-	Positive Influences.
Page 251	-	Summary and Conclusions.

Introduction.

'Part 4' of the research contains chapters 9, 10 and 11, and although the dominant theme of the work, presentation of self, is continued, the focus in these chapters will be upon the seeming effects which teachers' presentation of selves have made upon influential persons. These effects may be positive, in that there is a resultant career benefit for the teacher, or negative, in that career damage is sustained by him. It is possible that respondents' understandings of the negative career effects of the actions of powerful others could be tinged with bad feeling and bias. However, as will be seen, many of the happenings which respondents relate occurred much earlier in their career and are now able to be discussed in a more dispassionate way when career 'wounds' have healed and 'dirty tricks' forgiven if not forgotten.

The production of data which shows respondents as recipients of the good graces of influential persons suggests an accuracy of account. It is tempting to present oneself as a self-made man, neither gaining nor seeking help from others, but progressing on personal merit and talent. To disclose the positive influence of others in career progress, in any exaggerated or fictitious way, seems an unlikely practice. This seems to be borne out in chapter 11 where an attempt is

made to uncover respondents' understandings of canvassing activities. Few respondents are able, or willing, to provide useful data on this topic and when they do they often also provide the extenuating circumstances of the event which effectively excuses them from whatever blame they might feel attaches to this.

Within the general terms of 'powerful others' or 'influential persons', the notion of powerful organizations is broached by some respondents - religious affiliations and Freemasonry in particular - and I feel that my reader might be helped to understand my motivation for attempting to scrutinise Freemasonry by my drawing attention to the following events.

About the time at which the data on 'powerful others' were being first put together, there was some media interest in Freemasonry and the specific dangers of the operation of this society within the Police Force. This anxiety was reflected in the activities of some education authorities to open this area for a more public scrutiny and these actions seem to be in contrast with the opinion of some respondents' understandings of the absence of Freemasonry in teaching. I now provide a copy of a letter which was distributed to headteachers in one education authority and which seems to suggest a more active presence of this society among the teaching community. I

offer the substance of this letter in legitimation of my attempts to probe this topic with some of my most forthcoming respondents.

Department of Education.

All Headteachers and Principals.

* * *****

Director of Education.
19th September, 1984.

Dear Headteacher/Principal.

DECLARATION OF INTEREST - FREEMASONRY.

At their meeting on Wednesday 18th July 1984, the City Council resolved:

That this Council believes that in the interest of free and open government any member of the Freemasons be obliged to declare his interest, and to this end instructs the Chief Officer to establish an employees' register of interest in which all who are Freemasons declare their membership.

I am writing to bring this resolution to your notice and to ask you to ensure that all your staff, including non-teaching staff, are made aware of its terms. A register is available in the room of the Members' Services Officer in the Civic Hall for those employees involved.

Yours sincerely,

..******,

Director of Education.

Positive Influences.

The following section of the study deals with teachers' understandings of the influence which powerful persons are able exert upon their careers and will focus upon respondents' personal experience of this. Careers may be influenced in negative as well as in positive ways and this chapter is devoted to the latter.

The concept of the 'gatekeeper' is an obvious choice in this context (Lyons, 1981; Roy, 1983), but it is important to be aware of the complexities of this concept and in particular the possible differences between the functions of sponsoring and gatekeeping (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p63).

Sometimes, of course, these roles can be performed by the same person at the same time, and for this reason I have signified both under the general heading of 'powerful others'. Sponsors may be able to act in discrete and covert ways to influence appropriate gatekeepers on behalf of the aspiring teacher, while on the other hand, gatekeepers may be much more visible and open to criticism and censure; also their gatekeeping role could produce a conflict with their other professional roles. For example, the headteacher-gatekeeper could feel a tension between his gatekeeping responsibilities for effective appointments of staff, and his headteacher responsibilities for

promotion to deserving staff members. What is perceived as deserved by individual teachers and what is perceived as needed by the school may be incompatible as goals and could pose a dilemma for the headteacher. It is intended that this section of the study will tease out some of the complexities of these notions through respondents' utterances.

The accounts which follow have been selected because of their location in the personal experience of the respondent making the utterance. While such accounts can possibly claim the greatest validity, respondents' observation of the experiences of others will also be used since these, although perhaps of a weaker validity, form part of the meaning making material used by respondents in amassing their stock of knowledge of career progression. For example, to gain promotion or to fail to gain promotion, or to witness colleagues' experiences of these, can be the raw material of observers' meaning-making.

Although a teacher may not seek the help of a powerful person, he sometimes receives this. This information can be made clear to the teacher by the sponsor, or his agent; that is, both the identity of the helper and the nature of the help is disclosed. In the following passage (24/1) Peter explains how his final teaching practice as a student led to his first teaching appointment at the same school, through the direct efforts of

the headteacher:-

Peter "It was a good practice in a fairly tough school. I was a local lad anyway; I lived only half-a-mile from the school. The head came along and said, 'Are you fixed up for September?' I came out of college in one of the 'bulge' years - 1968 - the first year when you didn't automatically get fixed up, and you took what you could get. The head said, 'I'll fix it for you'".
(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

In the next extract Greg (9/5) describes how his friend - who was vacating the post desired by Greg - interceded on Greg's behalf to the headteacher and secured the post for him.

Greg "And my job was to take over from somebody who was a friend of mine. You can read between the lines, if you like, as to how I got the job".

Int. "Well, will you say how?".

Greg "Well, I was recommended. Let's put it like that. The guy who had the job before me, I knew very, very well".

Int. "He spoke for you?".

Greg "Yes. That's right. He spoke up for me".

Int. "To whom?".

Greg "To the head. I met him through soccer, if you want the background".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg, who seems to have a ready supply of willing and helpful friends, here describes how his name came to be included on the 'short list' for a teaching post in the school where his friend was employed,

Greg "....and when he (Greg's friend) moved on to a deputy-headship, his boss said, 'Now I'm going to advertise this job. Do you know anybody who might fit the bill? Who might be the kind of person I'm looking for?' Now that was how my name was thrown up; amongst others. I mean, I don't know how many applications there were. Three or four of us were interviewed for the job".
(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

The last remark here seems to be intended to show that although Greg received help in securing this post, it was by no means 'cut and dried' and that competition with other candidates had to be entered into. It is unlikely that Greg's version of the headteacher's words is a strictly accurate one. However, it serves to show not only the intervention of the friend on Greg's behalf but of the friend's relaying of the incident to Greg, which I feel carries important benefits with it. For example the knowledge of being recommended could impart a sense of security and confidence to a candidate at interview and put him at an advantage over his competitors. Being recommended, and knowing that one has been recommended, seems to put the candidate at a double advantage.

For promotion within the teacher's present school, the power to distribute scale points or to appoint to higher posts is in the hands of the headteacher. Increasingly, with the scarcity of promoted posts and the increased demand for these, even quite minor posts require that an interview procedure is set

up. However, appointments still seem to be possible on an informal basis without interviews being carried out. Within school staffrooms common understandings about the competence of colleagues are generated and it is inevitable that when higher posts become available a hierarchy of promotion worthiness is discerned (Hargreaves, 1980). Teachers come to know of their colleagues' ability to control classes and other features of their professional expertise which create reputations, good and bad, for teachers (see Sikes et al, 1985, pp163 - 164). There may also be notions among the staff of the 'proper' rank for particular posts; that for example, all heads of year or heads of department ought to have a scale three rank; however, perceptions of subject hierarchies could operate in this to the detriment of heads of subjects which have a low status. Some heads of subject, or of year, might occupy a rank which is lower than that normally associated with these particular responsibilities. When a point becomes available, expectations fall upon the headteacher to remedy this anomaly and raise the teacher's rank to one commensurate with the responsibilities of the post. It is possible too that more than one member of staff could be in this position at the same time and this again could pose some dilemma for the head. Should the head depart from the staff's perceived notions of the legitimate awarding of points, then some justification for this might have to be provided if staff

loyalty and commitment are not to be damaged, nor morale lowered.

The following extract, provided by Alwyn (28/2/325), shows how his female headteacher, deeming him worthy of an additional point, manufactured a reason to promote him. This is perhaps an example of the headteacher being conscious of the need to legitimate such decisions to the remainder of the staff and especially to those who feel themselves also to be deserving of the same award.

Alwyn ".....I had people coming in to see me. Advisers. But I thought my promotion was ridiculous as well. I got promotion for outdoor pursuits, which I thought was laughable. It was an excuse to give me a scale two. At that time the only outdoor pursuits was out-of-school in extra-curricular activities. But now it's on the timetable".
(Alwyn, 29, middle, scale 2, science/PE)

In Alwyn's case the headteacher seems to have called upon the services of an adviser to corroborate her opinion of Alwyn's promotion worthiness and possibly to legitimate her decision further. It is possible that the head's intention in promoting Alwyn was to assist in elevating outdoor pursuits from being an extra-curricular activity to having a place on the official curriculum; although the respondent does not suggest this. The head's tactic here is paralleled by the example provided by Len (30/1/410) who suggests that the head creates posts for

the promotion of particular staff members. He refers to these as 'pseudo posts':-

Len "As the school has grown and we've had people appointed like senior tutors and director of studies and all sorts of pseudo posts as I call them. Just to give people money".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

It is probably inevitable that any promotion decisions taken by the head, especially in the absence of demonstrably democratic interview procedures, will find a ready band of critics among the staff. In the absence of a logical, rational reason to justify and legitimate the head's choice, teachers may cast about to find the 'real' reason for these actions. The passage which follows, and given by David (37/2/122), illustrates the kind of thinking in which some teachers will indulge when the head's choice of key positions within the school is badly out of joint with staff notions on the matter.

David "If I were to tell you how four or five people in the school got jobs, you wouldn't believe me. There's the the head of middle school and the assistant head of upper school, have all just got these jobs, although only one of them has got an extra point as such. Now none of these people has degrees. And really, what's happened is that they are - a lot of teachers in the school would tell you this but I don't necessarily go along with it - they are the head's drinking partners. They stay behind for whatever - a meeting - two men and one woman. They have a meeting after school and then they go to the local pub and talk about things and tear people apart. Two scale twos and one scale three, and the head, talk in the corner in the pub about colleagues. By the way, the head of middle school and the assistant head of

upper school have been having an affair for about nine years. It's just accepted now. So there they are in these jobs and other people who have been striving for promotion, or to better themselves, are overlooked. These people are on good terms with her. She knows they're not going to rock the boat. They're going to be 'Yes men' or whatever; so -
- 'There's a nice little job for you'.
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

There are some points emerging from David's extract which are worth discussion. The first informs us of how teachers can be anxious to acquire status-bearing titles even although these are not always accompanied by increase in rank and salary (cf Riseborough 1981, p250, the concept of 'horizontal promotion'). The appending of some title to a teacher, although perhaps not involving the immediate reward of increased objective rank, could be construed as a promise of this for the future. When a scale point becomes available the awarded title might be used to legitimate the teacher's claim to a new rank. Also, whatever area of management is embraced by the title, it is possible that the teacher may be able to increase the scope of this in time, and thus further legitimate claims for promotion in the future. It is possible that the head, in awarding a title to a teacher, is preparing the ground for an unopposed promotion of that teacher whenever a point becomes available. The competition of other teachers, who can also make legitimate demands for promotion, may be effectively neutralised by this. Greg has referred to internal promotions in school as a system

of queueing and if this analogy is continued then the award of a title to a teacher projects him a few places along the queue and possibly into first position.

David also makes the point that the teachers who have been in receipt of these titles of which he speaks, do not possess a degree. This suggests that David feels that some demonstration of academic ability, through degree study, ought to be a necessary qualification for teachers who are singled out for key posts in school, in this instance head of middle school and assistant head of upper school. Since the school of which David speaks is a high school, and where it is likely that many of the staff members are graduates, choosing teachers who do not have degrees may be difficult for staff members to accept. This, and another situation which David now presents here (37/1/490), brings him to certain conclusions about his headteacher's view of academic qualifications:-

David "There's a head of middle school and two assistants. Now the two assistants were a girl and a man. The girl has just got a Master's degree; she has an 'ordinary' degree in biology and a Master's degree in education. The man has nothing; a teachers' certificate in French. And he gets the assistant head of middle school job. So for our head, qualifications stand for nothing" (cf Delamont, 1980).
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

A third point which David brings out is that, in his view, the

head is gathering about her 'Yes men' and people who won't 'rock the boat'. This suggests that the head is using her gift of promotion, or the implied promise of promotion, as a means to securing the loyalty and support of selected staff members. There may be rewards also for the head in this through her reception of information which David claims is passed to her by these teachers at their discussions 'in a corner in the pub'. David does not tell us how he has become aware of the content of these discussions and so I feel that the validity of this part of his account is weak.

David, in another passage in the same interview, develops the notion of the head using the rewards of rank and status as a means to the manipulation of her staff:-

David "One particular man who is now the head of middle school, when she (the headteacher) first came to the school, he gave her a really bad time. Showing her up. He was on the board of governors. He used to make her look a bit silly. He would ring up the other governors and tell them what was happening. I think she must have hung a carrot under his nose. 'Keep your mouth shut, and your nose clean, and there might be something for you'. And he got the assistant head of middle school; and now he is the head of middle school. He has dropped into the job". (David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

David's perception of the headteacher's action is that of using promotion as a bargaining device to control a teacher who is troublesome to her. It seems then that in this school the

head rewards both loyalty and disloyalty, since promotion seems to have been gained by those who engage in friendship with the head and by those who display opposition to her.

The last point which I would like to make about David's account concerns his remark '.....a lot of teachers in the school would tell you this, but I don't necessarily go along with it'. This suggests to me that the respondent has some misgivings about recounting these stories of the head's

actions and is sensitive about associating himself too strongly with these views. He seems to be saying that this is the common talk in school; this is the gossip; that he does not really want to believe it but there seems to be no other explanation.

An example of the way in which the bestowing of a title seemingly helps the teacher to gain promotion is provided by Len (30/2/365) but on this occasion the promoted post was not within the teacher's school. The account which Len presents concerns the respondent's observations of the efforts made by a well-qualified, competent and popular head of history in a large, rural comprehensive school, to gain a deputy-headship elsewhere:-

Len. "He got several interviews but he did not get the post.....Good bloke. Anyhow, he was given the responsibility in this school, without any money, of the post of 'assistant sixth form tutor'. With his next application he got a deputy-headship".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Len's account suggests that the award of the title 'assistant sixth form tutor' was sufficient to sway the selection panel in the teacher's favour, but this is merely Len's assumption. He does not suggest that the headteacher awarded the title in any deliberate and strategic way but this is a possibility. It is possible that the headteacher was well aware of the effect which the new title might have upon application forms, and upon selectors, but he may have been reluctant to do this until he felt that the teacher's career would not advance further without this action. The head could have perceived dangers in the precedent of awarding titles which seemed to be effective in advancing career and of the ensuing pressures from other staff members to perform similar services for them.

The out-of-school activities shared by headteacher and staff, and described earlier by David, are echoed in this account by Justin (32/2/330 - 550). Justin, an art teacher in a rural comprehensive school of 2,000 pupils, shows how he believes that the 'interest' and 'passion' of the head has influenced his choice of key members of staff:-

Justin. "You may find that the headmaster has some particular interest; some particular passion. Now there are most certainly people who would tag along with this. It is fairly well known in G***** School that there is a large contingent of 'born-again Christians'; the headmaster being the chief. They run a large 'crusader' group. It is commonly known that if you are a member of the 'crusader' group you stand a better chance of getting promotion. The head is one; one of the deputies is one; both heads of school are; the head of lower school is; a number of heads of year are; and so on".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

The respondent goes on to show how knowledge of this situation has influenced the actions of some teachers in the school and also the perceptions of those teachers who are seeking new teaching appointments there.

Justin. "It has become practice for people who apply to our place, and who are knowledgeable about the school, to include in some part of their application form, a statement about their religious beliefs.....
.....I am sure, too, that there are some people in the school who become more active in their beliefs, become more committed-liberal in their approach to Christianity, and more open about their Christian beliefs because to do so may well bring them nearer to promotion".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

This last comment from Justin suggests that some staff members effect a presentation of self which is in accord with the headteacher's Christian beliefs as a strategy for furthering their own career. This seems to illustrate Lacey's (1977) concept of 'strategic compliance', although there is no means of knowing from Justin's comments that there has not been a

sincere and committed 'internalised adjustment' (Lacey, 1977) in the consciousness of these teachers.

Justin goes on to develop his reference to teachers being 'more open about their Christian beliefs' in the school:-

Justin "You know who they are. A lot of them wear lapel badges in the shape of fish. There's no undercover activity".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

He also indicates the effects which he believes these understandings to have had upon some members of staff:-

Justin "There is a split staffroom and considerable envy on the part of those people who feel that they have been passed over in favour of those who are of 'the persuasion'".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

It seems that the existence of an 'in' group who share religious allegiances with the headteacher and who seem to incur career benefit from this, is counterbalanced by an opposing 'out' group who see themselves to have been disadvantaged through the favour given to those who are of the head's religious view.

Justin "There are members of staff who are against this group. They kick against it. They are known to be disloyal. They are known to be provocative when it comes to confrontations with the Christian contingent".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

The division of this staff into two factions is similar, in some respects, to the notions of the 'clique' and the 'cabal' espoused by Burns (1955, p480) but with the point of schism located in 'crusader' membership. Riseborough (1981, p252) provides an example of a similar split in staff allegiance, but in this case due to the 'old' teachers' resistance to the 'new' order and to the distribution of rank and power solely to young staff members.

Justin also speaks of the consequences of associating with this 'out' group:-

Justin "To ally yourself with these people is to impose a ceiling upon your scale points. To associate yourself with the liberal-thinking, feminist-oriented, union-minded, left-wing sections of the staffroom - you may well be finished".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

Although Justin gave an interesting account of these activities in his school, he did not offer much in contribution to the notion of these as strategies for promotion. His comments showed that teachers who were 'of the persuasion' seemed to profit from their beliefs, but he did not disclose if these beliefs were perhaps cynically held for purposes of promotion. It was to his understandings of this that the next passage is devoted, although it was difficult to encourage him to say much on this. Although I have not indicated these in the extract to

follow, there were very long pauses between my questions and Justin's responses and these seem to testify to a reluctance to disclose his thoughts on the matter. My first question is a reference to teachers' overt demonstration of 'crusader' membership:-

Int. "Do you think that this is just being smart? Well advised?".

Justin "I find it quite abhorrent, really, that people can compromise themselves in this way".

Int. "So promotion is quite important to some people?".

Justin "I think that promotion is vitally important to some people. And I think that there are people who are desperately depressed that they don't get promotion, and in seeing that the reason they don't get promotion is because they don't go to the right church. That they don't share certain beliefs".

Int. "This is how they explain it to themselves, is it?".

Justin "This is how they explain it to their colleagues".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

Justin seems to believe that some teachers do indulge in some exaggerated display of religious belief in the hope of reward; his comment about teachers compromising themselves leads me to this notion. He also indicates that those who see themselves at a disadvantage in the situation described, are not those who are without religious belief, but rather those who do not share a particular religious belief with the head. Justin ended the very long discussion on this topic by saying in summary,

'Careers are made, or broken, by the head'.

During my own teaching career I have often heard stories of teaching and other careers being aided through the actions of the Society of Freemasons and a number of my respondents made passing but joking reference to this organization. I was able to gather very little information on this topic, however, two respondents were prepared to discuss it and since the whole area is shrouded in silence, I feel justified in including these sparse comments in this section of the study. Both of these respondents, Roy and Greg, became key informants and I feel that the relationships which were built up over the years of the study enabled these data to be gathered. The first account is from Roy (8/23), a retired college lecturer of music, who provided a long and rambling account of which I produce here only a selection of relevant passages:-

Roy "During my professional career I can't say that I have seen signs of benefit accruing to people who were members of some of these associations, such as the Freemasons or the Rotarians. But when I was a boy in a small Scottish town, Freemasonry had a terrific hold in this town and similar Scottish towns. And it was perfectly plain that you did yourself no harm, in terms of prospering in business, if you were a member of the Freemasons..... There is a Freemasonry among Rotarians. I can't speak of this from personal experience because I am not a member of the Rotarians, but I know many people who are Rotarians and there is no doubt about it that it does represent an old boys' network which works in all sorts of ways, and makes all sorts of wheels go round extremely quickly..... I know - from listening to friends who are

Rotarians talking - that a well-placed telephone call from one Rotarian to another can produce results which could not be produced in any other way..... By and large, when I was a young man, people who joined the Freemasons were, in fact, looking upon Freemasonry as a way of climbing the ladder..... Certainly, when I was younger, I was approached and asked if I would care to join the Freemasons. But I declined".

(Roy, 60, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music)

After a good deal of listening I tried to bring this respondent to a consideration of the relationship between Freemasonry and teaching and particularly his view of the effects of this on career advancement:-

Int. "Do you think that Freemasonry is a force in teaching?"

Roy "I don't really think that Freemasonry is a force in teaching. Because teachers really are the non-commissioned officers of the professions. And I don't really think that education - and certainly the backwaters of education - provide the financial incentives, and the power incentives, to attract Freemasonry. I think that Freemasons are to be found where there is much more money than is found in teaching".

Int. "When a teacher goes for an interview, is he likely to find Freemasons on the interviewing panel?"

Roy "I just don't think that the teaching profession is important enough. I think that very little that happens in the teaching profession offers much in the way of financial advantage to attract Freemasonry. I have met thousands of teachers in my career and I have never been aware that any one of them has been a 'mason'. But I have never met one. Never met one. And although it's a secret society, I think that the Freemasons, like other members of society, fail to keep a guard on their tongue - at some point - for some reason. They are likely to disclose their membership. But this has never happened to me. I do not know one single teacher who is a Freemason".

Roy's account gives little to inform the notion of Freemasonry being of use to the teacher in career advancement except to make us aware, perhaps, of the unusual phenomenon of a teacher 'mason'. Like Roy, Greg feels that Freemasonry is an organization which offers little to the ordinary teacher but that it may be useful to those who are highly placed in teaching. In the following passage he speaks of a teacher who 'broke the rules' but became a headteacher in a large comprehensive school despite this. Greg's understanding of rule breaking was not clearly articulated but in this instance he seems to mean that this head arrived at his headteacher position by an unorthodox and perhaps dangerous route. This is Greg's account (9/45):-

Greg "I don't know if you know *****? He's headmaster at ***** School. He's been a friend of mine for a number of years now. I've taught all his boys. And he is highly thought of. And he broke all the rules to get where he is now. And I say this with tongue-in-cheek. He left university and, after doing a post-graduate course, went overseas. He was a 'Jack-the-Lad' and became an education officer in *****, and then joined the Armed Forces Education Corps. Singapore, Germany, what have you. His first job back in 'civie street' was as a deputy-head at **** high school; which was a plum job. Now he is a Freemason! And we went on holiday with him some years ago - a couple of years ago - and I was tackling him about this one, and I asked him more or less the same thing, 'did he think that Freemasonry had any bearing on who makes the top jobs?' And he, from the inside, said that he didn't think so. But obviously people who are in the higher echelons of education, just like the business world, are active in

these areas. Certainly from a personal point of view, I would not dream of joining anything like that on those grounds. I mean, if I wanted to I would, but I don't think I would do it purely for the sake of what it might do for my career".

(Greg 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg seems to be suggesting here that working overseas is a sort of career suicide and that his friend was able to do this, and then return to England to find a high post, only because of the influence which his membership of the Society of Freemasons was able to exert on his behalf. It is not exactly clear what Greg means by 'the higher echelons of education', but I suspect that he includes headteachers in this broad category.

Providing written references for teachers who seek appointments in other schools is a task which falls upon headteachers and they are thus put into a position of power to recommend, or not to recommend, the teacher's application. My respondents showed that they were generally unaware of the contents of the reference which their headteacher had provided, but if their application had resulted in an interview, then it was assumed that the reference had been a favourable one. However, failure to be invited to interview did not generate the belief that the headteacher's reference had been necessarily unfavourable. Respondents were more concerned with an aspect of reference provision which many claimed was an increasing

practice of headteachers - passing references by telephone. In this section, Roy has already made reference to Rotarians 'making wheels go round' through 'phone conversations. There was some difference of opinion among respondents concerning the ethics of this; some were concerned because of the secrecy which this permitted - although it seems to be possible to keep written references just as secret - and apprehension was expressed because of the abuses to which this system could be put. Respondents tended to believe that telephone messages would be more likely to contain damning rather than praising comments since praise need not be concealed from the teacher.

Headteachers' indulgence in this practice seems to be a common one when the headteachers are well known to each other, and perhaps too when they are employed within the same education authority. It is not clear why some headteachers favour this practice of telephoning references. It could be simply a time saving device, but of course it could also be an opportunity to speak 'off the record'. References for certain teachers might offer headteachers some difficulty, perhaps especially if they are they are expected to concoct something favourable about a teacher whose favourable qualities might not be easily discerned. Peter, the deputy-headteacher of a small urban primary school, says of this phenomenon (24/2/319):-

Peter "Heads recommend other people for jobs. Our telephone, for this last job when we got so many applicants, the actual day it came out in 'The Times Ed.', heads were ringing up with messages like, 'I don't want to influence you but Mrs So-and-So has taught with us and would be very good in your school'. We do the same. We ring round and ask, 'What do you know about So-and-So?'".

(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

Peter speaks here of two separate tactics. On the one hand it seems that heads make telephone calls in an attempt to influence the appointing head on behalf of some candidate; and on the other hand, heads 'phone other heads seeking information about teachers who have applied for posts in their school.

Roy is one of the very few respondents who speaks favourably of the practice of heads communicating with each other in the matter of appointments and this is possibly explained by the happy outcome which this has had for him (5/34):-

Roy "When I came to the ***** College for instance, there was an extremely distinguished set of candidates for the job; you know, really distinguished, with Oxford and Cambridge backgrounds. I was the only person there with no academic qualifications. At the interview, the principal already knew about me. How did she know about me? She knew because, in Gloucestershire, the head of the training college in Gloucester, whom I did not know at all, had apparently been in the habit of sending his students to where I was working with children. And apparently she had written to him. She had asked him; and what he had said was quite enough to outweigh all academic qualifications. Except that she had to be convinced that I could meet these academic qualifications. And I convinced her and the interviewing panel while I was there".

(Roy, 59, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

Roy seems simply to be claiming that the more information an appointing head has of the candidates the more likely will be the chance of appointing the most suitable teacher. Roy seems to believe that the value of this information justifies the means by which it is collected. The potential for career damage to be inflicted upon an aspiring teacher, through the covert dissemination of unfavourable information by the head, will be discussed in the next section on 'Negative Influences'.

In another part of this section of the study I have suggested that the bestowing upon the teacher of some title might be construed, by the teacher, as a promise of promotion in the future. I have suggested, too, that it might also be a strategy which the head uses to legitimate the future promotion of that teacher. Whatever deal or bargain may have been made, it is likely that the details of this would remain unspoken between teacher and head; understandings would be assumed. This is unlike the next example of a promise being made by the head in a very specific way and which was contingent upon the teacher's compliance with the head's request. Greg presents the details of this 'bargain' or 'deal' which was made between himself and the headteacher after Greg had applied for a teaching post in one of the then new middle schools. I must remind the reader that Greg is not at this point qualified to

teach French (9/1/19):-

Greg "He (the headteacher) was looking for a teacher of French. Also, of course, he was setting up a brand new school. Starting right from scratch. It was a purpose built school, not an adapted secondary or primary. And he was looking for people who could do this. He approached me and asked me whether, if I was considered for the job, how would I feel about taking the year off, on secondment, and doing an intensive French course. Which of course I jumped at. And this is in fact what happened. I was interviewed, I was appointed and I started there in 1972 in temporary premises. And then, I was there ten minutes and I was off on secondment from October until the following July".

(Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

From Greg's account, it would seem that the interviewing procedures for this post were just a formality. By agreeing to the headteacher's plan Greg seems to have secured the post for himself; the staged performance of interviewing candidates seems to have been simply the mock show of a democratic procedure.

Some respondents spoke of scale points being awarded for 'trivial reasons'; the expression came from Len. Examples of these reasons are - and I quote respondents' words verbatim:-

- 'In charge of soccer boots'.
- 'In charge of flower arrangements'.
- 'In charge of 'bus duties'.
- 'In charge of notice boards'.
- 'Responsible for sandwiches'.

It was not clear what criteria were used to label these

activities as 'trivial' but they seem to be ones which are not directly related to teaching; they are about things rather than pupils. It may be that this is another example of headteachers seeking a reason for awarding a point to a teacher although the duties mentioned above are likely to be associated only with moves at a low rank.

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) Teachers perceive the intervention of powerfully placed persons being able to influence a teacher's career progress in favourable ways.
- 2) Teachers perceive the headteacher as a potent force in career advancement. Not only is the headteacher an important gatekeeper of posts within the school, he can also be a powerful sponsor for posts in other schools, and especially in schools within his education authority, (see Sikes et al, 1985, pp 88-90, on headteachers as 'critical reality definers').
- 3) The actions of a sponsor are sometimes helpful in furthering a teacher's career. The sponsor may function as an adviser to the headteacher, or some other gatekeeper, when suitable candidates are being sought.

Membership of powerful organizations may function in sponsoring ways although the explanatory detail of this was not provided by these data.

- 4) It is widely recognised that heads collude with each other over the appointment of teachers and that references are often passed by telephone conversation rather than by way a written reference. Although this practice is not necessarily viewed as sinister, some respondents felt that the absence of a written record subjected the system to the risk of abuse. (This topic will be explored in more detail in the next section on 'Negative Influences').
- 5) Teachers seem to be able to recognise colleagues' skills, abilities and competences which are felt should be taken into account when decisions about promotions and appointments are made. When a head's decision on this diverges from the understandings of the staff, teachers are apt to speculate upon the ulterior motives in the head's action.
- 6) The head's understanding of this need to justify such decisions encourages a provision of 'good reasons' for promotion decisions. The recognition of a designated task to be performed by a particular teacher, or the award

of some title, may be a sufficiently 'good reason' for this.

- 7) There was evidence to show that some teachers felt that headteachers were sometimes influenced by features of the teacher's private life when decisions about appointments and promotions were made. When these features were approved by the headteacher then it was felt that this could influence the teacher's career favourably. This might reflect the headteacher's desire to gather about him those teachers who share his value system, life style or religious belief, and possibly applies particularly to those who are in key positions in the school.

PART FOUR (cont).

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHERS.

Chapter 10. Negative Influences.

Contents-

Page 255	-	Introduction.
Page 258	-	Negative influences.
Page 288	-	Summary and Conclusions.

Introduction.

The sampling procedures of this study have ensured collection of the accounts of teachers who are variously situated in the teaching hierarchy. The interviewing of those respondents who have reached the higher ranking positions of headteacher and deputy-headteacher is balanced by the inclusion of those teachers who occupy the lower scale posts. Many of my respondents, at the time of interview, were placed in these lower-ranked posts and this seems to reflect a national picture. Sikes et al (1985, p4) inform us that in 1982 '.....nearly two-thirds of all teachers were on either scale 1 or 2.....'. Some of my respondents were relatively new to teaching and so the occupancy of a low rank was taken as inevitable; however, others were unhappy at their perceived lack of adequate career progression. Some of these latter teachers were able to relate incidents which they felt had delayed or even halted this progression, and were also able to provide their understanding of the role which others had played in this. Some respondents who had recovered from the career hindering actions of others, and had achieved the promotion they sought, were able to allow themselves a wry

amusement over the event. The bitter feelings which they may have felt at the time had given way to a more tolerant view and I felt that this enhanced the validity of their accounts. Those whose careers seem to have been permanently harmed by the intervention of others were still smarting from these perceived injustices and their accounts might have to be viewed against this background and validity assessed in this light. It might be possible to discern 'face-saving' protestations such as noted by Goffman (1961, p141) when patients having mental care used a 'self-protecting rule' to account for their own hospitalization.

The headteacher, often a gatekeeper to promotion avenues, is cited as the chief culprit in career damaging actions by some of my respondents. I have already pointed out the possible dilemmas which headteachers can face in resolving the macro problems of the organization and administration of the school and the general bureaucratic imperatives with which they are faced, and the moral obligation which they might feel towards individual members of staff who are ambitious and whom the headteacher may feel deserve promotion. The unwillingness, or inability, of some teachers to discern the other 'horn' of the head's dilemma - that is his bureaucratic obligations - permits them to focus only upon their own perceived misfortune of denied promotion. These views can manifest themselves in

the respondent's decrying the head's lack of awareness of the favourable teaching qualities of his or her staff members. The notions of Sikes et al (1985, p20 -21) concerning the intrinsic rewards which teachers might derive from a 'participatory system' when 'vertical and lateral career avenues are blocked', seems to me to take little heed of the need of some teachers to develop an earning capacity which supports their conceptions of self (Hunter, 1980; Hunter and Heighway, 1980).

There is also a time factor in the intervention of powerful influences which is likely to affect the damage done to career by this. Recovery from set-backs to career might be more easily effected when such damage occurs relatively early in the teacher's career, and at a relatively low rank. Similar set-backs later in career, and at higher ranks, might be more lastingly harmful.

Teachers often develop an understanding of career 'ages and stages' (see Sikes et al, 1985, p11) which informs them of the progress of their career 'timetable', and if this can be viewed as 'fast' or 'slow' (see Roth, 1963). Comparisons of themselves with the 'age' and 'stage' of other teachers can be used to assess their own career progress and perhaps leads them to the belief that their career has been spoiled (Goffman,

1961) or that they have been passed over for promotion. Some of these contingencies may engender a need for a tactic for the handling of failure (Roth, 1963) and in developing 'coping strategies' for this (Lacey, 1977; Woods, 1979).

This section of the study will examine respondents' accounts of their perceptions of the influence of powerful others in producing harmful or retarding effects upon their careers.

Negative Influences.

The first extract is taken from an interview given by Len (30/1/190) and shows how his own health is the hinge upon which his headteacher's decision to promote him no further, turns. Before his late entry into teaching Len owned his own building business, was a part-time professional footballer and cricketer, and had developed a great pride in his own physical fitness. In the coming passage he speaks of the series of heart attacks which he has suffered recently and the effects which these seem to have had upon his career through the headteacher's adaptation to Len's damaged health.

Len "You know I was always a very fit bloke. So there was no reason for me ever to think of early retirement. I was thirty-one when I started teaching. I had my whole career in front of me and I looked forward to making progress. But at thirty-three I had a heart attack. Which was most unexpected by everyone. It was fairly severe. I was frightened. Who wouldn't be. I was such a fit guy. I played pro-football in my 'twenties'. Four years later I had another heart attack. And that was very serious. Serious to the point of thinking that I was not going to survive. Intensive care..... In fairness to the head, he has always said to me when we have spoken about this, he does not want to give me more promotion because of my health. My response to this is that it is more detrimental to my health not to have promotion. I thrive on work. I like work. I like to be busy. Besides, being led to the belief that it (the post of head of lower school) would be my position in the school, I think I've got a right to it. Therefore I feel quite bitter about this. And I think that the head's concern is genuine but mistaken".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

It is clear that Len feels that the headteacher had made some sort of promise to him about succeeding to the post of head of lower school and that his health has persuaded the head to appoint some other teacher to this post. It is interesting to note that despite the severity of Len's last heart attack and of his need for intensive care, he feels that being deprived of what he regards as his due promotion is even more harmful to his health than his heart attacks. This may not reflect the feelings of all teachers but it serves to show the depth of feeling which is possible to exist when career is under threat. Len is able to excuse the head's actions through interpreting

these as an attempt to protect him from the stresses which a higher post might bring, but at the same time Len perceives these actions as 'mistaken'.

Len again focuses upon the headteacher when he speaks of his unsuccessful attempts to find promotion in other schools.

Len "Never had an interview. No interviews. I can't believe it, to be honest. It makes you wonder what's happening in terms of references. Is the head saying, 'This is a good guy but I'm not going to let him go'? One's got to think of something. If I can't get an interview, there are some bloody good people about. I know I'm a pretty efficient sort of person. And I can teach. Which is a bonus".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Len's inability to gain an interview for a teaching post in some other school is difficult for him to understand, and to accept, and he implies that the headteacher may be writing unhelpful references about him. If the headteacher feels that Len's health problem prohibits his taking on greater responsibilities in his present school, then he might feel that he must disclose this to any putative employer. However, Len chooses to believe that the headteacher may be attempting to retain his services because of his good qualities. Len's confidence in himself seems to be at a low ebb and it is perhaps not surprising that he indulges in some ego-boosting, perhaps exemplifying Goffman's (1961) 'self-protecting rule'.

Not unnaturally, Len's health problems are uppermost in his mind and he suggests that these are solely to blame for his career stagnation. This notion seems to have been strengthened by the following comment which Len claims to have come from his adviser:-

Len "I was told by the senior adviser, no less, that if it hadn't been for my health I would be a headmaster by now".
 (Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Len says that he finds no consolation in the adviser's words and that if he is 'good enough' then he 'ought to get the job'. He adds that it only makes him more frustrated to be told that he is good enough to be a head but not to have the post and says, 'It's wrong'. He estimates that 'It has taken five years' to come to terms with his career disappointments although he claims that the end of his first marriage, the beginning of his second, and particularly the recent birth of his daughter, have helped his adaptation to dissatisfactions of career. Although health problems dominated the interview, Len turned to a brighter side of his life in speaking of his family, and especially of the career hopes for his wife, a teacher at the same school. His final comment on the topic was, 'It's inside me that the problem lies'.

I feel that Len's account is valuable because of its

demonstration of the entanglement of the various careers in his life with each other. There is no effective way of understanding Reg's professional career within the school without the overlapping understandings provided by knowledge of his family, his health and his sporting backgrounds. This emphasises the need to perceive the person as a whole being, as far as we are able to do this, and to beware convenient compartmentalising research strategies (see Sikes et al, 1985, p2, 'latitudinal dimension').

The next account is offered by David (38/1/497) and differs from that of Len in that David is largely an observer rather than a protagonist in the events which he describes. I accept that these utterances may then be weakened in terms of validity, but I suggest that the observations which David makes have come to form part of his understandings of the teaching world which he inhabits, and may be used as a resource in his future strategies for action in promotion attempts. Besides, the events which come to light through David's utterances here open up an aspect of the relationships between headteacher and staff which I have been unable to tap from any other source. In this passage David tells of a woman headteacher's efforts to 'get rid' of certain members of her staff. 'Getting rid' of teachers seems to be the ultimate step in the exertion of unfavourable influences upon them and

David reports on these activities in the following dense

passage:-

David "Since the head has been at the school she has got rid of four members of staff. Two from 'breakdowns'. She has put them under so much pressure. She has gone into the classroom while they've been teaching; she's shouted at them in corridors; taken them to task in front of the kids; got the adviser to watch them teach. This sort of activity. One chap, poor chap - he's been teaching at D***** high school for thirteen years - which isn't an easy school, and he was a poor teacher. He failed his probationary year twice. But nevertheless, eventually he passed it and there he was, a teacher; but not a good teacher. But when she came it was her priority to get rid of him. The year after - he had gone! The first thing she did was, she got the adviser in and he was sent to another school, and he spent a year there. And then the last thing I heard, he was selling double-glazing. So he's out of teaching altogether. Another chap who's head of music, a good musician, an extremely capable musician; a very strange character. When writing reports, for example, he would write 'satisfactory'. That was all. One word on every kid's report. He left eventually on breakdown pension. He's now doing home-tutoring. I also think the head has a hit-list. It's common talk in the staffroom".
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

This headteacher is perceived to have indulged in tactics which seem to have been used with the intention of creating stress and which these teachers were unable to endure. This conforms with Sikes et al's (1985, Ch.2) notions of 'critical phases' and 'critical incidents'. The headteacher seems to have created a 'critical incident' in her confrontation with the first teacher which has led to a 'critical phase' in the teacher's life where, over a period of time, he was forced to

consider his position in teaching and to contemplate some alternative career, or to devise some strategy to cope with the anxiety which this conflict with the headteacher must have caused him.

An American researcher, Bridges (1986, p75), writes of a similar tactic:-

'To induce exits, administrators often apply pressure on the teacher. Administrators exert this pressure by taking actions which are designed to evoke stress or feelings of discomfort and unpleasantness'.

In the first place the headteacher has been able to extend her own feelings of displeasure about the teacher to a wider audience. Entering the teacher's classroom while he was teaching; shouting at him in corridors; reprimanding him in front of pupils; and requesting the adviser to observe him; all serve to bring the teacher's weaknesses to the attention of others. Goffman (1961, pp129 and 130) suggests that the effect of a witness in such encounters is to make it difficult for the 'offender' to 'forget about, erase, or suppress what has happened', and this is likely to put great emotional stress upon the teacher which a private reprimand might not do. The teacher is likely to feel himself shamed by this since it has occurred in front of the important audiences of colleagues and and pupils and so is also likely to experience a feeling of

loss of reputation and damage to self-image (cf Riseborough, 1983, p72). David's reference to 'breakdown' and 'breakdown pension' and the phrase, 'she has put them under so much pressure', suggests the knowing production of stress through the various degradation processes described. David's view of the severe effects of these events are made clear in his expressed perception of the downward mobility which he feels has happened to the careers of these teachers. His low regard for 'selling double-glazing' and for 'home-tutoring' was evident in his intonation.

The headteacher's second tactic seems to me to be a more subtle but none the less damaging one for the teacher concerned. I refer to the headteacher's arranging - albeit with the aid of the adviser - to pass the teacher to some other school for a period of one year, and after this to yet another school for another year. This appears to be an attempt to give the teacher a chance to succeed elsewhere; an opportunity to leave his failures behind and start afresh in another school. In reality it seems merely to demonstrate the teacher's failure everywhere and to show that the fault is due neither to the original school nor to the original head. The teacher's work is then manifestly unsatisfactory everywhere. It may ease the head's conscience, if this is important to her, to have other headteachers corroborate her assessment of the teacher and

perhaps too to endorse her tactics; but I feel it difficult to be convinced that she has done other than rid herself of a problem. It seems unlikely that a 'weak' teacher, whatever that is taken to mean, is likely to fare any better if he is uprooted from a school where he has taught for thirteen years, with however little success, and transferred to another school where he must then go through the processes of making new relationships with colleagues and pupils; and especially when he trails a tarnished reputation behind him. And on the completion of this year, to be then sent to yet another school where he must go through all those initiation and introduction processes again, seems to be designed to break all but the toughest and most resilient of people. Bridges' (1986) survey of 141 California school districts shows that these tactics of headteachers are a common practice in this part of America; his words also indicate the unsympathetic nature of attitudes towards these teachers. Bridges writes (ibid p31):-

'Transferring the teacher to another school is a favourite escape hatch.....', and,

'In school circles, administrators refer to this practice as 'the turkey trot' or 'the dance of the lemons''.

These tactics contain many of the elements of Goffman's (1961, p130) 'betrayal funnel' where the fiction of helping can be sustained while the inevitability of failure is assured. Since there is only a one-way 'flow' in the 'funnel' there is

little alternative left to the teacher save continuing as a labelled failure, or to make an exit from teaching; perhaps, like David's colleagues, into selling double-glazing or to home-tutoring.

The headteacher's summoning of the adviser, although perhaps this could be viewed as a legal necessity of the process, seems also to be a way in which the head passes the problem into the hands of another person, in the manner of Pontius Pilate, and and thus absolves herself of blame or loss of staff respect which might devolve upon her. This perhaps also indicates her understanding of the destination of the route which she has paved for these two teachers.

It is interesting to note the sympathy which David has for the teachers he describes. Of one teacher he comments that he has been teaching in the school for thirteen years and that this is not 'an easy school'; the implication being that anyone who can survive thirteen years in this school must have some positive qualities. David seems also to have been impressed by one teacher's survival of two failed probationary years, even although he acknowledges that this was indeed a poor teacher; and that the other teacher was a 'strange character', but a good musician. The comments suggest to me that David has much feeling for these teachers and that he is perhaps

out of sympathy with the head's assessment of them and of her tactics in dealing with them.

The overt demonstration of the head's displeasure, given by David above, is in marked contrast to the experience of some teachers who discover, often only in chance ways, that their headteacher has been acting in career damaging ways for them over a period of time. The following example of this perceived phenomenon is provided by Peter (24/1/370), a thirty-seven year old deputy-headteacher of a small primary school situated in the suburbs of a large city:-

Peter "One head - I applied to be her deputy - I got on a course with. And we got to talking. And she said, 'What a strange man your head must be'. She said, 'I wanted a musician, because we have no musician at all in the school and that was one of the things I wanted my deputy to be able to do'. And I thought, 'That fits me'. So I was telling her about the musical things I had done, and that I had done in my present school. And she said, 'When I asked your head about your musical activities he said that he could pass no comment about your musical activities. And he stopped there'. That was by telephone. You see L****' heads do not write reports if they can help it. They do the telephone system. And then she said, 'Mind you, you would have difficulty coming to my school, wouldn't you? Mr M***** said that you wouldn't be able to get to my school early in the morning because you would have to drop your wife off. And you would also have to leave school early at the end of the day.' So - I felt he had ruined my promotional chances so many times. I got one or two other inklings that he had done this because he wanted to keep the same staff. He didn't want any changes. He would have to break someone in, and no-one would have done what I did on a scale three. Or I don't think so. His wife had cancer, and he himself was

going. It is interesting that as soon as he decided he was going, I started to get interviews. He couldn't care less what happened to the school then".
(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

Peter went on to say that he thought that his headteacher had been behaving in this way for two-and-a-half years and that during that time Peter had made application for some 'twenty to twenty-five jobs' but gained only one interview from these.

His thoughts on this were as follows:-

Peter "I was on the verge of saying that my chances of promotion are gone and I've got to think of just doing something for my own intrinsic interest. I did even get to the point where I applied for one or two jobs out of teaching, but related. I applied to be a museums' officer".

Int. "Did you suspect him at all?".

Peter "At first I didn't suspect him at all. Until this woman head spoke to me. And that confirmed some of the doubts that I had. Because I knew that people were ringing up about me. The school secretary would tell me; 'Mrs So-and-So's been on about you'. And I got really disheartened. Because people who I'd gone through the profession with, those who were ambitious had got their deputy-headships. And I seemed to be in a school that was shrinking. My job was contracting".

(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

Peter's account shows how a headteacher is able to hinder the career of a teacher in passive ways. By making no comment about Peter's musical interests, when a clear indication to do so was offered, doubts are effectively cast upon the teacher's ability and enthusiasm in this area. It seems to be assumed

by teachers that headteachers will do their utmost to help in the promotion attempts of their staff members and any reticence in extolling the teacher's virtues can be taken as a form of condemnation, a damning with faint praise, or, as in Peter's case, no praise at all. It is not possible to claim that this was a deliberately negative tactic on the part of the head; it could have been due to his belief that his actions were for Peter's own 'good'.

Peter has learned, through a sympathetic and informative school secretary, that other headteachers had been responding to his job applications through telephoning Peter's head. Since so many of these were not followed up - he had one interview out of more than twenty applications - Peter assumes that some unfavourable comments have been passed by telephone; at least comments which have dampened the interest of the appointing head. Peter's understandings of his headteacher's actions are summed up in the statement, 'I feel that he has ruined my promotional chances so many times', and this seems to have been confirmed for Peter by the fact that interviews began to come his way when the head's retirement ended his sponsoring role.

It is important to note, I feel, that the perceived career damaging activities of Peter's head do not spring from personal

dislike or animosity. There is no vendetta here, no settling of old scores. Peter's interpretation is based upon the unwillingness of the head, who is on the point of retiring, to bring about a disrupting change to the life of the school by releasing Peter and replacing him with someone who would have to be 'broken in'. Peter suggests further that he does more work than his scale-three post warrants and that it would have been difficult for the head to find someone who would do all that Peter does. This suggests that some headteachers are able to place their own interests, and the solution of their own problems, above the careers of individual staff members, and this seems to be contrary to the expectations of teachers who assume that heads will do all that they can to assist in the career moves of their staff.

Peter's discontent about his lack of adequate promotion seems too to have been exacerbated by his knowledge of the achieved promotion of his contemporaries; they had 'got their deputy-headships'. This notion is consonant with the 'ages and stages' view of career of Sikes et al (1985, p11) and to which I have already made reference. Peter's perceived success of this comparative reference group (Runciman, 1966) together with anxiety brought about by his understandings of the 'shrinking' school and his 'contracting' job, seem to have turned his thoughts to seeking intrinsic rewards only, or to

ideas of an alternative career, and he mentions applying for a museums' officer post. This appears to be a coping strategy to counter his teaching career disappointments but the reader might recall that Peter immersed himself in a part-time course of B.Ed. study and gained a 'first class' honours degree.

It is interesting, too, to note Peter's reference to telephone conversations between heads over the promotion activities of teachers. He seems to go further than some other respondents by suggesting that, in L****, headteachers 'do not write reports unless they can help it'. This suggests that there might be regional variations in this practice, rather than simply the operation of headteachers' preferences, and that there might exist some official policy on this which heads are dutifully carrying out.

Another respondent who had an experience similar to that of Peter, is Greg. Like Peter, Greg had a headteacher who seemed to be reluctant to help him to gain his desired move out of the school and is alleged to have used telephone references in ways which hindered Greg's plans. Throughout this study Greg can be seen as a person who is able to bring about his own good fortune; the example which he now provides is one of the few episodes in his career which ran counter to its general upward trend. In this passage Greg is discussing the period of the

introduction of the middle school system into his education authority and of his efforts to transfer from his then area of primary schooling into the new middle area (9/18):-

Greg ".....And when the jobs were being advertised in large numbers - because everybody was given the opportunity to change - I applied for several middle school posts. Most of them general class-teaching and offering other specialisms such as P.E. and games. And they were all blocked! Should I say that if anybody rang up, chasing up the 'Boss' as a reference, he would say that he didn't know I was interested and that he thought I wanted to stay in first schools. And to his knowledge I had not applied for these posts. And this was not true".

Int. "He was telling lies was he?"

Greg "Yes. Well, I felt that I had informed him fully at the time that I had applied for the job. He tried to advise me against it and I appreciated his opinion. He was a man for whom I had a great deal of respect as he did a lot for people in the city. But I stuck to my guns and said that I was going to do it".
(Greg, 36. middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

In a long and complex passage Greg goes on to explain how his chance meeting with a headteacher, in whose school Greg had taught as a student and who was now the head of a school to which Greg had recently made application, disclosed that his applications were not being supported by his present headteacher.

Greg, unlike Peter, speaks highly of his headteacher -

'He was a man for whom I had a great deal of respect' - and he seems to be persuaded of the head's good intentions towards

him. Greg offers little by way of explanation of the head's actions; nor does he criticise or blame. There was no suggestion, as there was with Peter, that the head had a vested interest in retaining him on the staff. It is possible that Greg's headteacher viewed the new middle area as one of lesser career fertility than Greg himself did, and felt that it was in Greg's best career interests that he was prevented from making a move which the head perceived as unprofitable for Greg. On the other hand, Peter's headteacher appears to have been prepared to sacrifice Peter's career for the 'good' of the school through achieving an immobile staff.

I have already speculated upon the possible tensions which headteachers might experience when they are caught in the dilemma of taking action which may be for the general 'good' of the school but of possible career harm to an individual teacher. We cannot know the thoughts and intentions of the respective headteachers of these two respondents at the time but there seems to have been a blurring of the boundaries between action which is expedient for the school and convenient for the head, and his observance of professional, ethical conduct.

The account which now follows illustrates a very different situation. This is provided by Bruce (10/63-73), a scale two teacher of C.D.T., and focuses upon his perception of being denied promotion because of the headteacher's animosity for him. Bruce's roles of head of C.D.T. and head of maths are carried out as a scale two teacher and, as I felt that this was a low rank for such responsibilities, I asked him to explain 'what had gone wrong'. He replied (10/63-73):-

Bruce "What has gone wrong? I ask myself that many times. It's purely a clash of personalities. Well, not necessarily a clash of personalities; I am just not the sort of person that she, the head, if she was choosing friends, would choose as a friend. And similarly, she is not the sort of person I would choose as a friend. We are opposite extremes and I am not the most tactful person at showing that we are at opposite extremes.....
..... In the last few years I have been trying very hard not to let my personal feelings come into it at all. I try not to say things in the staffroom. At one time I was probably rather outspoken. When there was criticism going on - which is very, very common - I was probably in the thick of it. Now I try to stand back from that".

Int. "Did you suspect that some of your actions were likely to have career repercussions?"

Bruce "I suppose I must have been aware of it, but I hadn't consciously put it in those terms".

Int. "Can you change the head's view of you? Or do you have to seek promotion elsewhere?"

Bruce "I cannot see any way.....
Miss P***** and I, over the last two years, are very pleasant to each other. We are all smiles. It's all very polite and on the surface very friendly. That's the point about professional relationships. But whatever I do I would never be the sort of person she

would consider giving promotion to; beyond scale two. She has had ample opportunity to make me a scale three. On a very recent occasion, this year at Easter, she had points to give out which had to be given out by a deadline, and the points, apparently, were given out to various people in the school by letter from the education offices. And one of the people who got a point has still not been told by the head what he's got the point for. There were points available and she did not give one to me".
(Bruce, 35, middle, scale 2, C.D.T.)

This passage seems to emphasise the importance of personal relationships with the headteacher and of the consequences which unfavourable relationships might have upon the teacher's career. In a very long and involved passage, Bruce went on to describe a prolonged series of happenings concerning the headteacher's request that he make a lectern for use in the school. Bruce explained his resentment at this request, and others like it, since he felt that his C.D.T. skills ought not to be put to these uses. He reports that he promised the head that he would do as she asked and that he eventually finished the lectern. However, he implied that this took a very long time to do. The head seems to have been aware of Bruce's 'go slow' tactics and there were a number of exchanges over this. He comments:-

Bruce "She starts getting nasty, so I get stubborn. Now, is that being unreasonable? I don't know. It's the way that silly little things get blown up out of proportion".
(Bruce, 35, middle, scale 2, C.D.T.)

Bruce's uneasy relationship with the head seems to be rooted in their antipathy for each other and also upon Bruce's resistance to the 'handyman' identity with which she has labelled him. Although he says that he resents this, he did in fact comply with her wishes and claims that, 'I don't think that I have ever exactly refused to do anything'.

During the interview Bruce spoke of the difficulties of finding time to do extra tasks when there was always a class needing attention. He felt, too, that the head was unaware of the difficulties of involving middle school pupils in the making of a lectern, since this was beyond their present level of skill. It appears, from his comments in this matter, that the head believed that the making of the lectern could be organized as a class project.

The head's relationship with this respondent, besides being coloured by the lectern episode, seems also to be shaped by Bruce's thinly disguised criticism of her and especially of her action over the distribution of available points. The head's opportunity to award him a point, but failing to do so, induces Bruce to the belief that he will never receive promotion under his present head. It is clear that the 'critical incident' nature of this episode led to a sustained 'critical phase' (see Sikes et al, 1985, pp57 - 69) which has

changed Bruce's understanding of his career and of its possibilities at that school. He says that he has confronted the head on two occasions over the matter of promotion and the following extract conveys something of the texture of these interactions:-

Bruce "The first time was about two-and-a-half years ago when I approached the head and the attitude then was 'Yes Mr W*****, I think that in the near future there is a good possibility that you will be receiving some sort of promotion. But, as you know Mr W*****, we have just been re-grouped and there is no possibility at the moment until people leave'. Always a good reason. Then came - nearly two years ago when I took over the maths - 'Now Mr W*****, this will look good on any application form; and of course we'll be bearing it in mind that you are doing this job on a scale two at the moment, and it's quite likely that in the near future you will be a scale three'.....Certain people.....
.....Miss P***** will have them in her office and she will sit at her desk and they will sit on little chairs and she will tell them and they go out; 'Yes Miss P*****, No Miss P*****'. There are others who she can't do anything with because they won't sit in the little chairs. When she is sitting at her desk they stand up and lean on her desk and look down at her. And she starts saying 'yes' to them. With me she often adopts a different tactic. She catches me in a corridor between lessons. She's scared. Everyone knows she's scared of certain people. She doesn't know how to handle them".
(Bruce, 35, middle, scale 2, C.D.T.)

The tensions between Bruce and his headteacher do not seem to have erupted in any open way, each presenting a veneer of civility to the other. He does not seem to indulge in the aggressive behaviour which he claims some members of staff do but he implies that he is one of the people of whom the

headteacher is 'scared'. This seems to be corroborated by her avoidance of private encounters with him through meeting and speaking with him in the corridor. Bruce says that he no longer voices the strong criticism of her that he once did, especially in the staffroom, and this, together with his compliance with her requests, albeit in a slow and grudging way, suggests that despite his claim, he has not completely given up hope of promotion at her hands.

Bruce seems to have had only a vague understanding of the likely consequences of his skirmishes with the headteacher. He appears to have realised that he was passing through a 'critical phase' (ibid, 1985, pp57 - 69) only long after the incidents had occurred. Four years after this interview Bruce was promoted to scale three. The time taken for him to advance from scale two to scale three was fourteen years and all of these years were spent at the same school with the same headteacher.

The following account by Jeff (23/2/225) describes how his efforts to obtain a Master's degree through part-time study were foiled, in his perception, by the actions of his tutor. In his first interview he informed me of his study with the Open University, which he had just completed, and that he was

now contemplating further study for a higher degree. He had begun a Master's degree study at the university of the city in which he lived but had abandoned this after having had some difficulties with his tutor. The second interview, which took place more than three years after the first, produced an opportunity to open up this sensitive area:-

Int. "Did you ever pick up your Master's degree again Jeff?"

Jeff "No. I got through sociology but I had problems with psychology. Strange isn't it?".

This is a reference to the fact that his Open University courses were mainly in psychology and he is here registering surprise that he should fail in this but pass in sociology, which was a new area of study to him. He continues:-

Jeff "You know what the trouble is? I was speaking a different language. There were people who had learned psychology at other places. Obviously the theory's the same but the language is so different. I think it was my own fault really. I shouldn't have taken that. Psychology. I should have taken a completely different option. But I've burnt my bridges".

Int. "It seems a pity since psychology was your main interest".

Jeff "Yes. It seemed the obvious thing to do at the time. It was a clash of personalities. I had so many hassles with the tutor.....I'm out now. Oh, it was very, very unpleasant. It would be very unlikely, because of this unpleasantness, to ever get on any of the other courses. He (the tutor) made my life very unpleasant over things like religion. He was an ex-monk. A lapsed.....I'll tell you who he was later; off the record. I found the whole situation unbelievable. I just couldn't do one thing right".

(Jeff, 38, special middle, scale 3S, history)

At this point Jeff recounted a long story concerning his submission of an essay to his tutor, an essay which had already been submitted in a previous year by one of Jeff's friends and which had been awarded an 'A-minus' grade. With the friend's permission, and with some disguising alterations to the essay, Jeff submitted it to his tutor under his own name and it received a 'fail' grade.

This respondent's cryptic and staccato style of speech, together with his obvious sensitivity to the experiences which he recalls here, served to add to the difficulties of understanding the abrasive relationship which had developed between himself and his tutor. Although more information might have been elicited through further probing, I felt that this would not have been welcomed by the respondent and might only have increased his feelings of embarrassment. Although this has left the detail of the interactions unexplained, there are a number of points which have been made by Jeff which will perhaps help with this understanding.

Jeff was dissatisfied with the course - it was 'totally useless', 'unrelated' to what he had done or what he was likely to do in school; it was 'airy-fairy' and concentrated on only a few writers - Piaget, Freud and Bernstein. There was also Peter's perception of the differences between the

terminology used and that of the Open University psychology courses with which he had become familiar. His tutor, described by Jeff as an 'ex-monk', seems to have entered into debate with Jeff over religious matters and this does not seem to have helped their relationship. Jeff also suggests that his tutor's ambition for a high post in the university, and his failure to achieve this, explains this turning of his anger upon him. It is not clear why Jeff should be selected for this treatment but it is possible to imagine the terminological clashes of the tutorial room with sparks further fanned by Jeff's blunt Newcastle style.

The episode of the plagiarised essay seems to have been designed to make it abundantly clear to Jeff, and perhaps to other observers, that no matter how good an essay Jeff submits to this tutor, it is sure to fail. Jeff claims that, 'I just couldn't do one thing right'. Perhaps the fail grade given to a hitherto assessed 'A minus' essay confirmed Jeff in his opinion of the tutor and gave him the good reason which he looked for in withdrawing from the course.

In the first interview with Jeff he spoke of his ambition to become qualified to apply for membership of the British Psychological Society and perhaps to leave school teaching and to enter the Schools Psychological Service (see 'Chapter 8' for

the details of this). The attempted acquisition of a Master's degree seems to have been a step in this direction and the disrupting effects of his relationship with his tutor have foiled this plan. For that reason I feel that his account may be validly included in this section of the study. This is not to cast blame in the direction of the tutor entirely. Clearly Jeff's actions were part of the situation but the role which his tutor played, even although perhaps without malice, has effectively influenced Jeff's career in significant ways. Gaining a Master's degree might not have ensured his desired membership of the B.P.S., but who is to say that this would not have been achieved? Also, Jeff's experience is likely to have an adverse effect on his future appetite for further formal study; he believes that he would not be welcomed for further study courses in that institution again.

Like some other respondents, the act of producing accounts and recalling events sometimes permits an altered perspective and can bring the respondent to an understanding of his own actions in shaping these events. Jeff says of his interactions with his tutor, 'I think it was my own fault really', and, 'but I've burnt my bridges', and he concludes with, 'I blew it'. Despite these negative emphases on 'I', he pardons himself by invoking chance, 'I was just unlucky'.

My observation of some respondents blaming others for their present plight seems to become embarrassing for them after a time -- perhaps especially so when this is recorded on tape -- and they begin to shoulder some of the blame. It is likely, too, that Jeff's recollection of the details of these events have remained unuttered for some time and that their distancing has perhaps induced in him a changed perception of the events and their consequences. He is perhaps now more able and more willing to assess his own active contribution to the events. However, all passion was not spent, as Jeff's red-faced and spluttering account testified.

It is appropriate at this point to turn to another respondent who is also able to provide information concerning his attempt to gain admittance to a Master's degree course. This respondent, Alph, was interviewed soon after he had completed his B.Ed.(Hons) degree at a polytechnic school of education. As I have already declared earlier in this study, it was my intention to interview a few finishing students with the hope of contacting them again after they had been teaching for two or three years, and Alph was one of these. On completion of his B.Ed. Alph decided to study for a two-year, full-time M.Phil. degree, and in the following account he tells of his attempts to find the necessary help, by way of a grant of money, to carry out this plan. He says (11/1/116):-

Alph "I almost started a Master's degree. I decided to reject it in the end because my wife is not going to get a grant for her studies so I will have to pay for that. So I will have to earn money. We will just have to survive for the next four years".

Int. "There is no way of having the fees paid?".

Alph "No. I've been through all that. I went to see a lot of people. And I've got good friends down there. Two very good friends at ***** University".

Int. "They are on the academic staff?".

Alph "Yes. (The respondent names his friends here). They told me how grants of money could be found by ***** University for the right people. If you knew So-and-So or you had been taught by So-and-So. I went round to see how all this worked. I was curious. I was sent from one person to another and I realised that I was being discarded as unsuitable. A polytechnic student! I was discarded because I was a polytechnic student! 'Dear Boy. What!' (Feigns upper-class accent). I am not disheartened. Nor even surprised. They live in a world of their own".
(Alph, 31, secondary, scale 1, French)

This extract might well have been used to illustrate the positive influence of others, since Alph's two university tutor friends have acted in his favour in showing him 'how grants of money can be found'. However, since Alph believes that he has been the victim of some prejudiced actions, I use the account to illustrate this. Alph's perception of the functioning of this prejudice is not against him as an individual person, as was the case with Jeff, but against him in his status of polytechnic student. Alph claims that the treatment which he received at the university - 'sent from one person to

another' - indicated to him that he was being regarded as unsuitable, but, had he been one of the 'right people', he might have had a different reception.

Respondents sometimes made reference to notions which, although often hotly expressed, were not well shored-up with accounts of specific happenings nor with direct personal experiences.

Some respondents, for example, spoke of the career hazards of serving as the school's 'union' representative. It is possible that some of the sensitivity towards this topic may have been generated by the events of the first half of the 1980s when there was considerable disruption through teachers' 'action'.

It is believed by some teachers that the union representative, especially in times of 'action', might be placed in a position of confrontation with the headteacher and that the head's displeasure could crystallise into a personal antagonism towards the teacher who personifies 'the union'. The

headteacher, often viewed by staff members as spiteful and vindictive, would be believed to seek revenge later through the denial of some promotion chance which might otherwise have come the way of the 'union man' (see Brian's account in Sikes et al, 1985, pp127 - 128). Other areas of work carry assumptions of the normality of this kind of conflict, even that it is necessary and functional since it demonstrates to the union membership that the representative's allegiances

are where they are supposed to be. The words of Arthur Scargill illustrate this understanding: 'If the management likes the union man, there's something wrong' (B.B.C. Radio, 30th November, 1987).

Some respondents suggested to me that, because of the above understandings, teachers who represented professional teacher associations in their school were likely to be older teachers who had no further promotion expectations, or more usually, young teachers, new to the profession and perhaps new to the school, who naively accepted this responsibility when it was put to them. One respondent said that in his school it was always the most junior member who did this task and who could rid himself of it only by waiting for some other unsuspecting newcomer to the staff to arrive. These notions, although only loosely formed, were uttered by several respondents. I have few data from teachers who have served as representatives of their professional association and who can claim to have been unfavourably treated by the head because of the confrontations arising from union activities. One respondent, who had been a union representative for a short period of time and who had experienced confrontations with his headteacher, informed me that he believed that reports of his activities had found their way to the local education offices and where his name was now

included on a 'black list' as 'unfit for further promotion'. He had no evidence to support this belief, the notion was his way of explaining his own lack of promotion. Although no other respondent expressed a similar view of his own career, some believed that 'black lists' are not just figments of teachers' imaginings, and although such lists might not exist as pieces of paper bearing names, they could be part of the knowledge and understandings of influential advisers, selectors and other powerful persons involved in gatekeeping activities.

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) Some headteachers seem to be prepared to use their powers of gatekeeping and sponsoring to influence the careers of teachers in unfavourable and damaging ways. Their solutions to their own problems, or problems of the school, might be of greater salience to them than the career ambitions of their staff members.
- 2) As gatekeeper, the headteacher is able to block a teacher's career progress in his school through providing reasons for not promoting him when there are opportunities to do so, or by using the available points in the promotion of some other teacher for whom a stronger case can be made.

- 3) As sponsor, the headteacher is sometimes able to influence the appointing head in ways which are unfavourable for the teacher. The practice of heads communicating by telephone when appointments are being made is believed to offer a convenient 'masking' device for the passing of unfavourable messages about the teacher.
- 4) The unfavourable intervention of headteachers in the career progress of teachers is perceived as motivated by one or both of the following:-
 - a) The teacher's value to the school.
 - b) The personal animosity of the head.
- 5) It is possible that the careers of some teachers may be damaged through the actions of those gatekeepers and sponsors who guard entry to courses of advanced study and to the award of higher qualifications. There is some evidence to suggest the operation of personal preferences and prejudices by gatekeepers and sponsors in this.
- 6) Some headteachers seem to be prepared to resort to tactics which are designed to force or persuade teachers who are considered to be unsuitable to leave the school and perhaps to leave teaching. These tactics include:-

- a) Degradation tactics which embarrass the teacher and bring about his 'loss of face'.
 - b) Bringing the teacher's shortcomings to a wider audience of people who are important to the teacher's reputation e.g. colleagues, pupils and advisers.
 - c) Having the teacher removed from the school temporarily so that another chance seems to be given to him to find more success elsewhere. In effect, this seems merely to show that the teacher is incompetent everywhere and serves to justify the headteacher's original assessment.
- 7) There is some belief that those teachers who serve as the representatives of teachers' professional associations, and who act as spearheads and spokesmen in union activities, are likely to be thrown into confrontation with their headteachers. This can result in career damage to these teachers through headteachers' unfavourable actions in promotion decisions and recommendations.

PART FOUR (CONT)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHERS.

Chapter 11. Canvassing.

Contents:-

Page 292	-	Introduction
Page 294	-	Canvassing.
Page 303	-	Summary and Conclusions.

Introduction.

'Canvassing will constitute grounds for disqualification' is a familiar phrase to many teachers because of its presence on forms of application for teaching posts. During the course of my interviews with respondents it became clear that, for them, a variety of meanings and understandings were attached to the phenomenon of canvassing. I was therefore careful to avoid any assumed meanings and accepted whatever was offered as accounts of canvassing activities. It is possible that the people who are responsible for the inclusion of notices of prohibition of canvassing on application forms know what they mean by this and are able to recognise it when it confronts them. For my respondents it did not seem to be at all clear and some spoke of quite innocuous activities as examples of canvassing. This variation in understandings has made the collection of data which might be termed 'relevant' more than usually difficult. Besides this, there was an understandable reluctance of most respondents to admit to canvassing activities, so that, despite the fact that there were passing references to 'canvassing', relevant data on this topic are scarce.

I believe that a perception of canvassing practices and an awareness of the career consequences contingent upon these, constitutes an important area of the teacher culture. It is

important, too, to this study because of its likely association with an earlier chapter dealing with the influence which powerful others might have upon a teacher's career, since receiving career help and seeking career help may be more easily separated theoretically than practically. However, I feel that an understanding of the phenomenon of canvassing can only be achieved through an attempt at this separation and through an isolation of the accounts of the utterances of those respondents who are prepared to discuss their understanding of this phenomenon.

The topic is particularly plagued by problems of validity. Again, perhaps because of feelings of embarrassment, accounts which are offered tend to describe the activities of others rather than the actions of the respondent himself. However, even if these accounts are viewed with particular caution, they might serve to make us aware of those practices which are looked upon as canvassing ones. It is perhaps important to state at this point that no respondent was able to speak of any teacher whose career had suffered through his or her detection in canvassing practices; no-one was able to give an account of the 'disqualification' threatened on application forms. Respondents' reactions to this topic tended to be joking ones, canvassing antics of ambitious colleagues often being described with amusement. It was interesting, I thought,

that the successful canvassing practices of teachers were not viewed in any grudging way by respondents but seemed to be regarded as just another way in which the promotion system functioned.

Canvassing.

I shall begin the presentation of respondents' accounts with some light-hearted anecdotes which show the range of activities which seem to be considered as part of their understanding of 'canvassing'; both of which were delivered with a great deal of laughter. The first is provided by Alan who describes one of his colleague's occasional practice of leaving the staffroom to visit the headteacher in his room at lunchtime while announcing to his amused colleagues:-

'I'm just going upstairs to do a bit of crawling'.

Peter (24/2/260) describes the extra-mural activities of an ambitious colleague and friend:-

Peter "A friend of mine, someone who always professed to be a devout atheist, became a communicant member of the Church of England. 'Chatted up' his vicar so that he could gain his support. The minute that he got the job - and he got the job - then his faith fell away".

(Peter, 37, primary, deputy-head, history)

Both of the above respondents were responding to my prompting them to inform me of their understanding of canvassing practices, as does Bruce (10/56) in the next example:-

Bruce "But.....you get people who are good at socializing. They attend teachers' centre courses where the advisers are. They couldn't give a 'monkey's' about what is on the course, as long as they can get a word with the adviser at coffee-time. Everybody admits to doing it at one time or another. You get your face known with the right people and it's a 'foot-in-the-door'. And I think it's a fairly legitimate tactic as long as it's not taken too far".
(Bruce, 35, middle, scale 2, C.D.T.)

I feel that Bruce's account contains three important understandings of what constitutes canvassing practices.

These are:-

- 1) That some teachers attend professional courses for cynical and self-seeking, career-advancing reasons.
- 2) That such tactics are common.
- 3) That such tactics are legitimate, although there is a suggestion that there is a point beyond which it is illegitimate to go.

The accounts of Alan, Peter and Bruce have the common element of being descriptions of the alleged activities of others although Bruce's account implies that he has done something like this himself:-

'Everybody admits to doing it at one time or another'.

The next account by Justin, a teacher of art and a probationer at the time of the interview, who, although not providing a direct admission of his own canvassing activities, informs us of his willingness to use these in the event of an opportunity presenting itself. He says (32/2/650):-

Justin "Suppose I was on interview at B***** P*** and I knew that Mr 'X' was well thought of by the people concerned with the interview; then I would probably try and engineer a situation where Mr 'X's' name was mentioned. And I would find some association with that. If I desperately wanted the job and Mr 'X' was not well thought of, then I would avoid that".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

This seems to be mainly an example of name-dropping and it is odd that Justin regards it as an example of canvassing.

Alph, in the example which he provides (11/147), points to the effect of a fortuitous, chance acquaintance with an influential person in working to his career advantage, but which for him constitutes canvassing. His account concerns the assistance he received from a friend, who also happened to be a local councillor, which enabled him to secure his first appointment in a large and prestigious school:-

Alph "And as for the ***** job. I had two referees from ***** 'Poly' and I also used a friend who is prominent in ***** County Council. He said to me that I could use him for the ***** job. The reference he gave me was extremely personal. But

I was quite embarrassed. But you see, I didn't ask for this. *** (the councillor) is one of my neighbours and we see each other every other day or so".

(Alph, 31, secondary, scale 1, French)

Alph seemed to be genuinely embarrassed by this assistance which he received and he distances himself from it by showing that this was unsolicited, although he says that he 'used' his friend. It would seem to me that Alph has here asked his councillor friend to act as a referee, but that the friend has contributed help of such a strong and personal nature that Alph suffers embarrassment. He added that he thought that '.....most appointments are settled in this way' and this notion possibly justifies and excuses whatever guilt he may feel attaches to his own actions in these activities. Another respondent, Vincent (3/25), expresses much the same sentiment as Alph in his comment:-

Vincent "I think that in all professions people do take advantage of who they know and a lot of them get in by the 'back door'".
(Vincent, 22, secondary, student, P.E.)

Roy provided a view of teaching appointments in Wales which asserted that canvassing practices were common there. He also suggested that Scotland was an area where these practices might be common. The general tenor of his utterances led me to the notion that there might be a set of canvassing practices which were typical of particular geographical regions and which were

known and accepted within these regions. Here is the account given by Roy which led me to this thinking (8/40):-

Roy "I don't think the practice (canvassing) is as prevalent now as it used to be. It used to be an extremely common practice in Wales - and it still happens - although it is no longer as common as it used to be.....I know a number of Welsh people and I know that appointments are still being made as a result of what you and I would consider to be nepotism. I don't think that nowadays, in Scotland for instance, that it's particularly common; but there are isolated cases. I think that Wales is probably the only example nowadays where the practice is fairly prevalent. The Welsh are a curious people and I think that the nature of the country still makes the 'valley mentality' prevalent. A large part of the country consists of valleys where people are tightly knit and I think that that encourages this kind of practice. It still goes on".

(Roy, 60, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music)

Alph was one of the few respondents who was prepared to admit his own canvassing activities, and besides the account which he has already provided in this section, he also spoke of the period of time when he was living in Wales and of his grant seeking activities there. Alph is a Frenchman who married a Welsh girl and lived in Wales for a period of time during his early married life. He is a gifted linguist and has learned to speak and to write in Welsh. Because of this, I suggested to him the possibility of his teaching in Wales and he replied (11/137):-

Alph "The problem with Wales is that so many people apply for jobs there. It's like Cornwall".

Int. "I spoke to someone who mentioned the practice of canvassing and he thought that Wales was a place where this was common. He talked of the 'valley mentality'; people being closely knit and selecting their own people for posts".

Alph "Well, I canvassed myself.....It was for a grant. I was strongly advised to go and see a county councillor who was the leader of the finance committee and who resided in our village. And I did.....It's not like me. But they twisted my arm.....I would never do it again".

Int. "Do you think that he saw it as canvassing?".

Alph "Actually he said that there was no need to approach him but I realised that it was all on who you were and what you did".

Int. "And this was for what?".

Alph "A grant. To study for four years".

Int. "And that was fixed at that brief interview?"

Alph "Yes. I am disgraced!"
(Alph, 31, secondary, scale 1, French)

Perhaps some of the embarrassment suffered by Alph at this encounter with the Welsh councillor might have been due to his perception of his own non-Welshness; perhaps a Welsh applicant in a similar situation might have found the interaction much less embarrassing. Alph's reference to the pressures which had been put upon him to act in these ways are offered in explanation and seem to testify to his sensitivity in this.

Roy's notion of canvassing being a common practice in Wales seems to be supported by Alph's account but I felt that it was

necessary to locate a Welshman, born and brought up within a Welsh culture, who could inform me of some of the detail of the activities which had been outlined to me by these previous respondents and if possible to speak of his own canvassing activities in Wales. I found Ivor, a college of education geography tutor, displaced by the reorganization programme of the late 1970s and now functioning, through a recently acquired Master's degree, as a tutor in education management in the polytechnic which had absorbed his previous college. He had been born and educated in the Rhondda Valley, went to University in Wales, trained as a teacher after his degree studies and spent his early teaching years in Wales before 'going north' to take up his college of education post in 1960. Ivor's account is important in its function in perhaps dispelling some of the myths surrounding canvassing in Wales and in explaining teachers' actions in this. Ivor's account of this topic consists of a contribution of more than three thousand words and it is regretted that it is too long to be included verbatim here. I have therefore selected a number of passages which will serve as the data for my analysis of this topic.

I broached the topic of canvassing with Ivor by asking him to give his definition of the term; this is his reply:-

Ivor "Seeking the support of people in public office. And this is exactly what I did. It's apropos, in a sense, of what I've already expressed. Even now I feel a degree of reticence about things. I don't project myself. I'm not an extrovert. But can you imagine, as a fairly young and innocent twenty-one year-old, thinking, 'Where am I going to get a job?' People say, 'Oh, you must come back home'. My parents wanted me to go back home. There were too many boys going away from the area. The minister of the church I was attending wanted me to go back home. He started life as a road sweeper, had gone to theological college and worked hard; became a minister of 'the Cloth'. He said, 'Go and see the councillors boy. Go and see them'. 'Who are they?' I asked. 'I don't know' he said. 'Go up to the council offices and get a list'. Which I did and got thrown out. Then he asked someone who knew and he got a list of names and addresses for me.

And then I had to set out on this terrible task of going around; catching a 'bus up the Valley; finding streets; knocking on a certain door; sometimes they were in; sometimes they were out. And really what it boiled down to was simply a statement, 'I am So-and-So. My name is So-and-So. I've applied for the post of Such-and-Such. I just thought that I would like to present myself to you'. And indeed, this practice was given, a couple of years later, a whole page in the 'South Wales Echo'. Because the advert said, 'Canvassing will disqualify'. And one did it. If you didn't do it this was held against you. 'Who is he to think that he can apply for this post without seeing me first?' I never found anything in it other than that. There was never any suggestion of bribery or corruption; or whatever it might be. It was simply a matter that..... I suppose it was an expression of power. Power that the councillors had. And also maybe, it allowed them to do a bit of homework. In other words, what was written down in the curriculum vitae was nothing to them. It was the kind of person who appeared before them. And there were certain things you could rely on. Your own councillor; unless there were two of

you from the same ward. And your own local councillor would be your man. And if your local councillor was high on the pecking order - in age and seniority - your case was strong. Then there were some other powerful people. If you could get, say, the chairman - the Father of the Council - on your side, then you were really strong. But you never knew whether or not you had these people.

I did it twice. The first job, and then a year later for the job in the Grammar school. And that was one of the few times, whether she did or not, that the person said that she would support me. She told me on the spot. The others tended to say, 'Thank you very much. Nice of you to call. I'm glad you did'. It was nothing grand. Just little cottages they lived in. The front door opened into the living room. You just shuffled in and spent a couple of minutes. You spent more time on the 'bus. There was nothing sinister about it. But you must remember that this was about canvassing for teaching posts. There were so many teachers produced in Wales, and so few posts, that there had to be this kind of jostling. Whether they get the best teachers is another thing. One of their concerns was, 'Keep it in the Valleys. Give the job to the Valley children'.

Teaching was of course a bit different. I am only going on hearsay, but I had heard of money changing hands. That - I know nothing about! But it tended to be a thing of the past. You could mythologise it a bit. And even then not related to any names. What seemed to be the path for headships was that you had to show service to the Labour Party. It was 'Labour' dominated. They didn't care for anything else. You would have to have an office and the office was usually secretary of the Labour Party. And you became the speech writer and guide for the council. So the secretary of the Labour Party was the nearest thing they could get to this. But it was definitely the avenue. All the teachers I have known from that area have done that. They have all trodden that particular route. Even in the context I mentioned earlier, was the right person for the job being picked? For, all things being equal, they would tend to give the job to the home product".

(Ivor, 52, teacher training, principal lecturer, geography)

Summary and Conclusions.

Ivor's account describes the canvassing practices which he perceived operating in a particular geographical area, the Rhondda Valley, at a particular period of time, the 1950s, when Ivor himself was seeking teaching posts in that region.

Although these practices are circumscribed in place and time, they might have relevance for the understanding of canvassing practices in general. For example, Ivor's account of his own reticence at making approaches to councillors and of the 'terrible task' of visiting them in their homes, might alert us to the possibility of these or similar activities being beyond the willingness of many teachers to do. It is important to remember that the activities described here were set against a background of custom and practice which was well known and recognised in the region, and yet Ivor speaks of these as tasks of unpleasant duty. His remarks, 'If you didn't do it, this was held against you', and 'Who is he to think that he can apply for this post without seeing me first?', supports the notion that Ivor regarded these activities as duties of an almost compulsory nature. Considering Ivor's reticence, despite his acceptance of these practices, how much more difficult would be some approach to a similarly placed public office holder in a setting unsupported by the cultural understandings of the Rhondda Valley. It would be difficult to visualize such a

'cold' approach in other settings, especially if councillors' sympathetic and favourable reaction could not be presumed.

Ivor's perception of the obligatory nature of canvassing practices in this region is partly based upon its function in confirming and demonstrating councillors' view of the status and power of their office, while councillors themselves legitimate the practice through the claim that knowledge of the candidate is increased. 'Knowledge of the candidate' might work against the candidate as well as for him, and Ivor's comment that 'You never knew whether or not you had these people' indicates that cautious councillors gave little hint of their intentions. Although Ivor says that there was never any suggestion of 'bribery or corruption' and that 'there was nothing sinister about it', he mentions that there had been some 'hearsay' about 'money changing hands'. This seems to suggest the abuse of the system by rogue councillors, although in the main, its function was innocuous enough. There seemed to be a genuine concern to stop the 'Valley' population dwindling further and this was another reason for favouring 'home products'. The condition of the appointment of living in 'The Valley' seems to be part of this tactic.

Perhaps part of the caution of councillors to reveal little of their willingness to support a candidate was based upon the

knowledge that no appointment of a teacher was completely within the gift of any one councillor. Ivor showed that there was an unequal distribution of power within the council, with age, seniority and role contributing to this; the chairman or 'Father of the Council' being more influential than other council members. It seemed, from Ivor's account, that councillors were almost obliged to support the candidate from their ward and that when two local teachers opposed each other for the same post, the one with the more influential councillor was likely to be successful. An honour system constrained councillors to the extent that if they could not support a candidate - perhaps because they were supporting some other 'home product' - they would inform the candidate of this. So despite Ivor's claim that 'You never knew whether or not you had these people', it seems that through this honour system the candidate would know if he or she did not have this support.

Ivor speaks of a more sophisticated canvassing through a long term of service to the Labour Party and suggests that this is a common route for those bent on becoming a headteacher. Being a councillor seems to be a way of enhancing one's strength as a headteacher candidate. It must be kept in mind that the term 'the Labour Party' is a reification and any promotion to a headship would be the decision of council members, functioning

as gatekeepers to teaching posts within their local authority. It may be that Protestant Work Ethic notions are used in the perception of headteacher-candidates' long dedication to the work of the Labour Party and that these notions indicate a deserved reward for loyalty and commitment. That these notions are employed in the selection of headteachers, perhaps without due regard to the required skills of headship posts, is a suggestion found in Ivor's account, although this is not presented in the above passages. There is the possibility, too, that the appointment of a committed member of the Labour Party to a headteacher position is viewed as of greater political value than selecting a candidate who may be more suitable in terms of headteacher qualities and potential.

Alph's account, with its emphasis on simply and fortuitously knowing someone who is an influential councillor, a neighbour in Alph's case, tempers the notion of making 'cold' approaches to councillors. Ivor was the only respondent of whom I asked a definition of canvassing and he is the only one who offered a precise conception of this. The offerings of some of the other respondents showed wide differences in the understanding of the nature of this concept and, in retrospect, it might have been more productive if some consensus of meaning had been reached on this before discussing its relevance to teachers' attempts at promotion.

I think that the value of this section of the study is that it focuses attention upon those gatekeepers and sponsors who are less visible than that other important gatekeeper, the headteacher. The headteacher is more accessible than other gatekeepers, to the teacher, and approaches to him or her are likely to be less fraught with penalties and prohibitions. Ivor's reference to 'people in public life' perhaps rule out the headteacher as one who can be canvassed. There might be a potential in some relationships between headteacher and teacher which can be used as levers in the latter's promotion tactics, but canvassing as a means in these tactics is unlikely unless the head also functions in some other gatekeeping role, for example as council member.

This section of the study on canvassing constitutes only a small part of the whole and is included here as a means to the further development of the more general notion of the favourable influences of powerful others. The few data I have gathered on canvassing suggests that there is a rich research vein to be tapped within the area of gatekeeping and of gatekeepers; how they function and how they come to their decisions; what features of candidates influence them in these; whether they are canvassed and how this is done. This would clearly be a difficult and sensitive area to investigate and

the researcher would have to proceed with some caution. It is clear that the perceptions of gatekeepers are crucial to the appointment of teachers to posts of higher responsibility and it would be interesting and reassuring to know that some effective procedures operate to place appropriate 'keepers' at appropriate 'gates'.

PART FIVE

THE PROMOTION INTERVIEW AND THE PRESENTATION OF SELF.

Contents:-

Page 310	-	Introduction to Part Five.
Page 320	-	Chapter 12. Making Application for Teaching Posts.
Page 336	-	Summary and Conclusions.

Introduction to Part Five.

Although ambitious teachers may understand the need for effective self presentation through the daily activities of life in school, the promotion interview concentrates teachers' self-presenting activities into a restricted time span and allows for a more intense research scrutiny. The on-going interactions of a teacher with familiar gatekeepers during the school day, permits a sustained and stable presentation of self to be made over a prolonged period of time. The promotion interview occurs rarely in the course of the careers of teachers and the brief presence of candidates before a panel of, often unknown, selectors can demand an unfamiliar and difficult style of self-presentation. The understanding which teachers may have of the need to adopt this style could encourage an increased self-awareness and a speculation upon the effects which particular presentations of self are likely to have upon selectors' thinking and choice of candidate.

Besides this, the promotion interview is the pivot upon which career turns. No matter how successful the teacher has been in making favourable self representations in various areas of his teaching life, the route to promotion is barred by the selection interview, and for status passage to higher ranks this barrier must be negotiated successfully. It is small

wonder that teachers feel it necessary to devote much attention to the protocol and strategies of appropriate self presentation at this level. For these reasons the topic of teachers' presentations of themselves at interview is not only an interesting and important aspect of teaching career, but is also a source of rich and colourful interview data and constitutes an important focal point of this study.

This fifth section of the study will deal with the detail of respondents' understandings of the processes of the promotion interview and the strategies which they associate with these. I have divided these processes into four areas which have been indicated by respondents' utterances and although I treat these as separate themes, in reality a close relationship between these can be perceived and exploited by some respondents. I now present a brief outline of the four areas which I intend to study:-

- 1) Making application for teaching posts. In this, the teacher, having located some available post, takes the first step towards this by completing and submitting an application form. The focus of attention here is on the respondent's understandings of this task; the strategies which he employs in doing it, if any, and his perception of any guide-lines which he associates with it. It is likely

that the applicant's understanding of the relationship between his application-form statements and the questions which might be put to him at interview, might guide and constrain him in his efforts at presenting a suitable and acceptable self on paper.

- 2) Preparation for the interview. This will examine the understandings which respondents have of the events of a teaching-appointment interview and the steps which can be taken to make a success of this, that is, to become the selected candidate. Preparation is likely to focus upon a favourable presentation of self in which the candidate attempts to convince the selection panel of his own suitability. The study will attempt to uncover respondents' own preparations which they have made for being interviewed and the understandings which have prompted them to prepare in ways which have perhaps favoured the presentation of a particular self.

- 3) The interview setting and the interview

The 'Interview Setting' will examine respondents' accounts of features of the interview room and arrangements for interview which they have noticed, and if possible, their understandings of these and their perceived effects upon the outcome of the interview. For example, the

composition of the interviewing panel, the actions and utterances of individual members of this, special features of the interview room and of the other candidates, might all be relevant to the candidate's understanding of his experiences of the processes of the promotion interview.

Presentation of self at interview may take many forms and is likely to be linked to the first item here, the 'Preparation for the Interview'. The candidate is likely to have formed an idea of what is required for a successful outcome and the focus here will be on tactics which are chosen to demonstrate chosen personal features and abilities to the selectors. Appearance, for example, seems to be an aspect of self to which candidates give thought (see Stone 1962), as perhaps is speech and the demonstration of those personal qualities and skills which are believed to influence selectors favourably.

4) Post-interview understandings and activities.

Since only one candidate is selected per post but several are called to interview, it seems important to discover how failure to be selected affects teachers. Was the experience of being interviewed a pleasant one? Or has it been something which they would rather not repeat? Does failure to be selected depress and discourage them? Are

therapies available, and if so, who applies these? To what extent are teachers able to withstand repeated failure at interview and is there a 'cut-off' point where they decide to abandon the idea of seeking promotion and settle for other rewards in teaching?

These are some of the questions which might be answered through reference to the analysis of respondents' utterances. The reader will notice that some of the extracts which are used in this section have already appeared in other parts of the study. Often these have been embedded in some larger account but have here been extracted from this and used to show the particular and detailed understandings which respondents have of these topics. Before presenting these accounts I would like to provide fragments of respondents' utterances which will indicate problems which some of them have faced in the task of promotion attempts in teaching. The first of these is from Alan (29/1/547) who says:-

Alan "The only interview I ever had was the one that got me
 this job".
 (Alan, 52, middle, scale 2, geography/P.E.)

Although he could not provide the details of the number of posts for which he had made application in recent years, Alan assured me that he had been constantly active in this.

David (31/1/393), a P.E. teacher in a comprehensive school who had hoped that his recent award of an 'in-service' B.Ed.(Hons) degree would have helped with his desired career mobility, describes his experiences in making applications for posts:-

David ".....I must have applied for about thirty jobs in the space of four or five months.....I got my references taken up for one. I got replies from about four; 'Thank you for your interest in this post which has now been filled'".
(David, 34, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

Jeff (1/52) does not quite equal David's persistence but his own perception of himself as a well qualified teacher - he has an Open University B.A. and a 'special school' diploma - evokes astonishment in him over his lack of success at being invited to interview:-

Jeff "I have all my applications already done. I put in all the little differences that different jobs require. And I never even get a reply. I have never received an invitation for interview. I have never received any reply".

Int. "How many times have you made these applications?"

Jeff "Nine. Over a period of a year and a half".
(Jeff, 35, special middle, scale 3S, history)

Len (30/2/320) limits himself geographically in his quest for promotion and this may form part of the explanation for his lack of success in this; however, he himself is still mystified:-

Len "...I have applied for jobs like head of lower school in places which are within travelling distance. And I've never even got an interview. And I think someone - honestly, I feel this strongly - that someone with my background, if they had read the letter properly, never mind just looking for the degree, then I am forced to get an interview somewhere. But I have never ever had an interview".

Int. "And how many posts have you applied for?".

Len "Oh, only about half-a-dozen. And I haven't tried for about three years. I can't believe it. It makes you wonder what is happening in terms of reference, doesn't it. Is the head saying, 'This is a good guy but I'm not letting him go'?"
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Contrasting with the above respondents are the accounts of Andy and Greg, both of whom have had considerable success in having their applications for teaching posts followed by an interview. At the time of this interview, Andy, a B.Ed.(Hons) teacher of P.E., has just completed two years of teaching in an international school in Portugal - his first appointment - has returned to the U.K., and has had two short-term temporary appointments in state schools. It is perhaps significant, in looking at the comparative success of this respondent's applications, that these were for temporary posts; it may be that competition for such posts is less severe than for permanent ones, although I have no data to support this notion. This is Andy's account (26/1):-

Andy "I had a number of interviews. The success rate was good".

Int. "How many interviews did you have in proportion to your applications?".

Andy "I would say one-in-three or one-in-four".

Int. "That's excellent. What do you think attracted them to your application?".

Andy "I think, having done work in Portugal. A little daring in taking-off and running the department".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Greg, who has been particularly successful in achieving his own upward career mobility, speaks in the following short passage of his attempts to gain an interview for a headship in a middle school. He says (27/1/345):-

Greg "In the past twelve months I have done five or six letters of application".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

These 'five or six' applications have produced three headship interviews for this respondent, the desired headship being gained at the third interview.

The last example which I offer in illustration of the variation of success rates of application forms, comes from Richard (43/1/460) who, having studied medicine for five years and on the point of becoming a qualified doctor, withdrew from his course. Before he eventually decided to become a teacher he

spent a number of years doing a great variety of jobs, the most common of which seemed to be digging ditches, which he refers to in this passage as 'digging'. His progression from 'digging' to other employment was a difficult one and necessitated his writing 'hundreds of letters' and going to 'interviews everywhere'. Although these applications of Richard's were not concerned specifically with attaining a teaching post, I feel that his account is useful in demonstrating the extreme persistence and endurance of some respondents in furthering their career. It also serves to expose what Richard has learned from these experiences and which may have influenced him in his understanding of tactics for career progression in teaching. The 'system' to which Richard refers in this passage is not the teaching system, but his expressed notions might well apply to it:-

Richard "I was out of work for a year. So I know what it's like. I decided, at that period, that I had done enough digging. I wanted a decent job. And so I wrote hundreds of letters all over the country. I was going to interviews everywhere for a year. But the problem was, I was over-qualified for some jobs and under-qualified for others. And age as well. That militated against me getting a job. And I thought at the end of that time, having gone to hundreds of interviews, 'Well, the system doesn't like the truth', and I thought, 'I'll tell a lie and get a job'. Because the longer you're out of work the more difficult it is to get a job. You have to account for the time when you haven't been working. They think you haven't been trying. I could have wall-papered my room with letters. And I thought, 'Well, I'll tell a lie'. I said I was self-employed for a year. And it was as if by magic - 'Open

Sesame' - I got a job straight away. Amazing!
It makes you a bit cynical about the system".
(Richard, 44, middle, scale 3, English),

Although I do not suggest that, like Richard, teachers are prepared to 'tell lies' to further their career, the accounts which follow will demonstrate the understandings which some respondents have developed of the need to 'tailor' their application-form writing so that the most suitable self is presented to accommodate particular post specifications. The greatest good which an application can produce is that of securing an invitation to interview. The problems and difficulties of the interview itself constitute different hazards to which this study will address itself in due course. The following accounts by my respondents demonstrate some of the understandings which they have developed about making written application for teaching posts.

A variety of understandings was expressed about completing application forms and of writing letters of application, both in terms of content and of length. Barry (51/2/80) told a story of someone he knew who 'submitted fifty typed sheets on himself' and comments on this tactic:-

Barry "This is immediately rejected. It's like a book. I have about one-and-a-half sheets of 'A4'. If I handwrite it, it runs to about three pages".
 (Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry's account informs us of two factors in making written application for teaching posts:-

- 1) There is some optimum length which it seems perilous to exceed.
- 2) Applications may be handwritten or typed. Barry's account does not inform us of the perceived advantages or disadvantages of these styles of presentation, nor more importantly, his understanding of gatekeepers' perceptions of these.

Like Barry, Andy subscribes to the idea of brevity in applications. In the following extract (26/1/400) he declares his view of his increasing skill which enables him to shorten the length of his letter of application:-

Andy "I now cut my letter down to a minimum. Before, it was four pages, and now it's just two-and-a-half. So looking through the application is easier for the head".

Later in the same interview Andy adds:-

Andy "My letter of application is good. I'd love to get hold of a headmaster, give him my letter of application and ask him what he looks for. Is it too long? Or too short? I've cut it down. Should I cut it down even more to one-and-a-half sides of 'A4'?"
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Although Andy is committed to the aim of shortening his letter of application, seemingly for the ease of scrutiny of whoever is to read this, his question, 'Is it too long; or too short?', suggests that he is not convinced of the most effective tactic. Barry's one-and-a-half sides of 'A4' and Andy's attempts at further brevity are in contrast with Greg's four-and-a-half sides of 'A4', although Greg is aware of the need to make such a long letter of application interesting.

He says (27/1/205):-

Greg "I try to make it interesting. Not bore them out of their skulls".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

Some respondents viewed the letter of application as little more than a record of their teaching experiences, fleshing out the 'bare bones' of the information of the application form, together with some short statement designed to demonstrate

their suitability for the post. Other respondents perceived in the letter of application an opportunity to declare their stance on chosen issues and to expose their own thinking and intentions for the post for which they were applying. Here is an example of this which is provided by Andy (26/1/500):-

Int. "What sort of things do you say in your letter?".

Andy "After an introductory paragraph, where I say where I have seen the job advertised,.....
...'I enclose further information in support of my application. My present job is.....After leaving college I was fortunate enough to be in charge of the department of physical education at the International School in Lisbon'. And then I say something about my philosophy. I write about 'standards', 'appearance', that kind of thing. 'Caring for pupils of all abilities and all ages; the chance to participate in games' success'. Just a short paragraph for this. And that's about it. I make a small 'conclusion'. I've applied for two head of department posts recently and I ended the letter by saying, 'I see this as a challenging and stimulating post and one which I feel myself equal to, and in which I would be a success'. I also include a testimonial from the head of the school in Portugal and from the head at ***** grammar school".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography).

Andy's presentation of himself in the application form stresses his notions of the importance of standards; his own personal appearance; his willingness to care for children and to provide them with games' success experiences; and the presentation of himself as a person who would be stimulated by the challenge of this post, and who is confident of his success in it.

It is interesting to notice that later in the same interview Andy provides the following comment which seems to refute his earlier statement about his teaching experience abroad attracting attention in his applications. He says,

Andy "I'm not sure that Portugal has stood me in good
 stead. I think headmasters may be a bit
 suspicious of this as relevant experience".
 (Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

This is consonant with Greg's notions of teaching abroad being unorthodox and an unlikely route to higher posts.

In another part of Andy's interview he makes a return to his thoughts on the problem of the length of the letter of application and at the same time shows the thrusting quality of the content of this:-

Andy "...Even now I'm not sure where to stop my letter.
 I'm conscious of going on for too long. You want
 to say enough to sell yourself; to get you the
 interview; to distinguish yourself from the
 others. 'Enthusiasm', I stress; and things I've
 achieved so far as a teacher of P.E. in Portugal.
 Running the 'house' system there. 'Running clubs'.
 'Organization'".
 (Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

The end product of the application is to be invited for interview, and for Andy, strategies relating to the interview itself do not intrude themselves at the point of writing the application. Greg has a much more developed aim in writing

application letters and perhaps demonstrates the differences in levels of understanding between the young and inexperienced teacher, Andy, and the older and wiser Greg. Greg thinks beyond the mere success of the application in creating an interview opportunity for himself and gives attention to his perception of the link between the application and his self presentation at interview. He says here (27/1/80):-

Greg "It's obvious that if you give too much away in the application there's nothing they can ask you at interview. It comes from experience of filling in application forms. You try and judge how much you should say. To offer a carrot for them to bite on and take you up on at interview".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

It seems from this comment that Greg deliberately withholds a full presentation of his thoughts on selected topics in his written application in the belief that the partial disclosure of these topics will encourage members of the interviewing panel to broach them. When this occurs, Greg is then able to expose well-developed notions of these topics which he trusts will be both surprising and impressive to the selectors. This tactic, which I have termed 'iceberging', is developed a little more by Greg in his comment that an article which he had read in a 'teacher journal', and something which he had 'learned in in an O.U. course', had shown him the usefulness of 'tickling' the curiosity of the selectors. Greg claims that the applicant should '.....write something which might encourage

the selectors to have a look at you'.

If the tactic of 'iceberging' is effective in the way described by Greg, then the panel would be led into areas of discussion in which the candidate is prepared and is knowledgeable. Time at interview devoted to these topics might also be helpful in limiting entry into other areas where the candidate might feel less secure. These understandings are in the main confined to Greg, who has been highly successful in rapid upward career progress at a time of general career stagnation, but Roy offers some support for them in the following extract (40/1/370):-

Roy "I think it's a wise man who tries to confine the interviewer's questions to areas where he feels he is strong. This would be true of any good interview at any time, if you are a shrewd candidate. It would be a fool who would deliberately invite close questioning on something which he knew very little about".

(Roy, 63, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music)

Elsewhere in this study I have commented upon respondents' notions suggesting links between tactics for promotion and the level of teaching rank to which these aspirations were directed. That is, that promotion at higher ranks might require tactics which are different from those required for lower ranks (see chapter 6 of this study). I expressed these notions tentatively, at that time, since respondents themselves offered no very well delineated understandings of them. Later in the

study, when these notions became more evident, I thought that if these differences do occur, it is perhaps in the application form and in the letter of application that they might be located. Two of my respondents, Greg and Barry, during the years in which these interviews were gathered, had both made applications for headship posts; Greg successfully but Barry not yet so. Barry became a deputy-headteacher at his thirteenth interview for this rank, so his experience of writing applications is much greater than Greg's, who needed fewer attempts to secure this rank. In an attempt to clarify the notion of different ranking posts needing different application strategies, I put this question to both of these respondents:-

Int "Are there differences between applications for deputy-head and headship posts?"

Barry's response was as follows:-

Barry "Not really. You must paint a picture of your own experiences, both organizationally and in curriculum matters. And then what you are interested in yourself, and where you stand on certain issues. You also put down what recent courses you have been on. Not the small courses, but bigger courses; especially about management and the multicultural course at the Poly. I tend to put the same thing on every application. Now that I've had one success at getting a headship interview, I'll use that as the basic format. I tinker with it for the particular job".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry's bland understandings of application making is in

contrast to those of Greg, who shows the attention to which he has given this topic as I put the same question to him (27/1/210):-

Int. "Are there differences between applications for deputy-head and headship posts?".

Greg "It was a whole different approach. To apply for the job which I now hold, the deputy-headship, was, in a sentence, a catalogue of achievements if you like; with one or two hints about ways in which I would like my career to develop. That's the kind of thing that you'd like somebody to pick up at interview. But when the application for headship came to be made, then a significantly different approach is called for. At least, I thought that, and I did get the opinion of one or two contemporaries about the way to do this. I did about a paragraph to a paragraph-and-a-half on my career; up to about five years ago. I didn't mention training, but I did say that I now had an 'O.U.' degree; but only because of the connection between one of the courses I had studied for this, and curriculum development. It was more to mention the course in curriculum development rather than to declare that I had an 'O.U.' degree. Two to three paragraphs on the last four years of my career - that is my deputy-headship - and I went into some detail of this. Areas which had been new to me when I had got the deputy-headship job and which would be directly relevant to the headship for which I was applying. Timetabling for example".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

Greg's initial discussion of his application for his deputy-headship post contains 'iceberging' notions. He speaks, for example, of 'hinting' about the development of his career and that this is a topic which he would like to be 'picked up' at interview. He shows, too, the importance which he attaches to the opinions of certain others when he seeks guidance, and this

is a feature of Greg which has already been noted. His description of these others as 'contemporaries' disguises, I suspect, the fact that these are likely to be teachers who have already achieved the rank to which Greg aspires at the time. He has already shown that he gravitates to his bureaucratic superiors for advice and this is consonant with Greg's high regard for experience. He shows too, in the above extract, his perceived importance of excluding irrelevant material. He writes only of his deputy-head experiences and of features of these which he considers to be relevant to the new post. Even his Open University degree, to which he gave great effort, he suppresses at his headship interview, exposing it only through its relevance to curriculum development. Later in the same interview (27/1/505) Greg goes on to provide a deeper understanding of the differences between deputy and headship post applications:-

Greg "I think that, up to the level of deputy-head, an application form can express experience, achievements, interests, and other areas which you may have developed as a person - education, sporting achievements, that kind of thing; work you do in the community; what you do in your spare time; charity work. With headships, you have to risk a little bit. Putting your head on the block. If not stating outright what you believe, then hinting at views and opinions which you may have. I do believe it's a risk for you may have to be on the firing line and you may clash with somebody who disagrees with you entirely. You've got to hint a little bit about what you believe and what you feel is the right attitude that a head ought to have, or the school to develop".

Int. "Right attitude?"

Greg "Yes. That's already put me on the spot, hasn't it".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

The main way in which Greg differentiates between application for deputy and headship posts is by the expressing of opinions and of adopting positions which might render the candidate vulnerable at interview; and this he seems to consider to be a required part of the headship candidate's presentation of self. However, Greg urges caution in this since risk is attached to such candour and recommends, not exactly 'stating outright what you believe', but 'hinting at views and opinions' because it is possible to confront a panel member who disagrees with these. Greg seems to be saying that potential headteachers ought to be able and willing to express their own strongly held opinions, both in applications and at interview, but at the same time, he does not seem to advocate this as a very effective way of achieving the desired headship. If Greg himself has strong views, he seems to be prepared to 'mask' these in applications and to 'mute' them at interview, unless he has good reason to believe that these views are likely to be endorsed by the selectors.

Since, in his new status of headteacher, Greg would now be the recipient of applications from teachers for posts in his school - a gatekeeper - I thought it would be revealing if I asked

him of any advice which he would proffer to teachers in writing letters of application. In replying to this he told me of an actual request he had just had for this very advice. It concerns a teacher of music who, although seemingly very able, has not achieved the promotion he seeks. The advice which Greg informs me he gave to this teacher (27/1/150) is too long and rambling to be reproduced here and I shall simply summarize this. Greg, who believes this music teacher to be particularly talented, urges him to inform the selectors of this talent, but at the same time to avoid giving the impression of being too self-conscious about this, and above all to avoid being too thrusting about it at interview. There is no indication from Greg how this difficult balance is to be achieved however. The passage represents another example of Greg's perception of the link between the production of the written application and the presentation of self at interview and how the former, when tactfully accomplished, is able to pave the way for a successful performance of the latter. Greg does not seem to regard the two activities, making application and being interviewed, as discrete events; instead, he sees these as continuous, with the application being essential for effective preparation for interview. His 'hinting' technique, in both writing the application and interview, seems to be designed to build an escape route into all his statements and comments so that he avoids being accused of any extreme of

opinion or stance. One of his aims is to avoid confrontation at interview, or being 'put on the spot', and so his writing of applications is guided by the need to express opinions in such a way that maximum manoeuvrability and flexibility is afforded at interview.

A conversation which I had with a woman headteacher informed me of the importance which she attached to the neatness of presentation of applications for teaching posts in her school, and in particular she declared that the candidate's handwriting could be used as a source of further information about him, or her. For the headteacher to make such judgements the letter of application would have to be, of course, handwritten, and this would seem to place those candidates who had chosen to type their applications at an unwitting disadvantage. In the assumption that candidates for teaching posts are able to make a choice of typing or handwriting their applications, I asked some respondents to provide their understandings of this topic.

Andy (26/1/425) comments:-

Andy "I always handwrite my applications. I wouldn't type it because I feel the head might question my motives in not writing it. Writing is an immediate, tangible evidence of the person; the typewriter is a machine".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Andy is quite definite about the candidate's writing being

capable of conveying symbolic messages about the writer. He also assumes that the headteacher will expect to receive a handwritten application and that a typed letter would invite suspicion; possibly because this would be construed as a deliberate attempt to conceal whatever might be revealed by a handwritten letter.

Jeff (23/1/460) also prefers to handwrite:-

Jeff "I write my applications by hand. I never use a typewriter. My handwriting's not bad and so I would prefer to do it that way. I think it shows more - concern - if you do it by hand. That's the first personal contact these people have with you".
(Jeff, 38, special middle, scale 3S, history)

Barry, unlike the above two respondents, is in some dilemma over this topic. In the following passage he explains how his understandings on this were changed by a comment from the woman headteacher of his present school - where he is the deputy-head - during his interview for this post. He says (23/1/460):-

Barry "Miss ***** asked me why my application wasn't typed, while others want to see your handwriting. You can't win. My handwriting is not bad. Typed letters give a much better impression".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry went on to inform me that because of this he now types his letters of application although he continues to use his

handwriting to complete the application form.

The two notions of the handwritten letter showing 'concern', in the words of Jeff, and that handwriting is able to transmit information about the writer, as Andy believes, come together in the following passage provided by Roy (40/1/47):-

Roy "..... on the whole, I prefer people to take the trouble to handwrite whatever they have to say, rather than a formal, typewritten letter. But a handwritten letter perhaps shows more inclination to take trouble, and to take more interest in the matter. But at the same time, I would be inclined to think that much would depend upon the quality of the handwriting for the application form, the letter of application, and for the reference.

My own handwriting is idiosyncratic and being read by somebody who doesn't understand the code, could no doubt produce delay and irritation which could get between the applicant and the person judging the application. But on the whole, I would prefer to see a handwritten letter. Also because I think that handwriting can reveal something of the personality of the applicant".

(Roy, 63, teacher training, retired senior lecturer, music).

Roy shows that he believes that a handwritten letter will convince selectors that 'trouble' has been taken over the production of the application, and the implication here is that a typed letter would not show this. Possibly because Roy does not himself type, he feels that a typed letter will have been produced by someone other than the applicant, who has been thereby absolved of the 'trouble'. He seems to be convinced too, like some other respondents, that handwriting has the

power to expose the personality of the applicant. He also made a point about the reference-writer's contribution to the application and the notion that judgements about this might also affect the selectors' decision.

Once again I tried to make use of Greg's anticipated headteacher role to discover his view of typed and handwritten applications. His reply is as follows (27/1/212):-

Greg "I have no preference. I would think that anybody who had poor handwriting, and would make a poorly presented application form, could think about typing it. But I would not look for motives in this. I would be put off by an application form that had been carelessly presented. It's the presentation of it. You make allowances for poor handwriting. Even 'though it's scrawly, you accept that. It's one of those things. But if everything else was to the required standard - grammatically correct; punctuation satisfactory; syntax alright; and they had obviously tried and had made effort, then, at the end of the day you are judging a person and not how dextrous they are with a pen".

Int. "And if they handwrite, do you assess the applicant from this? I mean, can you tell things from people's handwriting?"

Greg "I wouldn't make any judgements from handwriting. I'm not into that. I would like to think that I would not allow anything like that to influence my decision".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

Although Greg claims none of the unidentified skills of which Roy speaks and which might help in reading personality from the applicant's handwriting, he does believe that he is able to

discern 'effort' and the degree of this which the applicant has extended in writing the letter. He emphasises 'presentation', 'grammar', 'syntax' and 'punctuation'. His comment, 'I'm not into that', suggests that while he does not claim to be able to assess personal qualities from the candidate's handwriting, he does not seem to deny that with the necessary skills, this might be possible to do.

Respondents were often in some doubt about who would peruse their application for teaching posts. They were aware of the compiling of long and short lists and that at some point in the selection process, advisers, school governors, councillors, headteachers and others, would all be involved in reading the the applications. Little was known of the initial reception of applications. Who would perform the task of sifting these and how this would be done? Were there some general understandings of features of applications which would be used in a first rough cut - for example the qualities spoken of by some respondents - neatness, handwriting or typing, grammar, syntax, punctuation? Even Greg, with his extensive knowledge of people and processes in his education authority, knew nothing of these matters. Only Roy (40/1/146) ',.....through a friend who was a chief clerk in the education offices in Surrey', was able to claim that 'application forms are often read in the first instance by clerks who sift the rubbish from

the worthwhile'. His opinion of this was that 'this is outrageous because they are not teachers'.

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) In making written application for teaching posts, the following were considered to be important features of this activity:-
 - a) The length of the letter of application. There was thought to be a danger of making this too long and possibly boring to the reader, and so a certain brevity was deemed to be a positive feature.
 - b) The appearance of the letter of application. Although there was an understanding that typewritten letters were likely to look better, there was also a notion that selectors favoured letters which had been handwritten. There was also a belief that handwriting could expose aspects of the writer's characteristics and that this allowed selectors to make assessments which were not possible with typescript.
 - c) The content of the letter of application. This could be a function of the rank of the post for which application is made. As the rank attached to the post increases, so information about attendance at short courses, and other details, become less important and

the candidate must give more attention to aspects of his present post which are relevant to the new post. If the new post is at headship level, then the presentation of views on important issues in education become relevant. In this it is felt that extremes of opinion are best 'masked' in letters of application.

- 2) It is possible for some applicants to manufacture a relationship between their written application and the content of the interview. Through 'iceberging' tactics in their letter writing it seems to be possible for some candidates to exert a degree of control over the topics raised at interview.

PART FIVE (cont).

THE PROMOTION INTERVIEW AND THE PRESENTATION OF SELF.

Chapter 13. Preparing for Interview.

Contents:-

Page 339 - Preparing for interview.

Page 351 - Summary and Conclusions.

This section of Part Five of the study is devoted to the exploration of the ways in which candidates prepare themselves for interview. The application for the teaching post has been successful, the teacher has been called for interview, and he must now consider what he is likely to face at this and to make himself ready through whatever means he feels appropriate. If, for example, the candidate suspects that he is likely to be asked questions about current educational matters; or educational practice; or his intentions in the new post, then these might warrant consideration and preparation. I thought that the period between the candidate's receiving notice of interview and the interview itself, might be one of focused preparation. However, Barry showed that this period could be a very short one, giving little opportunity for the candidate to prepare himself in likely and relevant areas. Barry says (51/1/80):-

Barry "Short notice is standard practice nowadays. It's done by telephone. I actually got the letter about the interview the night before the interview day and it said, 'Please let us know if you can attend'. It's just because they are short-staffed at the office".
 (Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry, in the above passage, is speaking about his first, and

sole interview for a headship which took place five days before he provided me with this interview. I sought an interview with him deliberately soon after his headship interview in the belief that his recollection of the detail of this would be freshly clear in his mind. His explanation of the short notice for his invitation to interview focuses upon the staffing problems of the local education office. Although another explanation might be that there had been a last-minute withdrawal of one of the candidates and Barry was included to make up the numbers, he does not seem to have considered this possibility.

Andy seems to be abreast of current educational thought, so he has perhaps little need of the kind of preparation which other respondents have mentioned. He says (26/2/200):-

Andy "I keep myself reasonably up-to-date. Probably not as much as I should. I know about Keith Joseph's recent moves; changing the examination system and more vocational training".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Len claims that he would not indulge in any special preparation for interview. It might be remembered that Len has never had an interview, except for the post which he now holds. In the following passage I put the notion of preparation directly to him (30/2/650):-

Int. "Would you prepare yourself for interview by reading about current educational matters?"

Len "No. You see, that's false I think. O.K., it's a ploy to get a job but I think you should be judged on what you are. And if at interview somebody asked me about Keith Joseph's new idea, and I didn't know, I'd say I didn't know. I think you should be able to say, 'I'm sorry, I'm not conversant with that'. In other words, be honest. And you shouldn't say what you think they want to hear".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Len's utterances seem to be coloured by his own lack of knowledge of current educational events and of his essentially practical view of teaching, which seems to function without reference to political decisions. Len's 'ignorant but honest' self presentation seems unlikely to impress selectors and this perhaps reflects his own lack of interview experience. This is in contrast with the over-preparation described by Barry from his experience of thirteen interviews for a deputy-head post (51/1/28):-

Barry "I probably spent too long preparing.....
You look for the high-powered question - because you've got that off to a 'T' - and you get thrown by the questions that aren't high-powered. That's my problem. I spend too much time preparing and it builds up and builds up".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Later in this same interview Barry speaks of an adviser informing him of the perceived importance of the document 'The Curriculum, 5 to 16' in recent headship interviews. In the

following passage Barry explains how his own desultory reading of this document was intensified in his preparation for this headship interview (51/1/100):-

Barry "I had picked at 'The Curriculum, 5 to 16', without reading it cover to cover. But recently I had been reading it more thoroughly, and then when this headship appeared, I then made sure that I had read it very, very well. And some of the other 'Curriculum Matters' series. The synopsis of 'Better Schools'; the synopsis of the 'Swann Report'. You know, all the recent reports. I was very well prepared. I had also gone to a headteacher friend and had spoken to him for an hour-and-a-half one evening about the sort of questions he had got in an interview last year. He said that he had got himself all genned-up and the first question put to him was, 'Why did you want to become a teacher?' And of course, these questions just throw you".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Since Barry has already informed me of the short notice given to him for his headship interview, it would seem that he began the preparation for the hoped-for interview soon after making application. The adviser had alerted him to the need to study particular reports and he did this, but he also seems to have placed much importance on the advice of his friend who had recently become a headteacher. This does not seem to have been a very profitable experience since their conversation showed the idiosyncratic nature of the questions which selection panels are apt to ask. The question, 'Why did you want to become a teacher?', is deemed to be a difficult one and can 'throw you'. Why the question is difficult is not clear,

except perhaps because of its unexpectedness. Also perhaps because of the candidate's inability to provide a ready answer; or a ready answer which is thought likely to enhance the candidate's chances. The difficulty might lie, however, in the candidate's inability to know why he chose to become a teacher. Perhaps the panel, knowing of teachers' preparation attempts, try to probe areas which are unlikely to have been prepared. Perhaps such 'surprise' questions are designed to 'throw' candidates and that the panel's perception of the discomfiture of the candidate through these is taken as an indication of unsuitability for the post. The area of 'Questioning at Interview' will receive attention later in this study.

Greg's preparation for the many successful interviews he has had in his teaching career seems to have consisted of making well-informed guesses about the likely questioning from the panel. Unlike Barry's reading of various reports, Greg's preparation for his headship interviews was much more focused and designed with specific questions and issues in mind. He says (16/1/675):-

Greg "I 'genned-up' on the '1981 Education Act'; the terminology of it. The percentages of children who had to be catered for; what the criteria are that determine whether a child stays in the school, or doesn't; the parental agreement that's needed; that kind of thing. But I would say that I was more than anything basing my presentation of myself on experience. And I make no bones about the fact that I think I've been very fortunate to have gained the experience I've got in the schools I've been in".

Int. "So you don't read every back-number of the 'T.E.S.' for the last six months? You don't look at current controversies.....?".

Greg "It would be a lie to say I didn't do some. Opinions about the future of middle schools; the 1981 Act. I did some research into current trends and used certain quotes from those articles as my own. I did read some articles but I didn't specifically go looking for.....I read a few 'Tuesday Guardians'. I read these with a particular article in mind. I formulated an answer in my head and then I would try to find an article about that. I'm talking here regarding the E.E.C. regulations on corporal punishment; sexism in schools; things like that. I scanned articles. I didn't go to great lengths but if I had in my possession, or there was something in school, I scanned it. You couldn't possibly learn it. I scanned it".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg does not set much store on the sort of knowledge which might be acquired by reading current educational writings, nor does he seem to believe that interviewing panels are likely to be persuaded of his suitability through a demonstration of such knowledge at interview. As Greg claims, his presentation of self is based upon the value of the teaching experiences he has had and which will fit him, he feels, for the duties of headship. Greg has already voiced a condemnation of teachers

with strong academic qualifications, but who are poor teachers, and the above passage seems to echo this attitude to theoretical knowledge. He is proud of having been, in his words, 'at the sharp end' where real-life experiences are won, and he regards this type of knowledge as that which will be most effective in impressing interview panels. His interview preparation, through reading, seems to have been scant and undertaken, not to make him well informed on topics, but rather simply to convince selectors that he has enough theory to augment the main legitimators of his claim to headship status, his experience. The first line of the above passage in which he says he 'genned up', not so much on the 1981 Act but on 'the terminology of it', suggests a deliberate attempt to use the rhetoric of this document to be convincing in any superficial scrutiny of his understanding of it. I feel that Greg's perception of the short amount of time available to selectors to examine candidates' understanding of current educational issues in any very thorough way, encourages in him this thin preparation which seems to rely on a superficial use of the language of these issues. Greg's statement, 'I did some research into current trends and used certain quotes from those articles as my own', I feel supports the notion which I have expressed above. The comment was accompanied by a good deal of laughter from Greg and possibly suggests his own wry, embarrassed view of this tactic. Because of my perception of

his rather scant preparation and my suspicion of his scant knowledge of current educational matters, I thought that he might feel on a 'knife-edge' at interview and so I asked him the following question:-

Int. "Were you worried about certain areas coming up in the interview?"

Greg "I was worried about politics coming up at interview. Nuclear disarmament; political education in schools. I was a bit concerned about this last one coming up. But I had an answer ready just in case. The question of power came up".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

It seems strange that Greg, whose ambition to further his teaching career burns so strongly, fails to become knowledgeable about educational issues and thus able to face panels with greater confidence and with less need to disguise and mask his deficiencies. He is well aware of the dangers of particular ideological 'hot potatoes', and although he is determined to avoid these if possible, he has 'an answer ready just in case'. I suspect from this that Greg might have done more preparation for his headship interviews than he was prepared to admit to me.

Like Barry, Greg also places reliance upon respected and experienced colleagues who have already passed into headteacher status, and previous accounts from Greg have shown this trait throughout his accounts. In the following passage he shows how

his reference group of colleagues is used to influence his preparation (27/1/210):-

Greg "There is an old boys' network here; on both sides of the fence. There were questions which colleagues of mine had had at interview. Of course, as the months go by these questions become out of date. Very seldom nowadays do you get a question on the 1981 Education Act. Now it's all the Middle School Report".
(Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

[The common sociological understanding of the term 'reference group' (see Runciman 1966) is perhaps too grand a term to use to describe Greg's activities. In this case it refers literally to a group which meets for a common purpose and does not necessarily carry normative and comparative understandings of the 'generalised other' (see Nias 1985, pp105 - 108 for a summary of reference group theory)].

Greg's reference to '....an old boys' network here; on both sides of the fence' refers to the system of communication between those teachers who already occupy headteacher posts, especially those who have recently acquired these positions, and those who are, like Greg himself, aspiring to this rank. Those recently appointed heads are especially useful to Greg since they are able to impart understandings of the kinds of questions which are currently being asked at interview and how they think these should be answered.

In the first interview with me after his appointment to headteacher status, Greg spoke of a colleague who was soon to make his first attempt at a deputy-head interview and the aspiring teacher had asked Greg to advise him on interview preparation. In response, Greg prepared a list of topics which he felt the teacher would do well to study for any interview for a deputy-head post. At my request, Greg let me have the original document and I now present this in its entirety and unchanged. I must add that when I asked Greg if I might look at this document he went instantly to his car, which was parked in the street, and brought his brief-case with the sheet of paper in it to me. I mention this only to show the unlikelihood of Greg having prepared this document especially for the interview occasion. The interview occurred in February 1984 and Greg's focus on particular education reports is partly explained by reference to this date.

- 1) The role of the deputy-head.
- 2) How the tasks of the year group leader prepared you for deputy-headship.
- 3) What do you consider to be your strengths/weaknesses?
- 4) Older/younger members of staff.
- 5) Team teaching; year group organization.
- 6) Timetable.
- 7) Channels of communication.
- 8) Self-proficiency in other areas.
- 9) Changes I would make.
- 10) Have middle schools been successful?
- 11) Future of middle schools; latest 'Report'. Be aware of 'Cockcroft'; 'Warnock'. Summary of latest 'Report'.
- 12) Assessment and Evaluation. 'In-Service'. Governors, (Taylor Report).
- 13) Views on parental involvement.
- 14) What subjects would you omit from the curriculum if it became over crowded?
- 15) Be prepared to talk about courses you have attended.
- 16) One particular class is causing problems. How would you, as a deputy-head, sort this out?
- 17) Views on streaming/setting.
- 18) Implementation of the 1981 Education Act.
- 19) Discipline (cane).
- 20) Interests.
- 21) Involvement of European attitudes/policy decisions in British schools.
- 22) Liaison.
- 23) Impression of the school. Probably the first question.
- 24) Specialisms.
- 25) Pastoral work.
- 26) Falling rolls.
- 27) In-service.
- 28) How would you deal with sexism in schools?
- 29) Curriculum development/social development.

The order in which these topics have been arranged seems to reflect Greg's own notions of the importance of 'experience' and which he has declared in earlier passages. The first nine topics, with the possible exception of topic number three, are concerned with the day-to-day tasks of a deputy-head. Topics number eleven, eighteen and twenty-one, are the only ones which

require the reading preparation of which Greg has already shown his lack of interest. There are comparatively few hypothetical questions; possibly numbers four, nine, fourteen, sixteen and twenty-eight represent examples of such areas of questioning. It seems to me to be a daunting task to prepare adequately in so many discussion areas, and certainly this goes far beyond the preparation which Greg himself declared that he had undertaken, even for his headship interviews.

Nervousness seems to beset some candidates as the time for the interview approaches and comes to a peak when they face the panel. Part of Barry's long route to his deputy-headship, he claims, was due to his acute nervousness which caused him to perform badly repeatedly at interview and that running has been useful to him in gaining some control over his anxiety. Even on the day of his headship interview, a very important day for Barry, he ran (51/1/150):-

Barry "I also tried to prepare myself by keeping as relaxed as possible. I find if I go out running I can relax. So I had gone running the few days before the interview. I had even got up early the day of the interview and went for a run".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) Much of the preparation, in which candidates for interviews for teaching posts indulge, focuses upon the questions which they suspect the selectors will put to them. The presentation of a knowledgeable self, on educational matters, was believed to be valuable and the reading of current education material was thought to be important, although the amount of work which candidates were prepared to do, to reach this knowledgeable state, varied.
- 2) Questions on certain topics were assumed to be likely and and some candidates made careful preparation in the expectation of these questions being put to them. However, the topics of these questions varied as changes in educational policy occurred and as new education reports were published.
- 3) Some candidates preferred to rely upon their own experiential knowledge of teaching and tended to do only a minimum of preparation through reading. The reliance which selectors were believed to place upon hypothetical questions, the perceived difficulty of answering these and of predicting their content, inclined some candidates

towards the manufacture of rapidly conceived but appropriate responses, rather than a reliance upon their own knowledge and understanding of current educational reports. This view may be likely to convince candidates of the futility of preparation through reading and to rely instead upon their own empirical knowledge of teaching and on their own ability to 'think on their feet'.

- 4) There was an understanding of ideologically and politically dangerous areas and responses to associated issues were considered to be hazardous. Although respondents hoped that they would not be confronted with these difficulties, some would make preparation in the event of these being raised at interview.
- 5) Colleagues, friends and acquaintances who had experienced interviews for posts at appropriate levels, were often used as a resource, or reference group, in anticipating selectors' questionings and in formulating responses. Since the educational topics and issues which might be termed 'current' are in a state of constant change, this reference group could alter in composition as individuals were sought who had had recent experience of promotion interviews.

6) Some candidates suffered considerable nervousness at the prospect of the interview ordeal and this could be a factor in dissuading some teachers from continuing to place themselves in this situation of anxiety in the future. However, in this study the respondent who professed to the most acute nervousness, Barry, was the one who had been the most persistent in presenting himself repeatedly for promotion interviews.

PART FIVE (cont).

THE PROMOTION INTERVIEW AND THE PRESENTATION OF SELF.

Chapter 14. The Interview Setting and the Interview.

Contents:-

Page 355	-	The Interview Setting.
Page 367	-	Summary and Conclusions..
Page 369	-	The Interview.
Page 396	-	Summary and Conclusions.

The Interview Setting

By the term 'the interview setting' I refer to features of the place where the interview process occurs and which could, through being perceived by interview candidates in particular ways, influence their contribution to the interaction there and also perhaps the outcome of the interview. These features might be: the composition of the interview panel; the presence of particular persons on the interview panel; the room in which the interview takes place and the placing of furniture within it; the degree of formality or informality of the interview; the candidate's perception of the provision made for his comfort and feelings, and perhaps other features. This section of the study will address itself to accounts given by respondents describing the settings of interviews which they have experienced.

In some of the education authorities in which my respondents experienced their promotion interviews, there was an awareness that the chief education officer, or his deputy, would be present, together with a senior adviser who has responsibility for individual respondents' schools or teaching subjects. Although it was also known that a stipulated number of school governors and councillors would be present, the identity of these is unlikely to be known until the candidate is brought

face to face with them in the interviewing room. In the presence of possibly nine such selectors, it is not surprising that these interviews can generate an anxiety in some candidates which could influence their self presentation in unfavourable ways. For his first headship interview, Greg travelled in the lift with some of the selectors, and although he believed that he was unknown to them at that time, he was well aware of who they were. In the following passage he speaks of his own nervousness about the coming interview and exposes his view of how he imagines the selectors regard these interview activities. Greg begins by mentally addressing the group of selectors as they travel upwards in the lift

(16/1/318):-

Greg "This is just another two hours in the day for you. This is something that's been eating away at me for a week or more. But for you, it's another part of your day. And you get things into perspective. My day-to-day business is on the shop floor working with children and members of staff; day in and day out. This is something special for me. This is a make or break situation. To them it's just another afternoon. They are hardened to it".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

This account by Greg seems to impute to these selectors an unsympathetic view of what the candidate is experiencing. Greg's view of this headship interview being vital for him is contrasted with what he sees as the panel's view of the ordinariness of the situation.

Within the interview room the candidate is confronted with a pre-determined disposition of furniture, of panel members, and of his own required position in the room. About these, he has no choice. He is shown where to sit and all power to do other than sit and answer questions is effectively removed from him. Speaking of his sole interview for a headship, Barry describes the composition of the panel of selectors (51/2/410):-

Barry "Five councillors from the Schools' Staffing sub-committee; two governors; the chief education officer and the senior adviser. The professionals - the C.E.O. and the senior adviser - are there in an advisory capacity and do not have a vote. Nine people in all".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography).

He goes on to explain the seating arrangement:-

Barry "They sit at a big horseshoe table and you sit at a little desk. So you've somewhere to put your hands. An ancient desk. Like an old child's desk with a lift-up top. It's somewhere to rest your hands".

Barry suggests here that the provision of the 'little desk' is a well-intentioned feature of the interview setting and is a deliberate attempt to provide some comfort for the candidate -
- 'It's somewhere to rest your hands'.

Greg, who experienced three headship interviews in the same room which Barry has described above, says this of the same setting (16/2/155):-

Int. "Were the members of the panel introduced to you?"

Greg "Yes. The very first thing. I sat down - actually it was an old school desk with an ink-well holder. It was somewhere to, sort of, rest your elbows. And you could be expressive with your hands. And I was in a little upright chair. They were all in a horseshoe formation. It was the 'Mastermind' situation without the easychair. They all had name-boards in front of them. There was about half of the panel I didn't know".

(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg shares Barry's view of the 'little desk' - which we now note from Greg's account that it is an old school desk - in that he too believes that it is intended for the candidate's comfort. I assume that the 'little upright chair' is also an old piece of school furniture and it is difficult to picture Greg's six feet four inch frame comfortably contained in this. Neither respondent suggests notions of the symbolic barrier of the desk, nor of feelings of being humbled through having to fit themselves into children's furniture. It would be interesting to know the thinking behind the decision to use school furniture for these interviews. Greg's view of the interview proceedings as a 'Mastermind' situation suggests a 'quiz show' in which there are right and wrong answers and this seems to fit with understandings which he has already presented.

For his first headship interview Greg visited the school the

day before the interview was due to take place, and in conversation with an adviser during this visit, he learned of the identity of the selectors. This seems to be unusual. As I have already stated, the identity of selectors is normally not known until the candidate is face to face with them at the interview. Although Greg seems to consider this information helpful to his preparation, he does not appear to have sought it out deliberately. He says (16/1/15):-

Greg "We had visited the school the day before and we were told who was likely to be on the panel. If I didn't know the faces, I knew their names. I knew all the education side. There were two councillors that I had never met before. But through the grapevine you hear about these people; 'Look out for So-and-So and listen carefully because he mumbles'. That kind of advice had been given. If they hadn't had a name in front of them, you would have known them; 'Oh yes, you're So-and-So'".

Besides knowing who was likely to interview him, Greg was also able to discover who his competitors were to be; and this too he seems to view as a valuable and helpful piece of information (16/1/80):-

Greg "I knew who the other candidates were to be".

Int. "How did you come to know this?".

Greg "I asked. I asked the adviser. There were to be two heads and two deputy-heads. For a school that size I would have expected four heads. It was a 'group eight'; one of the three of four biggest in the city. I was surprised to get an interview. I felt I might be there as a 'makeweight'".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

The size of the school suggests to him that an already practising headteacher is likely to be the chosen candidate and this, together with the fact he is still of deputy-head rank and that this is his first headship interview, conspires to make him feel that he is simply there to make up the numbers, a 'makeweight' as he puts it. Greg does not offer any explanation of his inclusion in the short list, if it is the case that he is not considered to be a proper contender, but he might have been already selected as of headteacher potential and this interview was viewed as a 'dummy run' to provide him with helpful experience for other promotion interviews in the future.

Although the horseshoe arrangement may be a popular way of arranging a number of people around a single interview candidate, the following account by Andy shows that there are other arrangements in operation (26/1/540):-

Andy "I went to an F.E. college in Leamington Spa where there were four on the interview panel and they were each situated in widely different points in the room. So I was surrounded by them".
 (Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Whatever this was intended to accomplish - and Andy was unable to assess the effects which this arrangement had upon him - it does not seem to have had the candidate's best interview

performance as a high priority. Being given the impression of 'being surrounded' would perhaps be intimidating for many people and does not seem to be a strategy to bring forth a favourable response from the candidate. It is perhaps consonant with the views of some respondents who said that they felt that they were being deliberately 'tested' at interview. The arrangement of the interviewers around the candidate, which Andy experienced, might have been intended as some form of testing strategy.

The interview experienced by Andy was for an initial teaching post and so the usual array of councillors, education officers, governors and others, was not required. However, Paul, who was interviewed for a special school headship in the Irish Republic, experienced a very informal interview setting with only three people. This is his description (42/2/490):-

Paul "It was a very informal situation. It was first names. It was a room, bigger than this, but there was only a small coffee table between us. There were three people. The head; the director of Western Health; and a woman from 'personnel' who actually knew my mother. So she was positively disposed towards me. That was accidental. I didn't know until I went to the interview. Possibly she did. I don't know".
(Paul, 42, special middle, Scale 3, P.E.)

The small coffee table and the use of first names has persuaded Paul of the informality of the occasion and this seems to have been intended as a 'putting at ease' tactic. The presence of

the outgoing head at the interview has not been mentioned by any other respondent, and although this seems to an unusual arrangement, it is perhaps less so in the Republic. It is interesting to note that Paul construes one of the selectors knowing his mother as a factor favouring him. Paul informed me that he was given no travelling expences for his journey from England for this interview. As travel costs are provided for candidates from within the Republic however, this seems to be an effective closure tactic to encourage internal applications only.

Possibly the most informal interview which has been described is that which is provided by Will. It must be noted that the interview which Will describes - which was for a scale two post - took place in the 1970s when such posts were much more readily available and headteachers were free to award these as they chose, often without calling upon interviewing assistance. Nonetheless, it does seem to be an unusual setting (15/1/390):-

Will "This was a very unusual interview. The interview was actually held at 7.30 in the evening. In the headmistress's flat. It was an incredible interview. Nobody else was present. She just wanted to see me to put the face to the information she had about me. I will not say it was cut-and-dried, but it was a most unorthodox way of going about it".

Int. "Were there other competitors?".

Will "No".

Int. "Did you think it strange?"

Will "Yes. I thought it very unusual. And extremely informal. We had 'Mozart' in the background!".

Int. "Romantic almost?".

Will "It could well be I suppose, looking back. I was an eligible bachelor. She didn't make any overtures. She was a very nice lady actually. But it was a professionally misguided way of doing things".
(Will, 40, secondary, scale 2, P.E.)

It was perhaps the fact that the interview took place between a woman and a man that causes Will to regard it as 'unusual' and 'incredible', rather than the site of the interview and the absence of other competitors and selectors. Another respondent's account of an interview with solely a male head, shows none of the 'professionally misguided' notions of Will. This account is given by Alwyn and is useful in exposing how the respondent's perception of the interview setting can contribute to his functioning. Alwyn says (28/2/372):-

Alwyn "At any interview I have been on there have been a number of people interviewing. I have been interviewed by the head alone, but I didn't get the job. I can only remember doing that once, and that was at ***** Grammar School, which was going independent at the time. And that was just the headmaster; all the other jobs, it was a committee. The adviser; the headteacher; and sometimes the deputy-head".

Int. "Do you think this is a good method of selecting people?".

Alwyn "Not particularly. It's probably as good a way as

any that are available. Not very good for people who are nervous. If you weren't able to get over your own ideas in a forceful way, I think it would be difficult. Thinking quickly is where I would probably fall down. I need time to think and to make my own decisions".

(Alwyn, 29, middle, scale 2, science/P.E.)

The ability to think quickly, which Alwyn sees as one of his own interviewing weaknesses, might be influenced by the presence of the often large body of people on the interviewing panel.

Respondents sometimes made reference to the interviewing processes of other education authorities. Greg, for example, says (16/1/410):-

Greg "***** do it on an appointments system. You don't have to wait, and you don't meet the other competitors".

(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

The practice of interviewing candidates in alphabetical order often leads to the phenomenon mentioned by Greg, that is, of some candidates waiting a long time to be interviewed and the complexities and consequences of this will be discussed in Chapter 15 of this study. Greg's comments seem to suggest that, like not having to wait, not meeting 'competitors' is a favourable aspect of this interviewing arrangement.

More than a year after the above interview with Greg, he told

me that there had been a 'bomb scare' during his interview and the building had to be evacuated. The breaking off of the promotion interview interaction and the resumption of this later, must have had a disturbing effect, and I mention it here because I think it curious that Greg chose not to reveal this to me at the point of our interview. It seems to suggest that the incident was less important to Greg than I imagine; or he felt that it was of no importance, as data, to the study.

It is possible that the knowledge which teachers acquire of the selection procedures of other education authorities deters them from making application to that authority. Barry, although not saying specifically that such knowledge would influence him in this way, does show that the interviewing practices he describes below are not attractive to him

(51/2/150):-

Barry "They are using a system of interview in ***** which is a two-day job. You have three interviews and you have to lead a discussion with the other candidates. One friend of mine who did this recently, his topic was, 'The use of time'. It took him ten minutes to understand what the question meant. You get ten minutes' notice of the title and the other candidates are trying to score points off you right the way through. It's a real 'pressure cooker' situation that. And I don't think it leads to the best person being picked out".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry identifies the other candidates as a major hazard in

this form of selection and this is reminiscent of the War Office Selection Board's technique for choosing soldiers for officer training. That Peter's friend struggled to grasp the meaning of the question indicates a 'right and wrong' answer interpretation which is similar to Greg's notion of the assessment criteria of the panels of conventional interviews. These practices described by Barry also have elements of 'the test' in them. Having to lead a discussion on a topic received ten minutes before, is likely to be stressful for many candidates, and the testing nature of this could provide the selection panel with information which might be used in their decision making. Barry's last comment indicates that he feels that this selection method is not a particularly effective one.

Some respondents find their interview cutting across tea-break time and the managing of a cup of tea and a biscuit while being interviewed seems to be not an easy task, and possibly represents another activity which can be assessed. Some few respondents said that they had had a school dinner during their visit to the school, and this too might be perceived as another means of assessing candidates. An article in 'The Observer' of 31st January, 1988, p22, on the appointments of Cambridge Dons reports,

"Short-listed Fellows of All Souls are not interviewed.
They are dined".

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) A variety of settings for interview was reported, from a large panel of interviewers seated in a horseshoe formation with the open end directed at the candidate, to very informal arrangements with perhaps only one person interviewing. In general, the number of people in the panel increased with the rank of the teaching post offered but this was not an inflexible rule.
- 2) Candidates often knew the general composition of many of the selectors at interview and it was deemed to be an advantage to know if particular individual selectors were to be present, since their idiosyncracies and strongly held views were thought to be a potential hazard for unwary candidates.
- 3) Some candidates were sometimes able to discover the identity of their competitors before the interview took place. This knowledge was thought to be of value since it may be used to inform the candidate of the strength of the opposition, his own relative standing, and his chances of offering effective competition.
- 4) Candidates at interview can be overawed by a large number

of people in the interviewing panel and claim that their lack of success was partly due to their inability to control their own nervousness in this setting.

- 5) The interview settings and practices of some education authorities can become known to teachers and the rigours of these could persuade them to avoid seeking posts in these authorities.

The Interview.

Candidates for interview expect to be asked questions by the selectors and respondents seem to judge the success of their interview by their ability to answer the questions put to them. My two most valued respondents for this section of the study were Barry and Greg. Both had promotion interviews shortly before my conversations with them, and although Barry has had more interviews than Greg, he has been less successful in achieving the promotion he seeks. Barry and Greg's surnames, beginning as they do with the letters 'W' and 'A' respectively, are shown to be of consequence for the interview experiences of these respondents. This is what being a 'W' means to Barry (51/1/160):-

Barry "Being a 'W', I always go in last. And I think this is one of the weaknesses of the system; everybody's called at the same time. I was there at a quarter-to-two for this particular interview and I went in for my interview at something like a quarter-to-five. Well, by the time I went in, I could hardly speak. I must have sounded like a gibbering idiot. I've been told so often that when I go in there I'm not myself".
 (Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

While Barry perceives disadvantages in being the last candidate to be interviewed - mainly because of the stress of waiting - Greg seems to be well satisfied with being first, although he points out one perceived major disadvantage (16/1/130):-

Greg "With my name, I suffered from being the first choice. I understand that there is a policy now of reversing the order on the day. But this has never happened to me. Ever! As it turned out, I was not too unhappy about that".

Int. "Is there a disadvantage in going in first?".

Greg "There's a disadvantage in not being the one most recently in their minds when they come to making their decision. But if you have enough self-confidence you can view your performance as something that everyone else has to beat".

(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

The disadvantage of the first candidate to be interviewed being at the greatest distance, in the memories of the panel members, from the decision making process, seems to be considered by Greg to be more than outweighed by the advantages accruing from being the first to face the interviewing panel. For example, Greg believes that controversial topics which may be raised in the course of one candidate's interview, can overflow into the interviews of later candidates, sometimes with disastrous results. Greg refers to this phenomenon as 'backlash'

(16/1/160):-

Greg "And I think that it seemed as though I had been fortunate in going in first because 'number-two' made some controversial declarations which remained in the minds of the interviewers and the next person got a bit of a backlash of that".

(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

The examples which Greg gives of topics causing 'backlash' effects are those of 'power' and 'Plato', both of which were

raised in the course of one interview and then introduced into the interview of the next candidate. On the prospect of having to converse on Plato in this manner, Greg comments (27/2/400):-

Greg "Now that would probably have destroyed me. Thank God I went in first".
 (Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

All this suggests that despite his original perception of being interviewed first as disadvantageous, Greg is really quite happy about this and the tactic of reversing the alphabetical ordering of candidates, which he mentions, is not likely to have been a welcome arrangement for him.

As has already been noted, the greatest concerns of candidates for interview lie in their anticipation of the questions which the selectors are likely to put to them. Some respondents felt that there had been a deliberate attempt to present an incline of question difficulty to candidates by the panel. In the following passage Greg speaks of this and of his own nervous condition (16/1/117):-

Greg "I thought the questions were very fair. Very fair. In terms of interviewing technique, I was really knotted up when I was in there. Had been for the previous two or three days. Really screwed up. Every answer that I had sort of, rehearsed, was becoming a conglomeration inside my head. But certainly the first two or three questions were designed to put me at my ease".
 (Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg also indicates, in the above passage, how rehearsed questions were in danger of becoming unravelled during the interview. His notion of being warmed-up to the questioning by the panel is again mentioned in the next passage (16/1/268):-

Greg "The interview was not heavy but quite pleasant. I thought they were easing me in, knowing that it was my first interview for a headship. They gave you a chance. If you blew it, it was down to you. It wasn't that they gave you a mental grilling. They gave you a chance to hang yourself with your own petard".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Barry also testifies to the apparently sympathetic treatment which he received during interview (51/1/420):-

Barry. "People are usually kind. Some are more nervous than you are. Some of the governors may not ever have sat on an interviewing panel before and they've got to think up some questions. And they can ask some very difficult questions".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry seems to be suggesting that, despite their efforts at kindness, the ingenuousness of the questions of nervous and inexperienced interviewers is apt to cause unintended difficulties for the candidates. However, although the views expressed by these respondents testify to the selectors' understanding and sympathy for candidates, some accounts reveal that there have been moments when they seem to have been less than kind. Both Greg and Barry report seemingly harsh verbal attacks during the course of interviews but it is difficult to

assess these without knowing the exact utterance from the candidate which has provoked them. Respondents were vague about the lead-up to these unkind remarks from selectors, possibly remembering only the attacking words rather than their own contribution to the interaction. Barry, after having expressed his thoughts on some unidentified topic, earned the question from one panel member, 'Do you think you're the next Messiah?' Greg brought forth a similar comment from a selector - 'You don't want a headship; you're ready for canonization'.

The early questions of the interview were perceived to be a 'putting at ease' tactic through inviting the candidate to talk about himself. After this introductory period the gradient of difficulty would increase, culminating in those which were perceived as of the greatest difficulty, the hypothetical questions. Greg is able to sketch a pattern of this interview technique with its characteristic build-up (16/1/173):-

Greg "I was there for an hour. That may have been because my answers were a bit long. The early questions were make-you-feel-at-ease questions. Early career. 'Talk about yourself'. These were questions which anyone should have been able to cope with, even allowing for nerves; 'parental involvement'; 'work out of school'; questions about which I had written on the application form. Questions about my degree studies. All of which should fill you with confidence. It was later in the interview that they hit you in the mid-riff with different questions. 'How would you organize 'X'? What about the following complications in the school?' A potential head ought to be able to deal with these".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Barry also testifies to the difficulty of the hypothetical question (51/1/430):-

Barry "The hypothetical questions are always the worst. 'What would you do if you found two teachers fighting in the corridor?' There isn't an answer. It can be different - the situation - each time".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry provides a curious example in the above passage and it is not clear if this was an actual question put to him at interview or if it is simply an example which he has concocted to illustrate the difficulty of answering certain questions. From Barry's account, he does not seem to have developed any tactical method for dealing with the hypothetical question; the response which he provides in the above example is unlikely to have impressed the interviewing panel. Barry shows that he is sensitive to a particular kind of hypothetical question and that he is again unwilling, or unable, to attempt to answer

this question in the presence of the panel. This is his account (51/2/300):-

Barry "The questions from the professionals - the C.E.O. and the senior adviser - you could answer those. 'What did I think the role of the specialist teacher was in a small school?' That's the sort of thing you've thought about because it's an important item for the school. The C.E.O. asked me about resourcing the school and how I would set about doing it - something else I've done; something else I've thought about. But then you get the other, very bland question, and this is where you tend to come to grief. The councillors for example, you never know how politically loaded their questions are. One such question was, 'The school is designated to be closed, yet the governors and the parents want to keep it open. Where would you stand as the head?' Well, I said I would have to back them up. They followed this by saying, 'But you are a professional person and as such you can see that something has to be done about the education system. So, if the school requires closing, then do you not feel that you must support this?' Well, there's no answer to that. I said, 'You just have to be selfish'".
Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Again, as in the 'teachers fighting in the corridor' example, Barry seems to be unable to offer any answer to the question. He shows that he feels that the questions posed by the C.E.O. and the senior adviser are legitimate ones which can be answered by the practising teacher, since they concern problems which are likely to have been experienced, but the questions from councillors are likely to require answers which could expose Barry's political leanings, which he seems anxious to conceal. Like Barry, Greg is worried about the questioning and although he declares some 'rehearsing' of responses, he

shows that these can go awry. However, in the following passage he shows that he is able to find a use for all the information which he has gathered especially for the interview (16/1/220):-

Greg "All the questions I had rehearsed, like lines in a play, never got asked and I fed them into another answer".

In general, Greg seems to have been well satisfied with the questioning which he experienced and the following comment testifies to his perception of the skills of the selectors (16/1/230):-

Greg "I think the questions were well balanced. They were probing. You had to reveal yourself in your answers; your own beliefs and aspirations. I felt that they would know me by the end of the interview, and the kind of school I would run.
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

During interviews for teaching posts, candidates were sometimes asked questions which they had not anticipated and which surprised them. Sometimes these seemed to be deliberately intended strategies of selectors to de-stabilize candidates, and at other times to be perhaps innocently produced at the whim of one individual person. Respondents felt that such questions were potentially dangerous because of their capacity to catch them 'off guard' so that they might be led into making an inappropriate answer, or in opening some area which

they felt better kept closed. An example of this is given by Will who refers here to an interview which he had for a scale four post in a middle school in 1972 when there were many men teachers transferring to this newly created area of schooling and which Will has referred to as the 'Goldrush'. He says (15/1/150):-

Will "The question was, 'Don't you think you're a little bit young for this appointment?' I was a little bit 'green' in those days and I jumped down the interviewer's throat. Which of course is not the right thing to do".
(Will, 40, secondary, scale 2, P.E)

Another personal question which was put to Andy was, 'What gets you angry?', and he saw this as a possible 'trap'. He says of this question (26/2/150):-

Andy "Now this took me by surprise and I was led astray by just taking the question in isolation. Whether it was laid as a trap, I don't know. But if I was asked the same question now, I would relate it to education. It gets me angry when children are apathetic. I don't lose my temper. I think this was what he was after".

Int. "Do you think they set traps?".

Andy "Yes. I got the feeling that it was a process of elimination. Often, the question didn't seem to be well thought out; possibly through boredom on the part of the people on the panel. The N.A.S. gave us guidance when we were students and one of the points they made was, 'Never mind the question; make sure you tell them what you want to tell them'.
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Andy seems to feel that the surprise element of a question can

be deliberately used by panel members in eliminating ways, that is, that the candidate who deals with this 'surprise' in the most competent and effective way, earns favour with the panel. If this 'trap-laying' activity is deliberately done, Andy does not seem to regard it as unjust or devious but merely another device for helping selectors to distinguish one candidate from another. His point about the boredom experienced by members of interviewing panels has links perhaps with those understandings of Barry and Greg concerning the order in which candidates are interviewed. Those candidates who make an early appearance before the selectors perhaps encounter them in their least bored state; as the interviews progress the attention of individual selectors might flag and this could affect the nature of the questioning. If the same questions have been put to each candidate in turn, there may be a temptation to stimulate refreshing responses by asking unusual, 'surprise' questions in an attempt to break away from the boredom of interviewing routine.

Although it is convenient to refer to the group of selectors as 'the panel', the above account shows the effect which a question from an individual member, possibly acting solely on his own initiative, could have upon the candidate.

Andy's disregard for the questions asked of him at interview

and his concentration upon what he wishes selectors to hear, presents a picture of a passive panel content to allow its questions to go unanswered, and Andy tells us nothing of this problem. His difficulty in accommodating to the question, 'What gets you angry?', appears to lie in his assumption that there was a 'right' interpretation of this and that the questioner had some ideal response in mind. Andy's comment, 'I think that this is what he was after', suggests this, and also that the question was meant to be related to education, which Andy seemed not to do.

A personal question to Greg which caused him some difficulties in answering was, 'What are your weaknesses?' In the following extract Greg shows the rapid and convoluted thinking which this stimulated in him and which paradoxically led to an unsatisfactory answer. This is Greg's account (16/1/377):-

Greg "I mentally spun the coin. If I say what these are, that might be foolish. It might display modesty. It might convince people that I am aware that I need to polish up certain aspects of myself. But at the same time I've got to display a certain amount of self-confidence; able to lead thirty-odd staff; somebody who's got to make the ultimate decision. I've got to display confidence in my own judgement. And therefore I answered in an indirect fashion. And the comments that were passed were, 'You're absolutely perfect aren't you?' And also, 'You don't want a headship, you're ready for canonization'. That was a joke, I think. But afterwards, thinking about it, I thought I had gone over the top and answered it badly".
Greg, 36, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

This quick adaptation to an unexpected question seems to have caused Greg to come to grief in this, his first headship interview. His perception of the panel's reaction to the various responses at his disposal worked against him on this occasion and could have coloured the panel's view of all his responses. It possibly further strengthened Greg's belief in being armed against such questions, which ask for impromptu answers, through an accurate anticipation of them. In fact, this experience drove Greg to his reference group of friends and colleagues who had successfully navigated such hazards, and from them he learned how such questions are turned to the candidate's advantage. Greg's account of this advice (27/2/196) is that the most productive tactic is to 'make up a weakness' and then to attempt to turn this into a virtue. Greg informed me that should the same question be put to him again,

he will present himself as guilty of the 'weakness' of 'procrastination' and then convert this to a virtue by claiming that this is simply a necessary precaution in order to 'cover all angles'.

Barry speaks of the hazards associated with an often posed question which seems to follow on logically from the candidate's visit to the school in which the vacant post lies. Barry explains in this way (51/2/350):-

Barry "A question which they sometimes put to you is, 'What was your impression of the school?' Now, if you think the school's a load of rubbish, you can't say that, having been in the school for only half-an-hour. I was also asked what I would say about my present school if I had walked round it for half-an-hour. Well, again, you can't really say a great deal".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Once again Barry perceives himself faced with a question which, for one reason or another, he is unable to answer. He may feel it unprofessional to disparage the visited school and disloyal to criticise his present school, and perhaps this kind of self presentation explains something of Barry's thirteen deputy-headship interviews. He indicates that these difficult questions, far from being uncommon, seem to form a large part of his recollection of the interview. He says (51/2/300):-

Barry "There were a lot of questions you couldn't really get your teeth into any sort of answer".

It is interesting to note that early in his only headship interview, Barry was asked a question which he quickly interpreted in a way which depressed his hopes for the post. The question which was put to Barry was, 'Is this the first interview you've had in this room?', and Barry's interpretation of this was:-

Barry "And I thought that this was a way of telling me that it's too soon for me to expect a headship".

Although he did not elaborate upon the question's effect upon him, it is not difficult to imagine the demoralizing impact which this might have upon someone who was, by his own declaration, under great stress and experiencing extreme nervousness. Selectors cannot be held responsible for the interpretations which candidates place upon their questions, but since the room seems to have been reserved for headship interviews only, and that the selectors would know that this was Barry's first headship interview, there seems to have been no good reason to put the question at all. This, I feel, lends credence to Barry's interpretation. Before this question was put to him, he seems to have had some confidence in himself as a likely candidate, despite past difficulties at promotion interviews (51/1/135):-

Barry "I thought I had a fair chance. I knew that experience would go against me. But the experience I have had here, coping with what we have had to cope with - two arson attacks and the teachers' 'action' - I have probably had more experience in two-and-a-half years than most deputies would get in a lifetime. Plus, I'm given a lot more to do than most deputies".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

The problems which Barry has faced in his time at his present school as a deputy-head - the teachers' 'action' and two separate and successful arson attacks upon the school by an ex-pupil - seem to have allowed him to legitimate to himself this early attempt at a headship. He seems to imagine that he has lived through a compression of experiences which transcends the understanding of ages and stages and the notion of required periods of time at specific ranks before attempting a move. Some respondents, and especially Greg, have suggested that there is a minimum period of time which must be passed in a post before another career move is made. He expressed this as a 'rule' and for the rank of deputy-head a four-year period was specified as the required duration stay.

Few respondents had firm notions of specific techniques to employ at interview, aside from simply trying to prepare themselves for the demands of the questions to be put to them. Two respondents were prepared to tender advice on the topic of interviewing technique but this was of a very general nature

and neglected the detail of implementation. Len says

(30/2/626):-

Len "It's wise, if you can, to get to know who is going to be on the interviewing panel. It's wise to ascertain their interests. In other words, it's wise to prepare for interview".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Justin (32/2/1) makes rather similar points:-

Justin "There are strategies you can employ within the interview situation. Some that I would employ. It's really a case of appraising the interview panel. Finding out if there are any of them that you can empathize with; that you can communicate with; seem to have common interests. And you can home in on these. You should try and weigh-up the interview panel, and try and aim and direct your questions at them".
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

In the same interview, Justin indicates some characteristics - which might serve as guides to strategies - which he believes are likely to lead to selectors' unfavourable perception of the the candidate:-

Justin "I could see candidates who were likely to be too forceful; rather too pushy. And I think that this would get on the nerves of the interview panel".

The following account by Jack seems to have links with Andy's notion of panel members 'setting traps' and Greg's fear of the 'political question'. In this incident one of the selectors tried to elicit from Jack some evidence which would serve to corroborate his own opinion. Jack says (21/2/220):-

Jack "I can think of incidents. I can think of one man who badly wanted me to say that my work in the grammar school was better than my work in the secondary modern school. And I made the logical point that you can only compare like with like, and therefore I was not prepared to make any comparisons. And he was absolutely furious. And I didn't get the job".

(Jack, 62, teacher training, senior lecturer, English)

Some respondents were particularly conscious of the visual impression which they were able to make at interview and of selectors' focus upon this aspect of the candidate's self presentation. They gave thought to the image of themselves which they wished to project and of the role of clothing in facilitating this. Gregory Stone (1962, p87) claims that the perspective of symbolic interaction 'requires (indeed, demands) a consideration of appearance for the adequate interpretation of social transactions as well as the careers of selves in such transactions'. Although for men the wearing of a suit seems to be viewed as obligatory, possibly especially for management ranks, it is possible to break this rule without penalty in certain circumstances. Andy for example, a young, beginning teacher of P.E., assumes that he is not expected to own a suit which he can wear at interview. He says (26/1/560):-

Andy "I haven't got a suit, so I wear a jacket, shirt and tie. I often wear my 'Carnegie' blazer, grey flannels and white shirt. I always go in looking smart. The formality of the situation".

(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Len echoes Andy's notions of formality, emphasising 'clean' and 'smart' presentations of himself, and in attempting to look like the sort of person he believes would be found occupying the post for which he is applying. The reader will remember that Len has no experience of being interviewed but here declares how he would present himself if the opportunity for interview arose. This is his account (30/2/626):-

Len "I think it's wise to go dressed smartly; whatever that means. To present yourself in an acceptable manner; in terms of what the profession means. And in my particular case that would mean; a nice suit, shirt and tie, clean shoes, and a clean hankie. This is all legitimate and this is what I would do. If I were going for a job I would try to present myself as though I were already in that role. If I were going for a deputy-head job, I'd try to look like a deputy-head".
(Len, 46, secondary, scale 3, history)

Len does not elaborate upon his notion of how a deputy-head looks or how the appearance of a deputy-head might differ from those occupying ranks above or below this. However, it is an interesting idea that the candidate presents himself, in terms of appearance, as though he had already attained the desired rank and this seems to be an example of anticipatory socialization. The thinking behind this seems to be that if the person looks the part then selectors might be persuaded to the belief that he is also competent to do the job. This may be an example of the thinking of two of Sikes et al's (1985, p183) respondents, Sarah and John, who believed that '....the

candidate whose appearance came closest to the stereotype was the one most likely to be appointed....' (see also ibid, pp 100 - 104, on the topic of 'appearance').

Barry's many interviews for a deputy-headship have enabled him to observe his competitors over a number of years and in the following extract he shows that he believes that there is a common understanding of the need to present a 'suited' self to the selectors, and of a need also for the suit to be of an appropriately dark hue. His long association with competitors who, like himself, turn up regularly at interviews over the years, enables him to comment upon candidates who appear, not in a suit, but in the suit (51/1/270):-

Barry "It's a special occasion and people should try especially hard. It's almost like a uniform. Two dark grey; one dark brown; and I was in dark blue. I knew all of the people there, and I had been on interview with some of them before. One of them was wearing the suit he always wears at interview. You know that he will always come along in his dark brown suit".

(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

For those teachers who look to their present school for their promotion opportunities, it may be important for them to give attention to their dress at all times and not just on special interview occasions. Justin, a probationary teacher of art at the time of this interview with me, produced comments which suggest that any bohemian affectation of dress would not be

excused in his school, despite the traditions of his teaching subject. He says (32/1/440):-

Justin "If I was to walk into school without a jacket and tie on; or if I spent the rest of the term walking about in school without a jacket and tie on; I wouldn't get promoted. If I had turned up to the interview not wearing a suit then I wouldn't have got appointed.
(Justin, 31, secondary, scale 1, art)

This same idea is expressed by Alph when he speaks of a colleague (20/1/156):-

Alph "We know for certain that one member of staff in the English department was not given a point - and he has been here for ten years; a scale one; he teaches in the sixth form and is one of our best teachers - because of his way of dressing. He is very casual in his dress".
(Alph, 32, secondary, scale 1, French)

Barry went to the expense of buying a new suit for his headship interview. At my mild probing he confessed to this in the following extract, accompanied by what seemed to me to be embarrassed laughter (51/1/220):-

Barry "I went and bought myself a new suit which I had been promising myself for a long time. It's been a standing joke at home. A navy-blue suit. Pale blue shirt. White and yellow tie. Black shoes. Navy blue socks".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Greg also described the clothing which he had worn for his headship interviews and it is interesting to note the similarities which these have with Barry's dress for the

occasion. Greg says (16/1/650):-

Greg "I wore a blue suit. A new suit. Hadn't had it very long. A blue shirt with a white collar. Blue and white tie. My best gear. As my Jewish friends would say, 'Sharp. Very sharp'".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Later in the same interview (16/1/666) Greg explained his detailed attention to his appearance by making this comment:-

Greg "After all, as a head, you're the leader of the team, the director of the firm".

Greg's view of himself as 'the director of the firm' seems to reflect his presentation of himself through his clothing. There is a business-world element in his presentation and the 'blue shirt with a white collar' seems to be an effort towards the image of the young executive. His appearance in his chosen garb is perhaps intended to persuade the selectors to regard him as reliable, conservative, thorough and efficient. There is no suggestion in his clothing of potential rebellion, unconventionality or trouble. His image seems to be intended to project a message of conformity and compliance with latent understandings of the assumed values of a Protestant Ethic. Greg has an extensive wardrobe. He spends a great deal on clothing and goes to great lengths to wear the correct dress for the occasion. Unlike many respondents who possess one suit only, Greg is able to debate upon which suit he will wear.

He informed me that the suit which he wore for his headship interviews was a new one, and although he did not say that this was bought especially for the interviews, this seems likely. Greg does not simply present himself as best he can from a limited wardrobe, like many candidates; on the contrary, he deliberately chooses clothes which he hopes will create the intended image and I feel that for this reason his understandings are particularly useful to this topic.

Barry sees the wearing of suits by teachers in school as a rare event, and if worn there often provokes colleagues into asking, 'Are you on interview?'. He says that a suit is 'an expensive item' and not really the best garment for teaching because 'kids drop glue on you'. Part of his understanding of the obligatory nature of suit wearing at interview perhaps comes from the kind of observation he has made of colleagues and which he relates in the following passage (51/1/250):-

Barry "I only knew one teacher who didn't wear a suit at interview. He wore a sports' jacket and he didn't get the job".
 (Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Although Barry is strongly aware of teachers' need to present themselves in suits, and accompanied by all the conventional accessories, he complains of those selectors who do not seem to observe the same rules. He speaks of a chairman of governors

who, it seems, habitually 'turns up in a scruffy jumper'; and another regular panel member who, although always dressed in a suit at interview, sets this off inelegantly with a pair of 'training shoes'. This seems to be important because Barry claims that it is 'a bit off-putting'. Although it is not possible to be certain of the exact consequences which selectors' clothing might have for candidates, Barry seems to be suggesting that his own presentation of self is affected by the sometimes odd, even bizarre attire of his interviewers. If choice of clothing is associated with a presentation of self as a member of a particular social-class category, interacting with others of like social-class category, then any 'incorrect' dress of selectors could interfere with this presentation (see Goffman, 1951), although the social-class symbolism of dress suggested by Goffman in 1951 is perhaps unlikely to apply in 1988. However, Goffman's (1959, Ch.2) concept of 'teams', or of 'performance teams', may be invoked here to explain the 'off-putting' of Barry. This concept of 'teams' refers to 'any set of individuals who co-operate in staging a single routine' (Goffman, 1959, p85). If the promotion interview is regarded as a 'single routine', then the wearing of training shoes or a scruffy jumper by one of the selectors could be seen as a form of non co-operation and might have disrupting effects upon other members' role performances and presentations of self, panel members and candidates alike.

Greg's attention to dress, as I have already indicated, is a prominent feature of his normal life and is not confined to presentation of self at interview. He claims that being 'well-dressed' allows him to relax, confident in the knowledge that he looks, in his own words, 'acceptable', and that this is especially important for him during the stressful hour of the interview. Possibly because of this confidence, he is able to focus upon other areas of his self presentation at interview. He was worried, for example, about the intrusion of his own humour into the interaction in untimely, unsuitable and perhaps damaging ways. He says that he 'told himself' before the interview, 'Don't go in there being 'Jack-the-lad''; but at the same time he claims that he wanted his 'personality to shine through'. He says that he was anxious about being caught 'off guard' and suspected that the panel would try to 'test' him with 'quick questions'. He felt that one question which he thought was in this category was, 'How would you like to be known in your school?'. Greg says that his answer to this, which was delivered 'straight off the top of my head', was an ill-judged one since it presented him, he felt, in a comic way and was unlikely to support his efforts at creating a 'director of the firm' image. He replied to this question in the way:- 'I'm known in my present school as Webbo'. He then explained to me that 'This is a giant figure in a children's

comic', and he added, 'It got a laugh'. He thought that his own 'natural humour' was dangerous, although he claims that his excursions into humour at interview were 'all directed at myself. No sarcasm. Nothing over the top. Just perhaps an amusing comment prior to a serious answer'.

The customary advice which Greg elicited from friends and colleagues warned him of the dangers carried by some of his favourite expressions and which would be best avoided at interview. One of these expressions was, 'I know this is going to sound big-headed but.....'. Another such expression was, 'If you want me to be perfectly honest.....', and Greg's inability to avoid using this expression resulted in one panel member retorting with, 'Do we judge from that that you haven't been so far?' Greg adds (16/1/600):-

Greg "You have to be careful. Guarded. And you've not to let natural expressions like that come out. I'll make an effort in future not to say anything like that again".
 (Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg claims that he tried to create a definite image of himself at interview (16/1/640):-

Greg "I tried to create the impression of somebody who has warmth and friendliness but who can be firm when necessary. Approachable".

Greg here shows a desire to present particular aspects of self.

It is significant that once again he refuses to commit himself to any one extreme but balances his 'warmth and friendliness' - which could be interpreted as 'weak' or 'seeking popularity' - with a contrasting side of self, 'firm', and packages the whole into the term 'approachable'. He seems to have attempted a demonstration of this firmness in the way that he claims he responded to some of the questions which were put to him (16/1/640):-

Greg "I was conscious of the fact that when I was giving my answers, if the answer had to be made firmly, then it was a firm answer. And on two occasions I definitely maintained strong eye-to-eye contact. Two questions from councillors were, I think, a little bit of a test of my reactions. And I just looked straight back in their eyes as I gave my answer".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Andy's self-presentation problems focused upon his accent and he explains this in the following account (26/1/639):-

Andy "I feel I have a Manchester accent and I try to tone this down at interview. I also try to speak more slowly".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Few of my respondents spoke of the problem indicated by Andy but this may be due to the fact that many spoke of applications for posts within their own geographical region only. Andy's application for posts in various parts of England has perhaps made him more conscious of the strength of his accent and of

his understanding of interviewers' perceptions of this.

Despite these concerns, Andy appeared to me as a most thrusting and aggressive competitor for teaching posts. His presentation of himself at interview is that of 'best teacher'. He offers this advice to the more timid candidate and also speaks of the need to steer the panel in directions which are favourable to the candidate himself (26/1/290):-

Andy "When you are there, with five other people, they can't decide who's the best teacher. What's important is telling them that you are the best teacher. It's as basic as that".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Andy seems here to suggest that the selectors are badly equipped to make the kind of judgements required of them - - choosing the 'best teacher' - and that the candidate's thrusting presentation must convince them of his own suitability. He shows a consistency of aggression in another part of the same interview and again gives advice to those candidates whose main concern is of the questions which will be put to them. I use Andy's recommended presentation of self as the endpiece to this section of the study (26/1/540):-

Andy "You've really got to get in there and really throw it at them. Tell them what you want to tell them, rather than wait for the questions to come and then defend yourself. It's a contrived situation and the important thing is to get in there and sell yourself".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

Summary and Conclusions.

- 1) The alphabetical ordering of candidates' entry into the interview room was seen to be of consequence to their experience of the interview and perhaps to its outcome. This was due to such factors as:-
 - a) Differences in mood of selectors as the interview progresses, with tiredness and boredom featuring as potent factors. The last candidate to be interviewed was thought to suffer most from this.
 - b) The distance of the first-interviewed candidate from the eventual decision-making processes was seen as a disadvantage for this candidate.
 - c) The raising of controversial topics could overflow into the interview of the next candidate; this was termed as 'backlash' by one respondent and was seen as a disadvantage. The first candidate to be interviewed was at an advantage here because he had no-one preceding him who could create 'backlash' effects.
- 2) Candidates perceived an incline of difficulty in the questions which selectors put to them, with the easy-to-answer question being used as a 'warm-up' activity. This was construed as the considerate behaviour of the

selectors.

- 3) There were, however, instances of individual selectors delivering scathing attacks and unkind remarks upon candidates.
- 4) Candidates perceived the hypothetical question as the one which offered greatest difficulty in answering.
- 5) There was a notion of selectors laying 'traps' through questioning and in using responses to these as a means of eliminating candidates. These 'traps', or 'tests', are designed to put pressure upon the candidate so that he might answer in inappropriate ways, or disclose some aspect of self which he had hoped to mask. An example of such a question is the hypothetical one which contains some political or ideological dilemma, the response to which inevitably conflicts with the views of some selectors. Being asked opinions relating to the school in which the new post lies, or being asked his views of his present school, can present the candidate as hyper-critical, or unprofessional and disloyal.
- 6) Some respondents felt that the selectors had notions of the presentations which they expected from candidates at

interview. This led candidates to make guesses about what was required of their answers; to develop notions of right and wrong responses and of acceptable and unacceptable personal characteristics and presentations of self.

- 7) Appearance and accent were mentioned as important aspects of physical self presentation at interview, with appearance, by means of clothing, being seen as the most important single feature.
- 8) A suit was seen to be a necessary item for the interview. This seemed to afford candidates an opportunity to demonstrate those personal qualities and held values which were believed likely to meet with the approval of the selectors.
- 9) There was an urge to 'look the part', particularly when posts of management were attempted; that is, that the candidate tried to appear as he thought incumbents of that level of post would appear; or perhaps as he thought the selectors thought that such incumbents ought to appear. Some respondents felt that appearance, through clothing, was an essential part of strategies for promotion, not just at times of interview but in their everyday routine in the

school day.

- 10) Views of self as 'executive', 'director of the firm', 'leader of the team', seemed to induce candidates to a style of dress intended to confirm these images to the panel of selectors. Such images may be particularly important when management level posts are sought.
- 11) Humour was mentioned as a dangerous indulgence at interview and was a side of self presentation which was believed necessary to keep in check. There were other aspects of self presentation which could catch the candidate off-guard at interview, such as careless phrases which were perhaps habitually used by the candidate but which might be misinterpreted by selectors, and these too had to be controlled.

PART FIVE (cont).

THE PROMOTION INTERVIEW AND THE PRESENTATION OF SELF.

Chapter 15. Post-Interview Understandings and Activities.

Contents:-

Page 401 - Post-Interview Understandings and Activities.

Page 415 - Summary and Conclusions.

For those candidates who have not been appointed to the post for which they have been interviewed, there are sometimes certain activities and changed understandings which are contingent upon this and I shall now attempt to present these in their sequential order. To begin with, candidates normally return to the waiting room after having been interviewed and join those other candidates, some of whom have been interviewed and some who are awaiting this. It might be supposed that this mixture could encourage queries from those candidates who have not yet been interviewed concerning the nature of the panel's questions. However, a 'rule' seems to operate which prohibits those awaiting interview from asking questions which might afford them an advantage over their already interviewed competitors. Barry describes this phenomenon (51/1/284):-

Barry "After a person comes out of the interview room the others never ask what he has been asked. It's understood and it's never mentioned. No-one in my experience has asked the person to speak about the questions. They might say, 'How did it go?'".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Later in the same interview Barry describes the activity in the waiting room when all candidates had been interviewed (51/1/300):-

Barry "Because as always, I was in last, the others could speak and compare notes since it was all over and done with. And of course when I came out they asked me what I had got".

It is probably more than just curiosity which prompts candidates to discuss their competitors' experiences when all interviewing is over. This activity could be a valuable preparation for their next interview and especially so if the same selectors are likely to be encountered again in the future. It might be discovered, for example, that all candidates had received the same questions, or that some unusual questions had been asked. It might also be valuable to learn how other candidates had responded to these questions, and perhaps especially to know how the successful candidate had dealt with them. All this could help in extending knowledge of the practices of selectors; of the idiosyncratic nature of the questions of some selectors; and in gleaning understandings of how such questions might be answered at future interviews.

Although Greg offers little on this topic, he shows in this passage that he would be less than co-operative if one of his interview competitors sought to tap his experiences before the proper elapse of time (27/2/466):-

Int. "When you come out of the interviewing room do you speak about the sort of questions you received?".

Greg "No-one's ever asked me. And I don't think I would tell them if they did. I think it's a gentleman's agreement. Only when the fourth one had gone in did the other three say, 'Did you get the power question? Were you asked about.....?' But there is a professional etiquette that nobody is asked".
Greg, 38, middle, headteacher, history/P.E.)

Barry claims that he is often able to tell, before the panel's announcement of its decision, that he has not had a successful interview and that he will not be appointed. His many unsuccessful interviews have perhaps provided him with this capacity. He says (47b/A/240):-

Barry "Quite often I come out and I know that I've 'blown it'. My problem is I get tongue-tied. My adviser has spent hours with me telling me to go in and be myself. It's the pressure of desperately wanting something. Being a 'W' I'm usually last. And so I just keep applying. There were several jobs where it was an absolute fix. I was interviewed for two deputy-headships in the space of three days".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Barry here explains that his extreme nervousness is due to his great desire to be the selected candidate and that this state influences his self presentation unfavourably. Some of his lack of success he explains through reference to particular posts being already earmarked for selected candidates; he terms this phenomenon as 'a fix'. He does not offer comment on how he acquired this knowledge but it may have been through discussion with other unselected candidates who claimed to be 'in the know'. Barry does not seem to resent there being a pre-selected candidate, except perhaps for his own needless ordeal of the interview. From comments made by Barry and by other respondents, there are often candidates who seem to be in a stronger position for selection than others. It may be that

they have experience which is particularly relevant for the post, or they may have expertise which renders them strong contenders for the position. Greg, speaking about his three headship interviews, comments that 'In all three cases the right man got the job'. Since Greg himself gained his headship at the third of these interviews, I conclude that he regards himself, at that point, as 'the right man'.

Barry's notion of the 'fixing' of interviews is partly explained in his account of the selection procedures of his own education authority. He notes that at any one time there are a number of teachers who are 'in the running' for deputy and headship posts and who appear frequently at interviews until such times as they find an appointment or they fall out of 'the running' (51/2/170):-

Barry "The chap who got it - I think it was his third or fourth interview for headships. One of the other candidates had had three interviews. The third one had three interviews outside *****. Once you are 'in the running' they'll keep looking at you if they think you've got what it takes".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Greg's comment on this topic suggests that in his first headship interview he felt that the headship interview experiences of some of his competitors showed that they were more likely candidates on this occasion (16/1/440):-

Greg "I was feeling particularly concerned because all the others had had at least two other interviews. This was my first. I accepted the inevitable that the successful candidate was the guy that I would have put my money on. And so you know that this is going to happen. And you accept that".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

In a later comment Greg showed that part of his acceptance of 'defeat' in this case was due to the fact that the successful candidate was older than Greg. He also said that if this successful candidate had been younger than himself then he would have found this decision difficult to accept. Greg seems to desire to be ahead of the stage which would normally be associated with his age, in terms of bureaucratic ranking. Sofer (1970, p55) claims that it is 'socially acceptable, so to speak, to beat one's age-graded career status by being young for the phase or status, but not the other way round'. Compare this with Sikes et al (1985, p6) who suggest that teachers' expectations of reaching a certain level of post by a certain age are now no longer appropriate. Greg's account is less clear than Barry's but, for whatever reason, there seems to have been an outstanding candidate for the post at Greg's first headship interview and this was the one who was predictably selected. This seems to be a good deal less sinister than Barry's term 'fix' would suggest.

Paul shows an understanding similar to that of Barry's about

being 'in the running' although Paul's comments are confined to his experiences in one city only. He believes that each interview is important because it is one in a series of stages which is likely to culminate in an eventual appointment. He refers to this phenomenon as the 'roundabout' and these are his words (42/2/230):-

Paul ".....it's not for what they learn on the course, but for the people to know that they have been on the course. You get yourself on the roundabout - these people who have applied for deputy-headships. They'll get short-listed, and then the next stage, they'll get interviewed. Then, a few interviews after that, they'll be appointed. It's a roundabout. That's my impression of how you get promoted in *****".
(Paul, 42, special middle, scale 3, P.E.)

If the event of promotion is regarded as a form of status passage, then Paul's notion of the 'roundabout' suggests that this passage is sometimes achieved in phased ways. Measor and Woods (1984, p159), in discussing the transfer of pupils from primary to secondary schools, note that '.....status passages contain more significant phases than previously identified'. Roy expresses something similar to this idea when he claims that those candidates who although performing well at interview, fail to be appointed, will be steered to the next interview, and the next, until they are eventually successful; although Roy seems to confine these ideas to headteacher appointments only. The invitation to numerous interviews is likely to persuade the aspiring teacher to the belief that he

is still 'in the running' and that he will be given continued opportunities to show himself as a suitable candidate at interview.

When the panel's decision has been announced and the chosen candidate has returned to the interview room to receive further word from the selectors, some person who has been part of the selection process speaks to the remaining candidates. At this brief meeting, through encouraging words, 'faces are saved'. Candidates learn that 'it has been a difficult decision'; that they all were 'good candidates' and that they should try again. I used Goffman's (1962, p482) concept of 'cooling out' in encouraging Greg to speak of his post-interview experiences. He says of one of his two unsuccessful attempts for a headship post (16/1/430):-

Greg "The deputy-director of education spoke to us altogether when the successful candidate had gone back in. He said that it had been a very difficult decision, etc., but at the end of the day Mr. So-and-So's experience had been such that, etc., etc, blah, blah, blah. I suppose there might have been a bit of cooling off (sic) but you like to think that it couldn't possibly be a lie. Because if you couldn't do it you wouldn't be there".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

Greg is clearly reluctant to attribute the utterances of the deputy-director of education to simply 'cooling out' processes and this is consistent with his already expressed views of the

worth of selectors and headship candidates alike. In the above extract he shows how he believes that the presence of a person at a headship interview is proof of his quality, 'If you couldn't do it you wouldn't be there'. Greg is able to combine a belief in the effectiveness of the 'system' with a competence to use it to his own advantage.

Andy reports that he received advice immediately after the interview which seemed to be more than just polite, routine 'cooling out'. Andy discloses here the impact which this advice had upon his presentation of himself at subsequent interviews (26/1/580):-

Andy "The interview there went very well and the deputy-head came to us afterwards and asked the successful candidate to go back into the panel, and the rest of us were spoken to by the deputy-head. And it was great. And I've always remembered the comments he made. He said to one person, 'When the head asked you to bring your career up to date, you went on too long'. And he said to me, 'Your interview was good. You did well. But the head noticed that you slouched in your chair a bit'. Then he added, 'I didn't notice that at all. What was important to me was that you were relaxed. But the head thought that you slouched'. Now these points have remained with me. I sit with my back supported by the chair now".
(Andy, 25, secondary, scale 1, P.E./geography)

The reader might remember that it was Andy who expressed the view that the interviewing activity was a 'process of elimination'. The above passage seems to support this view since the headteacher appears to be resorting to minor flaws in

candidates' presentation of themselves in eliminating them from the competition, and suggests too the headteacher's inability to differentiate between candidates on more substantial grounds related to the task of teaching. Nick Baker, writing in 'The Times' Educational Supplement of 10th October, 1987, page 25, notes the incident of the woman teacher who was rejected at an interview for a deputy-headship post because she was 'wearing too much perfume'.

Andy's understanding of the selectors' inability to make adequate differentiation between candidates has perhaps been responsible for his aggressive presentation of himself at interview and for his thrusting declaration of his own excellence and suitability for whatever post he applies.

It is difficult to be categorical in the claim that the following extract is an example of the 'cooling out' processes associated with post-interview activities. If it was kindly and sympathetically meant, it did not seem to have its intended effect. Barry was the recipient of these words from the headteacher of a school where he had been rejected, yet again, for a deputy-head post. He reports (47b/A/240):-

Barry "The whole procedure took so long that the education offices were closed. We were locked in and we had to be let out by the caretaker. It was little things like that that made me feel despondent. After the interview the head said to me, 'You were the one I really wanted'. He may have done this out of kindness but it made me feel awful. I would rather he had told me I was absolutely terrible".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

If this is taken as an accurate account of the headteacher's utterance, the passage effectively casts doubt upon the notion of the headteacher being the most potent force and the most powerful gatekeeper of all the selectors in choosing his own deputy. Barry's reference to the long period of time which the panel took to reach its decision indicates that there had been considerable debate about the appointment and this lends credence to the headteacher's words.

Greg reported that provided that the headship interview was the candidate's first in his 'home' authority, he would receive a visit from his adviser who would discuss the interview in some detail with him. This is Greg's account of what transpired at his own meeting with the adviser (16/1/460):-

Greg "He was very constructive. Wholly full of praise. 'Yes, you are right to apply. Yes, you've got these positive qualities. Perhaps you would like to think about answering this particular question in a different way'. It was very specific. And I think one or two areas made me raise my eyebrows. But looking at it overall, I would say that I would have said the same things to me, having done an analysis of

my own interview. And on a couple of occasions when he said, 'The question regarding.....', and I was already nodding before he went into detail. It wasn't just superficial advice. It was very specific. Almost to saying, 'Construct your answer this way'. It encouraged me in that it showed me that they were listening. They were analysing, not just my answers, but distinct parts of my answers and advising me to expand, or develop, distinct parts".

(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

These understandings of the adviser's words seem to confirm Paul's notion of candidate's being 'in the running' or on the 'roundabout'. The adviser seems to be confident of Greg's eventual success and appears to be steering him in a direction which is intended to bring this about.

After the interviews, when the unsuccessful candidates are being addressed by someone who has been close to the selection process, differentiation between the interview performances of the various individuals seems not to be made; and perhaps especially so at headship level. However, when these candidates are spoken to by the adviser, some time later, this seems to be the time for candour, and in Greg's experience, coaching also. Although Greg received plaudits for his own interview performance, this might not have been the experience of all candidates. Being given encouragement to go on trying, and being given suggestions as to how his responses might be improved, might inform Greg that he was still 'in the running'; but perhaps other candidates, at their meeting with their

adviser, would learn of their poor performance at interview and would perhaps be dissuaded from trying again. If this was followed by a dearth of further invitations to interview, they could come to the conclusion that they were no longer 'in the running' or on the 'roundabout', but that in the more common parlance of teachers, they had been passed over for promotion.

Despite the efforts of seemingly well-intentioned persons to provide words of sympathy and perhaps encouragement for those candidates who have failed to be appointed to the desired post, there seems to be a 'post-interview tristesse' which overtakes them later and this might be important in their decision about entering into the competitive interview experience again.

Although Barry has had to recover from such disappointment many times during his quest for his deputy-headship, it is with reference to his headship interview that he speaks of these low feelings (51/2/358):-

Barry "An interesting factor is the personal feelings you have after the interview. That night I was perfectly alright. I had given it a good shot. I hadn't got it and that was O.K.. The following day I don't think I've ever felt so flat as I felt then. I was alright again the next day. The adrenalin is perhaps still pumping after the interview. And that night I didn't sleep very well after the interview".
(Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Greg reports a similar experience after one of his two failed headship interviews (16/1/360):-

Greg "My initial reaction when I came out was, 'That was alright'. And then, for a while, you just breathe again and give a big sigh of relief and you become yourself again. And I came out, not in a state of euphoria, but I was thinking, 'Well, I don't think I've made a complete hash of that. I think I was positive and constructive. I think I was able to project my personality. And I think they now know what sort of person I am'. Yes. My first reaction was a positive reaction. I thought it wasn't bad at all".

Int. "And even when you found that you hadn't got the job, this didn't diminish?".

Greg "No. Didn't diminish at all. 'Though subsequently, when I talked to other people about it, and people 'phoned up to say, 'How did it go?'.....And then in the evening when the feeling of euphoria wears off, you start to think, 'Ohhhhhhhhhhhhh!'".
(Greg, 37, middle, deputy-head, history/P.E.)

These experiences of unsuccessful interviews could be damaging to a person's perception of himself. His need to explain this 'failure' both to himself and perhaps to family, friends and colleagues, could impose upon him a stress which acts to discourage his placing himself in such a potentially ego wounding position again. Many teachers may not be equipped with the qualities necessary to make a quick recovery from such damage, and if this is repeated - as in Barry's case of having to survive thirteen unsuccessful interviews for his deputy-headship - the resulting embarrassment could discourage further attempts. Of course not all teachers will experience feelings of embarrassment, or feelings of diminished self worth, or that their failure must be explained to important

audiences. However, the presence of these feelings in the above seemingly emotionally robust respondents, suggests that they are likely to be common and potent ones. The potential for such feelings could act as a check on the number of teachers willing to make application for higher posts. The unwillingness of the teacher to go on applying and failing to be appointed, could result in his withdrawal from the field of competition, thus removing the source of his embarrassment and the need to account for repeated failures.

There might also be an age component in these understandings where teachers come to feel that they are too old to apply for posts of certain levels. Greg remarked that he was considered to be young when he began applying for middle-school headship posts; he was thirty-eight years of age at the time. He says that this was a notion voiced by the selectors, although he did not give a detailed account of this. Greg also says of the candidate who was appointed to the headship post of his first interview, that he was older than Greg and that this 'made it easier to swallow'. Perhaps if Greg had lost to a younger competitor he might have revised his perception of himself as a likely candidate for headship posts.

The final extract from respondents' utterances, which will complete this section of the study, is taken from one of

Barry's interviews (51/2/370) and perhaps goes some way towards explaining his attitude to the promotion interview and his source of stamina and determination:-

Barry "Being interviewed is not the nicest experience in the world, to put it mildly. But that's the only way to get on in teaching. And you have to accept this. I feel that it is success to have had a headship interview".
 (Barry, 38, middle, deputy-head, geography)

Summary and Conclusions

- 1) There are often follow-up activities to promotion interviews for failed candidates when the post offered is located within the teacher's education authority. Sometimes these would consist of consoling and generally encouraging words from someone who has been involved in the selection process. Some education authorities ensure that the teacher's adviser visits him and provides him with a detailed criticism of the responses which he has made at interview. Some candidates receive coaching at this meeting which seems to be intended to both encourage further attempts and to equip the teacher for success in the future.
- 2) It is possible that candidates who have made a poor self presentation at interview may receive word from their

adviser which discourages their further attempts at promotion. No respondent gave information about this but I suspect that advisers' words on this matter are likely to be couched in terms which might allow the teacher to come to his own conclusions about his career future.

- 3) The favourable feedback which candidates can receive from advisers after the interview, and perhaps from the reaction of the selectors at interview, can be construed by the candidate that, although he has not been appointed, he is 'in the running'. In this way, promotion interviews may be regarded as a series of obstacles which line the route to eventual promotion. As long as the teacher is being invited to interview he assumes that he is still under consideration and that provided he goes on trying, promotion is possible.
- 4) There was little evidence to indicate how teachers learned that they were 'out of the running' for promotion, but an obvious one would be their failure to be invited for further interviews.
- 5) For candidates who fail to be appointed, and especially for those who have had high hopes for the post, there can be a temporary lowering of self-esteem after the interview.

Although this may be founded solely in their own disappointment, it seems likely that it is also linked to facing important audiences as a failed candidate and to an altered perception of status and worth. This feeling may be important in persuading the teacher against risking this experience again, and could encourage a withdrawal from the arena of promotion seeking.

PART SIX.

Chapter 16. Conclusions.

- Page 419 - Conclusions.
- Page 430 - The effects of metaphorical conceptualizations of teachers' careers.
- Page 433 - The influence of a Protestant Work Ethic in shaping career expectations.
- Page 434 - Comments on the methodology of the study.
- Page 436 - Future research.
- Page 437 - Endpiece.

In the 'Introduction' to this study three questions were posed of the research (see pages 9 and 10) and I shall now attempt to summarize the findings in a way which will respond to these questions. The identification of questions to be asked seems to demand a separate answer to each separate question, and although I shall attempt to do this, it will be evident that this notion is too simple since the questions and their responses are part of the same large whole and not easily delineated without reference to each other. The first question was,

- 1) Is the use of strategies to advance career a common perception among teachers?

From the utterances of my respondents it is clear that teachers do seem to have an understanding of the functioning of strategies in furthering the careers of those teachers who are willing and able to employ these, but it was a more common occurrence for respondents to identify the operation of strategies in others than to admit to their own use of them. This perhaps suggests a conflict with professional ideals but it may be that respondents are simply unable to be completely objective in analysing their own motives. Also, whatever is construed as a strategy in a colleague's activities, this might not be viewed in the same way when the activity is part of the observer's own repertoire.

It seems also to be clear that activities which teachers undertake voluntarily and out of a sense of commitment to their work, could result in influencing their promotion. To indict these as strategies might be uncharitable as well as inaccurate. However, it is not always possible to know what is in the minds and hearts of people and it is conceivable, as some of my respondents showed, that there may be some expectation of reward for activities which are undertaken for mainly noble purposes. Strategies which are used for the advancement of teachers' careers seem to be believed to be an inevitable and necessary part of the promotion system, although the identification of these activities as strategies is likely to be a function of the variable characteristics and qualities of the observer.

2) What are these strategies?

In the main, teachers' attempts at promotion focus upon their presentation of themselves as competent, efficient, effective and willing teachers, and the professional areas which were used to demonstrate these qualities were located within the following:-

- a) The teaching subject, (chapter 6),
- b) Extra-curricular activities, (chapter 7),
- c) Study activities, (chapter 8).

The teacher's expertise and experience in one or more of the above areas were often identified as legitimators of career advancement. However, not all teachers who assessed themselves highly in these areas received the promotion they desired and it is clear that other factors conspire to exert influences upon promotion decisions. One such factor is that of bringing positive personal qualities to the attention of influential persons who have some control over promotion decisions. It is also evident that the skills of self presentation are unequally distributed among teachers, as is the willingness to exploit these skills in career advancing activities.

The headteacher, in his function as a gatekeeper to teachers' career status passage, is perceived as a person to whom such presentation of self may be strategically made. The qualities which the head regards as promotion-worthy must be identified accurately before such strategies can be operated effectively, and so the headteacher's views and preferences must be well assessed by the aspiring teacher. It would not be surprising if such strategies are more effectively presented to heads by their own staff members who are likely to be in a position to

know these views and preferences. Some respondents spoke of heads' unawareness of the skills and commitment of their staff, and hence of the unlikelihood of these qualities being of use in promotion, unless strategically presented. It seems that it might not be enough to be competent and committed, but that the recognition of these qualities, by headteachers, must be brought about if promotion is to occur.

This view seems to have encouraged in some teachers an emphasis upon strategies of presentation rather than merely trusting to influential persons to recognise their worth. This is not to detract, however, from the qualities of teaching excellence of those teachers who may have furthered their own careers through consciously strategic methods. 'Pedagogic' and 'Strategic' models of career progression are clearly not incompatible. However, the perceived potency of strategic presentations of self focuses attention upon gatekeepers and upon understandings of ways in which they might be influenced. The need for the aspiring teacher to offer himself for selection, in competition with others, has focused some of the attention of this study upon the ways in which teachers make presentation of themselves at interview; and this leads to my response to the third question.

- 3) In what ways are teachers' careers affected by the actions of powerful others?

It seems to be a common understanding among teachers that promotions can be gained through the actions of gatekeepers on the behalf of a favoured applicant. Respondents' knowledge and understandings are based upon their own experiences and upon their perception of the experiences of colleagues; some of these experiences might defy explanation in terms of a 'pedagogic' model and so the operation of a strategy might be assumed. Although the direct study of gatekeepers was not part of the remit of this study, some respondents perceived the placement of teachers in higher posts as a possible strategy of headteachers in the accomplishment of their own concealed projects. In this manner, some positions may be attained, not by way of the strategic actions of teachers themselves, but by the unsolicited actions of gatekeepers in the pursuit of their own ends.

Teachers may make representation of self to their headteacher through a demonstration of competence or suitability for the post, or through some sort of bargaining in which the teacher agrees to accept an area of responsibility, or acquire some new expertise, in return for the promotion. The problems and dilemmas which respondents perceived facing headteachers in their gatekeeping role, seemed to be most acute when a vacated post was to be filled by choosing from among existing

staff. It is in such circumstances that teachers vie with each other in overt ways and when strategies to gain an edge over competitors are most noticed. In these circumstances headteachers may attempt to reduce their dilemma by enlisting help, possibly that of an adviser for example, but some respondents see opportunities in these situations for headteachers to make appointments which seem to be influenced by personal or political considerations rather than upon the recognised expertise of staff members.

In some large schools the headteacher can become a remote figure to both pupils and staff and this perhaps adds to the criticism of the head's 'unawareness'. In such schools, and indeed possibly in much smaller schools, certain figures might emerge as the link between staff and headteacher; for example the deputy-head might act in this way, and although he may not operate in a direct gatekeeping capacity, his access to the the headteacher's thinking and action might focus attention upon him as a sponsor.

Headteachers can function in sponsoring ways when they act on behalf of their staff members for posts in other schools. Teachers seem to expect that the head will be their ally in all such promotion attempts and there is evidence that heads pass information to appointing heads, in informal ways, concerning

candidates. It is also believed that such information, given 'off the record', is not always favourable and that some candidates can be put 'out of the running' by way of telephone conversations between headteachers.

As higher posts in teaching are usually decided by a panel of selectors rather than just the headteacher as sole gatekeeper, a difficulty of effective presentation of self is created by the short period of interview time available. Candidates, anxious to perform well at interview, become aware of the possibilities for strategies which will distinguish them from competitors. These strategies could involve the writing of the application for the post as well as the interaction occurring at interview. There was the perceived need, for example, to tailor applications to suit the requirements of the post and to introduce topics in the letter which might be profitably raised at the interview, perhaps in 'iceberging' ways; to mask deficiencies in the letter and to mute these at interview; to present a strategic exposure of one's ideological, professional stance, and to conform to what is perceived as an acceptable conservatism in dress, demeanour, speech, accent and actions.

Respondents perceived difficulties in selection panels coming to an informed decision through the evidence placed before

them - candidates' written applications, references, and presence at interview - and that this led to selectors' attention to detail of candidates' selves to assist them in their judgements. The difficulty of the selection process was also perceived to lead to the selectors 'laying traps' for the unwary candidate and in their using the candidate's failure to negotiate these 'traps' effectively as cause for elimination. Observation of the candidate in non-interview time, for example at coffee break or having lunch, was also believed to be used as an eliminating device by selectors.

All this can persuade candidates to make efforts at chosen presentations of self in their allotted period of time with the selectors at interview. It might also persuade some candidates to prepare for interview through anticipating the questions likely to be asked of them, and of selectors' possible interpretations of responses to these questions. It seems to be a common practice to consult colleagues, friends, and other informed acquaintances who have had experience of similar interviews, with a view to obtaining their opinions of the questions which may be asked at interview and of possible strategic responses to these. There was a notion that particular topics and questions which were thought to be salient during a particular time period, would fall from the selectors' repertoire as new developments in teaching generated

different topics and questions. People who had had recent experience of being interviewed, and especially if they had been successful in this, were thought to be a valuable source of information in these matters.

There was also a view of interviews being in a series for those candidates considered to have potential, and so the failure to be appointed at any one interview was not so important, provided that the credibility of potential was maintained, since this would ensure interview opportunities in the future. Teachers whose promotion interview had been unsuccessful could receive information of their good performance through an arranged discussion with their adviser, where a message of optimism could be transmitted. At these meetings some coaching for the elimination of interviewing faults and weaknesses would sometimes take place and the candidate might assume that he was being groomed for a future appointment.

Much of the difficulty in preparing for interview, whether in deciding what to wear or which topics to prepare, was complicated by candidates' understandings of the symbolic interpretations which individual selectors might construe from their self presentations. The symbolic meaning which selectors might attach to particular clothing, or demeanour, or manner of response to questions, was considered to be important, as was

the need to convey intended meanings accurately.

Because the prohibition of canvassing is often included in the rubric of application forms, an attempt was made to glean teachers' understandings of this practice. There was a variety of notions of the meaning of canvassing disclosed by respondents but the area was shrouded in vagueness and possibly also in embarrassment. There seems to be little doubt that teachers understand that promotions can be made through their own efforts to enlist the help of influential people in public office, but how these approaches are made has not been a focal point of this study. There is evidence of the activity of intermediaries or sponsors; that is, of persons who are in a position to make recommendations to gatekeepers on behalf of the candidate. In this way, the 'go-between' activities of the sponsor absolves gatekeeper and candidate of the need for face to face interactions which may be feared to put both at risk. Promotions made in this way are believed to be common but there is often the perception of fortuitous encounters with sponsors which softens the harshness of the notion of overt canvassing tactics. The person in public office is unlikely to be the sole gatekeeper of any teaching post; he is more likely to be one of several selectors, but he might act simply in furthering sponsoring activities. This suggests that any mediation between candidate and gatekeeper may be in the form

of a chain of sponsoring influences.

In summary, canvassing, in the meaning of approaching a person in public office with the intention of gaining some career advantage, does not seem to occur in the simple way in which which this definition suggests. The mediating activities of others, the sponsors, emerge as important linking influences in these activities.

Some respondents were able to identify actions of other people who had had an unfavourable influence upon the development of their career and headteachers were sometimes cited as culprits in this. These career-damaging actions were believed to have been carried out, in the perception of respondents, for the political and personal reasons of heads, and telephone conversations between headteachers were thought to be the means whereby unfavourable messages about candidates were passed. Internal promotions which deviated from staff members notions of appropriateness, or justice, were sometimes explained through reference to the sometimes hidden, sometimes patent motives of headteachers.

I now respond to two features of an earlier part of the study in which I made reference to the metaphors which education

writers used in their description of teachers' careers, and also to the function of the Protestant Work Ethic in colouring teachers' perceptions of their work and in influencing their expectations of career development:-

The effects of metaphorical conceptualizations of teachers' careers.

I had felt that the use of metaphor to depict the careers of teachers, common in the literature of teachers' careers, might function to influence teachers' views and expectations of their career; provided that these were indeed used by teachers as well as writers. I have already shown that the image of the 'ladder' is a common device for depicting career, but other examples of alternative analogies were given, for example, Lortie's (1975) 'incline' and Lyons' (1981) 'tree' metaphors. The utterances of teachers, collected as part of this study, showed teachers making reference to the ladder analogy on occasion, and there was one instance of the horse-racing metaphor of the 'Promotion Stakes'. Neither the 'incline' nor 'tree' analogies were ever employed by my respondents.

There are numerous suggestions which I could make in response to this information. It might merely mean that during tape-recorded interviews respondents are reluctant to speak in

figurative ways, and that although they did not mention their held image of their career, they might nonetheless have one. It might mean, too, that they tend to hold only the image of the ladder as the object of career depiction, and that from this it might be supposed that career is viewed in the stepwise way indicated by progression along a ladder, with all the possibilities and limitations of this (see pp 32 - 36 of this study). The horse-racing image of the 'Promotion Stakes' seems to be an intensely competitive conceptualization of career and it is significant that this metaphor was used only by Greg. This horse-racing metaphor is in some ways a very apt image of teaching because of the elaboration of the handicapping structure of horse-racing; teachers entering the 'Promotion Stakes' seem to labour under varying degrees of 'handicap', with some 'clear favourites', rank 'outsiders', and honourable 'also rans'.

Viewing the teaching career in ladder-like ways may be a convenient device for some ambitious teachers to legitimate their own intense competitiveness in promotion-seeking activities. The perception of the teaching career in terms of a ladder presents an almost wholly individual view of responsibility for career advancement. Strategies for progress 'up the ladder' tend then to be located in individual, personal activities, and the scale point system

seems to present a view of career in these personal terms. This perhaps goes to explain in part, teachers' focus upon 'private' rather than 'public' strategies; Sikes et al (1985, ch.3) report ample evidence of the former but relatively little of the latter. Teachers' distaste for strike action and conflict to bring about improvements in salary and conditions of work has possibly encouraged a view of career advancement as a personal problem, and one which can only be solved through a personally inspired motivation to climb the ladder in competition with colleagues, rather than trusting to the activities of their professional associations to effect overall improvements for the general mass of teachers.

I made no strategical attempt to prompt respondents towards some disclosure of held career image but tried instead to detect this through the clues given in language use. It might have been useful if some more direct means of reaching respondents' career analogies had been used, although I am unsure of exactly how this might have been accomplished. I felt that whenever a respondent evinced a favoured career metaphor, this provided me with an insight into his preferred conceptualization of career and helped in my attempts at 'taking the role of the other'. Although Greg made reference to the ladder analogy frequently and also to that of the 'Promotion Stakes', respondents tended not to mix their

metaphors. The ladder image was the most common of the used analogies and it seemed that respondents did not have a selection of these from which to draw upon in conceptualizing career. This, or their inhibition in using other metaphorical images, has perhaps limited their perceptions of alternative career patterns and possibilities.

The influence of a Protestant Work Ethic in shaping career expectations

Protestant Work Ethic ideas were also discussed (pp 37 - 43 of this study) and I felt that it was possible to detect these in respondents' understandings of their career; for example, in their notions of deserved reward for effort and qualities of self believed to be of merit. It was also evident in the expectation of headteachers' recognition of these and for the conformation to Protestant Ethic values in promotion decisions. Promotions which did not conform with the teacher's ethical notions of rightness and fairness were viewed as suspect and the 'real' reason for the promotion was speculated upon. Teachers found opportunities for demonstrating their allegiance to such ethical values through their involvement in community activities; in extra-curricular activities associated with the school; in Church and other religious affiliations, and in a

committed involvement in their teaching and associated teaching duties. Some respondents were aware of the need, if promotion was to come to them, not only to be involved with many of the above activities, but to demonstrate this involvement to influential audiences.

Like the detection of particular career analogies residing within the consciousness of teachers being helpful in taking the respondent's perspective, I feel that being aware of the ethical values of the respondent also assisted in 'taking' his role. Respondents employed individual perceptions of Work Ethic notions to interpret their career experiences and to construct conceptions of right and wrong; of deserved and undeserved; of what was legitimate and fair, and what was not. Human frailty tended to sharpen perceptions of unfair treatment which respondents believed they had received in the course of their career, but these were useful to the study in disclosing those normative ethical values which respondents used in their assessment of promotion decisions.

Comments on the methodology of the study.

It is perhaps useful now to make comment upon the methodology which was used in the study.

Unsolicited comments from respondents, after my interviewing them, indicated that the experience of being interviewed was more satisfactory for some than for others. Respondents would sometimes feel that they had not said all that they wished to, or that they had not presented themselves in ways which they had intended. These feelings often gave me the opportunity to offer another interview to the respondent so that located deficiencies could be made good and unintended presentations of self rectified. On listening to interviews, and in their transcription, I was sometimes able to detect my own unintended steering of conversations in directions which may have led to some unsatisfactory respondent experiences. It is evident that the production of the 'good' interview is as much a responsibility of the skills of the interviewer as it is of the respondent's willing effort. Blame for poor interviews was not levelled at me, at least not in my presence, and indeed respondents did not seem to be aware of the potential of the interviewer's role in shaping the success of the interview. In similar ways the role of interviewing panels in evoking from the candidate a favourable presentation of self at interview, did not seem to be a part of respondents' perceptions. Blame for poor or 'failed' interviews was not directed at the selectors but seemed to be accepted by the candidate as due to other variables and often to his own perceived deficiencies.

Even the selectors' questioning, which some respondents considered difficult or unanswerable, did not evoke any strong criticism or resentment. Apart from the selectors' 'warm up' preliminary questions at the beginning of promotion interviews, there was little in respondents' comments and descriptions to show that selectors were aware of their own responsibility in eliciting candidates' most favourable self presentations. This study's focus upon the interview as a research method emphasises the interactional component of interviewing and of the importance of the interviewer's role in meshing with that of the respondent in a joint production of relevant data.

Future Research.

This study indicates the need for a further research focus upon the detailed workings of selection panels and of the factors influencing the decisions of individual members of these (see the Open University's Project on the Selection of Secondary Headteachers, 1983). The methodology might consist of the observation of promotion interviews and the later interviewing of selectors and candidates; common meanings and understandings might be derived from this, as well as the differences between intended and received meanings. Access to promotion interviews, and perhaps also to the processes which precede

these, might prove to be difficult and would require sensitive negotiating.

In future research, methods for the selection of teachers for higher posts might be compared with those methods employed by other areas of work, industry for example, or the Civil Service, a recommendation also made by the 1983 O.U. Project. Some of my respondents with praise of those methods of promotion which depend upon the use of a step-wise series of graded examinations or tests, such as used in banking, the police force and the armed services. An examination of these, I suspect, might disclose practices very different from those used in the selection of teachers for promoted posts.

Endpiece

Although this focus upon promotion, in terms of advancing through the bureaucratic ranking of the teaching profession which I have attempted in this study, may seem to present teachers as unduly concerned with promotion, the reader is reminded of the social context of the times during which these data were gathered and which are discussed in the introduction to this study. Interest in promotion, and attention to achieving this, seems to have been accentuated by teachers'

interpretations of the effects of social, bureaucratic and institutional forces upon their lives and their careers. Industrious teachers, working with professional commitment and dedication, can also be concerned about their own career advancement and dismayed at its possible stagnation. Their interest in promotion, and their deployment of strategies to bring this about, need not preclude sincere involvement in their teaching tasks nor the altruistic outpouring of self into their work. The 'Pedagogical' and 'Strategical' models of teacher factors which influence promotion are ideal types and not mutually exclusive. The teacher's relationship with, on the one hand, self as a committed professional, and on the other, self as a career strategist, is in reality a complex mixture of the two, with variations of these present in varying proportions in each person. Also, at different times in the teacher's career, and at different social and institutional junctures, any one of these selves may become dominant and the balance between 'Vocational', 'Professional' and 'Instrumental' commitment (see Sikes et al, 1985, pp237-238) can become temporarily biased. If my selection and presentation of respondents' utterances has perhaps given an impression of a too dominant interest in their own career advancement, the above points might serve to temper any unjust criticism of teachers' motives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ball, S.J. (1981),
"The Teaching Nexus: a case of Mixed Ability",
in Barton and Walker (Eds),
"Schools, Teachers and Teaching",
Lewes, The Falmer Press.
- Ball, S.J. (1982),
"Competition and conflict in the teaching of English",
Journal of Curriculum Studies, 14, 1, pp1 - 28.
- Ball, S.J. (1984),
"Beachside Reconsidered: Reflections on a Methodological
Apprenticeship", in Burgess, R.G.,
"The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case
Studies",
Lewes, the Falmer Press.
- Becker, H.S. (1964),
"Personal Change in Adult Life",
Sociometry, March, 1964, 27 (1), 40-53.
Reprinted in Cosin, B. et al (Eds),
"School and Society, A Sociological Reader", p131,
London, R.K.P., 1971.
- Becker, H.S. (1976),
"The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher",
in Hammersly, M. and Woods, P. (Eds),
"The Process of Schooling",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Becker, H.S. (1952),
"Social-class variations in the teacher-pupil relationship",
Journal of Education Sociology, 25(4).
Reprinted in Cosin, B. et al (Eds),
"School and Society. A Sociological Reader",
London, and Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Becker, H.S. and Geer, B. (1957),
"Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison",
Human Organizations, 16 (3).

Bennet, C. (1985),
"Paints, Pots or Promotion? Art Teachers' Attitudes Towards
their Careers", in Ball, S.J. and Goodson, I.F. (Eds),
"Teachers' Lives and Careers",
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Benney, M. and Hughes, E.C. (1956),
"Of Sociology and the Interview",
American Journal of Sociology, 62, July 1956.

Berger, P.L., Berger, B. and Kellner, H. (1973),
"The Homeless Mind",
Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Blumer, H.,
"Sociological Implications of the thoughts of
George Herbert Mead",
American Journal of Sociology, 1965 - 66, 71, pp 535 - 544.
See also, "School and Society, A Sociological Reader, pp16-22,
London, R.K.P. in association with The Open University Press.

Briault, E. and Smith, F. (1980),
"Falling Rolls in Secondary Schools"
Windsor, N.F.E.R.

Bridges, E.M. (1986),
"The Incompetent Teacher",
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Bucher, R. and Strauss, A. (1961),
"Professions in Process",
American Journal of Sociology, 56, 1.
Reprinted in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. (Eds),
"The Process of Schooling"
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Burgess, R.G. (1982),
"The Unstructured Interview as Conversation",
in Burgess, R.G. (Ed),
"Field Research: A Sourcebook and Manual",
London, Allen and Unwin.

Burgess, R.G. (1985),
"In the Company of Teachers: Key Informants and the Study of a
Comprehensive School", in Burgess, R.G. (Ed),
"Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods",
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Burns, T. (1955),
"The reference of conduct in small groups; cliques and cabals
in occupational milieux",
Human Relations, Vol.8.

Campbell, D.T. (1969),
"The Informant in Qualitative Research",
in McCall, G.J. and Simmons, J.L. (Eds),
"Issues in Participant Observation",
Reading, Massachusetts. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Cave, R. and Cave, J. (1984),
"A Teacher's Guide to Promotion",
Newmarket, Cave and Cave.

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1980),
"Research Methods in Education",
London, Croom Helm.

Cottle, T.J. (1977),
"Private Lives and Public Accounts",
New York, New Viewpoints.

Dale, R. (1976),
"Work, Career and the Self",
Unit 7, Course DE 351, "People and Work",
Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Dean, J.P., Eichorn, R.L. and Dean, L.R. (1967),
"Fruitful Informants for Intensive Interviewing",
in Dobt, J.T. (Ed),
"An Introduction to Social Research", 2nd edition,
New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Delamont, S. (1980),
"Sex Roles and the School",
London, Methuen.

Denscombe, M. (1983),
"Interviews, Accounts and Ethnographic Research on Teachers",
in Hammersley, M. (Ed), "The Ethnography of Schooling",
Driffield, Nafferton Books.

Denzin, N.K. (1970),
"The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to
Sociological Methods",
London, Butterworth Group.

Department of Education and Science,
"Education Reform. The Government's Proposal for Schools",
H.M.S.O., Central Office of Information, 1987.

Finch, J. (1984),
"'It's great to have someone to talk to': the ethics and
politics of interviewing women",
in Bell, C. and Roberts, H. (Eds),
"Social Researching Politics, Problems and Practice",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.

Freidson, E. (1962),
"Dilemmas in the Doctor-Patient Relationship",
in Rose, A.M. (Ed),
"Human Behaviour and Social Processes: An Interactionist
Approach", pp207 - 224,
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Garfinkle, H. (1967),
"Studies in Ethnomethodology",
Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967),
"The Discovery of Grounded Theory",
Chicago, Ill., Aldine.

Goffman, E. (1951),
"Symbols of Class Status",
British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 2, Dec. 1951,
pp 294 - 304.

Goffman, E. (1959),
"The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life",
Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Social Science Research Centre
Monograph, no. 2, 1956.
Also, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969.

Goffman, E. (1961),
"Asylums",
Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co.
Also published by Penguin Books Ltd., 1968.

Goffman, E. (1962),
"On Cooling the Mark Out: Some Aspects of Adaptation to
Failure", in Rose, A.M. (Ed),
"Human Behaviour and Social Processes: An Interactionist
Approach", London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Goodson, I. (1980),
"Life Histories and the Study of Schooling",
Interchange, Ontario, 11, 4.

Goodson, I. (1981),
"Becoming an Academic Subject: Patterns of Explanation and
Evolution",
British Journal of Sociology of Education, 2, 2, pp163 - 180.

- Gouldner, A.W. (1970),
 "The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology",
 London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Greer, W. (1979),
 "Male Physical Education Lecturers' Perceptions of their own
 Careers during a Period of College Reorganization",
 Unpublished M.Ed., Manchester University.
- Hargreaves, D., Hester, S. and Mellor, F. (1975),
 "Deviance in Classrooms",
 London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D. (1980),
 "The Occupational Culture of Teachers", in Woods, P. (Ed),
 "Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the
 School",
 London, Croom Helm.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1983),
 "Ethnography Principles in Practice"
 London, Tavistock Publications.
- Hilsum, S. and Start, K.B. (1974),
 "Promotion and Careers in Teaching",
 Windsor, N.F.E.R.
- Hoffman, J.E. (1980),
 "Problems of Access in the Study of Social Elites and Boards
 of Directors", in,
 "Fieldwork Experience. Qualitative Approaches for Social
 Research",
 New York, St. Martin's Press.
- Hoyle, E., (1982),
 "The Professionalization of Teachers: a Paradox",
 British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol.XXX, No2, June.

Hughes, E.C. (1937),
"Institutional Office and the Person",
in Hughes, E.C., (1958), "Men and their Work",
New York, Free Press.

Hunter, C. (1980),
"The Politics of Participation", in Woods, P. (Ed),
"Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the
School",
London, Croom Helm.

Hunter, C. and Heighway, P. (1980),
"Morale, Motivation and Management in Middle Schools",
in Bush, T. et al, (Eds),
"Approaches to School Management",
Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Jeavons, F.R. (1969),
"The Teaching of Science",
London, Allen and Unwin.

Kanter, R.M. (1974),
"Commitment and Social Organization", in Field, D. (Ed),
"Social Psychology for Sociologists",
London, Nelson.

Lacey, C. (1977),
"The Socialization of Teachers",
London, Methuen.

Levinson, D.J. et al, (1978),
"The Seasons of a Man's Life",
New York, Knopf.

Lortie, D.C. (1975),
"Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study",
Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Laslett, B. and Rapoport, R. (1975),
"Collaborative Interviewing and Interactive Research",
Journal of Marriage and the Family, November.

Lyons, G. (1981),
"Teacher Careers and Career Perceptions",
Windsor, N.F.E.R. - Nelson.

MacDonald, A. (1981),
"Career Determinants and Sources of Satisfaction and
Dissatisfaction among P.E. Teachers in Secondary Schools".
Unpublished paper.
School of Physical Education, Manchester University.

Manis, J.G. and Meltzer, B.N. (1978),
"Symbolic Interaction. A Reader in Social Psychology", 3rd ed.,
Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

Mann, J. (1979),
"Education", Government and Administration Series,
London, Pitman Publishing Limited.

Mead, G.H. (1934),
"Mind, Self and Society",
Chicago, University of Chicago.

Measor, L. (1995),
"Interviewing: a Strategy in Qualitative Research",
in R.G. Burgess (Ed),
"Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods",
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Measor, L. and Woods, P. (1984),
"Changing Schools",
Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Meighan, R. (1986),
"A Sociology of Educating", Second edition,
London. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Ltd.

Merton, R.K. (1957),
"Social Theory and Social Structure",
New York, Free Press.

Mills, C.W. (1959),
"The Sociological Imagination",
Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Mooney, A. (1988),
"Schools lose in head selection lottery",
in 'The Sunday Observer', 'Observer Education',
14th February, 1988.

Nias, J. (1985),
"Reference Groups in Primary Teaching: Talking, Listening and
Identity", in Ball, S.J. and Goodson, I.F. (Eds),
"Teachers' Lives and Careers", Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Oakley, A. (1981),
"Interviewing Women: a contradiction in terms",
in Roberts, H. (Ed), "Doing Feminist Research",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Open University (1983),
Project of the Selection of Secondary Headteachers,
Milton Keynes, The Open University Press.

Palmer, V.M. (1928),
"Field Studies in Sociology: Student's Manual",
Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Platt, J. (1981),
"On Interviewing One's Peers",
British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 32, No.1, March 1981.

Porter, M.A. (1984),
"The Modification of Method in Researching Postgraduate Education", in Burgess, R.G. (Ed),
"The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies", Lewes. The Falmer Press.

Purvis, J. (1974),
"Schooling as a professional career",
British Journal of Sociology, March.

Reid, W. (1972),
"The Universities and the Sixth Form Curriculum",
London, Schools Council Research Studies.

Riseborough, G.F. (1983),
"Pupils, Teachers, Careers and Schooling: an Empirical Study",
in Ball, S.J. and Goodson, I.F. (Eds),
"Teachers' Lives and Careers",
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Riseborough, G.F. (1981),
"Teacher Careers and Comprehensive Schooling: An Empirical Study",
Sociology, 15, 3, pp352 - 381.
Also in Hargreaves, A. and Woods, P. (Eds), 1984,
"Classrooms and Staffrooms. The Sociology of Teachers and Teaching",
Milton Keynes, The Open University Press.

Rock, P. (1979),
"The Making of Symbolic Interactionism",
London, MacMillan.

Rose, A.M. (1962),
"A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory",
in Rose, A.M. (Ed),
"Human Behaviour and the Social Sciences: An Interactionist Approach",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Roth, J.A. (1963),
"Timetables", Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill.
See excerpt in Cosin, B.R. et al (Eds),
"School and Society",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Roy, W. (1983),
"Teaching under Attack",
London, Croom Helm.

Runciman, W.G. (1966),
"Relative Deprivation and Social Justice",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Sikes, P.J., (1986),
"The Mid-Career teacher: adaptation and motivation in a
contracting secondary school system",
Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University.

Sikes, P.J., Measor, L. and Woods, P. (1985),
"Teacher Careers Crises and Continuities"
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Skipper, J.K. and McCaghy, C.H. (1972),
"Respondents' Intrusion upon the Situation: The Problem of
Interviewing Subjects with Special Qualities",
Sociological Quarterly.
See Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p125).

Slocum, W.L. (1966),
"Occupational Careers",
Aldini Publishing Company.

Stoddart, K. (1974),
"Pinched: Notes on the Ethnographer's Location of Argot",
in Turner, R. (Ed), "Ethnomethodology",
Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Stone, G.P. (1962),
"Appearance and the Self", in Rose, A.M. (Ed),
"Human Behaviour and Social Processes; An Interactionist
Approach",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Strauss, A.L., Schatzman, L., Ehrlich, D. and Sabshin, M. (1964),
"Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions",
New Brunswick, New Jersey, Transaction Books,
Rutgers University.

Swift, (1969),
"The Sociology of Education",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Taylor, W. et al (1984),
"Metaphors of Education",
in Studies in Education (New Series) 14,
Heinemann Educational Books, University of London.

Warwick, D. (1974),
"Bureaucracy",
London, Longman.

Watts, A.G. (1981),
Open University, E200, Block 4, Educational Standards,
20, Certification, Education and Work,
The Qualification Spiral, page 27.

Webb, R.B.,
"Teacher Status Panic: Moving Up the Down Escalator",
in Ball, S.J. and Goodson, I.F. (Eds),
"Teachers' Lives and Careers"
Lewes, The Falmer Press.

Webb, S. and Webb, B. (1932),
"Methods of Social Study",
London, Longmans Green.

Weber, M. (1904),
"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism",
Translated into English by Talcott Parsons,
London, Allen and Unwin, 1930.
See excerpt in Thompson, K. and Tunstall, J (Eds),
"Sociological Perspectives",
Penguin Education, The Open University.

Wilensky, H.L. (1960),
"Work, Careers and Social Integration",
International Social Science Journal, 12,
Reprinted in Burns, T. (Ed),
"Industrial Man", Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Williams, R. (1976),
"Symbolic Interactionism: The Fusion of Theory and Research",
in, D.L. Thorns (Ed), "New Directions in Sociology",
David and Charles.

Woods, P. (1979),
"The Divided School",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Woods, P. (1983),
"Sociology and the School: An Interactionist Viewpoint",
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Woods, P. (1985),
"Conversations with Teachers: some aspects of Life History
Method",
British Educational Journal, Vol.11, no.1.