Reflections on Teachers' Work and Careers

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Submitted for the degree of PhD by Publications
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Contents

Acknowledgements

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me.

The commentary is my own work
Much of the research work reported here has been conducted within research teams. I have made a substantial contribution to that work and my contribution is clearly indicated. I have the agreement of all my colleagues from the research teams in submitting this work and in claiming ownership of the sections that I declare as my own.

The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Janet Draper

March 3rd 2005

Abstract

This commentary reflects upon a set of papers relating to teachers' work which are significant for a number of reasons. Firstly they begin to fill a gap in the understanding of the experience of Scottish teachers, and how they see their work and careers in teaching. Secondly the research has impacted, with other forces, upon policy at national level, by raising awareness of teachers' experiences of employment and support within a context where the focus of rhetoric is long-term professional development. Arrangements for the support of new teachers have now changed. The analysis presented here sets the papers' findings in a wider context of the changing nature of work and of career, and of the shape these take in teaching, and questions assumptions made about the current and future nature and length of teachers' careers. Teachers' work is work, public sector work and professional work and each additional characteristic shapes its nature. Contextually, globalisation and new managerial agendas have brought changes in work and career and the findings of the papers are analysed within this framework. The Scottish context, with its educational history, ways of working and recent changes in teachers' work, provides its own unique setting for understanding teachers' work and the impact of modernisation. It is concluded that while some common effects of modernisation are clearly identifiable for Scottish teachers' work, satisfaction with autonomy unusually remains high. The new arrangements for teachers following from the implementation of the McCrone agreement are considered as a force for sustaining that satisfaction.

The Submitted Papers

1. J. Draper H. Fraser and W. Taylor (1997)
   Teachers at Work: Early Experiences of Professional Development
   British Journal of In-Service Education. Vol 23, No 2, 283-295.
   Reprinted by permission of Triangle Journals

2. J. Draper (1997)
   Converting from Secondary to Primary: Strategic or Magnetic
   Reasons? *School Leadership and Management.* Vol 17, No 3, 343-
   356.
   Reprinted by permission of Taylor and Francis.
   http://www.tandf.co.uk

3. J. Draper H. Fraser and W. Taylor (1998)
   Teacher Careers: Accident or Design? *Teacher Development.* Vol 2,
   No 3, 373-384.
   Reprinted by permission of Triangle Journals

4. J. Draper and P. McMichael (1998)
   Preparing a Profile: Likely Applicants for Primary Headship
   Educational Management Administration. Vol 26, No 2, 161-172.

5. J. Draper and P. McMichael (1998)
   Making Sense of Primary Headship *School Leadership and
   Management.* Vol 18, No 2, 197-211.
   Reprinted by permission of Taylor and Francis.
   http://www.tandf.co.uk

6. S. Sharp and J. Draper (2000)
   Leaving the Register: Scottish Teachers Lost to the Profession
   1997-8. *Journal of In-Service Education.* Vol 26, No 3, 247-266.
   Reprinted by permission of Triangle Journals.

7. J. Draper and P. McMichael (2000)
   Secondary School Identities and Career Decision Making. *Scottish
   Educational Review.* Vol 32, No 2, 155-167.
   Reprinted by permission of Scottish Educational Review

8. J. Draper and H. Fraser (2000)
   Teaching Commitment and School Development. *Improving Schools.*
   Vol 3, No 3, 27-32.
   Copyright 2000 Reprinted by permission of Sage Publications.

9. J. Draper (2001)
   Career decision making in teaching: does classroom work satisfy
   teachers? Chapter in *Teaching effectiveness and Teacher
   development: towards a new knowledge base.* (eds) M Mok, Y C

Cheng, and K T Tsui. Hong Kong/Netherlands: Hong Kong Institute of Education/Kluwer. 297-315
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10. J. Draper (2001)
Career long professional development: myth or reality? Public seminar given at Hong Kong Institute of Education.

11. J. Draper and P. McMichael (2003)
Keeping the Show on the Road: the role of the acting headteacher. *Educational Management and Administration.* Vol 31, No 1, 67-81.

12. J. Draper and P. McMichael (2003)
The Rocky Road to Headship. *The Australian Journal of Education.* Vol 47, No 2, 185 – 196.
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NB Permission to reproduce the papers submitted in this thesis has been sought from the publishers of each paper.

List of Projects, Participants and Roles, Funding/support : agreed with all Researchers

Project Title	Researchers	Conceptualisation	Research design	Data collection	Analysis	Papers	Funding/support
Teachers on Probation	Janet Draper, Helen Fraser, Warwick Taylor	all	all	all	Janet Draper	paper 1	Institutional GTCS
Conversion	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	paper 2	GTCS
Longitudinal study: 5 year phase	Janet Draper, Helen Fraser, Warwick Taylor	all	all	all	Janet Draper	paper 3 paper 9	Institutional GTCS
10 year phase	Janet Draper, Helen Fraser, Stephen Sharp, Warwick Taylor	all	all	all	Janet Draper, Stephen Sharp	paper 8 paper 10	Institutional GTCS
Cycle on headship	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	both	both	both	Janet Draper	paper 4 paper 5 paper 7	Institutional
Acting Headship	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	both	both	both	Janet Draper	paper 11 paper 12	SEED
Leaving the Register	Janet Draper, Stephen Sharp	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	both	Stephen Sharp	paper 6	Institutional GTCS

List of Papers, Authors and their involvement : agreed with all authors

Paper no. Title	Author(s)	Conceptualisation	Analysis	First draft	Editing
1 Early Experiences of Professional Development	Janet Draper, Helen Fraser, Warwick Taylor	All	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	All
2 Converting from Secondary to Primary	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper
3 Teachers Careers: Accident or Design?	Janet Draper, Helen Fraser, Warwick Taylor	All	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	All
4 Preparing a Profile	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	Both	Janet Draper	Paquita McMichael	Both
5 Making Sense of Primary Headship	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	Both	Janet Draper	Paquita McMichael	Both
6 Leaving the Register	Janet Draper, Stephen Sharp	Janet Draper	Stephen Sharp	Both	Both
7 Secondary School Identities	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	Both	Janet Draper	Paquita McMichael	Both
8 Teacher Commitment and School Development	Janet Draper, Helen Fraser	All	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Both
9 Career Decision Making in Teaching	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper
10 Career Long Professional Development	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper Stephen Sharp	Janet Draper	Janet Draper
11 Keeping the Show on the Road	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	Both	Janet Draper	Paquita McMichael	Both
12 The Rocky Road to Headship	Janet Draper, Paquita McMichael	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper	Janet Draper

Errata: the papers

p.287 of paper 1 'initially' *not* initialyl

p.288 of paper 1 'satisfaction' *not* satisafaction

p.289 of paper 1 'induction' *not* inducation

p.375 of paper 3 'stoppers' and 'stayers' should be exchanged in figure one.

p.380 of paper 3 'feature' *not* future

p.207 of paper 5 'surprised' *not* susprised

p.252 of paper 6 emphasis 'on' survival *not* of

Definition of commentary

The purpose of this commentary is understood to be to offer critical reflection and comment upon the work presented in the papers. The set of papers, and the research contained therein, provides the starting point and defines the focus of the commentary. The commentary has offered an opportunity to bring the set of papers together, to allow the combination of insights from educational research and social psychological findings on work and career and to identify aspects of teachers and teaching which would benefit from further research. Comments on the research processes and the analyses and conclusions offered in the papers are set in a context of wider literature than the original papers in order to critically illuminate them and to enable critical consideration of methods and findings. The commentary is firmly grounded in the papers themselves and has not been conceived as a comprehensive summary of theory in the area nor as an opportunity to reanalyse the findings from an alternative stance. Since the papers form part of the substance of the submission, arguments raised and interpretations offered within them are not repeated except where doing so adds further to the overall commentary.

Introduction

The papers submitted here explore the experience of Scottish teachers during a time of rapid policy and structural change. They cover the period from the onset of what Gewirtz (2002) calls 'postwelfarism' in the late 1980s through to the late 1990s and are thus located during the early stages of modernisation of the teaching workforce. Ozga (2005) argues that the modernisation agenda, driven by globalisation 'tightens the bonds between the economy and education' (p2) and modernisation is thus understood to bring increased pressure to account for performance in the public sector, which is regarded as inefficient. The focus of the studies reviewed here is public sector work in the form of teachers' work in Scotland. The papers explore teachers' understandings of their careers in education as shaped by the nature of teaching and of working in schools. In comparison to studies which focus on policy change and the governance and restructuring of education, these papers offer insights into the experience of teachers as their careers developed and their work changed. They therefore add an additional dimension to an understanding of these wider contextual changes in that they record their impact on teachers as the key vehicle for implementation of educational change.

The series of studies from which the papers are drawn reflects firstly the continuing interest of a research team (Helen Fraser, Warwick Taylor and myself) in the nature, perception and experience of teachers' work and careers. They were undertaken at a time when research in the business sector explored induction and its implications for retention and commitment. From early questions about the experiences of beginning teachers, our work then broadened to follow these teachers through their careers. A separate research collaboration with Paquita McMichael began by exploring short-term working on secondment and grew into a cycle of studies on perceptions and experiences of promoted posts in a climate of change, as the literature highlighted changes in the management of schools, the early growth of managerialism in education and the devolving of leadership responsibilities to school staff. Headship became a particular focus of our work and we explored how it was seen by early retirees, potential aspirants and new incumbents in primary and secondary schools.

This work turned full circle into a study of acting headship drawing on issues of both induction and the impact of casualisation in work, an increasingly common form of employment in the new managerial world. Most of the papers submitted draw on these bodies of work. There are three exceptions. One is a study of teachers who completed their probation in 1995/6 which was undertaken as a follow up to The Study of Probationers (Draper, Fraser, Smith and Taylor, 1988-1991), to identify whether or not support systems for new teachers had changed. This project identified a large number of beginning teachers employed on short-term contracts and opened up a whole new seam of work. A second is a study, undertaken with Stephen Sharp, of those who left the professional register in one year, which grew out of issues arising in the longitudinal study and increasing public concern and policy response to teacher retention. The third grew from my membership of a working party established by the General Teaching Council for Scotland to examine conversion courses and research work which I undertook for that group.

Teachers at Work: early experiences of professional development

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ABSTRACT Professional development is expected to be a career long feature of teaching. The establishment of positive attitudes to professional development might be expected to be central to the early experiences of new teachers. The Scottish Study of Probationers (1988 – 1991) found that, during their probation, teachers reported spending more time proving they could do their jobs than they spent developing their practice. That increasing numbers of teachers begin and, in some cases, complete their probation on temporary contracts is likely to threaten the developmental potential of these early years in post. One-hundred-and-ninety-three teachers who completed probation during the period April 1995 to March 1996 rated their levels of satisfaction with their professional development experiences during probation, their clarity about assessment procedures and how far they had developed as teachers by the end of probation. Overall, respondents seemed more satisfied with their professional development experiences than had probationers 5 years before. However, those on broken employment patterns reported much lower levels of satisfaction although they did report high levels of development. Two contrasting interpretations are offered for these findings: that uncertain disrupted employment is a trial by fire which enhances development; or that disrupted employment leads to narrower views of teaching and more limited perceptions of the teacher's professional task. Implications for teacher education are identified.

Introduction

The rhetoric of continuing professional development is a regular refrain in debates about teachers at work. The assumption is that to keep pace with change teachers must change and develop their practice in reflective and constructive ways. Much space has been devoted to this in the literature (Schön, 1983, 1987) and in the profession. Professional development is expected to be a career long feature of teaching.

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The earliest period in post as a teacher is assumed to contribute significantly to later development. This assumption rests not simply on the notion that each stage of learning forms the jumping off point for the next, but also because at the beginning of a period of learning and development attitudes to learning and to the context of learning are acquired. Thus, some may learn that learning is rewarding (and rewarded), while others may find they are trying to learn in an alien, unsupportive environment.

The concept of continuing professional development, rooted in reflective practice and learning from experience (see Fullan, 1993), rests on assumptions that the context provides, first, feedback on performance (from self/supporter/mentor/pupil) forming the basis for reflection and improvement and, secondly, opportunities for developing practice over time, and developing the skills and understandings which underpin such progress. Because of the importance accorded to such experiences, an emphasis on continuing development implicitly assumes regular employment patterns within which teachers can hone their practice. If the early years in post do not support or generate a positive attitude to continuing learning, then this bodes ill for the future development of the profession, especially in times characterised by fast technological, social and curricular change.

This article will report the findings from a study conducted in 1995/6 which looked at the early experiences of beginning teachers in Scotland. The Scottish context continues to recognise beginning teachers, probationers, as different from experienced teachers in that a period of 380 days of successful teaching (equivalent to two full years) must be completed before full membership of the profession is granted. A national study conducted by the authors during the period 1988 – 1991 followed 250 new teachers through their probationary period and generated a series of suggestions and recommendations for the improvement of the probationary arrangements to make it a more developmental experience. Several initiatives and sets of materials were put in place by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (e.g. 1990a,b,c; Draper et al, 1992) to improve probation and to emphasise its developmental role. These changes in probationer support and recommendations for the assessment of probationers have, however, been implemented concurrently with many curricular, school and financial changes. Some of these changes are seen to support new teachers, for example, a clearer specification of curriculum and required standards. Some have facilitated the identification of teachers' staff development needs, for example, the introduction of appraisal and the new managerialism with an emphasis on human resource management. However, such changes bring their own pressing demands and may have had the effect of reducing the priority accorded to probation.

An interesting finding in the 1988 – 1991 study was that the types of problem most commonly experienced by probationers changed over the 380-day period. In the early stages in primary for example the most

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common problem encountered was with class organisation and management. By the middle of the first year and especially by the end this had been replaced by a concern with time management. In the second year, concern moved predominantly to assessing and meeting special needs. There was, in the data, a sense of development as new teachers found ways of coping with a particular problem and moved on. There was also considerable individual variation: it was clear that beginning teachers were at varying stages of professional development and some were in settings which supported them more effectively. Thus, the starting point, and the rate of progress through the pattern of problems, varied. In secondary the problems were slightly different, but nevertheless, a pattern again emerged. Most commonly in the first year new teachers struggled with control and discipline, and then moved on to subject aspects and, finally, in the second phase, to assessing and meeting special needs. These data highlighted regularities and differences in professional development during the period of probation and they emphasised the need for probationers, and those who support them, to be aware (through the use of appropriate assessment) of present levels of performance and current development needs in order that the limited time available for professional support might be used effectively.

The tension between proving competence and seeking to develop practice emerged in the probationer comments in the earlier study. The current study began therefore with an interest in seeing whether, with the introduction of several new initiatives to support probationers and to support those who support probationers, the experiences reported might have moved closer to being developmental.

As the 1988–1991 study progressed, it became clear that teachers were employed on a range of contracts. This range and the impact of various employment patterns on probation were not variables in the analysis undertaken at that time. Occupational research in the intervening years has emphasised the growing casualisation of the workforce in many areas of work and most recently in the professions and Ozga (1988) has drawn attention to the deskilling element inherent in these employment patterns in teaching. Changing patterns of employment with an increasing emphasis on short-term and/or fixed-term contracts, job insecurity and the core/periphery model have been found to drive post holders to more accommodating work behaviour and to threaten organisational commitment (Mowday et al, 1982; McMichael et al, 1994). Casualisation of teaching with rapid turnover of staff and changing work venues might also be expected to militate against continuing professional development. Earley's (Earley, 1986; Earley & Baker, 1989) analyses of supply teachers suggested indeed that only the most competent and experienced of teachers could make a success of such employment. Shilling (1991) described supply teaching as "working on the margins", while Galloway (1993) found supply teachers remained marginalised on the periphery, with both writers drawing attention to the

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isolation of supply work. In the case of new teachers, such intermittent, uncertain and isolating patterns of employment, requiring a concentration on the development of survival skills might be expected to undermine the development of positive attitudes to continuing professional development, especially if such attitudes are dependent upon informed feedback about developing professional skill and understanding and, as Loveys (1988) suggests, on the rewards of seeing pupil's progress. Tickle's 1994 study specifically recommends that the appointment of new entrants to temporary or part time posts should be avoided, and suggests that professional development is dependent upon cooperation with colleagues and identifying continuity as a pre-condition for professional learning.

The role of support in underpinning professional development was reinforced by Kirby et al (1992) who found that not only were more effective schools more supportive of their beginning teachers, but that more effective teaching was found among teachers in more supportive schools. Turner's 1994 data suggests a link between levels of support and perceived achievement during the first year of teaching and his recommendations for beginning teacher induction programmes emphasise the role of relationships in enabling new teachers to develop as "reflective and contributing fellow professionals". The absence of a regular support network of relationships in school would seem likely therefore to undermine the professional development of new teachers.

Method

The sample for this current study comprised 193 teachers who completed their probation during the period April 1995 to March 1996. A full analysis of those completing probation established the population from which the sample was drawn to produce a group of respondents who were representative by sector, gender and patterns of employment. Patterns of employment were measured in several ways: employment which was defined as continuous or broken, where broken was defined as having periods of employment interspersed by periods not teaching within term time. In addition, data were collected about the number of schools in which teachers had been employed and the number of periods of employment they had had as a teacher. The extremes of employment were therefore represented by teachers who had worked their entire 380 days in one school and, at the opposite, a teacher who had been employed in 52 schools (and who had experienced 122 distinct periods of employment). The principal employment dimension used in this paper is that of continuous versus broken employment.

The questionnaires contained both closed and open questions. Much of the data referred to in this paper stems from closed questions, but quotations and conclusions also draw on open responses. Of the 360 questionnaires which were sent out, 193 were returned, giving a response rate after a reminder letter of 54%. Based on the analysis of the

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population of teachers completing their probation, the respondents were representative by gender and sector, and by secondary subject area. However, while the population comprised one-quarter who had experienced broken employment and three-quarters who had been employed on a continuous basis, the sample had an over representation of teacher who had broken employment patterns (one-third of the respondents). The means offered in Table 1 have therefore been weighted to compensate for this over representation although this made very little different to the figures. For Table 3 where it made no difference beyond 0.01, the means are the original ones from the sample.

Broken employment patterns were, unsurprisingly, associated with numbers of schools in which teachers had worked. Sixty-two per cent of those in the sample in continuous employment had worked in one school, and 4% in six or more in contrast to 6% of those in broken employment who had worked in one school, and 55% who had worked in six or more schools. That those teachers in broken or multiple employment had problems generated by their situation is in little doubt: "The fear of never getting a full-time position is a cause of great anxiety and feels beyond my control". How then had the professional development experiences of new teachers changed in the intervening years since 1991? How satisfied were new teachers with their experiences and how were these different employment patterns linked to their experiences?

Satisfaction with Professional Development Experiences

The sample was invited to rate levels of satisfaction with the range of professional development experiences offered to them during their probationary period. The particular professional experiences were drawn from the results of the earlier Study of Probationers (Draper et al, 1991) which identified concerns over these different aspects. The experiences included were initial teacher education, selection procedures, induction arrangements, feedback, support and assessment procedures, and the final report. Respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with their experiences on a five-point scale, where I meant high satisfaction, 5 meant low satisfaction and the mid-point was 3.

Table I shows that the weighted means initialyl suggest that professional development opportunities have improved when compared to the 1988 – 1991 study. There is very high satisfaction with the final report which reflects the earlier findings of the Study of Probationers that final reports were generally very positive and constructive. Rather low levels of satisfaction, but still on the positive side of the rating, are recorded for initial teacher education, support and feedback. Slightly lower again, but still on the positive side are induction, selection and assessment. It would seem initially that there is very little cause for concern and, indeed, real indications that the professional development experiences of teachers who completed their probation in 1995 – 1996 are notably better that those investigated in the period 1988 – 1991. However,

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breaking down these data further by employment patterns we see that the experiences of those in continuing employment seem to be considerably more satisfying than those on broken employment. Consistently, those in continuing employment report higher levels of satisfaction with all aspects of their professional development experiences in comparison with those on broken employment patterns.

	$n = 193$ Weighted mean	sd	$n = 132$ Continuous	$n = 61$ Broken
High satisafaction				
Final report	1.44	0.77	1.36	1.66
ITE	2.44	0.98	2.40	2.57
Support	2.52	1.25	2.36	2.98
Feedback	2.61	1.23	2.49	2.96
Induction	2.63	1.20	2.45	3.18
Selection	2.66	1.28	2.36	3.56
Assessment	2.70	1.18	2.57	3.10
Low satisfaction				

Table I. Ranked mean satisfaction with professional development experiences (lower score = higher satisfaction).

The rankings are not, however, consistent. Those on continuing employment patterns are more satisfied with support, and with selection than they are with initial teacher education, induction, feed-back and assessment. The group with broken employment patterns reveal real cause for concern. There is still a reasonably high level of satisfaction with the final report but thereafter satisfaction declines. After initial teacher education it drops away sharply. Satisfaction with feedback and with support rest just on the mid-point of the scale. Dissatisfaction is recorded with induction, selection and assessment. Comparing those on continuing and those on broken employment patterns, the greatest discrepancy is recorded for selection experiences. The selection experiences of those with broken employment patterns may be in some ways more informed than those in continuous employment patterns since the broken group (especially those on longer term temporary contracts) are likely to have experience of a considerable number of selection experiences and are better able to judge the general level of performance of selectors. For those on supply contracts in particular concern was expressed as follows: "There is apparently no regulated method of making appointments to long-term supply posts."

These data partly confirm the findings of the Study of Probationers which showed considerable dissatisfaction with selection and job allocation in relation to perceived fairness, the narrowness of the

evidence base and the extent to which selectors had the information needed to select people for posts. Some dissatisfaction with selection also rests in the absence of selection. Some reported receiving phone calls inviting teachers to work in schools for a few days without any sort of interview or selective competition. Given the current scale of supply jobs, an expectation of interviews for all jobs may be unrealistic and over-optimistic in terms of resourcing. However, it remains the case that the end result of this is to leave teachers on broken employment patterns feeling highly dissatisfied with the procedures involved in obtaining work and powerless to present themselves as able candidates.

Satisfaction with Induction

Given the link between selection and induction it is not surprising that some dissatisfaction is recorded with inducation and greater dissatisfaction with induction is noted by those in broken employment. Again, they have more experience with induction procedures, having faced the stark reality of beginning a number of jobs with very little of the information they need to carry out their work satisfactorily. One respondent argued the needs for induction of those on supply contracts are no different from those working on longer contracts. "If you are going to be there for the day you still need to know as much as if you were going to be there for a whole week or month."

% Who knew timetable/class: $n = 193$		
	Continuous	Broken
At least a week before	51	34
A week to 2 days before	13	7
On day before	14	19
On day began teaching	22	40

Table II: Induction procedures.

Table II shows that those on broken employment patterns are much less likely to have the details of the groups they will teach until very shortly before they teach them. Two-thirds of those on continuing employment patterns know the timetable or the class they will teach at least 2 days before they face them. However, for those on broken employment patterns, 60% find out only the day before or on the day they are actually teaching the class. Given the emphasis in initial teacher education on the importance of long-term planning and good preparation for teaching, it is difficult to believe that those on broken employment patterns can feel confident and satisfied about the kinds of working conditions they encounter with such small amounts of induction information. The problems and difficulties for those moving from job to job are exemplified in the following quote: "Each move to a new school (25 in

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four years) necessitates learning about resources and their locations, disciplinary systems ... reinventing the wheel." As Earley's work confirms, such conditions would tax the skills of expert teachers, let alone novices.

Satisfaction with Professional Assessment

Assessment procedures are a further area where there is concern raised by the levels of satisfaction people record. This is the area with which those on continuing employment patterns report lowest levels of satisfaction and there is considerable dissatisfaction also associated with the responses of those on broken employment patterns.

The earlier Study of Probationers (1988 – 1991) showed assessment procedures to be an area of concern for new teachers, particularly in relation to knowledge of methods and criteria for assessment and a lack of clarity on many aspects. The link between assessment and support seemed to be unclear to many. There was, indeed, in that earlier data, an emphasis on assessment as a summative exercise rather than as a formative procedure which contributed to the continuing professional development of new teachers. The current study therefore sought specific data on clarity about a number of aspects of assessment. Again, the data were collected on a 5-point scale with 1 being high clarity, 5 being low clarity and a mid-point of 3. Overall, the data show that all of the measures are on the positive, and therefore clear, side of the mid-point.

Mean clarity about	$n = 193$		$n = 132$ continuous	$n = 61$ broken
	Mean	SD		
Who would assess	2.03	1.20	1.88	2.36
Standards required	2.45	1.20	2.39	2.59
Criteria used	2.84	1.30	2.78	2.98
Methods used	2.90	1.20	2.83	3.03
Link with support	2.97	1.20	2.84	3.26

Table III. Assessment procedures (n = 193) (lower score = higher clarity).

The data in Table III show that these probationers as a group felt clear on who would assess and what standards were required, rather less clear over criteria used and methods being used in assessment and right on the mid-point on the link with support, which is the area about which there is least clarity. In comparison with the earliest study this suggests that some progress has been made, and the areas about which there is quite high clarity are a source of comfort and encouragement. However, the problems over the link with support remain and, indeed, when these data are analysed further by employment patterns, a consistent picture emerges. Those on continuing employment patterns have a very much

better deal than those on broken employment patterns. This is notsurprising as those on broken employment patterns are working in many different schools often for quite short periods of time. One would expect that there would be more confusion about assessment which is likely to vary from school to school and from department to department. Those on continuing employment are consistently clear about the assessment procedures which they have experienced and their levels of clarity would suggest a rather more comfortable situation than those on broken patterns. However, even those on broken employment patterns seem fairly clear about who will assess and reasonably confident about the standards required. There remains uncertainty about the practicalities of the criteria being used in assessment, the methods being used and the link with later support.

The experiences of assessment reported were very varied and ranged from very positive, very supportive comments, "enhanced my confidence and confirmed by commitment to teaching as a career", to the much more negative, "until my final report I felt quite negative because I got no feedback of any kind", and another "I was very unaware of any monitoring of my teaching". These comments highlight the lack of feedback and the absence of any real sense of being assessed which was clearly felt by some. Others, however, had a more rewarding experience "I always knew I was good" and another, "I felt that my work had been recognised and appreciated".

Development as a Teacher

It is reasonable to expect that one consequence of professional development experience would be to see oneself as more developed as a teacher. The teachers in the sample were invited to rate how developed they were as teachers at the end of their probationary period.

	Continuous	Broken
% Developed	67	80
Still developing	33	20

Table IV. How developed as a teacher by continuous/
broken employment (n = 193 1995 – 96 finishers).

Three-quarters believed that they were really quite developed, while about a quarter felt they were still developing. This suggests that an expectation of career long professional development had not been successfully nurtured. Breaking these data down by patterns of employment, it is perhaps rather surprising to discover that two-thirds of those in continuous employment believe that they were developed and a third believed there was scope for further development. In contrast, 80% of those on broken employment patterns believed they had developed and only 20% believe they have further development to come. More of the

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broken group therefore reported that they felt developed than the continuous group.

Discussion

The data suggest that, while professional development experiences for new teachers are now more clearly spelt out, not all new teachers have benefited from the changes which have occurred. Professional development opportunities seem to be better than before for some, but are clearly not better for all. Some progress has been made and those on continuous employment patterns do seem to see real benefits and satisfactions in the professional development they have experienced. However, those on broken employment patterns are significantly less satisfied. The data are consistent and striking. Throughout probation, from selection through induction to support and assessment, those on disrupted employment are more dissatisfied. The assumption that continuing professional development is a part of every teacher's career may be a misreading of the employment contexts in which teachers work. For some people there are very few opportunities for genuine, continuing professional development: with broken employment, continuing professional development may be at best a good intention.

However, more of those on broken employment report that they feel developed as teachers. Are these data a cause for celebration or for concern? Do they indicate that broken patterns of employment are a trial by fire at the end of which people have made significant professional development progress? If so, perhaps the costs of broken employment patterns are partly ameliorated by the developmental benefits which ensue. There is, however, an alternative interpretation that experiences of broken employment patterns fail to enable teachers to know or understand the full extent of the job. Within this view, those in broken employment patterns might see themselves as being very developed because they have become very skilled at surviving, at managing a new class and "getting the show on the road". Those on continuous patterns, on the other hand, will have been more deeply involved in their work contexts and may be much more aware of the areas in which they still have to develop. Seen in this light, broken employment patterns may be particularly unhelpful for professional development and it is worrying that such a large proportion of teachers with this experience believe that their development is well advanced by the end of probation and the beginning of a career as a fully registered teacher.

Reflecting on these data, and in the light of some of the comments that probationers made on their questionnaires, we believe that new teachers on broken employment learn a number of things. They learn to cope alone. They learn not to seek help. They learn that there is no infrastructure to support them. "You have to be prepared to do what you have to do by yourself and any support or help you get is a bonus." They learn that they have to be pro-active to make anything happen. They

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learn to see themselves as classroom fodder. They are in particular danger perhaps of becoming what Ball (1990) describes as a "harassed reactive teaching technician": an unquestioning accommodator to the system in which they are employed. They learn, in short, how to survive in the short term within a rather technicist view of the job of teaching.

New teachers in broken or multiple employment also miss a variety of features of the job which are a part of day-to-day working for those in continuous employment. Teachers on broken employment miss the reality of the job in the long term – carrying the relentless day-in day-out responsibility for the learning of pupils. In the earlier Study of Probationers, the realisation of the awesome responsibility which teachers carried was one of the major struggles for new teachers coming to terms with their jobs. This responsibility is surely a characteristic of long term professional involvement with clients or charges?

A further aspect which teachers on continuing employment experience is accountability: having to deal with the positive and negative consequences of one's actions and professional behaviour. On the positive side this means reaping the benefits of planning and preparation, working with pupils in learning situations and seeing the progress that learners make. On the more negative side, it means identifying that some of one's earlier actions may need change or improvement in the future. (For new teachers these commonly include trying to cover less material and being less friendly towards pupils). Linked to this is the maintenance of long-term relationships with pupils and staff which teachers on continuing employment patterns have to manage. Those moving in and out of schools do not have to contend with this maintenance task and it may therefore not seem to be a significant part of the job, although Tickle (1994) identifies relationships with colleagues as a key dimension of a context for professional learning. In addition those in continuous employment are expected to become members of the team with its attendant benefits and obligations. Furthermore, engagement in long-term curriculum planning and development is closed to those on broken employment patterns, and whole school involvements are very unusual for those who are in and out of school.

We contend that those on broken employment patterns miss learning to manage the job in the long term and that they therefore miss an important dimension of teaching as a professional task. It follows that there is a concern that those on broken employment patterns are evaluating their needs for development against a rather restricted view of the job, and that those in continuing employment patterns are rating themselves and their professional development in a perhaps rather more realistic manner which more closely accords to a professional definition of the teacher's role.

For people to develop as professional teachers we suggest they need to have the opportunity to do a professional job, rather than being

'jobbing teachers' providing the legal requirement of having a member of staff in a classroom with a group of pupils for a period.

Finally, there are implications for teacher education in this study. Within initial teacher education there are frequent references to "when you have your own class" and much is made of long-term planning, involvement in schools, being a member of the team, involvement in longer-term curriculum development. There is an issue about preparing new teachers for the current world of employment. When a quarter of those who obtain work in teaching at the end of initial teacher education spend most of their time in a mix of schools and work contexts it is unrealistic to think of such professional preparation as being for a permanent job. It is necessary to identify and to address the needs of those who will work on broken employment patterns also.

To highlight the costs of broken employment we leave the last word with one teacher on a substantially broken employment pattern who reflected at the end of her probation, "the effect of short term contracts on initially keen and dedicated staff is disastrous. Morale, dedication and professionalism quickly evaporate".

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Converting from Secondary to Primary: strategic or magnetic decisions?

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ABSTRACT   *Some teachers in Scotland choose to change sector from secondary to primary or vice versa, which requires them to take a shortened course of training, a 'conversion course', and to be on probation in the new sector for a year. This paper analyses teachers' motives for changing sector and distinguishes between strategic reasons for converting (e.g. more jobs in the new sector), and magnetic reasons, either intrinsic attractions of working in the new sector (e.g. a preferred age group) or disincentives in the current sector. Magnetic reasons were more frequently reported. Some teachers found their expectations of the new sector were unrealistic in practice.*

Introduction

Entering teaching in Scotland generally involves taking a clear decision about the sector in which one intends to work. Different routes prepare for primary or secondary teaching and both provisional and full registration for the profession are sector specific. Although teaching competencies are written generically they are addressed in different ways in preservice teacher education for different sectors. This is not just because learners in schools are developmentally different and vary in knowledge, experience and understanding. Preservice experience and learning must prepare prospective teachers for working in school systems of different sizes with different management structures and different types of accountability (Glaister, 1989). Perhaps one of the starkest contrasts is that in the primary sector everyone has been trained to do the same job and to cover the whole curriculum, whereas in the secondary sector differences between subjects are carefully maintained. Some teachers decide to change sector during their careers.

A decision to change sector is unlikely to be taken lightly. It involves taking a course of sector-specific training (now required to be of 18 weeks' duration for conversion to primary) and becoming a student again with all that that involves of exposing one's teaching to critical evaluation by school colleagues and college tutors. For most it also involves lost income, actual costs (fees, travel), usually met personally, and considerable effort and inconvenience. In addition, a (shortened) period of probation must be completed in the new sector.

Reasons for Converting to Primary

A variety of factors may influence a decision to change sector. Some of these relate to employment opportunities, including the availability of posts (more jobs in new sector or higher probability of a permanent job), which in turn may reflect individual perceptions or employer encouragement. These could be construed as extrinsic or *strategic* factors. Demographic changes have been running their course through school populations. The lowest ebb in the birth rate in the late 70s has now worked its way through school rolls, but leaves in its wake reduced secondary school teacher numbers. Staffing has been further reduced by financial cuts and by a reduction in demand for some subject areas. Pressures to follow the swelling numbers in primary and greater chances of a permanent post might be seen as reasonable incentives to change sector.

Alternatively, the new sector might be positively attractive because of the nature of the primary teaching role or the curriculum or the primary school as an organisation or its pupils may be perceived to be more intrinsically appealing. Additionally, there may be negative factors in the original sector. These might include intensification (Hargreaves, 1994), reflecting the much publicised increased workload, initiatives and innovations including the publication of league tables. These influences, both positive attraction and negative forces, are termed here *magnetic*. Magnetic forces derive their power from deeply personal roots. They include implications of the close link between personal and professional development: changes in the self would be expected to influence how one seeks to fulfil the professional role of teacher (Smith *et al.*, 1985; Nias, 1989). Raymond *et al.* (1992) found teaching careers were based in personal motivation, which in turn led to commitment to teaching. In this light, a decision to teach in a new sector may not be an escape, but rather a reflection of deep commitment and an attempt to achieve what Lerner (1986) has described as a better 'goodness of fit' between self and job. Woods & Jeffrey (1996) describe an experienced and successful secondary teacher who worked as an adviser before moving into primary school. The teacher in question finds that primary teaching offers something different: 'being hit by the fact that you had never taught in your life. That you were a very good instructor, ... but hadn't addressed the fact of teaching'. Changing sector could be perceived as an alternative to leaving the profession, especially when thoughts of leaving have become both frequent and serious (Draper *et al.*, 1996). Changing sector may also be seen as a way of achieving a more acceptable fit between identity and experience of work, as described by McClure (1993). If people change, this may mean that their current jobs are then experienced as less satisfying or, alternatively, personal change may enable and illuminate possibilities for professional development in a different sector.

Deciding to change sector is, however, only the first step. To implement a decision to change, teachers must apply for a conversion course, be accepted on it, complete the course satisfactorily and obtain a post in the new sector. On completing this implementation, teachers encounter two key features of job change identified by Louis (1980). The first feature, 'change', arises from the difference

between past jobs and the new post. The second feature, 'surprise', arises from the difference between expectations held of the new job and the reality experienced in practice. The accuracy of prior expectations influences the degree of surprise experienced.

This paper reports an attempt to explore the relative importance of strategic and magnetic motives for changing sector and the expectations held of this change. The questions it seeks to address are: (i) What was the main direction of sector change?; (ii) Who decided to change sector?; (iii) Above all, why did people convert from one sector to another?; were decisions to convert more influenced by strategic factors (e.g. the availability of posts, pressures from employers to retrain) or by magnetic factors and if by magnetic factors, did they reflect a positive attraction to the new sector or negative feelings about the original sector?; (iv) how well informed were the converts' expectations of primary teaching and did those who obtained posts find the new sector to be what they had expected?

Method and Sample

In September 1993 the General Teaching Council for Scotland (1994) established a working party to review one term conversion courses. In the review, views were collected from those: (i) who had taken conversion courses; (ii) from the headteachers who had written probation reports on those who had accepted posts in the new sector from local authorities; (iii) from teacher education institutions. This paper reports data collected by questionnaire from those in (i) who had taken conversion courses, specifically from teachers who took conversion courses during the period 1989–1993. The questionnaire comprised both closed and open questions. The key question asked was: 'Why did you want to convert?'

Data on motives is not of course wholly reliable. People often have multiple motives. They may not be fully aware of some of them and some they may not be willing to share. The majority of respondents answered the question, with a number giving more than one reason, and the reasons were varied. All 218 teachers who had taken conversion courses during the period were contacted. Those responding (122) represented 56% of the total group. Of these 109 had converted from secondary to primary and 13 to secondary (11 from primary, two from further education). These represented 58% of those who had converted to primary and 40% of those who had converted to secondary during the period.

Findings and Discussion

The direction of change at this time was principally from the secondary to the primary sector. Comparatively few converted from the primary to the secondary sector and the numbers of these were too small for a useful analysis to be offered.

Who Decides to Change Sector?

The key group discussed here are the 109 who during the period studied converted

to qualify to teach in the primary sector and who constituted over half of all those contacted who had converted in this way. Half were in the age group 35–44 and over 95% were female.

Half the respondents had originally entered secondary teaching with a PGCE (or equivalent), one third with a diploma and one eighth with a BEd. (The relative numbers of each training mode are unsurprising given the distribution of entry routes to the profession.) One quarter held a teaching qualification in home economics and other well represented subject areas were history/geography/modern studies (one sixth), science (one sixth) and modern languages (one sixth).

On average the group had had 8 years of teaching experience prior to taking the conversion course. The average length of time since initial qualification was $14\frac{1}{2}$ years. Only 60% were teaching immediately prior to taking the conversion course. All these findings suggest that many were returning after a career break. A small group had very little teaching experience. Some had only a few months' teaching experience in secondary and, of these, some had taught only on supply (short-term temporary) contracts. Indeed, difficulty in obtaining posts in secondary was an important strategic reason for moving for some. Three had no teaching experience at all in the secondary sector they were planning to leave.

The concept of a reduced period conversion course assumes that skills and competence carry over from the previous sector. However, the complete absence of teaching experience beyond initial training school placement experience would invalidate this assumption. Guidelines now specify that competent teaching experience of at least 5 years is a prerequisite of acceptance onto a course for conversion to primary.

Strategic or Magnetic Reasons for Converting?

Strategic reasons.   'I had found it difficult to get back into full-time work after having a family. There seemed to be more job opportunities in primary'. Some subject areas figured more frequently than others in the group of converts. Some teachers reported it had been difficult to obtain *any* employment in the secondary sector, while others reported difficulty obtaining *full time* employment. In addition, some who had held temporary posts had been unable to secure the *permanent* appointments they had been seeking. All these offer support to the strategic argument: some teachers sought conversion to primary to obtain better opportunities for employment than existed in their original sector: 'I couldn't get a job in my own subject' (home economics teacher).

A further group were those who were returning to teaching following a career break to have a family. They had frequently identified a need for refreshment and retraining to bring them up-to-date. A few had had a short spell of working back in secondary. Some used their return as an opportunity to change sector. Others found no retraining was available for their subject area in secondary.

I had been away from secondary for so long I was out of touch. There were no refresher courses available for returning teachers in modern languages.

Improved job prospects were also expected to follow in that conversion would allow a *choice* of sector, although only a few emphasised this flexibility. For those based in rural areas, with few local schools, single sector qualification was restricting. One teacher in this situation highlighted a particular problem: '(I converted) 'to avoid my husband and children. There is only one secondary school in this area'.

Although some respondents had been encouraged to seek training for the new sector, only 10% (11) had been in any way supported by a local authority during their training. Such support ranged from fees being paid (seven) to the promise of a job at the conclusion of training (five). Only a quarter of those who were encouraged were given paid leave of absence (three). Overall therefore, over 95% had to support themselves during their conversion training. While the *system* may support the idea of conversion, the *process* of conversion was funded at an *individual* level and it is, therefore, important to consider individual motives for converting.

Magnetic reasons. 'Following some assistance in primary I decided: (a) the children were more responsive; (b) I enjoyed it more'. Magnetic reasons reflected a strong pull towards what primary was perceived to offer and included some evidence of being put off by some aspects of secondary teaching. Positive attraction to primary was reported as relating to the (perceived) intrinsic appeal of younger pupils: 'As a result of having a family I had developed an interest in the development of younger children'.

The methods and ethos in primary were also identified as attractive, as was the wider curriculum and having one's own class: 'Welcomed chance to work in areas such as art, music and drama'; 'Desire to build a relationship with just one class of children'.

A change of sector was also perceived as offering change and challenge, which for some had an intrinsic appeal. A few regretted not having trained for primary in the first place and some were positively dissatisfied with secondary teaching: 'Increasing dissatisfaction with teaching in secondary'.

Answers to an open-ended question seeking reasons for taking the conversion course were coded and the categories in Table I emerged. (Some respondents gave more than one reason; in these cases, each reason was counted separately.)

Strategic reasons clearly play an important role in encouraging teachers to take a conversion course. However, more personal, intrinsic, magnetic reasons were significantly more frequently mentioned. Most magnetic reasons were positive: only 10% of reasons given identified dissatisfaction with secondary. Seventy five per cent specifically related to perceived positive attractions of teaching in primary. A quarter of those who said they were positively attracted to primary related this attraction to having had their own children.

Teachers converting to primary had done so for a range of reasons, but the most frequent related to an expectation that primary teaching would be highly satisfying.

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TABLE I. Reasons for converting to the new sector ($n = 108$)

	Number	Percent of sample mentioning this reason
Strategic reasons		
Improving job prospects		
(including, allowing choice of sector, 5)	45	42
Returners seeking retraining	5	5
Request from employer to change	1	1
	51	48
Magnetic reasons		
Positive attraction		
(age group, wider curriculum, own class)	61	57
Seeking change/challenge	10	9
Regretted not doing primary originally	2	2
Dissatisfaction with secondary	8	7
	81	75

How Well Informed Were Converts' Expectations of Primary Teaching?

Asked for advice for those thinking of converting, many respondents suggested it was necessary to be clear about motives for taking a conversion course and emphasised the importance of being committed and of considering why one wished to change. The question 'why' is inextricably linked with the expectations of primary held by potential converts.

One respondent highlighted this point as follows: 'Don't do the course unless you are very certain of the role of a teacher in the primary school'. Expectations of the primary sector are likely to derive from prior experience in and with the sector. Data (Table II) were collected on the experience converting teachers had had, using a closed question with prompts.

Two thirds of the sample had experience of the new sector through being a parent. Fewer than half had visited primary schools to obtain information, while under one third reported professional involvement with primary and other involve-

TABLE II. Prior experience of the chosen sector (primary) ($n = 103$)

	Percent
Visits as a parent	67
(of these, *only* as a parent)	(16)
Visits to obtain information	40
Professional involvement	30
Other (e.g. PTA/School Board)	29
None	10

ment, for example as a member of the PTA or the School Board. Perhaps surprisingly for those opting potentially for a career change, 10% reported they had had no involvement with primary and 16% only had experience as a parent. These findings raise a question concerning the extent to which potential converts were likely to be clear and realistic about the *professional* demands on primary teachers.

These data on *prior* experience were particularly significant at the time of the survey since some of the courses surveyed had not interviewed applicants. The extent of applicants' realism about the likely demands of working in primary had thus not been scrutinised. Amongst the many recommendations implemented from the Working Group's report (General Teaching Council for Scotland, 1994) was the requirement that selection for primary conversion courses should include interviews.

Subsequent Experience of Teaching in Primary: *testing the expectations*

Those who had obtained posts reported that primary teaching was highly enjoyable and rewarding. A few commented it was better than secondary, but not an easy option. It is interesting to observe that several said that primary teaching was harder work and more challenging. These comments, from those who had experience of teaching in both primary and secondary, while not conclusive, are interesting, since most other commentators do not have their range of experience. However, it must also be remembered that these are comments from people who left secondary actively seeking something different (e.g. a permanent post or wider curriculum) and who had frequently converted at considerable personal cost. Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) would suggest they *would* feel positive about their chosen situation! However, the high level of satisfaction reported does suggest that many of those in post had achieved an improved 'goodness of fit' between themselves and their work.

These teachers are relative novices in primary experiencing a fast learning curve as they adjust to all the surprises that Louis (1980) identified for job changers. While respondents reported a number of areas in which there was at least a transferable element from their previous sector (e.g. experience of children, assessment) the breadth of the curriculum, the extended involvement with a class and the different organisational structures were examples given of experiences which were novel: 'Don't assume you know it all, you don't. Primary and secondary may both be classified as teaching, but they are totally different'.

A further aspect of realism relates to the large proportion who had hoped to obtain a full time or permanent post. Sadly many of these expectations were not realised, as is shown in Table III.

As shown in Table III, fewer than half of those in the sample had obtained long-term posts and of these the majority were not permanent appointments. These data raise two issues: one related to the accuracy of expectation of post availability and the other to support for professional development.

On the first issue, accuracy of expectations, some of those who had taken the course for strategic reasons were very disappointed. Strategic decisions based on misconceptions about job opportunities are potentially very misguided. The limited

TABLE III. Employment outcomes following conversion to primary
(*n* = 109)

		Percent
Not working in primary at present	27	25
Obtained post in Primary	82	75
Permanent post	17	
Long-term temporary	29	
Short-term temporary (supply)	36	
	82	
	109	

prior experience with the sector, most commonly as a parent, may be important here.

On support for professional development and given the short duration of conversion courses and the breadth of the primary curriculum, it is not surprising that the strategy most reported for coping in post was 'remember the qualification is only a starting point: keep learning'. However, ensuring appropriate support for newly converted teachers is difficult when so many are in temporary posts and especially when the largest proportion are on short-term supply. The difficulty of accessing support was exacerbated for some teachers who found colleagues did not value conversion courses: 'I found a deal of quiet hostility to the course from experienced teachers' and 'Develop a thick skin—opposition from practising teachers is quite strong'.

Implications for School Managers

Training for an additional sector has strategic implications for the person involved in expanding the range of potential employment opportunities open to them. In addition, individuals seem to be expecting conversions to lead to new, or renewed, satisfaction with teaching. For system and school managers it has potential for flexible deployment and significant implications for enabling primary and secondary integration through the presence of staff with understanding of and experience in both the primary and secondary sectors.

For school managers the data suggest that those who have undertaken a conversion course for teaching in primary will be both enthusiastic and highly committed to their continuing professional development. They have engaged in a conversion course because of a real, though sometimes barely informed, appreciation of the attractions of primary teaching. It is to be hoped that the extended placement requirements which are a feature of the guidelines (12 of 18 weeks to be spent on placement in a primary school) will facilitate an *informed* understanding of the role of the primary teacher. It is also clear that teaching staff trained through the primary conversion course will need considerable support. The course is a brief preparation for the depth and complexity of the primary curriculum and for the post of primary teacher in Scotland, where staff will teach the full breadth of the

curriculum to children in the age range 3–12 years. In addition, support may be required where some staff colleagues may be critical of conversion courses *per se*.

Conclusions

While many secondary teachers who convert to primary report strategic, labour market-related reasons for seeking to change from secondary to primary teaching, more of those who convert cite motives which suggest a magnetic attraction to primary. Only a few report they are seeking escape from secondary. Most of those who seek to convert do not have professional involvement with the chosen sector and expectations of the chosen sector are not always realistic, especially as regards the availability of permanent posts.

Those who have been successful in obtaining posts mainly report considerable job satisfaction in their new career and identify their early time in their new posts as a period of rapid professional development. This need for rapid learning has implications for the support structures which are required.

Changing sector as a way of developing one's career certainly appears to guarantee new demands and pressures. The data suggest that teachers do not convert from secondary because they are repelled by it, but rather because primary offers them something they value more: 'Primary education lends itself to being a more valuable experience'.

Acknowledgement

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Teachers' Careers: accident or design?

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ABSTRACT Careers in teaching may take many forms. Early work suggested many teachers seek horizontal opportunities rather than seeking promotion. This article reports the findings of a study of 192 teachers' past decision-making and their future career intentions. The teachers involved were from primary and secondary schools and had 5, 10 and 15 years of teaching experience. The data are used to construct a typology of career strategies which has implications for the range and type of professional development opportunities which might be made available to teachers. The findings show that the majority of teachers chose career paths which took them increasingly out of the classroom, and that many of those who stayed in the classroom did not do so by choice.

Introduction

Although the majority of teachers enter the profession because they wish to teach children in classrooms (Jones, 1990), there are many different career opportunities in teaching. The shapes teachers' careers take are inevitably influenced by a variety of factors, both internal and external. Internal or intrinsic influences include need for achievement (McClelland, 1961) and perception of the job (Draper & McMichael, 1998). External (or extrinsic) factors include individual (e.g. personal circumstances, age of children etc.) and systemic (e.g. labour market).

In trying to understand how teachers think and decide about their careers, it is necessary to delve into teachers' views of themselves in work. There has been a considerable emphasis on the link between personal and professional development (Nias, 1989; Raymond et al, 1992), suggesting that professional development evolves from personal development and that wider life events impact also. There are also suggestions, lately increased in number, that teaching has been proletarianised. Following an established core of research by Hughes (1958), Becker (1970), Lortie (1975), Ozga (1988), Nias (1989) and others, it is clear that there is value in thinking of teaching as a job of work as well as a profession since this allows a variety of comparisons to be made with alternative jobs.

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There are several concepts in the literature on people at work which can illuminate our thinking about teachers' careers. Theories of job satisfaction which highlight the significance of physical working conditions and changing conditions of service have clear relevance to an understanding of teachers at work in the 1990s (Nias, 1989; Fraser et al, 1998). Hargreaves's (1994) recent concern with "intensification" emphasises this in his analysis of teacher morale and attitudes to work during recent periods of significantly increased workload and accountability. In addition, changing patterns of teacher employment would suggest that teachers at work have to contend with similar pressures to those employed elsewhere. For example, more teachers hold part-time and temporary contracts. These shorter-term contracts have an impact upon opportunities for professional development (Draper et al, 1997) and are therefore likely to impact upon career prospects, and the longer-term effect of changes in teachers' work patterns and opportunities on career possibilities has been given little consideration to date. Understanding teachers' career decision-making is complex in a number of ways. MacLean (1992) comments on teachers who did not have 'normal' careers in the sense that they were willing to take and even seek a demotion down the promotions ladder in order to move to what they regarded as a more desirable location.

The literature on career also reflects gender differences in attitudes to promotion (Grant, 1987; Darling, 1992) as well as in career patterns (Evetts, 1990, 1996) and with respect to career breaks. Some of these effects may be very complex: gender itself may be reflected in the relative influence of competing aspirations, having (or intending to have) a family versus steady state employment. It may be that working with children indicates or predicts a different attitude to the parenting/career dilemma.

While there is an increased emphasis in the literature on career planning and strategic decision-making about work, with the exception of MacLean's work (1992), evidence of career planning in teaching is sparse, although a number of books on career planning of the 'How to' type have been published. The introduction of teacher appraisal should also lead to increased attention on career planning. However, although career review is seen as a major component of Scottish teacher appraisal/review systems (Scottish Office Education Department, 1991) and a wide range of jobs within education exists, studies of career tend to define career as being synonymous with seeking promotion. Indeed, MacLean defines commitment to career as commitment to moving through the status hierarchy of the profession and the literature that exists on career planning gives emphasis, in Caplow's (1954) terms, to a vertical perspective on career. There is still a considerable emphasis on career planning as promotion planning. This article is no exception, but it also seeks to establish a broader backcloth against which teachers may see themselves and their careers.

A Stable Career

While career patterns have been conceptualised mainly in terms of promotion, which implies change and progression, with some attention having been paid

to the idea of a *stable* career, the definition of stability has been highly variable. Huberman (1993) proposes that a stable career should be understood as one in which someone is settled into their career and post, while Prick (1986) offers a contrasting view: a stable career is one which has reached its end point. A further definition is offered by Nicholson & West (1988) who, researching the experiences of job changes, define stability as a springboard for future development: to be stabilised is to be ready for the next step to be taken.

A Typology of Careers

Findings from the study presented here suggest a typology of careers. Developed from an American study of career patterns (Bobbitt et al, 1991), which identifies movers, stayers and leavers, the model offered here draws on past career decisions and future career intentions and combines them in a set of distinct strategies that incorporate ways in which career patterns may change over time. Past career decisions reflect opportunities that have arisen to date. These opportunities may or may not have been taken up. In this study some teachers have sought promotion in the past and some have not.

Future intentions, in contrast, reflect aspirations and possibilities. Some intend to seek promotion (in the next 5 years) and some do not. Putting together these two choices, past and future, produces a set of four combinations and these form the basis of the proposed typology (see Figure 1).

1. Some teachers have not sought promotion in the past and do not intend to do so in the future. These have been named 'stayers'.

2. In contrast, some have sought promotion in the past and intend to do so again in the future. These have been termed 'movers'.

3. A third group, 'starters', have not applied in the past but intend to seek promotion in the future.

4. The fourth group, 'stoppers', have sought promotion before but do not intend to in the next 5 years.

		Past actions	
		Not applied	Applied
Future	Not seeking	Stayers	Starters
Intentions	Seeking	Stoppers	Movers

Figure 1. The typology.

These, we suggest, represent four very different career strategies. It is important, however, to emphasise that those who have applied in the past have not all been successful. In addition, those who are considering applying in the future will not necessarily find appropriate opportunities to do so and, even if they do apply, they may or may not be successful.

These strategies reflect past actions and future plans and intentions about careers rather than career patterns themselves. They also illustrate different views of stabilisation. Huberman's (1993) view of someone settled in a stable

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career would be seen most clearly in those who are not planning to seek promotion: the stayers and stoppers. Prick's (1986) view of someone having completed their career trajectory would be shown most clearly by the stoppers. Nicholson & West's (1988) stabilised career, being settled into the job and ready to use it as a springboard to further professional development, can be seen to be reflected in the starters and movers.

Those not seeking promotion (the stayers and stoppers) may not be fully settled in their current post or may simply wish to stay in the classroom. Stoppers may be settled where they are, or they may have been disappointed in their earlier attempts to seek promotion. Is there evidence that past success or failure in seeking promotion influences future decisions? What is known of the stayers? Deciding to apply for promotion is clearly a positive act: it requires applications to be made and self-esteem to be 'put on the line'. Is there evidence to suggest that staying is a similarly positive choice?

Method and Sample

This article reports data drawn from a survey of teachers' views about their jobs and careers. The questionnaire included both open and closed questions. Data were collected on past teaching experience, on present experience and levels of satisfaction with teaching and on future career intentions. Findings on thoughts of leaving teaching and on job satisfaction have been reported elsewhere (Draper et al, 1996, 1998). This article is principally concerned with the different career patterns reflected in past decisions and future intentions about promotion. Respondents were asked if they had sought promotion in the past and about the outcome of such applications. In addition they were asked if they were intending to stay in teaching for the next 5 years and whether they were considering applying for promotion in that period.

From a target sample of 340, responses totalled 192, giving a response rate of 56.5%. Twenty-three of the respondents did not expect to be in teaching in 5 years' time. The remaining 169 form the basis of this analysis. Of this 169, 43% were primary teachers (91% female) and 57% taught in secondary schools (62% female). In addition, approximately half (48.5%) had 5 years' experience and half between 10 and 15 years' experience of teaching. The distribution by sector and gender was representative in both the less and the more experienced groups. The secondary teachers included the full spread of subject specialisms.

Results and Discussion

Past Decisions

Of the sample of 169 teachers who were intending to stay in teaching for the next 5 years, 89 (53%) had applied for promotion to date and 80 had not. These were unequally distributed by sector, gender and length of teaching experience (see Table I).

The figures are unsurprising but show clear differences. While 43% of the sample were primary teachers, primary accounts for 65% of those who had not

applied for promotion. There are, of course, proportionally more promoted posts in secondary than in primary schools. The sector difference is marked, however. It may be that secondary teachers are more encouraged to apply by colleagues (senior or otherwise), or there may be more of a career progression culture, or it may be that the settling in process takes longer in primary, delaying the development of a sense of readiness for promotion. The Study of Probationers (Draper et al, 1991) found that during the second year of probation it was common for primary staff in permanent posts to take forward the class taught in the first year or alternatively to take a new class at the same stage as the previous year. There was thus considerable continuity during the first 2 years. However, in later years a range of new challenges would be possible, for example teaching children at a variety of stages in which no experience had accrued. In secondary, in contrast, in their second year of teaching staff were frequently asked to take more varied and, generally, more senior classes, which added to the perceived level of demand but simultaneously covered the main variations arising in the secondary teacher's job. Thus, secondary teachers might well feel rather earlier than their primary colleagues that they had experienced the whole job.

	Not applied (%)	Applied (%)
Overall	47	53
Sector		
Primary	64	36
Secondary	38	62
Gender		
Female	59	41
Male	28	72
Length of time in the profession		
5 years	59	41
10-15 years	37	63

Table I. Past career decisions.

The data on gender reflect findings found elsewhere, in relation to both teaching and other professional areas (e.g. Darling, 1992; Allen, 1994). It is commonly noted that more men than women seek promotion and many reasons have been advanced for this difference, including both resistance to application in women and pressure to apply for men. While one-quarter of the sample was male, only 16% of those who had not applied for promotion, and over a third of those who had applied, were male. In addition the two factors of gender and sector are confounded since there were far more women than men in the primary group. Two of the seven male primary teachers and 50 of the 75 female primary teachers had not applied. In contrast, seven of the 32 male

secondary teachers and 21 of the 53 female secondary teachers had not applied to date. In each case a higher proportion of female than male teachers had not applied. The third dimension, that of length of teaching experience, is also as expected: those who had been longer in teaching were more likely to have applied for promotion.

Future Intentions

Future intentions constitute a different type of data. While past actions are contingent upon actual opportunities, intentions are more related to wishes and hopes. Furthermore, people may intend to do something without ever actually doing it. An application for a specific post is a concrete event, and may be influenced by many factors like appropriateness of timing, knowledge of the school/department, location of the school and yet other factors which have less impact on general intentions for the future. All those respondents who planned to stay in teaching for the next 5 years answered the question relating to future intentions.

Of the 169 respondents, 118 (70%) declared intentions of seeking promotion in the next 5 years while 51 did not. Again there was considerable variation in relation to sector, gender and length of experience in teaching (see Table II).

	Not seeking promotion (%)	Considering seeking promotion (%)
Overall	30	70
Sector		
Primary	39	61
Secondary	22	78
Gender		
Female	34	66
Male	20	80
Length of time in the profession		
5 years	23	77
10-15 years	37	63

Table II. Future career intentions.

Overall these data reflect a much higher *intention* to apply than was noted in the past decisions. Should these decisions be converted into action it seems unlikely that all applicants will achieve their goal of a promoted post and the goal therefore reveals considerable potential for disappointment, especially in times of financial cuts. The potential dangers of associated disaffection and alienation cannot be ignored.

Again, there is a difference by sector, with those in secondary showing a stronger intention towards promotion than those in primary. In comparison to the data on past actions, however, there is evidence of a *much* greater intention to seek promotion in primary. Three-fifths of the primary group intended to seek promotion in striking contrast to the two-thirds who had not done so to date. This suggests the possibility of a longer 'gestation' period in primary. The variation between sectors may, again, reflect the higher proportion of promoted positions arising in secondary. Following the earlier pattern for gender, more males intended to seek promotion than females, although the gap is narrower in these figures. With just under a quarter of the sample being male, there is an underrepresentation (16%) in those not seeking and a slight overrepresentation (28%) in those intending to seek. Again, there is a confounding with gender. Taking only the data from secondary (where 38% of the teachers in this sample were male), males comprised 26% of those not seeking and 42% of those seeking promotion.

The picture is complex and, with respect to length of time in the profession, shows an interesting contrast with the earlier data. For those with less experience, there is an indication of a significant shift in that three-quarters of this group intended to seek promotion, in contrast with fewer than half who had applied to date. The more experienced group show no difference in the proportion who intend to seek promotion, and this proportion is now significantly lower than for the less experienced group. This raises the possibility of a critical period during which teachers may decide to apply for promotion. Evetts (1990) suggests, from her headteacher career study in primary, that there may be gender differences in such critical periods but there is little evidence here for that hypothesis. The difference between intention and action may also be subject to gender effects.

Applying the Typology

While past decisions and future intentions may fruitfully be analysed individually, new insights can be achieved from combining the two sets of data and locating past decisions and future intentions as strategies within the single model outlined in Figure 1.

One feature of the results (see Table III) is that nearly half the group can be termed movers and almost a further quarter as starters. This emphasises yet again the very substantial interest in seeking future promotion found in our data. A further quarter are stayers, and the remaining few are stoppers. Both the stayers and movers plan to maintain the same strategy for the future as has characterised their past. Fewer than a third plan to alter their course. This leads to a new definition of 'stable career'. If stable is taken to mean those who continue with the same strategy, then the majority can be termed stable. Such stability may be particularly attractive in offering security at a time of rapid curricular change and when demographic change impacts on school rolls.

Using the typology we can again analyse by length of time in the profession, by sector and by gender.

- Some 60% of the movers group (who had applied already and who intended to continue to do so) were more experienced. Those who were moving were also predominantly secondary (55 of 79) and male (50 of 77).
- Those who were starters were mainly less experienced (31 of 39), working in primary (26 of 39) and predominantly female (34 of 39).
- Those who were stoppers were mainly those with more experience (eight of the 10), working in primary (six of the 10) and female (seven of the 10).
- The stayers group comprised more of the more experienced (24 of 41). They were also more commonly working in primary (26 of 41) and predominantly female (36 of 41).

Unsurprisingly, the less experienced teachers future more in the starters category. It is logical to expect that they have settled into the profession and now feel ready to take on new challenges. This reflects Nicholson & West's (1988) view of stabilisation: being ready for a change. However, that is to assume a purely developmental explanation. It may be that these new teachers are a different breed. Their views may be a consequence of cultural shifts in perceptions of career. Attitudes to promotion may reflect the new managerialism in education. Differences in groups over time may also reflect changes in initial teacher education, greater competition for entry into that initial teacher education and greater competition for jobs on its completion. The 5 year group contained the earliest members of the all-graduate teaching profession in Scotland (completed by the introduction of the BEd), which may in turn have influenced career expectations. In addition, more of the 5 year teachers than the more experienced group, began their careers in temporary and some in supply posts. Being used to movement may explain why a considerable proportion of those moving are less experienced.

	Past decisions		
	Not applied	Applied	Total
Future intentions			
Not seeking	Stayers	Stoppers	
	41	10	51
Seeking	Starters	Movers	
	39	79	118
Total	80	89	169

Table III. The typology applied.

Impact of Successful and Unsuccessful Applications in the Past

If people have applied in the past and been unsuccessful, is there any evidence to suggest that this discouraged people from further application? One-quarter of the sample held promoted posts. The overall success rate for those who had applied for promotion was 55%. The overall promotion success rate of those who intended to seek promotion again was 53%. For those who did not intend

to seek promotion again the past promotion success rate was 60%. This suggests that future applications for promotion were not contingent upon past success. Those who intended to seek promotion in the future included a considerable proportion who had applied unsuccessfully in the past. Was there any evidence that achieving promotion had effects? Very few of those who had been promoted did not expect to be in teaching in 5 years' time. In addition, other data collected within the study (and reported elsewhere) on levels of job satisfaction showed that those who were promoted reported higher levels of satisfaction with several aspects of their jobs. These data are no surprise: they are consistent with other occupational studies, which find that those with more status in organisations report higher levels of job satisfaction (Weaver, 1980). Higher levels of job satisfaction have also been found to be weakly associated with lower levels of turnover (Mowday et al, 1984). One of the effects of successful application for promotion may therefore be that it, partially, inoculates against leaving. It is interesting to note that of the 23 who did not expect to be in teaching in 5 years' time, only four teachers had applied for promotion.

Had the Stayers Positively Decided not to Apply?

Application for promotion carries with it professional exposure and self-esteem is put at risk. What of the stayers? Had they, similarly, made a clear decision not to apply? Were the staying group teachers who actively wished to stay in the classroom?

One-quarter of the group (41) came into the stayer category. Significantly more of them taught in primary than secondary and more were female. What sorts of reasons did people give for their career decisions? Their responses were coded into four categories: those who positively liked their teaching role, resistors, the constrained and the trapped.

One-third gave reasons which indicated they were settled in their posts. They said they actively chose to stay in the classroom. They 'loved teaching'. This was the job they had trained for. Some within this settled group also said they did not wish to move school: they were happy where they were (see MacLean, 1992, p. 118). They had good colleagues and the school was reasonably well resourced. They saw no advantage in moving elsewhere. This category also included those for whom the location of the school was personally convenient as well as those who reported professional contentment. They may also include those deeply occupied by the task of teaching, described by Woods & Jeffrey (1996) as "those people who hadn't been trampling on anybody's neck to get to the top because they were far too busy doing what they were doing". Given the evidence on delayed careers (Evetts, 1990), it may be that some of these teachers did not intend to apply for promotion in the next 5 years but might come to it later. For the present, however, they were settled in post: "I am quite happy as an ordinary teacher".

There was also a small group who could be termed 'resistors', who reported that promoted posts were unattractive. They reported being repelled by the managerial content of promoted posts. A perceived requirement to be

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more responsible for school financial management was specifically mentioned: "Headteachers should be teachers not accountants"; "I have spent two years as acting principal teacher. The workload was incredible and so I expect to remain in my [substantive] post". However, not all were keen to stay because of the intrinsic or relative attraction of their current work. Some were less positive about their work but saw few possibilities of moving on.

These teachers fell into two groups: the constrained and the trapped. The constrained, who comprised about one-third of the stayers, were on temporary or supply contracts. Their current career goal was to obtain a permanent post. They included those who had had career breaks, some of whom perceived their return as beginning their careers all over again. They were settling back into teaching and felt that it would be some time before they might apply for promotion. In this constrained group were some who had been compulsorily transferred to make way for new promoted staff coming to the school. As a result they did not have stability in a post to build up experience as a base from which to apply for promotion. There was a degree of bitterness in these responses: "I have received excellent reports from all schools I have worked in and have felt great frustration that no matter how good a job I was doing I was still unable to get a permanent position".

The final 'trapped' group said they did not wish to stay in teaching but did not see alternative job opportunities. They believed it unlikely that other job prospects would materialise so they stayed, but unwillingly: "I would like to escape but probably will be unable to do so"; "Teaching can seriously damage your health".

When we asked the sample about the advice they would give to new teachers coming into the job, the main thrust of the responses was that teachers should feel very committed to teaching children and the comments placed considerable emphasis on the development of classroom skills. However, only a small number of the whole group seemed to be actively interested in concentrating on what may be seen as the core teaching task, and instead most sought career opportunities which set them on a road likely to take them increasingly out of the classroom.

These findings have implications for continuing professional development. Those pursuing different career strategies are likely to have different development needs. Those planning to spend most of their time in the classroom will seek opportunities for developing their teaching where others may have more managerially-oriented needs. Some of those expecting to stay in classrooms may welcome opportunities to share their acquired expertise with colleagues, while others may prefer opportunities to make their jobs more secure, perhaps by broadening the skills they offer. Others may benefit from opportunities to explore their employability outside teaching.

Conclusion

The classification of teacher career strategies generated by the typology is a potentially useful framework for comparative and longitudinal study. It offers a way of encapsulating past career decision-making and future career intentions

and differentiating continuing professional development needs. Although a blunt instrument, the typology reveals a number of causes for concern.

It highlights the attractions of promotion for many teachers, the notion of readiness to apply for promotion as a developmental process and finally, and strikingly, the disappointingly low level of appeal which the teaching task appears to have for those who have been trained to work in classrooms with children. When we consider those who expected to continue to stay in the classroom, they comprised a clear group who enjoyed their jobs and wished to continue as they were, but also a clear group who were currently unable to progress further either in teaching or, alternatively, out of teaching.

The recent proposal by the Secretary of State for Education and Employment for England and Wales (*The Times*, 3 March 1998) to create Advanced Skills Teacher posts to encourage teachers to stay in the classroom (and to resist promotion to management posts) may have been made without reference to an informed understanding of teachers' career preferences. In this study, the majority of teachers, when making career decisions, chose (or preferred) routes which would reduce their time teaching in the classroom. Furthermore, a considerable number of those who expected to stay full-time in the classroom were influenced by accident and circumstance rather than by design.

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Preparing a Profile

Likely Applicants for Primary School Headship

Janet Draper and Paquita McMichael

Introduction

As the descriptions mount of the perils and pains of headship in the UK (Hellawell, 1991; Cooper and Kelly, 1993; Southworth, 1995; Draper and McMichael, 1996a) we might expect applications for headteacher posts to wane. As deputy headteachers (DHTs) observe the levels of hard work, stress and diminishing external support offered their headteacher colleagues they might well regard the prospect of promotion warily, settling for the supportive role of DHT rather than the isolated and highly accountable position of head.

Perhaps unsurprisingly the deterrent effects of headteacher stress appear to impress men rather less than women and, as Jones (1990) reports, men have had fewer difficulties to face in obtaining promotion having rarely had to cope with family commitments leading to a major break in service and to subsequent difficulties in re-entering the job market in a promoted post. On the whole men are more likely than women to consider a career path which leads to headship (Grant, 1987; Hill, 1994) and to have fewer doubts of themselves when making applications (Jayne, 1995).

In Scotland, however, and in Lothian Region, the setting of this study, there has for some time been a large majority of women in primary headteacher posts and a corresponding majority of women in DHT posts. The gender issue has not prevented many competent women from assuming leadership positions. Yet the expectations women in primary teaching have of 'career' and its outcome in headship have been shown (Evetts, 1990; Jones, 1990; Hill, 1994) to be limited. These limitations have largely been expressed in terms of self-definitions as the principal carer in a family or in a belief in the primacy of working with children rather than in administration. However, regardless of gender and family responsibilities there are daunting elements to headship which may in themselves prevent even the well prepared and widely experienced DHT from applying for promotion.

This is to assume that being a headteacher requires more expenditure of effort, more time on task, more involvement with parents, staff and outside agencies than the job of DHT. This is not necessarily the case. Webb and Vulliamy (1995) suggest that the role of the primary DHT has vastly expanded, that reductions in class size have led to fewer being free of teaching responsibilities and that non-contact time is severely under pressure. Indeed, these researchers found that deputies consequently had less time to familiarize themselves with the role of head.

In Scotland DHTs have generally been appointed only to the larger primary schools and until recent regional reorganization have had limited teaching responsibilities. The study we report later in this article refers to a period shortly before Lothian Region was broken up

into four smaller unitary authorities. It has not only picked up the issue of familiarization with headship but the complex factors upon which career decision-making rests. Deciding to apply for the job of headteacher has elements of vision and of reality, reality applied to self and preferred lifestyle and reality applied to the job itself. Building on our earlier study of retired heads (Draper and McMichael, 1996a), we turned to deputies to explore their perceptions of the job: their motivations and reservations and their likelihood of application.

We posed the following questions:

- Had they had opportunities for familiarization with the post of headteacher?
- How did they see their role as deputies comparing in range of responsibility with that of heads?
- Were they planning to apply for a headship, and had this been part of a career plan?
- What were the most compelling motives and the greatest deterrents?

From the data at our disposal we hoped to put together a profile of those most likely to apply as opposed to those who were lukewarm or unlikely to seek this promotion. We differ here from previous work on DHTs (e.g. Jayne, 1995) in so far as we give special attention to deterrents and to their differential effect on application likelihood.

Research Methods

Following a pilot study conducted in 1995 (Draper and McMichael 1996b), which drew on the views of a group of assistant and deputy headteachers who were members of a management training course and who provided us with both interview and questionnaire evidence, we devised a second questionnaire which covered the following topics.

1. Likelihood of application
2. Sources of influence and encouragement
3. Reasons for applying and reasons for reluctance to apply
4. Preferences for size and catchment area of school
5. Familiarization procedures
6. Recruitment procedures already undergone
7. Qualities leading to a successful application (and assessment of personal strengths)
8. Comparison between present DHT role and the role of headteacher.

Space was left after a number of questions for open-ended responses.

Sample

The questionnaire was sent to all DHTs in Lothian Region shortly before local government reorganization. There were 134 schools with DHTs, these schools having 150 or more pupils. Eighty-seven of the DHTs responded, giving us a response rate of 65 percent. There were 11 men (12.6%) and 76 women (87.4%). The age groups were as follows: 31–40 (23; 26.4%), 41–50 (48; 55.2%), 50+ (16; 18.4%). Concerning their number of years in their current post, 34 (40.5%) had been in post for less than three years, 33 (39.3%) had been in post for three to five years, and 17 (20.2%) for more than five years. In summary, there was a large majority of women DHTs, relatively few of the DHTs were over 50 and a similarly small proportion had occupied the post for more than five years.

Results

Acquiring a View of Headship

Here we distinguish between a view of headship as a possible, even planned future, and as a view of an existing present. In this section we will examine the degree to which the sample DHTs had familiarized themselves with the role of headteacher—a view of the present. Webb and Vulliamy (1995) considered that opportunities for familiarization were becoming more and more restricted as class commitments encroached on what might be seen as development time.

Among this group of Lothian DHTs there were few who had not had many chances of participation in work both alongside their heads and independently of their heads, assuming parallel responsibilities. Already nine had been acting heads, and nearly all had substituted for heads in their absence at meetings, conferences and training sessions, sometimes for several days at a time. It was clear that these DHTs felt that they had a direct line to their heads and that their heads made use of their competence and experience for the delegation of many tasks. Indeed, nearly all the DHTs agreed that their heads discussed with them decisions to be taken and the resulting consequences. Nearly 90 percent said that they had responsibility delegated to them, which ranged from staff development, through curriculum management and development, to relationships with pupils, parents, staff and even other agencies. In addition to delegated responsibility they also participated in teamwork with their heads (82.1 percent).

More formal development was provided through the widely attended management courses (89.2 percent). Two-thirds enjoyed informal career planning with the head. On the other hand, formal career planning (as for example through appraisal interviews) was relatively rare (23.8 percent). It would appear that there were few DHTs who had not had considerable opportunities by one means or another of familiarizing themselves with many of the responsibilities that heads might undertake. Hard-pressed heads, regardless of any wish they might have to assume continuous control, were leaning quite heavily on the invaluable support that their DHTs could offer. At the same time as responsibility was delegated, the DHTs had opportunities to develop and practise the skills of headship in a relatively protected environment since the head continued to be accountable for the school's performance. It might therefore be argued that if DHTs were reluctant to apply for headships it would not be for lack of exposure to the role of head nor absence of developmental opportunities.

Comparing Realities

We pursued the question of present vision through a question on the perceived differences between the roles of head and deputy. Respondents were asked to rate on a three-point scale of *high*, *medium* and *low* the degree of responsibility exercised by themselves and their heads. Somewhat to our surprise but consistent with the results of the previous section we found that on many aspects of the two roles little difference was perceived. In fact no significant differences of mean were discovered in the following areas:

- staff development
- resources
- work with outside agencies
- relationships with staff
- curriculum
- discipline
- relationships with parents

Very much greater differences were observed in four areas, in which heads were perceived to exercise significantly more responsibility. These were for:

- school buildings
- the school board
- finance
- appraisal

With regard to the difficult area of finance, the scourge of many a head, there was at least one who, emphasizing the need to build a strong management team, had actually appointed a deputy whose strengths lay in financial management. The three other areas have a particularly clear role for heads, although appraisal may also be partially delegated.

In our pilot study (Draper and McMichael, 1996b) we had asked respondents to indicate whether they had thought they worked any less hard than their heads. They saw little difference in workload. If there are relatively few perceived differences between one role and the other, what is it that draws deputies forward to headship or acts as a deterrent?

Perceptions of Self and Promotion
1. Motives for Application for Headteacher Posts
We gave our respondents a variety of possible motives for applying for headteacher posts and asked them to indicate whether they saw them as important, unimportant or insignificant. We report the responses below, choosing only those which indicated an *important* motive, and categorizing them according to perceptions of self, perceptions of the job (the vision), and matters of personal concern that might affect willingness to apply.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this table is that personal concerns are an important consideration for less than a third of the sample. Indeed with respect to salary many respondents and previous interviewees had commented on the fact that there was relatively little difference between a deputy's and a head's salary. Having their children settled at school, in a job or in further or higher education appeared not to affect many in their decision to apply, much more important were their views of their own experience and readiness for headship.

They had not only had opportunities to familiarize themselves with the job but had exchanged views with friends who had already been promoted. In many cases they had been encouraged to apply, but their own self-assessment was of greatest importance—assessment of their experience in management and in all aspects of school functioning. 'I've

Table 1. Motives for Application for Headteacher Posts

Important motives	n	%
Perceived competence and readiness		
Management experience	72	82.8
Wide experience (schools/age range)	72	82.8
Readiness for the responsibility	63	72.4
Opportunities		
Introduction of own ideas	65	74.7
Influencing events/initiatives	49	56.3
Personal concerns		
Finance (larger salary)	25	28.7
Children settled	23	27.3

outgrown my role as a class teacher. I've done all I can and I'm ready. Though I haven't completely shed my skin as a class teacher yet.' Indeed, more than two-thirds felt ready for the responsibility of the top job.

What drew them forward was the vision they had of what they could do if they were heads, well expressed in the following excerpt:

> ... the challenge of being in charge. If you're successful there is personal satisfaction. It's more than now when you rely on a pat on the back. It's being able to implement your own ideas, and with devolved financial management you can apply your mind to new ventures.

This may not seem a very expansive vision, but we did not ask the DHTs to elaborate on their ultimate intentions or missions.

2. Disincentives Preventing Application for Headships

We now turn to the reasons which might prevent DHTs from applying for headship. Again we presented a list, this time of disincentives, and asked how important they might be, at present, in discouraging them. We drew on the interviews of the pilot study and our previous work with retired headteachers to explore five general areas. The first three were designed to reflect the influence of the headteacher as model—the job as perceived through the eyes of a close observer of headship. The last two reflected the sense of self as worker with responsibilities.

1. Headteachers' stresses
2. Quality of life reduction in HT role
3. Relationship losses
4. Lack of sufficiently developed skills for HT role
5. Personal constraints

In Table 2 we have maintained a rough ordering of items' importance to the respondents.

Table 2 shows the impact on DHTs of overstressed heads. It would seem that daily observation of many heads' attempts to attend to the requirements of school management in a time of increasing demands and accountability is a significant deterrent for nearly two-

Table 2. Disincentives Preventing Application for Headteacher Posts

Important disincentives	n	%
Headteachers overburdened/stressed	54	62.1
Bureaucracy	49	56.3
Accountability	43	49.4
Paperwork	42	48.3
Financial responsibility	35	40.2
Quality of life reduced	44	50.6
Loss of time for self/family	42	48.3
Happiness in present job/reluctance to move	39	44.8
Relationship losses		
Children	40	46.0
Staff	27	31.0
Dealing with difficult staff	14	16.1
Time needed to increase skills	40	46.0
Personal concerns		
Dependent relatives	14	16.1
Little difference in salary	16	18.3

thirds of the sample. Some of the content of the workload is detailed. Emerging as important for over half of the respondents are the bureaucratic elements of the job, with, surprisingly, only 40 percent indicating that the financial responsibility is a deterrent. This is despite the fact that this is an area with which they credited heads with greater responsibility and in which only a fifth claimed they had strength.

The expected reduction in their quality of life was mentioned by many in their open-ended answers, particularly with its loss of time for recreation and recovery both alone and with friends and family. The anticipation of a diminished quality of life as a head possibly made for a reappraisal of their present lifestyle and existing post. The fact that 39 saw their present happiness as a disincentive to application for HT posts suggests that this, together with observed HT stresses, would limit applications. Indeed only three indicated that they were very likely to apply despite present job satisfaction. Many had already felt, on becoming DHTs, some relationship losses with both children and staff, and expected these to increase if they became heads. Interestingly only a few perceived dealing with difficult staff as a major disincentive.

Their own professional abilities were of concern to nearly half the sample, who felt they needed both longer to develop the necessary skills for headship and wider experience of different types of school and of different departments within a school. On another item 41 declared that they considered themselves 'unready' for headship, thus supporting the strong influence perceived 'readiness' exerts on applications.[1] The two quotations below, both from women, indicate the importance of 'perceived readiness' to DHTs and in particular to women.

> As a woman I felt I held back for too long i.e. 'hold back' in the sense I felt I needed to be really experienced before applying for promotion.

> I don't feel confident I could handle every situation that might come my way properly. For a long time it's been, 'Yes, one day'. I've got to change my thinking to 'Why not now?'

Lastly, few DHTs were hampered by dependent relatives, and, as noted in Table 1, few were affected by salary—whether or not it was perceived as showing little improvement on their existing salary.

To sum up, Table 2 suggests that there are many disincentives to headship applications, ranging from the HT's job itself to a sense of professional inadequacy in the role. Present job satisfaction as well as anticipated dissatisfaction as a head contribute to reluctance to apply. In the following section we elaborate on these findings and indicate that those who are most likely to apply have a rather different understanding of the pressures on HTs and their ability to handle them.

Likelihood of Application, Motives and Disincentives

In response to a questionnaire item which asked respondents whether they were *very likely*, *fairly likely* or *unlikely* to apply for headship within the next five years, a considerable number (35, 41.7% of the sample) replied that they were unlikely to apply. This is hardly surprising in the light of the disincentives outlined above and the wish to be fully 'ready'. When both motives and disincentives were analysed in terms of application likelihood it became obvious that there were somewhat more of the *very likely* to apply who perceived their competence and readiness as sufficient for the job. Similarly more were ready to grasp opportunities for introducing their own ideas. These were not, however, significant differences. Personal concerns provided no distinctions between likelihood groups.

Table 3. Disincentives Preventing Application for Headteacher Posts, Analysed by Likelihood of Application

Important disincentives	Very likely (n = 27)		Fairly likely (n = 22)		Unlikely (n = 35)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Headteachers overburdened/stressed	8	30	17	77	29	83***
Bureaucracy	6	22	15	68	28	80***
Accountability	7	26	14	64	22	63**
Paperwork	3	11	13	59	26	74***
Financial responsibility	5	19	11	50	19	54**
Quality of life reduced	3	11	12	55	29	83***
Loss of time for self and family	5	19	12	55	25	71***
Happy in present job and don't want to move	5	19	10	45	24	69***
Relationships						
Children – loss	7	26	10	45	23	66*
Staff—loss	8	30	6	27	13	37*
Dealing with difficult staff	7	26	5	23	14	40
Need longer to increase skills	6	22	14	64	20	57**
Personal concerns						
Dependent relatives	3	11	4	18	7	20
Little difference in salary	2	7	5	23	9	26

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

With respect to disincentives the picture is very different, with significant percentage differences between likelihood groups on nearly every item. Far fewer of the *very likely to apply* regarded the items as causes for concern. Table 3 sets out the differences. It is probable that more of the *very likely to apply* would respond positively to these questions put by a DHT invited to offer advice to a friend: 'Think seriously—is it what you want? How happy are you in your current position? Will a change bring more satisfaction? How much money will it bring? Is it worth it regarding the effect on life style?'

These results, together with others that we present later, make it possible to construct a profile of those who are most likely to apply in the near future and of those who are reluctant.

Gender

As expected men showed a greater disposition to apply, over half of the 11 being *very likely* to apply and only two *unlikely*. By contrast 45 per cent of the 76 women were *unlikely* to apply, the rest being fairly evenly divided between those who were *fairly* and *very likely* to apply. The figures for men are small but do not contradict other gender findings. The figures for the women suggest a large number unwilling to put themselves forward for promotion in the next five years.

Age

For the age bands 31–40, 41–50 and 50+ there was an interesting tendency for the youngest group to consider application very positively, only 6 of the 22 (27 percent) being *unlikely* to apply. In fact eight had already applied at least once. This contrasted with the 80

percent of the 15 DHTs aged 50+ who were unlikely to apply (cf. Grant, 1987). Nine had already applied and at this stage had probably decided to give up further attempts at promotion. The 47 who were *fairly likely to apply* were evenly divided amongst the age bands.

Time in DHT Post

We then examined the effects of the time each DHT had already occupied the post. We anticipated that the DHTs with less than three years' experience would have had little time to take on the full load of deputy headship and little time to become acquainted with the heads' responsibilities in detail. Conversely we expected those who had five or more years' DHT experience would be well versed in the range of both DHTs' and heads' responsibilities and paradoxically might be less attracted by the prospect of headship. This expectation was based on the information we had on familiarization with the role of head, which suggested that those who had had the most opportunity for familiarization tended to be somewhat less likely to apply, as this quotation illustrates: 'I am acting headteacher at present. This has only confirmed my view that I do not wish to be a headteacher.' Our familiarization hypothesis was partially supported. The 34 less experienced showed a greater likelihood of applying—64 percent were very or fairly likely to apply, whereas only five of the 17 who had had five or more years' experience (29 percent) were similarly disposed. So far, then, the results suggest that fewer of the older age group and the more experienced are likely to seek promotion in the near future.

Career Orientation

Slightly over half of the sample (45) saw headship as part of their career plans, the prospect having become part of their thinking at various stages in their teaching lives. For some, this occurred during their teacher training years, for others as they obtained their first promotion, for others as they passed the intensive child-rearing years, and for still others as they found they needed the money (perhaps on being widowed or divorced), thus roughly conforming to Evetts's (1990) subjective career types: antecedent, two-stage, subsequent and compensatory. We assumed that the 'planners' were those who would be *very likely* to apply for headships in the next five years. Indeed only three regarded it as *unlikely*. These three considered that they needed more experience to be ready for the promotion they ultimately planned. As none of them had been in post for long they seemed to be realistic rather than affected by the hesitation associated with perceived unreadiness (Hall, 1996: Jayne, 1995).

We also observed that the *very likely to apply* added a strategic element to their calculations. They were significantly more likely to count *having a high profile in the region* as one of their strengths in putting in for headships. With respect to other self-assessed strengths they did not differ from other DHTs.

Poised for the Plunge: A Profile of Likely Applicants

The information we had on the *very likely to apply* made it possible to construct a profile. We included gender, age, time in post and perceived readiness as well as the motivational and career orientation variables.

It is clear from Table 3 and the earlier discussion that the DHTs who are *very likely to apply* consist more often of DHTs who:

- are men rather than women
- are younger rather than older

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- have been a shorter time in post
- consider themselves 'ready'
- include headship in their career plans
- take a strategic view of career development
- do not fear the administrative burdens of headship
- are undeterred by possible effects on their quality of life
- accept the loss of contact with children
- see challenging opportunities in the job

It is immediately obvious that some of the elements in the profile concern perceptions of self and the job and are therefore open to influence: by training, delegation, experience in schools with good and poor models of headship and possibly by the little acknowledged effect of encouragement—a powerful influence on the career decisions of the retired heads of our earlier study (Draper and McMichael, 1996a) and important to Jayne's (1995) deputies.

Discussion and Conclusions

For some time there has been anxiety over the number and quality of applications for headship. Potential applicants are thought to have been deterred by the increasing emphasis on the headteacher as chief executive (Hughes, 1973) rather than leading professional and more recently by the enlarged financial responsibilities of the post. This has been accompanied by worries over accountability whether, in Scotland, enforced by local authority inspections in addition to those of HMI or, in the rest of the UK, by OFSTED. The results of this study suggest that, nonetheless, there is a minority of DHTs in primary schools who are more than prepared to take on the challenges of headship. Most of these are women who, in the event of promotion success, would probably find means of coping with administration and stress with the androgynous skills shown by the headteachers of Hall's (1996) study.

Interestingly they do not appear to be deterred by having made more than one previous application (see Draper et al., 1995). In fact we observe that in the sample as a whole, well over a third have applied at least once and may regard an unsuccessful application as practice for the next time. Indeed it is worth noting that these Scottish DHTs with career plans are mainly women, and demonstrate a willingness to admit 'career ambitions', in contrast to the women Evetts (1990) and Jones (1990) have described. A significant proportion of those with career ambitions can be seen as having an 'antecedent career' (Evetts, 1990), that is exhibiting ambitions that operate from early on in teaching and determine choices. These are the women, largely in the younger age group (31–40) for whom quality of life issues and conflicts between the demands of school and family are subsidiary to their career intentions. We have, however, many women who even at the DHT stage deliberately eschew headship. They do not fit Evetts's (1990) pattern of alternative subjective careers, having sought promotion but in the final instance retreated from headship itself. This suggests, since proportionately more women than men DHTs are deterred from application, that quality of life issues begin to operate more severely at the final stage of career choice. Our data on men (only 11) are too limited for us to make comparative assertions with confidence.

The likely applicants are, however, discriminating about their choice of school, with 80 percent reluctant to apply for small schools where they would be teaching heads without the support of a management team. The earlier pattern of promotion from DHT to head of a

small school, followed by headships of larger schools seems to be on the wane (personal communication). DHTs of larger schools are apt to apply directly and successfully for large schools.

We now return to the point made earlier that DHTs tend to believe that the range and weight of responsibilities of heads do not differ greatly from those they themselves bear. A Scottish educational management seminar attended by a number of heads found this perception unrealistic. Having themselves moved from deputy positions to headship, the heads were well aware of the change in responsibility and accountability. The DHTs' underestimation of the actual experience of headship is likely to lead to the disturbing 'surprise' in store (Louis, 1980) on moving to a new job.

Given, however, that only a third of the sample were very likely to apply for headships in the next five years – a considerable time span—does this study have more general implications for headteachers and administrators? We conclude that it can be of organizational and personal use in the following ways:

Staff Development

Most DHTs had received formal or informal career guidance and many opportunities to familiarize themselves with the post of headteacher through delegation, teamwork and discussion. These aspects of training in addition to formal training courses have a part to play in informing their subsequent decision-making.

Encouragement

Many had been encouraged by their headteachers, friends and colleagues to think of a future as a head. Most considered this had not influenced them, but there is no reason to abandon this form of positive feedback on performance. Indeed Jayne (1995) found that over two-thirds of both men and women were influenced by their head's support. Importantly, with women who are apt to wait till they feel wholly competent to carry out the job, it might be valuable to stress their existing competences and ability to grow within the job and thus encourage them to apply earlier rather than later.

Strengths, Weaknesses and Readiness

It may be of use to both DHTs and those interested in promoting their aspirations to explore DHTs' perceptions of 'readiness', together with their strengths and needs for further experience. Jayne (1995) has already indicated a number of training areas for DHTs and in most Scottish regions these have formed part of management training. There is little, however, that can prepare DHTs for the difficult decisions concerning the balancing of financial planning (and its possible implication for redundancies) with the need to preserve good within-school relationships (Southworth, 1995).

The Profile of 'Likely' Applicants, Headteacher Selection and Induction

The elements of the profile we have outlined (e.g. the applicants' attitude to their own readiness, their career plans, their management of the chief executive role, the loss of closeness to pupils and staff, their view of the opportunities in and the disadvantages of headship, and the effect on quality of life) may be of use in headteacher selection. Additionally, recognition of these elements could make a useful contribution to a planned induction for new headteachers.

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Encouraging the 'Fairly Likely' Applicants

Finally, we draw attention to the importance of the DHTs who are only *fairly likely* applicants. If local authorities wish to increase the pool of applicants it is worth considering our profile of the *very likely* applicants and exploring what is required to enhance the appeal of the job of headteacher so that it reaches those who are only *fairly likely*. Targeting the disincentives may be as important as promoting the opportunities if recruitment is to be increased.

Rational Decision-Making and Application Likelihood

Career decision-making, as this study has emphasized, is complex and many faceted. Choosing to apply for headship is the result of reflection on the balance of lifestyle, personal qualities and professional aspiration as well as on the job itself. Those DHTs who make the perfectly sensible decision to remain as a deputy must be respected for their rational choice just as much as those who seek headships. Meanwhile, we suggest that the concept of 'application likelihood' and the consequent profiling extends understanding of Scottish DHTs' promotion decisions in a way that may well apply to other systems.

Note

1. Encouragement by heads, advisers, colleagues and friends was not enough to overcome this sense of 'unreadiness'. Age too was not a guide. In fact only half of each age group regarded themselves as 'ready'. However, a period of under three years in post did affect perceptions of readiness, only a third of the youngest group being ready, as opposed to two-thirds of the older groups.

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Making Sense of Primary Headship: the surprises awaiting new heads

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ABSTRACT *A model of the gains and losses of job change taken from the occupational mobility literature was used to underpin research on new headteachers and deputies which examined the gains and losses accompanying the transition from deputy to headteacher, the degree to which these were anticipated and the seriousness of their impact. Results from two studies indicate that many of the 87 deputies were deterred by the burdens of headship, though those most likely to apply for headship were prepared to take these in their stride. The 37 new heads (in post 1–3 years), though well prepared for headship, were more overwhelmed by the job than they (or the likely-to-apply deputies) had anticipated and outlined the systems (general, local authority and school) causing initial overload and confusion. The implications for training and support are explored.*

Introduction

Training, preparation and development in-post have complex goals for primary headteachers, varying from altering identities from teacher to manager to shifting emphases from people-centred care to competitive, efficient and performance-related competence. Evetts (1990) has stressed the ways in which the new managerialism which appears to value assertive and task-centred styles conflicts with the more cooperative and even paternalistic styles of earlier years. Headteachers are prepared for their jobs with a range of courses which encompass present day perceptions of their role and include not only courses on the curriculum and assessment, but on devolved financial management with its associated increase in school autonomy and budgetary control, on community relations (not only with parents and services but also with the press and with local industry and businesses), on resources and on quality assurance. Even preparation for working with school staff has its management language and courses on human resource management proliferate, which include aspects of employment law, recruitment and selection as well as the expected teaching on group dynamics. Thus the induction of deputy heads and existing heads into the requirements for overall school effectiveness and, more recently, improvement (Reynolds & Cuttance 1992; Stoll & Mortimore 1995) moves them well away from the child and curriculum demands of the classroom.

Indeed, for some time the pressure on primary heads has been to focus on the administrative and managerial aspects of headship and decrease the time spent in teaching (Hellawell 1991).

Our previous research has shown that this shift from leading professional into chief executive (Hughes 1973) has met with a degree of anguish that has precipitated early retirement, illness and depression (Draper & McMichael 1996a). Retired heads in Scotland complained vociferously of job expansion and overload, of bureaucracy, external pressures from the local authority and HM Inspectorate, parent and staff's greater emphasis on contractual rights and weak local authority support. Similar expressions of alarm over the increased burden of paperwork, curricular change and management demands have been widely reported elsewhere in the UK (Jones & Hayes 1991; Wallace 1991; Cooper & Kelly 1993; Mercer 1993; Southworth 1995). In April 1997 the National Association of Head Teachers reported a 'haemorrhaging of talent' amongst both primary and secondary head-teachers as they chose early retirement on enhanced pensions rather than persisting in an exhausting professional role.

Our observations of the retired headteachers in our early retirement project led us to suppose that deputy heads, exposed to the degree of disenchantment expressed by these and other experienced heads, might well hesitate to undertake the burden of headship themselves. A study of deputies (Draper & McMichael 1998) showed that this was often the result, leading to a reluctance to apply for headships. A third of our sample of 84 deputies, however, were not deterred, viewing the disincentives with greater equanimity than their colleagues. Those who were likely to apply for headships were more often in their thirties than over forty and had had a long term strategic view of career development which included headship. They, more than the reluctant deputies, did not fear the administrative burdens of headship nor the loss of contact with pupils nor the effect on their quality of life. They were more apt to see the challenging opportunities in the job and felt ready to undertake that challenge. This study suggested that the deputies who became heads would feel ready for the management role because of the extensive preparation they had undergone and because of their long term initiation into a management identity. In acquiring this identity they accepted as given some of the personal sacrifices of time to themselves along with the loss of intimacy with staff and pupils in exchange for greater control over a school's destiny. These attitudes contrast with those of the headteachers in Hellawell's (1991) study, who believed they had been promoted because of being good class teachers and expected to continue to demonstrate good practice, know all the children and direct the school from a position of full involvement. Some of the problems experienced by these teachers arose from their expected role and identity as a leading professional and the role and identity which faced them as executives and administrators. Our work on recently retired head-teachers showed an intermediate position where heads had attended management courses, had recognised the shift into managerial functions with reduced contact and involvement with pupils and staff but had found it a struggle to adapt to increasing bureaucratic controls and innumerable curriculum changes. Accompanying these changes were demands for development planning, strategic direction and quality

assurance such as they had not previously encountered. Everything seemed to be done by rationale and formulae. With the enhancement of planning many felt an accompanying loss of creativity. The deputies study indicated a new position on the continuum of teacher–manager identity, with the likely applicants for headship prepared to settle into a managerial identity, assuming that their chief strengths lay in their general management experience combined with their experience of managing and developing the curriculum.

The inevitable next step appeared to be a study of recently appointed head-teachers in order to explore their pre-appointment expectations and the reality as they found it. They had attended courses, observed the heads of their previous schools, undertaken many delegated duties and perceived themselves as prepared for all but a few of a head's responsibilities. They were likely to have considered themselves ready or more than ready to embrace the role and identity of a head. Were their expectations of the role change justified? We therefore posed the following research questions:

- what were the gains and losses of the transition from deputy to headteacher?;
- were these gains and losses anticipated?;
- if they were anticipated were they as serious as expected?;
- what experiences came as a surprise despite preparation?;
- are there implications for deputy and headteacher training?

In overall terms did the new headteacher identity pose problems or were problems primarily pragmatic, instrumental and administrative?

The approach we have taken to the analysis of headteacher experience is based on models taken from the literature on occupational mobility. In particular we have turned to Kelly's (1980) model for analysing job change and to the perspective offered by Louis *et al.* (1983) on surprise following a transition. Kelly takes account of both positive and negative consequences in departing from previously held jobs (detachment) and in moving to new jobs (attachment). Within this framework positive consequences of job change are termed 'gains', while negative consequences are termed 'losses'. 'Attachment gains' are thus benefits which accrue within the new job: 'detachment gains' are benefits from leaving the previous job. Similarly, 'attachment losses' refer to the negative consequences of acquiring the new job, while 'detachment losses' refer to the negative consequences of leaving the previous job. The model of gains, losses, attachment and detachment (GLAD) is presented in Figure 1. Benefits therefore accrue both from the good aspects of the new job and through losing the negative aspects of the previous job. Losses arise from the undesirable characteristics of the new job and the loss of desirable features of the previous job.

Louis (1980), also writing of transition from one post to another, found that a variety of surprises were experienced. 'Change' represents the difference between a new post and the previous one and although some aspects of the change may be predicted, many are not clarified till the job begins. Consequently 'surprise' results when there is considerable difference between the job as expected and as experienced.

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	ATTACHMENT	DETACHMENT
GAINS/BENEFITS	Positive consequences of holding the new job	Positive consequences of leaving the previous job
LOSSES	Negative consequences of holding the new job	Negative consequences of holding the previous job

FIG. 1. A model of the gains and losses of job change (GLAD).

The two approaches of Kelly (1980) and Louis *et al.* (1983) each have a place within a developmental perspective on identity. Rather than supposing that identity is a fixed element of the adult self it is more appropriate to see it as evolving and dynamic, incorporating new elements from the roles and relationships encountered in family and occupational life. Identities are constructed out of directly experienced successes and failures, but also out of role expectations and learning by observation and imitation. Not only does identity evolve, but the elements which contribute to it do not themselves stay static, for example expectations of what makes for effective headship have changed. In addition, the role occupied in relation to an element may alter, as may be seen in the case of the change in responsibility from delivering the curriculum as a teacher to a school manager managing and interpreting curriculum document for those who will subsequently deliver the curriculum itself. Becoming a headteacher requires an occupational transition from a teacher to manager identity but a transition that takes place in a time of educational restructuring and pressures for improved quality. Some manage this with well-thoughtout strategies (Wallace 1991), for others it makes a serious dent in views of themselves built on classroom competence, responsiveness to children and professional pride as educators.

Research Method

References will be made to the results from two studies. The first study, of deputy headteachers (Draper & McMichael 1996b, 1998), has been reported more fully elsewhere and serves only as a background to the second study, the subject of this paper.

Deputy Headteachers—Study 1

Following a pilot study (Draper & McMichael 1996b) a questionnaire was sent to all 134 deputies in the four unitary authorities formed from the one-time Lothian Region. (Deputies were appointed to schools with 150 or more pupils.) Eighty seven responded to items which included preparation for headship, sources of influence

and encouragement, reasons for applying, reasons for reluctance to apply and comparisons between their present deputy role and that of the headteacher.

New Headteachers—Study 2

Stage 1—focus groups. Pursuing a strategy successfully used in an earlier study (Draper & McMichael 1996a) we set up focus groups of headteachers, chosen for their recent appointment to headship. Potential subjects for the focus groups were provided by six unitary authorities and contacted for their consent and participation. The two groups consisted of headteachers who had been up to two years in post. Group 1 was composed of four women, group 2 of one woman and one man (other participants being unable to attend on the day). In Scotland, it should be noted, there is a considerable majority of female headteachers in primary schools.

The purpose of the focus groups was to explore experiences of occupational transition within the framework outlined above and to acquire a sense of immediacy and even passion attached to those experiences. The focus group as research method provides opportunities for testing the validity of hypotheses not only through an interviewer's face to face interaction with subjects, but through the less guarded interaction *between* subjects. This appears to generate a dynamic of its own. In a focus group the researcher, although pursuing a research agenda, seeks to act as facilitator rather than interlocutor.

Stage 2—questionnaire.

Sample. All primary headteachers in six unitary authorities who had been appointed in the three years immediately preceding the study ($n = 45$) were invited to participate in the research. Thirty nine expressed an interest and received questionnaires, 37 of which were returned (a response rate of 82% of all recently appointed or 'new' heads). The characteristics of the sample are given in Table I.

The Questionnaire. The questionnaire was divided into three major sections:

(1) background information on age, gender and present and previous posts;
(2) preparation and application for headship;
(3) responses to transition to headship in terms of
    (a) attachment and detachment, gain and loss
    (b) expectations and surprises
    (c) adjustment and stabilisation (settling in).

The questionnaire was based on the theoretical positions of Kelly (1980) and Louis *et al.* (1983) and in detail made use of responses elicited from the focus groups who had already explored the constructs underpinning the questionnaire. These responses expressed in personal terms experiences of attachment, detachment, expectation and surprise. The questionnaire was posted and returns received in the spring of 1997.

TABLE I. Sample characteristics

Gender	Men 2 (5%)	Women 35 (95%)	
Age	31–40 10 (27%)	41–50 24 (65%)	51–60 3 (8%)
Previous post			
Head	5 (14%)		
Acting head	7 (19%)		
Deputy head	16 (43%)		
Assistant head	3 (8%)		
Senior teacher	6 (16%)		
	In Previous job	In Present job	
School rolls			
1–199	12 (34%)	23 (62%)	
200–299	7 (19%)	10 (27%)	
300–399	7 (19%)	2 (5%)	
400 +	10 (28%)	2 (5%)	
Teaching responsibilities	None 29 (78%)	At least 0.6 of workload 8 (22%)	

Results

Study 1—deputy headteachers (DHTs)

Preparation for headship.   This study had shown that DHTs had had many opportunities to acquire a broad and sometimes detailed view of headship through having tasks and roles delegated to them, ranging from substitution for a head in the head's not infrequent absences at meetings, conferences and training sessions, to membership of a senior management team. In fact, most DHTs considered that their experience had been of a team approach to running their schools. Nearly all had attended management courses and two thirds had enjoyed formal or informal career planning with their heads. Whether or not DHTs intended to apply for headships or had already done so they were apt to consider themselves familiar with the role and carrying a work load equal to, though somewhat different from, their heads. They saw differences in responsibility chiefly with respect to the school board, finance, school buildings and staff appraisal (though not staff development in general). However, there were no significant differences in perceived responsibility with respect to the curriculum, resources, discipline, work with outside agencies and relationships with staff and with parents. Although heads might well consider these deputies prisoners of their own perceptions, this perceived level of preparation and familiarisation with the headship role would suggest that those who went on to become heads would meet little they had not anticipated and would find the most severe change in the level of accountability. The buck would stop with them. They would no longer be protected by an immediate superior. As one vividly commented: 'She's sitting on a lonely crag and can't confide in the rest of the staff'.

Expectations of headship.   We inferred that since those most likely to apply for headship were significantly less deterred from application than their peers, then the new heads in our second study would experience similar disincentives as expected (and possibly therefore non problematic) elements on the job.

DHTs who were *very likely to apply* for headship were significantly less deterred than their peers by:

- headteachers' workload;
- bureaucracy;
- the paperwork mountain;
- the level of accountability;
- financial responsibilities;
- quality of life issues (time for professional development and personal matters);
- loss of relationships with pupils.

They looked forward to and were motivated by their own perceived competence and readiness obtained through their wide experience both within schools and with different age groups and in different types of school. Their extensive management experience also acted as an incentive to apply. However, this sense of being prepared for headship did not distinguish the keen from the reluctant applicants, being well

established amongst over 80% of the deputies. There was a slightly greater tendency for the likely applicants to be influenced by the opportunities yielded by headship to introduce their own ideas, but again this was a widespread motive.

For the purpose of the second study, that of 'new' heads, the outstanding findings of the first study were that those items which did not act as serious deterrents were to be expected as part of the role of head. This suggestion assumes that the 'new' heads had been *likely applicants* at an earlier point in time and that that which does not deter is taken for granted or at least expected.

Although much of the content of the headteacher role might be expected there were nevertheless transitional gains and losses as these new heads moved from their previous to their present schools (only one had been promoted from within).

Study 2—new headteachers

The move from the 'old' school.

Detachment gains. There were frustrations attached to deputy headship for those who wished to move on. These frustrations ultimately acted as significant motives for application and thereafter provided a justification recollected in relative tranquillity. Discussion with focus group members yielded statements which encapsulated the benefits from a move to headship.

We found that over half of the 'new' heads felt they had been

- working to someone else's agenda;
- wanting to change things but having to be at the top to be able to do that;
- underusing their strengths.

Less than a third reported that in their former jobs they had had no real authority. The gains from leaving were seen largely in terms of moving away from a role circumscribed by the power of their heads (however benevolently exercised) and essentially subordinate into one of fuller and indeed exciting responsibilities.

Detachment losses. Losses on moving to a headship were felt most seriously in terms of relationships—the loss of friendships with and support from previous colleagues and association with pupils (and to a lesser extent relationships with the parents in the school). Following hard on the heels of these personally felt losses was the sense of competence within the known. Thirteen (35%) felt they had experienced a serious loss in 'knowledge of how things worked with respect to parents, the school, the community and the local authority'. Twelve found this a minor loss. We will return to the disturbing absence of a cocoon of the familiar in our later discussion of both 'surprise' and appropriate induction to headship.

Other losses were either experienced as minor or elicited largely neutral responses. In some cases an item was not applicable, such as the loss of an uncompleted project, the intimacy of a small school or the buzz of a big school. Interestingly, only 14 (38%) saw 'someone else taking the final responsibility' as a loss (three as a *serious* loss), suggesting that, for most, having the buck stop with them was not regretted.

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In summary, we found that the 'new' heads had experienced detachment from their 'old' school as largely welcome, following ample preparation either under their 'old' head or through the training offered by their local authority. They were ready to undertake the role, many having already had opportunities to try it out as acting heads or during shorter absences of their heads, though they separated from familiar faces and procedures with some regret.

The move to the 'new' school.

Attachment gains. The 11 gains that the focus groups had outlined to us were largely concerned with school, professional and personal development, with only one, though an important one, concerning relationships. In the questionnaire responses, relationships were rated as the second most important gain. Virtually all the new heads had been gratified by the support they had received from staff.

Nearly all rated as gratifying the following aspects of their headships (the first three being seen as particularly gratifying by over two thirds of the sample):

School development

- seeing planned developments take place;
- control over the direction of the school;
- being able to encourage staff development and professionalism;
- being in charge;
- financial control enabling things to happen;

Personal development

- new things to learn and master;
- involvement in a wider professional world.

Both an increase in salary and their new position and status in the community received only moderate approval, and elicited some negative responses. The 'salary' item was to be expected, as the difference between the salary of a deputy and of a head was not great and had not been a motivator for application in our deputy study. The community position, which eight perceived as ungratifying, was less expected and may have been the result of local difficulties with a school board or the expressions of disdain with which they were bombarded in the national press. Alternatively, it may have expressed the difficulty of establishing oneself as a head in an area which had never welcomed school teachers of whatever status or finally have been the result of very recent appointment when there had been too short a time to make an impact on the community or to win recognition.

Attachment gains were widely felt, all of the 'new' heads having felt at least one of the school development gains as *very* gratifying. Personal gains were generally experienced, often being seen as *very* gratifying. There appeared to be a high degree of satisfaction amongst these 'new' heads. The gains expected by the deputies of our first study seem generally to have been realised in practice.

Attachment Losses. It was in this section that the anxieties expressed by the

TABLE II. Attachment losses

	Rating	n	%
1. Headship burdens			
Amount of paperwork	1	29	78.4
Being overburdened and stressed	3	18	49
Amount of bureaucracy	4	16	43
Sense of accountability: buck stops with me	8	10	27
Dealing with difficult staff	9	10	27
Greater financial responsibility	12	9	24.3
2. Quality of life effects			
Lack of time for self and family	6	12	32.2
3. Relationship effects			
Lack/loss of closeness with staff	7	11	30.4
Lack/loss of contact with pupils	11	9	24.3
Isolation*	13	9	24.3
4. Personal/professional effects			
Lack of time for own professional growth*	2	23	62.6
Salary little increased from Deputy salary	5	14	37.8
Want to get it right, but fear might not*	10	10	27

*Identified by new heads only.

deputies of the first study were examined. We asked whether the factors which had deterred deputies from applying for headship had been experienced as attachment losses by the new heads. This was explored through a question which asked whether a list of negative aspects of headship (experienced by the focus groups of 'new' heads and in many cases anticipated by deputies) applied to the respondents *strongly, a little* or *not at all.*

These losses (Table II) were divided into: (1) headship burdens; (2) quality of life effects; (3) relationship effects; (4) personal/professional effects; and are ranked in severity, where severity is defined by numbers identifying them as a strongly felt loss. When similar numbers rated the loss strongly, rankings also reflect numbers identifying loss as felt a little.

The results suggest that the areas most acutely felt as attachment losses related to headteachers burdens, followed by some personal and professional effects. Relationship effects appear to be of markedly less importance. However, a closer examination of some of the detail shows that although headship burdens produce three of the first four losses, the second major loss is 'lack of time for professional growth', a loss that must have important implications for both induction and follow-up. These heads have, after all, pursued their careers with a fairly continuous eye on professional development. To lose this at the point of achieving some of their aspirations is a disappointment.

These results permit inferences about expectations and reality. The 27 deputies who were most likely to apply for headship had regarded the burdens of headship as disincentives, though very few (*n* = 3, 11%) had felt that paperwork was an import-

ant element in these burdens. By comparison, 78% of the new heads rated this as a very serious attachment loss.

Relationship effects are the least important for the new heads, well under a third suggesting that these are severe losses. Some go so far as to say they do not occur at all.

In the case of the *very likely to apply* deputies there was little disparity between the number considering headship burdens important disincentives and the number deterred by relationship losses. It would appear that in the event headship burdens (in particular the amount of paperwork) proved a severe trial for the new heads, while relationship losses were not as widespread as might have been expected. In support of this conclusion, we found that only a quarter of the new headteachers reported that isolation was a considerable problem for them and most had found staff support very gratifying.

In short, the attachment losses the new heads experienced appeared to be severe when applied to the time left after the burdens of headship had been overcome. Many new heads were oppressed by lack of time for themselves and for their professional development. Headship proved a consuming occupation for which being a deputy could prepare them, but which lacked the bumpy ride of reality.

> It's like a stagecoach—going along at a good gallop and then it's out of control. You see the difficulties ahead and say, 'Am I going to go over it? Can I ever feel I'm in control? But I have the courage that I am. As long as I stay on this seat I'm all right'.

Surprise: the difference between the expected and the experienced. We have already explored through attachment and detachment losses and gains elements of the transition to headship which proved more important to the new heads than the deputies had expected. In this section, instead of making comparisons between deputies and new heads we discuss the direct responses of the new heads themselves to a question asking them to indicate how surprised they were (very or somewhat) by issues highlighted by the focus groups. For the sake of simplicity the *very* and *somewhat* responses have been aggregated.

The surprises fell into four groups, which have been categorised in terms of role perceptions: role overload, role conflict and confusion, role senders' responses and own responses (Table III).

On seven of the 11 items half or over half of the new heads had been surprised by what befell them, and even on the other four items there were substantial numbers (a third or more of the heads) who were susprised. Preparation which they all claimed had been invaluable had not eliminated the shock of the actual. We observed that the new heads felt themselves decontextualised and as a result deskilled. This position is supported by the finding that nearly half reported that they were surprised by the fact that procedures that had worked in their previous school did not work in their new school.

The overload items, despite anticipation of overload in general, still surprised many by the demands they made on rapidity of response. The number of official

TABLE III. Transitional surprises and expectations

	Surprising		Expected	
	n	%*	*n*	%*
Role overload				
Paperwork mountain—the number of official returns	20	56	16	44
The necessary speed of decision making	18	51	17	49
The fragmented day	12	33	24	67
The need to fill in for others	11	31	25	69
Role conflict/confusion				
Problem of prioritising	12	33	24	67
Conflict between obligations	18	50	18	50
Role senders' responses				
Respect given to me as head	19	59	14	41
Absence of local authority interest	17	57	13	43
Need to monitor speech to avoid misinterpretation	15	44	19	56
Own responses				
No time for monitoring classroom practice	23	79	6	21
Forgetfulness	24	77	7	23

*Percentage of those responding to this item.

returns to be made was a surprise, but it is likely that the new heads who were surprised had not yet discovered strategies for sifting, filtering, discarding and delegating.

This difficulty ran into the items on role conflict and confusion. New heads take some time to establish the principles and plans which will guide their and the school staff's actions. Until this is done, dealing with priorities and conflicts was likely to be *ad hoc* and leave the new head feeling buffeted by events. However, all the focus group heads insisted that it was a slow process if the school was to establish a collegiate ethos.

A majority of the new heads was surprised by the respect given to them, having underestimated the impact that the role itself had on the staff. This was a pleasant surprise which accompanied the gratification they felt on the support offered by staff as they settled in. Unfortunately, the support offered by the local authority was found to be woefully inadequate and a source of considerable complaint. They felt abandoned after the interest shown in them as they prepared to apply for headships. Once having become a head they felt far from competent and the apparent withdrawal of support when they received no guidance from elsewhere was disappointing. School boards and parents could be invaluable substitutes.

Most striking, because of the number surprised by them were the items which picked up the new heads' personal responses to the transition. Over three quarters found their memories faulty and were somewhat shocked by their inability to monitor classroom practice. Both are symptoms of pressure and overload and affect the individual's sense of self as a competent manager.

Emerging from this analysis of transitional surprises is the message that preparation can never entirely eliminate surprise, let alone consternation. Since many surprises were disagreeable, support from staff and, desirably, from the local authority seems to be necessary while new heads establish themselves, so that a new identity as head can be confidently acquired. There are encouraging signs that staff responses underpin this transition.

Conclusions: training and support needs

The new heads had not been unprepared. As noted above, they had had experiences as acting headteachers and in some cases headteachers of small schools before this appointment, as well as of delegation of substantial tasks and collaborative work with their heads. Most had attended management courses. They nevertheless revealed that they were often bewildered by the number and complexity of the systems with which they interacted once they took up the role of head. The heads had to be familiar with three levels of system in order to gain control of day-to-day school functions. Without this control they could not move on to the more strategic aims which had led them to headship and were likely to succumb to moments of panic.

The systems which they needed to understand were as follows:

General Systems
   this might include the legal system and legal responsibilities with respect to pupils, parents, staff, resources and buildings;
Local Authority Systems
   the who's who of the education office and the council;
   local authority administrative practice;
   property maintenance;
   financial arrangements;
   proformas for accessing provision and for accountability purposes;
   due dates for submissions;
School Systems
   current school procedures and how to implement them;
   current job descriptions and selection arrangements;
   school budget issues.

The heads emphasised a need to master the details of administration as opposed to wider issues of management practice with which they felt more familiar as a consequence of experience and management training courses. Thus, when it came to considering the implications for training and support for new heads there seemed to be a number of ways of meeting the demand. We have mentioned actually undertaking the headteacher role before being appointed, but additionally it appears desirable to provide various forms of induction. These might span opportunities to shadow a headteacher, but also induction courses which cover the needs outlined above. This would ensure that the local authority ran courses which not only covered legal responsibilities and financial systems, but also such fundamentals as chairing meetings. Local authority induction might also concern itself with the

administrative requirements the new heads stressed. More fundamentally, a problem solving approach with its emphasis on prioritising problems and developing strategies according to clearly determined goals might be encouraged and even deliberately taught (Dunning 1996), because of its generalisation to many problems.

A second level of induction lies within the school itself. For this, previous heads and the staff themselves might have to take responsibility. A support package listing internal systems might well be invaluable (cf. Lothian Region Council 1996). Other headteachers can also provide invaluable support, formally, through a mentoring system (Parkay & Hall 1992; Bolam *et al.* 1995) instituted in some local authorities, or informally, through local headteacher networks and new headteacher groups. Professional socialisation depends on colleagues as well as courses (Hart & Weindling 1996).

HEADLAMP, the Teacher Training Agency (1995) initiative to support new headteachers, outlines the generic requirements of the head's role and an appropriate training programme to enable new heads to respond suitably. The new heads of this study seemed to be prepared to undertake many of these tasks and were probably appointed because they had given evidence not only of understanding the demands of headship but of implementing policies and plans within the more protected environment of their previous schools. Nevertheless, it appears that new heads suffer from a serious decontextualising effect on moving schools and that overcoming this through initial support at the administrative level might well enable them to enjoy and grow in their new identity. If managers are to continue to develop, however, there is evidence (McMahon & Bolam 1990) that systematic and individualised support is needed not only at the moment of change but thereafter.

Formal qualifications in England and Wales and presently at the consultation stage in Scotland seem likely to meet overarching training needs for new headteachers (Teacher Training Agency 1996; Scottish Office Education and Industry Department 1997). The provision of such training, while necessary, is unlikely, however, to be sufficient to meet all the induction needs of aspiring and new headteachers. Provision of support at authority and school level will still be needed. National training programmes do not preclude the need for more local induction and support systems, but in times of reducing resources there must be a reasonable fear that generic training provision will be judged to be enough and that new headteachers will spend time finding out about local systems at the expense of taking forward management strategies for effective schooling.

Acknowledgements

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Leaving the Register: Scottish teachers lost to the profession, 1997–98

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ABSTRACT With recruitment into teaching becoming more difficult, the spectre of teacher shortage raises questions about teacher retention, especially given recent negative comment about teaching. This article offers an analysis of some of the characteristics of the 4000 Scottish teachers who left the profession in the year 1997–98. The study looked at the age, gender, sector, length of experience and registration status of those who left. It found that, while some left teaching early in their working lives and, as would be expected, a goodly number remain to nearly retirement age, there is a pattern of departures at all stages which constitutes a considerable loss of expertise to the profession. The findings generate questions about the average length of a modern teaching career and the costs of losing experienced staff well before retirement age.

Introduction

Recent concern about teacher supply and about attracting enough good people into teaching raises fears about both teacher shortage and the spectre of crisis recruitment initiatives such as the Scottish Special Recruitment Scheme of the 1960s. In 1998, falling numbers of applicants for initial teacher education in England brought results: the Teacher Training Agency poured an extra £3.5 million into advertising. However, an adequate supply of teachers may not be ensured simply by attracting enough people into teaching. They also have to stay. The aim of the present article is to contribute to our understanding of teacher careers and retention (and non-retention) by studying the career structures of around 4000 teachers who left the profession in Scotland in 1997/8.

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Career Models and Assumptions

The greatest problem in teaching is not getting rid of the
'deadwood' but how to create, sustain and motivate good
teachers throughout their careers. (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1992)

This quotation seems to assume that teachers will stay in teaching for an entire working life. Is that a reasonable assumption?

Professional careers are expected to be long term. Training for entering professions is lengthy and time may be served in a probationary period to confirm appropriateness for membership. Entry to training and assessment during training will often include some assessment of professional commitment. Motives for joining a profession are assumed to include a sense of vocation, a commitment to professional values and an appreciation of the intrinsic appeal of core professional tasks. A substantial personal investment in training is required from those who wish to join professions.

Ball & Goodson's seminal work *Teachers' Lives and Careers* (1985) recounted a shift in thinking about teachers' careers and the place of work in teachers' lives. They set teaching within changing educational contexts and funding, and explore the effects of these changes on teachers' views of themselves as professionals and of their work. Later studies of teachers' careers, for example those of Huberman (1993) and MacLean (1992), reflect the assumption of a career lasting to retirement, although Huberman and MacLean do acknowledge that some teachers think of leaving. MacLean (1992) highlighted a range of factors that impinge on career decision-making, with a particular emphasis on promotion. He suggests that conceptions of career possibilities in teaching are mainly defined by an assumption that teachers will stay in teaching and that their career prospects lay in opportunities in schools. The bulk of the literature on teachers' careers reflects the career-to-retirement assumption. The samples on which findings are based usually comprise the survivors: those who have stayed in teaching. Far less in practice is known about those who leave. This article, unlike many earlier studies, concentrates on those who leave.

The concept of a full teaching career is also linked to the concepts of lifelong learning and career-long continuing professional development (CPD). As Fullan & Hargreaves outline above, the sustenance of teachers requires inputs, from colleagues and others, and professional support and encouragement. Career-long professional development is identified as having two functions: first, to support the development of skills and expertise in order to become a better teacher (or, for those in promoted posts, a better manager) and, secondly, to update teachers' knowledge and skills in order to facilitate new developments, new initiatives and newly required targets. These functions highlight the needs of the

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system, but pay perhaps less attention to the personal and professional needs of individual teachers.

Teacher Career Patterns

Ball & Goodson (1985) describe a range of factors as influencing teachers' career patterns including gender, age, opportunities and pressures in non-work life, and the context, political and ideological, in which teachers operate. MacLean (1992) reviewed career studies and concluded that having accumulated around 5 years of experience, teachers enter the 'teacher career proper', where promotion becomes more feasible and decisions about application are more likely to be made. This distinction between Novice and Expert teachers is a useful one for analytical purposes, and will be referred to again below.

In Scotland beginning teachers (probationers) enter the profession as provisionally registered teachers. Once they have satisfactorily completed 380 days (two full years) of teaching, as attested to by their headteachers, they are registered as full members of the profession.

Factors Encouraging Teachers to Stay in Teaching

The very assumption that teaching is a career for life will make its own contribution to retention, in that a pro-active decision to leave is required once a teacher has a permanent post. The highly specialised initial training process may also act as a deterrent from leaving if it is seen to restrict other employment options (as found for medical training by Allen, 1994). Rather more positively, however, the concept of commitment to work arises in the literature along with the idea of restraining factors, which in effect inhibit decisions to leave.

Commitment to work. The general concept of commitment to work is defined by Mowday et al (1979, 1984) as the likelihood of staying on in a job. In the educational literature, Chapman (1983) found that commitment influenced whether or not teachers stayed in the profession and Coladarci (1992) defined commitment as 'psychological attachment to the teaching profession'. While Nias (1981) suggests that the application of the concept of job satisfaction to teaching is complex because being a teacher strongly involves the self, Fresko et al (1997) found that job satisfaction was the best predictor of teacher commitment. Fraser et al (1998) found that teachers expressed considerable satisfaction with the friendliness of colleagues, with the intellectual challenges of teaching and with the autonomy they had. The latter is interesting in the light of Ball's emphasis on reduced autonomy for teachers in England (1993).

Commitment to teaching is complex: it may be to the pupils/classes, and/or the post/department, and/or the school and/or the profession. In

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addition, Ball & Goodson (1985) write of 'the delicate balance of commitment between teaching and life' (p. 24). Teachers' career decisions may be influenced by a wide range of factors and teachers may quit posts for a range of reasons including career, domestic, personal and financial. Their principal reasons for leaving will not necessarily be directly related to their commitment to, or enjoyment of, teaching. In Scotland, a number of teachers continue to belong to the professional register after they have left teaching jobs, confirming that commitment to the profession is not the same as commitment to a specific post or school.

Developing commitment to reduce teacher loss? A number of factors are held to contribute to the development of commitment to work. These include early success, good induction and recognition of efforts (Mowday et al, 1979). The educational research on teacher commitment (Lacey, 1977; Ball & Goodson, 1985; D'Arcy, 1988; Draper et al, 1991; Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997) identifies several of the same issues/elements. Good induction into both individual posts and into the profession is seen as important in beginning jobs well. While they are often a major plank of personnel policy, there appears to have been limited evaluation of their actual implementation.

Early socialisation experiences in post, which support a developmental view of teaching, through constructive feedback and support systems, rather than an emphasis on proving one can cope unaided, might be expected to lead to the development of commitment. Actual experiences reported however do not always report such constructive beginnings to teaching careers. Studies of Scottish beginning teachers (probationers); Draper et al (1991, 1997a) have suggested that the needs of new teachers for induction information, and for feedback and support are sometimes not met. It seems likely that the needs of new teachers could be met in such a way as to facilitate more effectively the development of professional commitment and that one expected consequence of that more developed commitment would be lower levels of teacher loss.

The literature on commitment also identifies restraining factors that make people less likely to leave work. Mowday gives the examples of employee commitment and loyalty. Within the educational literature, restraining factors that have been identified have included enjoying working with children and the satisfaction of seeing pupils learning, both of which directly parallel the intrinsic motivation described by Calderhead & Shorrock (1997).

Factors Related to Leaving Teaching

If satisfaction helps commitment to develop, are sources of dissatisfaction important also? In the Fraser et al study (1998), the most common sources of dissatisfaction were workload, proportion of time spent on administration and society's view of teachers. Many references of course have been made to public 'teacher bashing' and its impact on teacher morale (e.g. Goodson, 1999). Current emphasis on the incompetence of a few, overlooks the competence of the many. One effect of such adverse comment might well be to encourage teachers to think of leaving. Similarly, in relation to workload and increasing administrative burdens, Hargreaves (1994) highlighted the intensification of teachers' work, and Travers & Cooper (1996) have drawn attention to high levels of teacher stress. All of these might be expected to impact on teachers' career decision-making.

Several studies have asked teachers if they had thought of leaving (e.g. Huberman, 1993), who found that just over half his sample had contemplated departure. Draper et al (1996) found that three-quarters of a group of Scottish teachers (of mixed age and experience, and balanced for sector and gender) had thought of leaving, higher than the figures reported by Huberman. Most of the Scottish teachers reported that their thoughts of leaving had been influenced by general dissatisfaction rather than by specific incidents or initiatives or by the existence of attractive alternative employment opportunities. This concurs with Hargreaves' description of generalised intensification, rather than the impact of particular events or policy changes. The Scottish findings led to the conclusion that it was normal for teachers to think of leaving and that, at any one time, the profession might be held to comprise those who are keen to stay, those who have passing thoughts of leaving, those who feel trapped, those in the process of deciding to leave teaching and those who have decided to leave. Such a range of views has important implications for the perceived relevance of professional development opportunities. Thought, of course, does not always lead to action and thinking of leaving does not necessarily lead to departure. Thinking of leaving may be a natural response to frustrations and irritations in any job. Actually leaving may also depend upon alternative employment being available. A sense of feeling 'trapped' may be experienced by those who believe there are no alternative opportunities, as found by Draper et al (1998). However, even if teachers who have thought of leaving do not actually leave, it seems possible that their sense of commitment is undermined by their thoughts of leaving.

A number of studies have been conducted on teachers who have left (e.g. Darling-Hammond, 1990) and some of these have suggested that teaching has a higher wastage rate than other professions (Anderson et al, 1983; Spaull, 1977). In addition, factors have been identified which are associated with higher levels of teacher loss: for example, more men left

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than women; more secondary teachers left than primary (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Heyns, 1988), more single than married people; and those in some secondary subjects more than others (Murnane et al, 1988). Darling-Hammond, working in the US, found that half of those who enter teaching leave in the first 5 years and that teacher loss shows a U-shaped curve in its distribution, with Novices leaving in large numbers, few experts leaving in mid-career and an expected expert group leaving through retirement. Little evidence has been collected on Scottish teachers. Draper et al (1998) studied 192 teachers with 5, 10 and 15 years of experience. Twenty-three reported that they were not planning to stay in teaching for the next 5 years. Those expecting to leave matched the findings above: more were male and more were secondary.

Casualised employment: undermining commitment? More people are now employed in casual posts, on short-term or part-time contracts. The occupational literature (e.g. Statt, 1994) suggests that this will have an impact on commitment, with employees who do not have secure employment, and its associated employer commitment, developing less commitment to work. The educational literature (e.g. Ozga, 1988) emphasises the impact of casual employment in terms of limited access to CPD and to promotion opportunities. A recent Scottish study (Draper et al, 1997a), looking at the experiences of beginning teachers in Scotland, found that the early part of a teacher's career was significantly disrupted by beginning work on short-term contracts. This survey of 193 teachers who completed their 2-year probationary period in 1995–96 revealed that two-thirds had begun their careers on temporary or very short-term contracts. A more detailed study of 26 of those with very broken employment experiences (Draper et al, 1997b) identified specific aspects of beginning a professional career in casual employment. There was an emphasis of survival, rather than on making progress. Much time was put into trying to ensure the next employment contract, rather than concentrating on learning to be a better teacher. There was a relative narrowness in the experience of those on non-permanent contracts. They had difficulty accessing continuing professional development opportunities. For these teachers working on short-term contracts, there had been little experience of long-term planning, of curriculum development, of being a member of a staff team. If satisfaction is strongly associated with the friendliness of colleagues (and support from them), and if commitment and retention are closely linked to early success and good induction, then the experiences of those in early broken employment are not encouraging.

The current literature on teacher careers then indicates that a study of teachers who have left teaching would be a useful balancing contribution. The present article aims to do this by surveying those teachers who left the profession in Scotland in the financial year 1997–98.

The Data and the Variables

The data to be analysed refer to all 4186 teachers whose membership of the Register of teachers lapsed between 1 April 1997 and 31 March 1998.

It is a statutory duty of the General Teaching Council (GTC) to maintain a register of all those who possess the necessary qualifications and experience to work as a teacher. Membership of the Register is a statutory requirement for anyone wishing to work as a teacher in any state-funded educational establishment in the primary or secondary sectors in Scotland. As such, the Register can be regarded as a list of those who at any time can regard themselves as members of the teaching profession and, due to its central importance in the regulation of the teaching profession, it is reasonable to assume that the data contained in it will be extremely accurate.

However, the Register is primarily an administrative, rather than a research tool. The details that it keeps for each registrand are those needed to maintain a record of the time, place and nature of the registrand's initial teacher education, the type of teaching that the registrand is qualified to undertake and, in the case of probationary registrands, the amount of service currently accrued towards the attainment of full registration. As such, the Register contains much information not relevant to research of the type reported here, but does not contain information which would have been very useful. For example, the Register records when people leave the profession, but not why, as this is not part of its remit. Working from administrative data sources usually brings high reliability, but the cost is that the data may not be quite what is required.

For present purposes, five of the data fields within the Register are relevant:

- Sex (male/female).
- The registration status of the teachers (full/provisional).
- The sector in which they had been working (primary/secondary).
- Date of birth.
- Superannuation year: this is allocated to each individual at the start of initial teacher education and represents the year in which the teacher is expected to start probation (i.e. start earning a salary). If initial teacher education is broken for any reason (by taking a year out for instance), this expectation will not be accurate, but on average it should give a reasonable index of when each teacher's career began.

For the purposes of presenting the results, two of these variables were modified. First, date of birth was transformed into age by subtracting the year in which the teacher was born from 1998. In some cases, depending on the months in which birth and lapsing happened, this might not give the correct figure, but the error cannot be more than 1 year in each case. Secondly, length of teaching career was estimated from superannuation

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year by subtracting the superannuation year from 1998, with the same possibility of error as above. It should also be noted that where teachers have taken a career break (e.g. to raise a family), this calculation of career length will be inaccurate. However, since the Register does not contain details of career breaks, it was not possible to make an allowance for this.

Not all of the 4186 records were of interest in the present article. Some of the teachers had been working in a sector other than primary or secondary (e.g. further education) or had a registration status other than full or provisional (e.g. conditional). Accordingly, these records were deleted, leaving 3850 records or 92% of the original group. It can be seen that the sizes of the deleted groups were small compared to the main group on which the analysis was conducted.

Results

A brief overview of the data will outline the relationships between the first three of the above variables. The following sections will then deal with the ages at which fully registered teachers leave the profession, the Darling-Hammond hypothesis for career lengths of fully registered teachers and the career lengths of provisionally registered teachers.

Overview

Table I gives the numbers of teachers falling into the various categories of registration status, sector and sex.

	Fully registered	Provisionally registered	Female	Male	Sex unknown	Total
Primary	1380	314	1539	155	0	1694
Secondary	1528	628	1242	910	4	2156
Female	2118	663				2781
Male	787	278				1065
Sex unknown	3	1				4
Total	2908	942				3850

Table I. The composition of the sample by registration status, sex and sector.

The percentage of teachers who are female in primary (90.8%) and secondary (57.7%) differ from the corresponding ratios of teachers employed in these sectors in 1994 (92.3 and 49.8%, respectively),[1] suggesting that in the primary sector, females are less likely than males to have left the register in 1997–98, while in the secondary section they are somewhat more likely to have done so. In the group as a whole, 1.27 secondary teachers lapsed for every primary teacher (compared to an

employment ratio of 1.10:1) and 3.06 fully registered teachers lapsed for each provisionally registered one (there does not seem to be a corresponding national ratio).

Age at Leaving of Experienced Teachers

Figure 1 gives the distribution of age at leaving the Register of fully registered teachers in primary and secondary combined.[2] The importance of this graph is that it provides an overall impression of the numbers of years' teaching which could have been served by teachers who had shown the necessary competence to complete probation, but who then decided either to pursue employment outside teaching or not to work at all: in other words, the wastage rate. The overall shape of the distribution shows that, predictably, very few registered teachers leave before their late twenties, but from then on there is a slow, but steady loss until the mid-forties, after which the rate rises inexorably until it reaches its peak in the early sixties.
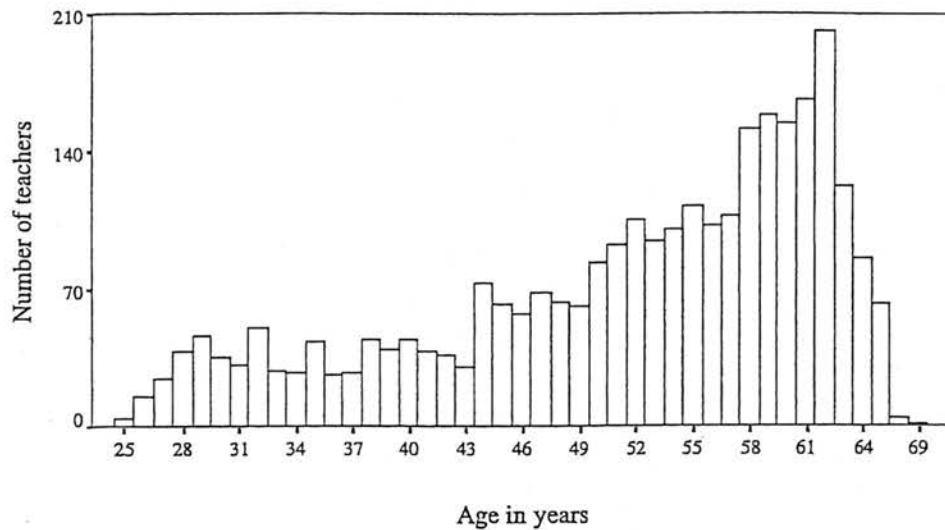

Figure 1. Age at lapsing for 2908 fully registered teachers.

Within this group, there are notable sex differences. These are only of any consequence in the secondary sector since in the primary sector, the teacher population is so dominated by women that any observable differences are necessarily small. Amongst fully registered secondary teachers however, a distinct pattern emerges. Figure 2 shows the proportions of male and female teachers who lapsed at each age. Note that some of these age groups are small in absolute size and that as a result, some of the bars in Figure 2 have individually limited statistical significance. Overall, however, the pattern is clear: female teachers make

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up the majority of those lapsing before their late forties, while male teachers make up the majority after this point.
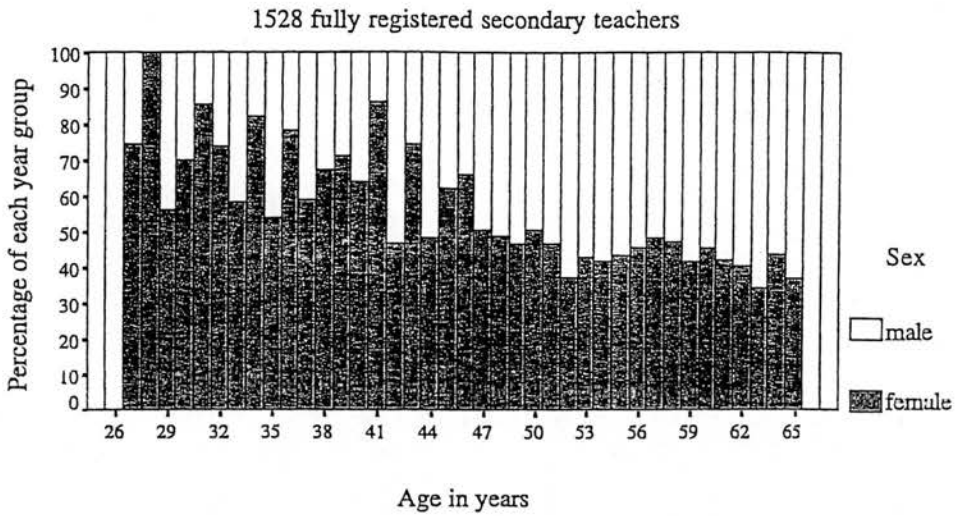

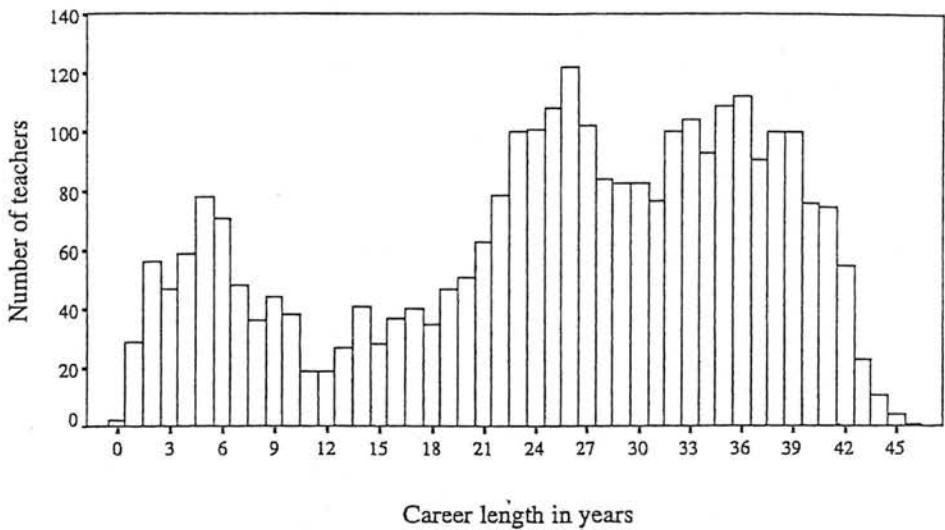Figure 2. Proportions of males and females lapsing.

Figure 3. Career length for 2908 fully registered teachers.

The Darling-Hammond Hypothesis

As discussed above, the Darling-Hammond hypothesis states that the probability of leaving teaching is relatively high in the early years of the career, when some teachers may be finding out that they are not as suited to the profession as they hoped or are experiencing difficulty in obtaining suitable employment. It is also higher in the later years due to (possibly early) retirement. The rate of leaving will be lower in between

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these times as teachers are more likely to be established in their profession and are more likely either to be achieving promotion, or to have reasonable prospects of doing so.

Figure 3 plots the distribution of career lengths of fully registered teachers. The overall shape of the graph is very similar for the primary and secondary sectors, and for male and female teachers. It is trimodal in profile with peaks corresponding to career lengths of around 35 years and around 25 years with a smaller peak at around 5 years. Interestingly, at around 15 years the pattern is exactly the opposite: there is a deep trough in the graph at this point with a shallower trough at a career length of around 30 years. The implications that these findings have for the Darling-Hammond hypothesis are discussed in the next section.

Career Length and Probationer Teachers

Figure 3 was constructed on the basis only of fully registered teachers since the Darling-Hammond hypothesis can only properly be applied to those who have become full members of the teaching profession. There is, however, another important finding relating to career length, this time in the context of provisionally registered teachers or probationers. Figure 4 gives the distributions of career length for provisionally registered teachers. The overall shapes of the graphs are very similar for the primary and secondary sectors, consisting of a large group whose career lasted not more than 5 years and very long 'tail' covering careers of over 30 years in length.
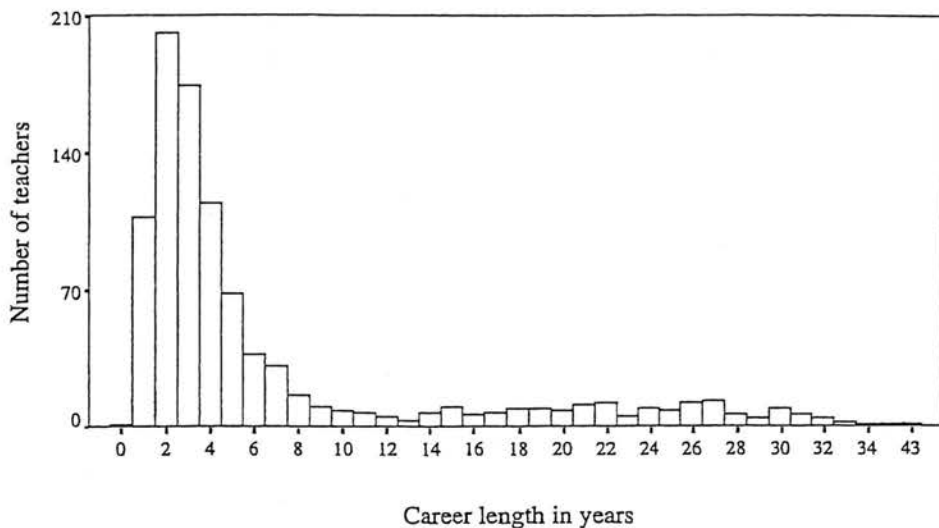

Figure 4. Career length for 941 provisionally registered teachers.

To search for possible differences between these groups, the lapsing probationers were divided into those whose careers had been 7 years or

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less and those whose careers had been 8 years or more, since on the basis of Fig. 4 this is where the initial 'hump' of the distribution seems to merge into the 'tail', which occupies most of the career length span. In the primary sector, the sexual composition of the two groups was almost identical. In the secondary sector, women made up a larger proportion (74%) of the 'tail' than of the 'hump' (59%). This difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 9.52$, df = 1, $P < 0.005$).

Discussion

The results will be discussed under three headings: the 'lost years' between which experienced teachers leave and when they might have retired, the Darling-Hammond hypothesis and the implications of the existence of a group of teachers whose provisional registration appears to be a long-term status.

Age at Leaving of Experienced Teachers

Those years that experienced teachers could spend in teaching, but do not do so are sometimes referred to as 'wastage'. In fact, the term itself is interesting: 'wastage' is value-laden, suggesting that that teaching contribution is wasted which could have been made by those leaving the profession well before retirement age. In one sense of course, this is true – any individual is unlikely to make any teaching contribution after having left the Register. However, it begs the question of what other contributions might be made by former teachers who have left to pursue other interests (see Paterson, 1998, for the range of activities to which teachers contribute).

Altogether about 51% of the teachers who left the register did so before the age of 55. No doubt the reasons for leaving were diverse and often unrelated to professional matters, but the fact remains that Fig. 1 demonstrates the existence of a great deal of unused potential. The analysis of the early leavers showed that female teachers are more likely to leave early than are their male counterparts. There may be a number of reasons for this and they may change over the course of the teaching career. Promotion is one possibility – male teachers may be more likely to achieve promotion which, as well as conferring professional satisfaction and self-fulfillment, may also lead the teacher to be out of the classroom for at least some of the working day and away from the stresses of the chalk face.

Does it matter if teachers leave early? There are substantial costs in high levels of leaving which accrue to the system, to schools and to pupils/students quite apart from those carried by individual teachers themselves (Travers & Cooper, 1996). These include the cost of training, and of recruitment and induction for new teachers. The loss of

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experienced teachers who are skilled and knowledgeable weakens school staff, and renders this expertise unavailable to beginning teachers. The loss of those with past involvement in the school has an impact on school climate and morale and on organisational cohesion. The loss of teachers also impacts on long-term planning and collegiality. Investment in continuing professional development is not recouped. Perhaps most importantly, pupils' educational progress is disturbed. The costs of substantial numbers of teachers leaving the profession cannot be calculated solely in financial terms.

While recruitment remains robust there is the question of whether it matters that people leave teaching. In part, the answer must depend upon the nature of those who leave. If they are unhappy in teaching, are less capable in their work and find their motivation and commitment low, then their loss and replacement may be learners' gain. If, however, those who leave are capable teachers with accumulated experience and wisdom then they are likely to prove to be difficult to replace, especially by staff on short-term contracts with little access to professional development opportunities.

The Darling-Hammond Hypothesis

This relates to the way in which the probability of leaving the profession in a particular year changes as a function of the number of years since entering the profession. The simplest form of data needed to verify (or otherwise) this hypothesis would be the distribution of career lengths of a cohort of people who all entered the profession at the same time. The present data, however, refer to people who all *left* the profession at the same time. Using these data to look at career lengths, therefore, is complicated by the fact that this group will have entered the profession at different times that were characterised by varying levels of overall intake. These variations must of course be taken into account when interpreting the present data to evaluate the Darling-Hammond hypothesis.

Over the period from 1966 (the earliest date for which figures appear to be available) to 1994, the number of students completing initial teacher education courses (either primary or secondary) rose from 3642 in 1966–67 to its highest (5919) in 1972–73, declining to 1126 in 1988–89 and rising again to 2477 in 1993–94. One alternative to the Darling-Hammond hypothesis (and there are many alternatives – this one is chosen mainly due to its computational simplicity) is that the probability of leaving the profession is the same in any year as it is in any other year. In this case, it would be expected that the shape of Fig. 3 would reflect exactly the shape of intake levels over the corresponding years.[3] Matching the two graphs cannot be done exactly because of the complex relationship between the two groups: for example, teachers who do not

complete probation are included in the numbers completing initial training but are not included in Fig. 3. This is because, while the Darling-Hammond hypothesis as originally proposed was intended to cover all entrants to a profession, the data presented here show that teachers who complete probation have wholly different career trajectories from those who do not. It would appear rather artificial, on statistical grounds if no other, to lump them together for the purposes of analysis.
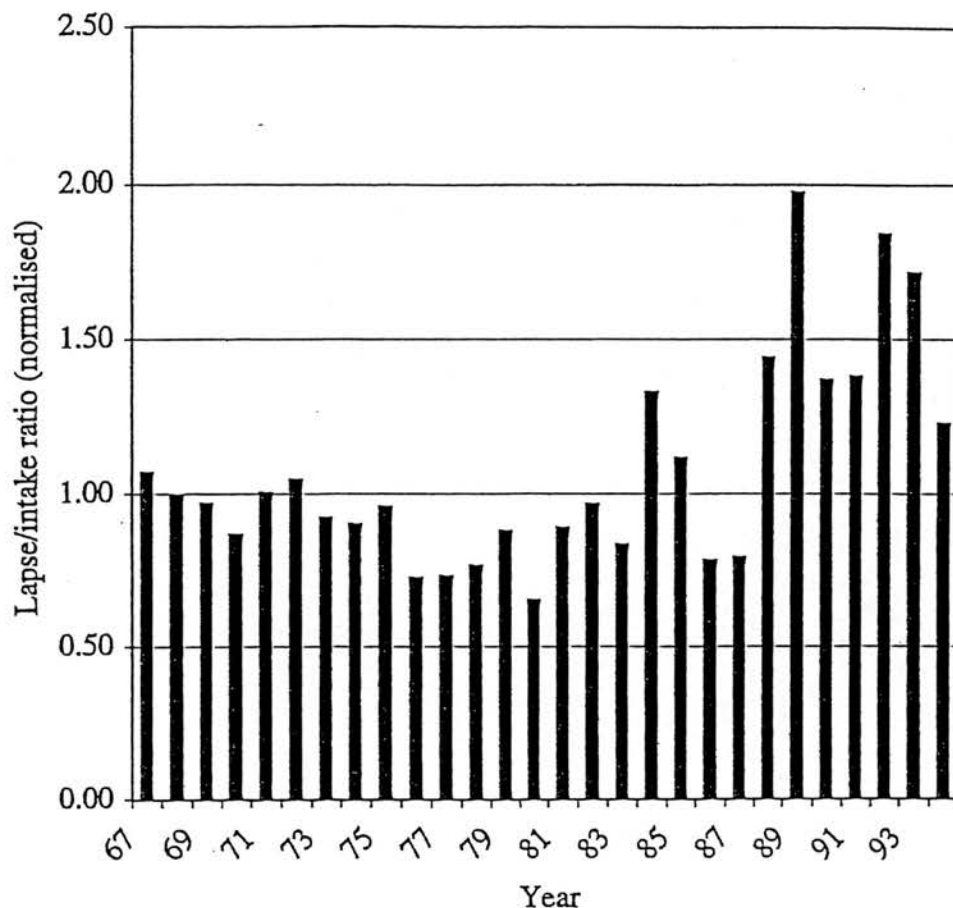
Figure 5. Lapse/intake ratios by year.

The shapes of the graphs for intake and lapse rates are compared in Figure 5. For each year between 1966–67 and 1993–94 inclusive, the number lapsing in that year, expressed as a proportion of all teachers lapsing over these 27 years, was divided by the intake in that year, also expressed as a proportion of the total intake for the 27 year period. The results are plotted in Figure 5. The Darling-Hammond hypothesis predicts that this graph will be U-shaped, while if the lapse probability is constant from year to year, the graph should have a constant value of one. In fact, Figure 5 shows some evidence of the shape predicted by Darling-

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Hammond: had it been possible to extend the graph back to around 1959/60 so as to cover a career span of 38 years (age 22–60), there might have been more evidence of Figure 5 having larger values in the earlier years, as predicted.

The data on career length then offer some support to the Darling-Hammond hypothesis. The lapse rate in the first five years after entering the profession appears to be about 50% higher than would be expected on the basis of the intake rates in those years. This could be due to a group of teachers who have decided that they are not as suited to the profession as they hoped. The lapse rate for career lengths of between 10 and 20 years, however, is only around three-quarters of that which would be predicted. For career lengths between 20 and 30 years, the value rises again to one that is consistent with intake. Darling-Hammond would predict that it would rise above this for longer careers, though it is not possible to confirm this on the basis of the data presented here.

Career Length and Probationer Teachers

There are significant policy implications in the existence of a 'tail' of teachers whose career lengths can stretch over 30 years, but who have never completed probation. Such prolongation of what is intended to be a temporary status may seem perverse, though it presumably has advantages for those who choose to do it. However, prolonging probationer status has implications not only for the teachers concerned, but also for the performance of their professional duties. Being a good teacher is not simply a question of completing initial training and a period of probation. It is expected to be an ongoing process involving a programme of continuing professional development, which ensures that all members of the profession are kept in touch with developments in teaching methods, in curriculum design and implementation, and other relevant issues such as special needs and inclusion. These probationers with their peripheral membership of the profession are less likely to have access to and to be fully involved in such programmes. This, of course, is not to say that long-term probationers are necessarily unaware of changes in good practice, but it is true that there is no mechanism for ensuring that they are aware of them.

Conclusions

No two careers in teaching or any other profession are ever the same and any attempt to identify routes of career progression is inevitably going to involve a measure of over-simplification. Nevertheless, it does appear to be possible to identify categories of career progression that can form the basis for an understanding of teacher careers. It must be noted, however, that these categories simply represent those career trajectories that are

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more likely to be followed than others and that they are not in any sense representative of the entire cohort.

Teacher Loss: beginning teachers

The data presented above suggest that there are several different subgroups within the cohort of teachers who enter the profession at any time. One group consists of those who do not complete probation within 6 or 7 years and, possibly out of frustration, leave to pursue other avenues. Some loss of novice teachers might be expected during the first few years and although there would be a concern about whether the initial investment in them has been returned, this would only be likely to be a major concern if numbers were high.

A second group also do not complete probation within this time, but stay on the Register as long-term probationers, apparently unconcerned that they are occupying a status that is not intended to play this role. It is intriguing to speculate on the view that the General Medical Council would have of doctors regarding general practice as a casual employment. Should professional standards in this respect be lower for teachers? On these grounds there may be a case for monitoring the uptake of CPD opportunities of those who stay as probationers for a lengthy period or even for limiting the period over which probationary status may be held. In the latter case, however, there would need to be a mechanism for taking account of legitimate reasons such as the difficulty of securing the supply work necessary to complete probationary requirements.

Teacher Loss: experienced teachers

Regarding fully-registered teachers, the data presented above indicate that, while around one-fifth were aged 60 or over when they lapsed, more than half were aged 55 or less, and over a quarter were aged 45 or less. Fully registered teachers may be somewhat more likely to leave in the early (and possibly later) years of their potential careers, but this is only a trend and substantial numbers of teachers leave at all stages of their careers. If teachers leave before retirement, and perhaps especially once they have become established and expert teachers, then the question that arises is how long does a teacher have to work in order for the investment in training and later support to be worth making?

Given continuing professional development, one could argue that investment continues on a regular basis. To simplify the question, however, let us confine ourselves to initial teacher education. How long does a teacher have to teach for an adequate return to be achieved on the initial investment? This might be called the 'payback period'. The calculation of such a period could have useful implications for human

resource planning. However, such a rule could not be derived purely on statistical grounds. Calculating even the financial aspects is not straightforward. In reality, there are many investments being made by many investors. These include the costs of initial teacher education and of subsequent support for professional development, the investment of effort and support by colleagues, the investment of pupils in developing relationships with teachers, the investment by individual teachers in themselves and their own careers, and the opportunity cost of their career choice.

Where teachers stay to retirement, there is, in effect, no issue about how long a career lasts. It will last as long as it can given the age at which a teacher joins the profession. The main priority will simply be to ensure that teachers join the profession when they are young enough to give a return on the training, recruitment and induction and other costs that have been invested. Clearly, however, many highly experienced teachers left the profession well before retirement age. Assuming continuing professional development is anything more than rhetoric (and remembering MacLean's 5-year marker for moving from Novice to Expert status), this must represent a huge loss in skill and expertise. While recruitment into teaching remains robust there may be little concern raised over teacher loss, although the level of professional experience of those who replace these teachers will be much lower. Should recruitment become more difficult at a time when many leave the profession, a very real supply problem is a possibility.

Teaching: a career for life ?

It may therefore be unrealistic to assume that teaching is a career for life. However, as long as it is confidently or complacently assumed that teachers will stay in teaching as long as they can, there will be little interest in how many teachers leave and why they do so. However, the issues relating to this are clearly central if teacher supply is to be managed effectively. This article has investigated the numbers of teachers who leave the Register after careers of different sorts, but the data on which it is based say little if anything about *why* they do so. Speculation on reasons could draw directly on the literature: teacher bashing, the quantity of initiatives underway, increased workload, teacher stress and the impact of all of these on teacher commitment would be just initial suggestions, but further evidence would be needed to establish the relative importance of these and of other, competing, reasons.

Finally, there is a related but converse issue: we need to know not only who leaves and why, but also who doesn't leave and why not. Do teachers stay as a deliberate choice, driven by job interest and satisfaction, or due to inertia or because no alternative options are

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available? How many teachers stay because there is nowhere else to go? If this number is significant, what are the costs (financial and otherwise) of retaining staff who are less committed?

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Notes

[1] The figures relating to national patterns of employment and intake are all taken from various issues of the Scottish Office Statistical Bulletin (Education Series) between 1981 and 1995.

[2] The profiles for primary and secondary are not quite the same, but the differences are not sufficiently large or systematic to justify separate graphs for primary and secondary.

[3] Strictly speaking this only follows if the total size of the teaching workforce has remained stable over the period in question. The Scottish Office Statistical Bulletin (Education Series) indicates that between 1978–79 and 1993–94, the total number of teachers (measured in FTEs) varied by +10%, which is small compared to the variation in intake rates reported in section 5.2.

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SECONDARY SCHOOL IDENTITIES AND CAREER DECISION MAKING

JANET DRAPER AND PAQUITA MCMICHAEL

SYNOPSIS

Within this article we shall examine the assumption of the inevitability of applying for promotion. For this purpose we consider those who are interested in applying for promotion beyond Principal Teacher (head of subject department) level. We seek to identify the factors relating to self concept which might distinguish these teachers from those who plan to go no further up the ladder. The findings we report derive from a study of the identities of Scottish secondary school Principal Teachers and Assistant Headteachers, drawing on five elements of identity. While some elements of identity are found to vary with role, this only occurs when career intention is taken into account. A considerable proportion of both groups of staff do intend to seek further promotion, and links are drawn between these intentions and gender, age and length of time in post.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of the Scottish Qualification for Headship (SQH) has generated a need to select staff who may be most likely to benefit from the experience. In addition, the SQH and concerns about the numbers of suitable applicants for headship have jointly raised questions about the motivation for seeking or avoiding promotion in schools. Explanations for not applying have been offered in terms of the relative unattractiveness of senior posts in schools times of rapid change, the high levels of public accountability of school managers and a context of critical comment about schooling. Rather less attention has been paid to the individual dimensions of career decision making and yet it is also at the individual level that decisions about careers are made. Recent consideration of the development needs of teachers, for example the emerging proposals for a framework for continuing professional development (CPD) and McCrone's (2000) recommendations on CPD reflect a recognition that individual teachers may find roles which suit or satisfy them at very different points in schools' hierarchies.

Nothing is straightforward about forming an identity, indeed identities may fluctuate and reform over a career, shifting with promotions and disappointments. Perhaps the core identity (Cooley, 1912) may remain the same, but the social group to which individuals belong will affect shifts (Tajfel, 1974). Within the secondary school environment there are marked social groups each of which maintain their own identity. Subject departments form one set of social groups but another is the result of the hierarchy of the organisation. The Senior Management Team (SMT) creates a group which develops its own view of the school with a wider perspective. Whether heads of subject departments, principal teachers (PTs) wish to pursue a career in schools which entails joining the SMT or remaining with their first interest is likely to depend on which identity best fits their views of themselves, but also on external influences, availability of AHT posts, gender, support and encouragement from others, in particular, Deputy and Head Teachers. The importance of these significant others (Mead, 1934) not only in acting as models but in promoting career aspirations is a constant factor in changing self perceptions (Draper and McMichael, 1998). Furthermore, as Ball and Goodson (1985) and Alexander, Havard, Leishman and Wight (1991) point out there are alternative lives out of school, sometimes

related to education but sometimes drawing on skills and interests which contribute to an occupational identity but in other cases are unrelated. These multiple sources of identity may determine whether or not a decision is made to attempt the move from PT to AHT, whether there is disillusionment with their school situation or whether they are gratified by the opportunities and life offered by their present posts.

The system of posts in secondary schools in Scotland is different from that in some other countries. At present the first stage of promotion in Secondary schools is usually to Assistant Principal Teacher (APT, usually of a curriculum subject), and thence to Principal Teacher (PT or Head of Department). An alternative but less common route is into a Senior Teacher post (which is normally a cross-school responsibility). The next move from PT is into the broader school management team: Assistant Headteacher (AHT), followed by Deputy (or Depute) Headteacher (DHT) and Headteacher (HT). In 1998, the most recent date for which national figures are available, the relative numbers of staff in these posts were as follows:

unpromoted teacher	10193
senior teacher	1773
assistant principal teacher	3018
principal teacher	7089
assistant headteacher	1021
deputy headteacher	389
headteacher	394

The pyramid is steep, with 7.5% of secondary teachers holding senior management posts: headteacher , deputy or assistant. The Scottish Committee of Inquiry into the Professional Conditions of Service of Teachers ("McCrone", 2000) proposed a flattening of this structure (to four grades) in line with developments in organisational structure and management thinking and practice outwith education. However, it remains to be seen how many of McCrone's recommendations will be implemented.

Within this paper we shall examine the assumption about the inevitability of applying for promotion, by considering those who are interested in applying for promotion beyond Principal Teacher (head of subject department) level and by seeking to identify factors relating to concept of self which might distinguish these teachers from those who plan to go no further up the ladder.

> You get to a stage after working with children for several years where you need variety and to be with adults as well. Way down the list is money, as it's only £2000 if you're already in a big school, though it would be £6000 if you moved from a small school to a big one. (Acting Assistant Headteacher in a large school, male)

The initial hypothesis in relation to these elements is that role and identity would be related, with either role determining identity or vice versa. Thus PTs and AHTs would vary in their views of themselves as well as of the posts they hold. If this is not the case then some of those occupying a role, for example the role of PT, may have an identity which is strongly related to career intention rather than role.

Five elements of identity have been drawn from the literature (Nias, 1989, Evetts, 1994, Ball and Goodson, 1985):

Career Orientation, taken positively or negatively, stresses the emphasis an individual gives to moving into higher levels of management;

Subject Identity expresses the degree to which individuals value their subject;

Management Identity with positive and negative items draws on items from career identity and subject identity, and emphasises management self concepts;

Out of School Identities explore the degree to which an individual has professional, management and career interests that are pursued out of school. (Alexander et al., 1991); and

a Disenchanted Identity represents regret at having chosen the present career and a wish to leave the current job and take an alternative if offered it. Here negative aspects of motivation and job satisfaction are considered. (Day and Bakioglu, 1996).

Career Intentions

Teachers vary in their career plans and intentions. Bobbitt, Faupel and Faupel (1991), for example, distinguished *movers, stayers and leavers*. Movers were those seeking promotion, stayers were those who did not and leavers were those who did not plan to stay in teaching. This model of career intention was further developed by Draper Fraser and Taylor (1998), with the addition of stoppers, teachers who had sought promotion in the past but were not planning to do so again and starters, who were planning to apply for promotion for the first time. Staff who had already been promoted, like the teachers in the present study, can only fall into three of these categories: *movers, stoppers and leavers*. It would be expected that intention to apply for promotion would relate to identity, particularly career identity, but might also be expected to be associated with management identity and to be related less to identification with subject and consequently also less to present role.

Career Intentions and Identity

Underlying our initial approach to comparisons between the two levels of school management lay the hypothesis that PTs taken as a group would differ from AHTs in being less interested in management per se and more interested in their subjects, perceiving their role as a means of encouraging youngsters to develop an enthusiasm for a particular form of study and pass examinations in it and to aspire to a career which would require at least a basic general understanding of the world. AHTs we supposed, although still affiliated with a subject and indeed teaching it for some hours a week, would have directed their aspirations and their attention more firmly onto school-wide issues, policies and administration with an ultimate intention of becoming Headteachers. These two orientations would represent merely a bias in self- concept - possibly temporary - and would not exclude future alternative views of themselves and their careers.

We therefore posed the following questions all of which have bearing on how career decisions were made:

Identity Differences and Role

- Were there differences in PTs' and AHTs' identities?

- Were these related to gender and, if so, in what way?

- Did PTs have stronger subject identities than AHTs and AHTs stronger management identities than PTs?

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- Were AHTs (who are already members of the senior management team (SMT) more focussed on their careers than PTs?

- Were out of school identities common and associated with role?

- Was there a substantial contingent of the disenchanted amongst these senior teachers, and was this disenchantment more marked amongst PTs than AHTs?

Identity Differences and Career Intentions

- How did issues of identity relate to likelihood of applying for further promotion? (movers and stoppers)

Research Method and sample

The authors have carried out several previous studies on Primary and Secondary Head and Deputy Head Teachers (Draper and McMichael 1996 a&b, 1997,1998) which have influenced the approach to this study with respect to data collection, its emphasis on changing identities and the value of considering the likelihood of applications for promotion in career inquiries.

Initial investigations took the form of focus group meetings with two groups of PTs, and individual interviews with 5 AHTs. We met 2 groups of PTs from two schools, one with 4 members and the other with 3. The PTs were drawn from scientific, mathematics and arts subjects and selected by their Heads as likely to be outspoken. With them we explored (a) their views of their present jobs and their attitudes to promotion and to the role of AHTs, and (b) the types of questionnaire format that might best explore the issues raised but with a larger sample. Individual interviews with 5 AHTs used the same format as for the PT focus groups.

On the basis of data collected from these and material drawn from the literature, a questionnaire was compiled and distributed to PTs and AHTs. The questionnaire was sent to 50 schools in 8 local authorities to be distributed by Head Teachers to 3 PTs and 2 AHTs in each school. From the 150 PTs assumed to receive the questionnaire the response rate was 67%, n=100 , and from the AHTs the response rate was 69%, n=69.

Summary of respondents details:

		PTs	%	AHTs	%
Gender:	% female	43	43	25	36
Age:	Under 40	30	30	7	10
	40-49	62	62	33	48
	50+	8	8	28	41
Length of time in post:		(n=90)		(n=63)	
	under 6 yrs	37	42	28	44
	6-10	22	24	17	27
	11-15	21	23	10	16
	16+	10	11	8	13

In summary women constituted well over a third of the sample. A large majority of the PTs and just under half of the AHTs were between 40 and 49. Taken together 56 per cent fell into this age band.

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THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This included the following topics.

1. Personal information - gender, age, present post, time in post, previous occupation if not in teaching, acting post, likelihood of application for promotion, department, number in department.

2. School information - number on school roll, number of AHTs

3. Identity statements[1] with which respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement.

4. Attitudes to PTs, AHTs and Self (reported elsewhere)

5. Incentives and Disincentives affecting career decisions (reported elsewhere)

The identity statements were grouped together round elements of identity: subject, management, career, out of school and disenchantment. Examples are:

Career identity included: I am now ready to move on to a more senior post; headship is part of my career plan; I see a senior management post as incompatible with my view of self

Out of school identity included: Teaching is a career I run in parallel with another career/occupation/involvement outside school).

Disenchantment comprised three negative items: If I could I would go back and change my choice of career, If offered a job outside school I would seriously consider taking it, and I would like to get away from my current job.

Space was also left for free responses at several points within the questionnaire and this space was extensively used.

RESULTS

Identity Differences between PTs and AHTs

We first examined the question of whether there were differences between PTs and AHTs. The items taken individually gave results consistent with our hypotheses though the results were largely non-significant. For greater simplicity of comparison those items contributing to each element were summed. The lower scores indicate greater agreement (see Table 1).

Although we had assumed that there would be significant identity differences between PTs and AHTs, PTs were not in fact more subject orientated than AHTs, possibly because AHTs typically teach a part timetable and have not detached themselves from the classroom, their pupils or their subject. Similarly the expected difference on management identities did not emerge strongly, again probably because of the fact that all PTs had a management responsibility, though this varied with size of department. None of the other identity elements showed any significant differences. The identity measures clearly did not distinguish between the two role groups, nor did gender affect results. It was not until we looked at the identities of those who were aiming for promotion from PT to AHT that we found how identities did indeed differ. However it is worth noting that a disenchanted identity though not distinguishing between PTs and AHTs was an important element in many lives.

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	No of items per element	PTs			AHTs			
		No.	Mean	s.d	No	Mean	s.d	
Subject	3	98	8.61	1.68	69	11.03	1.79	ns*
Management	8	92	18.39	3.4	67	15.18	2.91	ns
Career	7	94	17.19	3.84	66	16,45	3,28	ns
Out of school	3	98	8.23	2.10	67	8.81	2.36	ns
Disenchantment	3	98	8.55	2.52	68	8.29	2.69	ns

* Mann-Whitney Test

Disenchantment: implications for supply?

We found that a third of both PTs and AHTs wanted to get away from their current job and nearly half would seriously consider taking a job outside school if one were offered. It is perhaps useful to put these findings in the context of earlier work by Huberman (1993), who found that just over half of his Swiss sample, and Draper, Fraser and Taylor (1995) who found three quarters of a Scottish sample of teachers had thought of leaving teaching. The Scottish study of promoted staff found, however, that fewer of those who were promoted had considered leaving. In the present study of promoted staff, one third of the AHTs and a quarter of the PTs reported they would change their choice of career if they had a chance to start again. These figures paint a picture of disillusionment which is consistent with previous studies and which in the light of current understandings could be attributed to overwork and continuous change. Though all those interviewed as part of the pilot study expressed enthusiasm about aspects of their work at the same time many felt exhausted and worn out.

> I'm worried about becoming dead wood as a result of stress, with parents giving constant aggression and challenge and the need to defend colleagues. I feel my health starting to go trying to keep it in perspective. I'm getting better at it, but I'm more switched off. (AHT considering career switch)

It is interesting to note that in a study of teachers 'lapsing' from the profession (Sharp and Draper, 1999) numbers lapsing increased from a career length of 12 years to a peak of 26 years within teaching. As Sharp and Draper (2000) point out it may be inappropriate any longer to assume that teaching is a career lasting to retirement. Here we have shown that even experienced and senior members of the profession might leave if they believed they could. In terms of career a number may be potential leavers rather than movers or stoppers.

Out of school identity

Another interesting finding for PTs and AHTs was the degree of managerial and other professional involvement outside school. These activities are likely to contribute to personal identity. They are also important for the community. As Paterson (1998) summarises: "Being a well-educated and geographically dispersed profession, teachers offer a social resource which many voluntary organisations rely on locally as well as nationally".

Career Intentions: movers and stoppers

We divided the PTs and AHTs into *movers* and *stoppers*. To distinguish between *movers* and *stoppers* we asked respondents whether or not they would apply for promotion in the next five years.

In previous studies (Draper & McMichael, 1996a and 1996b) of Deputy Heads (DHTs) in both primary and secondary schools we had become aware of many individuals who were not likely to apply for Headships. They acknowledged a number of reasons for applying but, for them, the costs of the job seemed to outweigh the benefits. In some cases they had already applied and failed to achieve their ambitions but others had recoiled from the perceived exposure of headship to isolated defence of school policy and actions and had no intention of applying. We then pursued the question of whether a similar reluctance might apply at lower levels of responsibility, i.e. to PTs with respect to becoming AHTs and to the latter with respect to becoming DHTs.

Movers constituted 57 per cent of the 100 PTs (n=57) and 43 per cent of 63 AHT respondents (n= 27). The *stoppers* comprised 43 per cent of the 100 PTs and 57 percent of the responding AHTs. It would seem that there is a tendency, not very marked for more of the PTs than the AHTs to be *movers*, possibly as a result of a realistic appraisal of the narrowing of the promotion pyramid and possibly also because of the greater age of some of the AHTs. It seems that there are at least a number of staff who do not seek further promotion. An assumption that those who do not achieve headship are those who have not been chosen is clearly wide of the mark: some choose greatness, but others reject it!

As Table 2 shows, PT *movers* and *stoppers* differed significantly on three aspects of their self concepts: Career Identity, Management Identity, and Subject Identity. AHT movers and stoppers differed significantly on two aspects: career and subject identities. While differences between means on management identity were noticeable they were not significant. The absence of such a difference is not surprising however since AHTs are all members of the central school management team already and might all be expected to identify themselves as managers.

Table 2: Identity and Career Intention

| | PTs | | | | | | AHTs | | | | | |
| | stoppers n=43 | | | movers n=57 | | | stoppers n=42 | | | movers n=27 | | |
	no	mean	s.d	no	mean	s.d	no	mean	s.d	no	mean	s.d
Subject	41	7.93	1.52 **	57	9.12	1.59	36	10.69	1.69 *	26	11.65	1.83
Management	36	20.75	2.86 **	56	16.55	2.55	36	15.69	2.95	24	14.42	2.26
Career	38	20.24	2.94 **	54	14.66	2.59	35	18.14	2.41 **	26	14.42	2.83
Out of School	40	8.34	2.09	56	8.14	2.17	35	8.77	2.17	23	8.92	2.55
Disenchantment	40	8.42	2.40	52	8.77	2.4	36	8.08	2.62	25	8.44	2.97

* p< 0.05

** p < 0.001

These data suggest therefore that for PTs identity may be less related to role than it is to career intention. Those who aspire to entering the senior management team identify themselves as managers more than those who do not. It is interesting to note that in relation to subject identity, PTs as a group verge on difference from AHTs as a group. However, it is the stoppers in both groups who are more subject orientated. For career identity however, the two sets of movers (PT and AHT) are more similar to each other than they are to the stoppers in the same post.

In accordance with our initial expectations the *movers* were more career and management oriented, and less subject oriented than the *stoppers* . Although the number admitting to the goal of becoming Head teachers was not great, amongst the *movers* there were 13 (24%) compared with only 1 (2%) of the *stoppers* with this ambition. Some *movers* may, of course, look for alternative educational careers in the local authority, the advisory services and the inspectorate.

Factors affecting Career Intention

The questions we then asked were concerned with influences on the *movers* and *stoppers* in applying (or not) for promotion and whether the slightly larger percentage of PTs who considered themselves *movers* were on the whole more likely to be career active because they were on the whole a younger group.

- Was gender influential?

- Were age and length of time in post relevant to application likelihood?

- Since some of the two status groups had been in acting-up posts, were these temporary promotions related to their willingness to apply for promotion?

- Can profiles of *movers* and *stoppers* be constructed?

Table 3 begins the process of answering these questions, by drawing on the quantitative data collected. As will be seen below further insights can be derived from the free comment responses.

Gender, Age and length of time in post .

We examined the effects of age, length in post and gender. These may be confounded. For the PTs gender played little part in the decision to apply, over half of both men and women having decided to apply. For the AHTs the picture was somewhat different with fewer men seeking promotion, possibly because there were more men who were over 50 and had been a considerable time in post.

It is notable that 70 per cent of the male AHTs wished to stay where they were compared to only 44 per cent of the women (p<0.001). In the free responses however, gender emerged more strongly as a perceived factor influencing actual promotion than it did in respondents' decision to apply. It is women who remark on discrimination which acts as a barrier to promotion and a disincentive.

> Many of my colleagues who find they have rapid promotion to PT appear blocked in their rise to AHT by an all male SMT who are reluctant to appoint females to Acting AHT posts which can be a springboard to permanent AHT posts. On top of this there are many directorates of education that are totally dominated by males. (PT)

> The lack of women in senior management may put women off! (AHT)

> I think effective role models are very important. I did not have effective female role models at PT or AHT level and had to forge my own path. The promotion process took longer than it would have for a man. (AHT)

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Table 3: Characteristics of Movers and Stoppers:
Gender, Age, Length of time in Post and Acting post

	PT Movers		PT Stoppers		AHT Movers		AHT Stoppers	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Gender								
Female	27	63	16	37	14	56	11	44
Male	32	56	25	44	13	30	12	70
Age								
< 40	21	75	9	25	7	100	0	0
40-49	33	54	29	46	17	52	16	48
50+	3	38	5	62	3	11	25	89
Length of time in post								
< 6 yrs	25	68	12	32	18	64	10	36
6-10 yrs	15	68	7	32	5	23	12	77
11-15 yrs	10	48	11	52	3	30	7	70
16+ yrs	1	10	9	90	1	13	7	87
Previous Acting post								
PTs Acting AHT	16	64	9	36				
Not Acting AHT	41	56	34	44				
AHTs Acting DHT					14	47	16	53
Not Acting DHT					12	31	27	69

Perhaps the most interesting results lay in the age effects. Both for PTs and for AHTs there was greater enthusiasm for promotion amongst the younger staff. Three quarters of the PTs and all the AHTs under 40 planned to apply. These might be seen as the *high flyers* and the more ambitious. This select group was not influenced by gender. Nevertheless, only half of the *high flyers* aimed to be Head Teachers. Age effects are seen in the following free responses:

> My response is different now to what it might have been 10-15 years ago. The post of AHT becomes more frustrating and less rewarding the longer you stay in it! Little real influence on broader issues and without the satisfaction that comes from rewarding work in your subject.

> Age is a factor in my attitudes now. I am 50+ and although still devoted to my school and my pupils, I no longer have ambitions for promotion at any cost. I enjoy what I do and feel it is within my competence. I would be *reluctant to "fight my way in" to a fresh school again.*

Acting Posts

There was belief among many PTs that securing an Acting AHT post was an important step in acquiring useful experience to support an application for further promotion. Opportunities were however seen to vary from school to school.

> I think there is a real advantage in securing an acting AHT post and that it is by chance that this occurs. In my school there has been no senior management vacancy in 8 years approximately. There has been no female member of senior management for much longer.

It is unfair that if you get some "acting" you stand a better chance. Neither of my AHTs have been off.

Although having been in an Acting post might have been expected to lead to a high level of career commitment the PTs who had had this experience were not very much more likely to apply than those who had not, one reason being the way the experience pointed up the losses.

I enjoyed some of the duties/role of an AHT (and miss them) but, overall, I much prefer running a subject department. Fourteen years of PT experience didn't prepare me for the AHT job (learning curve very steep) . I'm glad I did acting AHT because it made up my mind that it wasn't the direction for me.

It seems possible that promotion, though desired by many of the PTs and rather less than half the AHTs, was less desirable in fact than in imagination. This suggests that decision making after holding an acting post may be better informed and more realistic, even though the experience of acting, being short term and frequently an internal appointment may be somewhat different from a permanent promoted post. In fact, a proportionately greater number of AHTs who had been Acting DHTs (compared to those who had not) were considering promotion, but the most striking finding here is the high proportion of AHTs who had not had Acting Posts who were *stoppers* and unlikely to apply.

Profiling PT Movers and Stoppers

Those who have indicated that they are unlikely to apply appear to be fairly firmly set on avoiding a career up the management structure. The *movers* appear more ambitious in these terms. Do they differ in their self perceptions, such that a profile of *movers* can be distinguished from that of the *stoppers?*

PT *movers* identify with management, rather more than subject, and have a strong consciousness of career considerations. In a parallel paper we have shown that for *movers* the incentives of change operate strongly, and the deterrents of bureaucracy and a lowly position in the senior management appear unimportant. Though many are happy in their present posts this does not prevent their aspiring to senior management since they see themselves as ready for the responsibility. Some movers may apply not realising the scale of the demands they will meet, although one AHT was glad she had not known:

Although I love my job, if I had known first how stretched (and stressed) I would be, and how much paper work was involved I would have been less motivated to apply. (AHT)

Movers have often held Acting Posts and are likely to be relatively young. Some *movers* may, however, look for change or promotion through alternative educational careers and their subject identity may be high.

I would like to contribute to my subject out of school and in a full time post.

PT *stoppers*, in contrast with the *movers*, and generalising from our data, see themselves more often in subject terms, and are less conventionally ambitious, less drawn by change and both status and salary increases (admittedly not very large) and are more deterred by the burdens of being an AHT. Furthermore they may not see themselves as ready for promotion. Their aspirations are apt to be more pupil and classroom oriented, and their present post seen as providing satisfying opportunities for fulfilment: enjoyment, autonomy, variety, change, and challenge.

I am saddened that the PT post is viewed as a step on the promotion ladder to

AHT because many of my peers have chosen this level of post as a positive choice of ideal job in itself. (PT)

The biggest concern for me in considering an AHT post is the loss of classroom contact with the students - the area I enjoy the most. (PT)

They are likely to be happy where they are and do not seek further promotion, and, for some, experience of an Acting Post has firmed up that position. Theirs appears to be a choice based on substantially different self-concepts from those of their *mover* colleagues whose identities more closely resemble those of senior management.

Profiling AHT Movers and Stoppers

AHT movers

In terms of relative frequency, the ratio of AHT to DHT posts is roughly 1 in 3 which is higher than that for PTs to AHTs (1 in 7). We might, therefore, expect most AHTs to see themselves as *movers* having assessed their chances of promotion and having already made the move into senior management, in many cases also having had an Acting DHT Post. However, the picture is not so simple. In fact, over half of the AHTs did not wish to apply for further promotion, and though their management identities were strong (and matched those of AHT and PT *movers*), their career identities were significantly different from their *mover* colleagues

The pace of change is too great. Enthusiasm for change does begin to fade after years of nothing but. Teacher bashing by politicians does not engender enthusiasm.

AHT *stoppers* are likely to have abandoned further pursuit of their management careers (without abandoning their management identities) and consequently are extremely unlikely to want to become Heads. They do not seek more responsibility and do not feel ready for a more senior post and are likely to be older than the *movers,* many being over 50 and a considerable time in post.

Age is a factor in my attitudes now. I am 50+ and although still devoted to my school and my pupils, I no longer have ambitions for promotion at any cost. I enjoy what I do and feel it is within my competence. I would be reluctant to fight my way in to a fresh school again.

In fact many (about half) feel that they are happy where they are and do not wish to leave.

This is by far the most demanding job I have had in a long and varied career, however it is the most interesting and most rewarding. (AHT)

Profiling the AHT *movers* suggests emphasising their strong management identities, their career commitment (a considerable majority wishing to become Head Teachers), and their perception of themselves as ready for more responsibility in a more senior post. They are very likely to apply if they are under 40 or have been less than six years in post, suggesting that career intentions are clear among those aspiring to the fast track.

Deciding to stop applying ...

Some of those who did not plan to apply further were satisfied with their current situation and had no wish to move. This was not however the case for all stoppers. Our question regarding whether respondents were likely to apply in the next five years produced a number of complaints and revealed assaults on perceived identities within the free responses. A number of the PTs who made personal observations

had already applied at least once for promotion. Grievances ranged from the apparent denial of academic and other forms of preparedness to the suggestion that some departments, being larger were over-represented in the promotion stakes. It seemed that some PTs and AHTs were assessing their chances, sometimes with passion, sometimes with calculation, and deciding on future applications in the light of past experience

> Consideration of promotion to AHT would depend on many factors ...whether certain subjects are going to survive the next 5 years is a major question for me and I would have to think of my own personal survival. If this means promotion then let it be so. (PT)

CONCLUSION

Defining the association between individual, role and identity cannot be done without recourse to the concept of career intention. Role incumbents include amongst them those who aspire to the next role up the career ladder and are seen in this study to have, at the very least, the seeds of the identity characteristics of their next career move. PTs and AHTs have different identities, but the differences are most strongly shown on the more obvious elements i.e. subject and management identities and only when career intention is taken into account. The question that remains unanswered however is to what extent identity moulds career intentions or vice versa: whether a clear view of likely career progression impacts on identity. The data suggest ways in which identities are added to or re-formed by life events such as age, length of time in post and holding an acting post and suggest that for some, particularly high flyers, career intention may have a major effect on identity and role perception. Some are substantially less disillusioned by current circumstances than their stopper colleagues. Of course, it must also be acknowledged that identity is not solely composed of work-related elements: a balanced account reflects not only career intention but also life, and roles, beyond work.

Finally, in planning for continuing professional development, those who seek to provide for the needs of middle managers cannot afford to ignore the disparate career intentions of individual PTs and AHTs.

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Teacher Commitment and School Development

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> *"Educational reform requires a critical mass of teachers committed to, rather than compliant of, change". Fullan (1991)*

Introduction

The achievement of improved school effectiveness is closely related to the management of change. The effective implementation of professional change takes time, since it requires initiation, implementation and institutionalisation. (Miles 1986, Fullan 1991). While the literature identifies headteachers/principals as crucial leaders and managers of change, leaders also require followers, and the commitment of those followers to school development and change is important.

Findings on self esteem suggest that positive attitudes to self are linked to positive attitudes to change (eg. Burns 1982) therefore teachers' views of themselves are likely to be important in the process of managing change. These views of themselves are of course affected by how they think they are perceived by others, and it is known that self esteem is heavily influenced by the views held by others. The existence of highly critical public comment on teachers is well documented and has been suggested as one contributor to low morale and as one reason why teachers may wish to leave once they are in post. Studies of teacher retention suggest that, in the past, teachers either left early or at the end of their professional lives (Huberman, 1993, Darling-Hammond 1990). Our own recent work has found that the numbers of experienced teachers leaving in mid-career have become more significant (Sharp and Draper, 2000). Creating the conditions for effective long-term change requires that (enough) staff stay, and plan to stay, in the profession.

The concept of commitment has also been linked to the retention of staff. The occupational literature (eg Mowday et al, 1984) defines commitment to work as the likelihood of staying in post. However, applying such definitions to teaching is complex. Teachers may be committed to the profession, to their employer, to their school, to their pupils, and the level of commitment to each may vary, although a recent English study by Donnelly (1999) suggests that many teachers think of their work as a job rather than a vocation. Recent estimates in Scotland by Government, and by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools (HMI), suggest that between 2% and 4% of

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teachers are either in the wrong job or "burnt out". While high levels of commitment are usually found, or assumed to be associated with, staying in a job, high levels of commitment in teaching may sometimes have the opposite effect, with teachers leaving a school or the profession because of frustration that they cannot do the job in the way they believe it should be done. Paradoxically, therefore, some of the most committed as well as some of the least committed may leave.

Attempts to assess commitment have taken two main forms: directly through questions on commitment and intention to stay or leave, and more indirectly by measuring job satisfaction, with an identified link between high commitment and satisfaction and low commitment and dissatisfaction. Work on job satisfaction has recognised the importance of both manifest (eg income) and latent (eg time structuring) functions of work (Jahoda, 1982) and has identified that work offers both task and context related satisfaction, with social as well as intellectual needs being of concern. Studies of teacher job satisfaction have recognised the multifaceted nature of teaching, emphasising personal as well as professional engagement with work (Nias,1989), and distinguishing the core task of teaching pupils from the social context (school culture and ethos) within which teaching work is done.

Characteristics of more effective schools have been described by Mortimore, Sammons and Hillman (1997) and others, and include elements which may be seen to link to job satisfaction, as either cause or consequence: teachers holding enthusiastic attitudes about their work, teaching being intellectually challenging, and participative styles of school management leading to the involvement of teachers in the development of school policy. Hopkins et al (1994) also emphasise the importance of collegiality and support from colleagues for teacher development. These suggest that school development is reliant upon both individual teachers holding positive attitudes to their work and its context, and the school culture being collegial and supportive. Fullan (2000) takes this further highlighting the importance of professional learning communities and partnerships to the achievement of complex change in education.

This paper reports recent findings from a longitudinal study of Scottish teachers - in particular data collected on teacher job satisfaction and commitment when the teachers were in their tenth year. Their professional development has been studied since they first qualified in 1988. (Draper, Fraser, Smith and Taylor 1991, Draper, Fraser and Taylor, 1998 and Fraser, Draper and Taylor 1998), using survey and interview methods.

A finding extracted from the research is directly relevant to Hopkins' concern for teachers' attitudes to, and experience of, their jobs. At the ten year stage fewer than half of the sample

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planned to seek promotion. This group included staff who had applied (many successfully) in the past but had decided to seek no further promotion. For this group, and for those who do not seek promotion at all in their careers, the degree of satisfaction they find in their current work is likely to be crucial.

Teachers in their tenth year are entering their professional prime. How committed are they, what satisfies and dissatisfies them about their work, and how do these levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction link to their levels of commitment ?

Method and sample

The main sample comprised 155 teachers who were in their tenth year of teaching. In 1999 we approached the sample with a questionnaire seeking information on their employment, on their professional development and career to date, on their current experience of teaching and satisfaction with various aspects of their work, and on their career intentions for the future. The questionnaire included both closed and open-ended questions, and follow-up interviews were conducted with a small sample of those who were still in teaching.

Just over 50% of the sample were primary teachers, and 47% were from the secondary sector. Overall, 82% were female and 18% male. In secondary, males made up 30 % and in primary 7.5%. Compared to the population of all teachers in Scottish primary and secondary schools in 1997, (8.5% in primary, 47% in secondary) males were under-represented in the sample.

The data reported here derive from questions the teachers answered about job satisfaction (responses on a 4 point scale of satisfaction to a list of aspects of teaching derived from an American study, National Centre for Educational Statistics, 1991) In addition, teachers were asked to respond to a series of statements about teaching (eg I enjoy seeing pupils in the morning, I would like to move to another school). Data were also collected on commitment. There were questions at three levels: direct questions (4 point scale) on how committed they were to teaching and to their current job; indirect questions on whether or not they had thought of leaving teaching and indirect questions on whether on not they expected to stay in teaching for a further five years. A further group of 18, who were not currently in teaching, also responded to a questionnaire, and those not planning to return to teaching were interviewed.

Additional data on teacher retention and wastage are drawn from three sources: from the analysis of those who left the Scottish teaching profession during 1997/8 (Sharp and Draper, 2000) ; from responses by a 10/15 year group of Scottish teachers on 'thoughts of leaving teaching'

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(Draper, Fraser and Taylor 1996); and from comparable responses of a small group of teachers in Hong Kong.

The findings

Teachers' Job satisfaction

For the sample as a whole, it was clear that satisfaction was far greater in some areas than in others. In the main, those aspects of work associated with the core task of teaching and the company of colleagues were rated highly. Given the importance identified by Hopkins (1994) and by Fullan (2000) of collegiality and teachers working together to achieve change, this latter finding is encouraging. However those aspects relating to the wider context and to more external demands and attitudes were a source of dissatisfaction, which may threaten the development of the partnerships seen by Fullan as essential to complex educational change. There were no significant variations by gender, by post or by sector. Several aspects of work, which might be expected to be significant, for example salary and influence over school policy (given the new emphasis on participative management) appeared to be neutral.

Table 1 Means and standard deviations of satisfaction with aspects of teaching: full sample

(n= 153, midpoint of scale = 2.5)

Items	Most satisfied	
	Mean	Standard deviation
Friendliness of colleagues	1.62	.67
Intellectual challenge	1.93	.78
Autonomy	2.01	.83
Motivation and behaviour	2.32	.83
Support on discipline	2.36	.86
Availability of resources	2.44	.93
Influence over school policy	2.48	.87
Colleagues' views of teaching	2.52	.67
Salary	2.54	.85
Career prospects	2.56	.84
Relevance of staff development	2.62	.86
Recognition of my efforts	2.63	.95
Balance work and personal life	2.66	.79
Workload	2.95	.74
Proportion of time on administration	3.06	.77
Society's view of teachers	3.33	.67
	Least satisfied	

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Teacher commitment

On the direct question, 79 of 151 (52%) said they were completely committed to teaching. The remainder had some, little or very little commitment. Asked how committed they were to their current job, 74 of 150 (49%) said they were completely committed, while the rest had some, little or very little commitment. Neither of these results suggests a powerfully committed workforce. Since commitment has also been defined as attachment to the job, or tendency to stay in a job, additional measures were used. Asked if they expected to be in teaching in five years time, 93 % said yes. This gives a much stronger impression of commitment.

However this impression is undermined by the answer to the third question: have you thought of leaving teaching, to which 60 % said yes. (While this is higher than Huberman's finding of just over 50% of Swiss teachers in 1993, and similar to a small unpublished study by the authors with a small group of experienced teachers from Hong Kong - 63 % of whom had thought of leaving - it is lower than our earlier study of 99 teachers in their tenth and fifteenth years of teaching which found 75 % had thought of leaving) (Draper, Fraser and Taylor, 1995).

Those who had thought of leaving were asked to identify their reasons from a list of four prompts:

Table 2 Reasons for thinking of leaving

Reasons given	Yes	No
general dissatisfaction	70	11
specific incident	28	38
specific initiative /change	23	40
positive alternative opportunity	16	50

While the most common reason identified was general dissatisfaction, the very large number who positively rejected 'alternative opportunity' is striking. Neither specific changes, nor incidents, carry the same importance.

Levels of commitment and leaving teaching

Linking together the responses to the direct question on commitment with those on thoughts of leaving reveals the extent of overlap between them.

Table 3 Commitment to teaching and thoughts of leaving teaching

	COMMITMENT TO TEACHING			
	very little/little	some	completely	Total
Have thought of leaving	9	42	39	90
Have not thought of leaving teaching	2	19	40	61
Total	11	61	79	151

Two thirds of those who have not thought of leaving say they are completely committed. Over half of those who have thought of leaving reported that they only have some commitment, or less, to their current job. Of those who have thought of leaving, only 8% did not expect to be in teaching in five years. This may be related to the finding that many of those who have thought of leaving teaching did not see any positive alternative opportunities. Nearly all planned to stay in teaching for the next five years.

On commitment, therefore, the picture seems complex : while most plan to stay in teaching , many have thought of leaving and many do not feel completely committed to teaching. Although the relative importance of the indirect and direct measures of commitment is unclear, four groups can be distinguished.

Table 4 Levels of commitment

Groups	n
A completely committed + have not thought of leaving	40
B some commitment to teaching + have not thought of leaving	19
C completely committed + have thought of leaving	39
D little/very little commitment or have thought of leaving + some commitment to teaching	53

Given that nearly all intend to stay in teaching, these findings raise a new spectre: a substantial proportion of the profession who have no strong commitment to, and possibly no strong interest in, teaching. Is there evidence to suggest this might be the case? For the answer to this question we turn to the data collected on job satisfaction and consider it in the light of commitment.

A reasonable expectation would be that commitment would be linked to satisfaction. Is this the case? Does the data allow some judgement to be made about the relative importance of direct and indirect measures of commitment and hence some resolution of the question of whether B or C (above) are more committed? If we can identify those who are less committed, with what are they

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most dissatisfied ?.

Commitment and Job Satisfaction

Looking first at the summed measure of satisfaction in Table 5 below, groups A and B are significantly more satisfied with teaching. One could argue therefore that thinking of leaving may be a more useful indicator than a direct measure of commitment. Assuming that is the case, in comparing the four groups A, B, C and D, the data suggest that general dissatisfaction rises as commitment reduces, although there are a number of exceptions, particularly in relation to group A.

Rankings compared

While there are variations in the rankings, there is also considerable similarity: satisfaction with friendliness of colleagues is consistently highly rated by all groups. Although intellectual challenge also comes in the top three places in each list, commitment is significantly associated with this aspect. Workload, time spent on administration and society's view of teachers are all aspects with which these teachers are highly dissatisfied.

Table 5 Satisfaction with aspects of teaching , by commitment (scale 1-4, midpoint 2.5)

ASPECT	LEVELS OF COMMITMENT				
	A	B	C	D	P*
	n= 40	n=19	n=39	n=53	
Intellectual challenge	1.50	1.84	1.85	2.30	.0000
Friendliness of colleagues	1.58	1.58	1.62	1.63	ns
Autonomy	1.82	2.21	1.97	2.06	ns
Pupil motivation & behaviour	1.95	2.16	2.26	2.73	.0001
Support on discipline	2.10	2.00	2.36	2.66	.0034
Career prospects	2.10	2.42	2.82	2.79	.0002
Influence over sch.policies & procedures	2.17	2.47	2.38	2.78	.0108
Recognition of effort	2.18	2.42	2.85	2.87	.0024
Salary	2.29	2.32	2.59	2.75	.0513
Availability of resources	2.30	1.84	2.62	2.66	.0023
Relevance of staff development.	2.45	2.37	2.69	2.79	ns
Balance work/personal life	2.50	2.32	2.82	2.81	.0264
Colleagues' views of teaching	2.53	2.26	2.56	2.57	ns

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Workload	2.68	2.79	3.18	3.06	0104
Time spent on admin	2.85	2.89	3.21	3.19	.06
Society's view of teaching	3.37	2.84	3.33	3.47	.0027
Total sum	39.76	38.32	42.08	43.23	.0041

*Although means are given, statistical significance was calculated using the Mann-Whitney non-parametric statistic.

Significant differences in satisfaction and dissatisfaction

In spite of the similarities, there are also several significant differences: the degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction varies, especially with regard to intellectual challenge, pupil motivation and behaviour, career prospects, recognition of effort, availability of resources, workload and society's view of teaching.

Groups A and B compared

These two groups show rather different responses. The smaller group B show some ambiguity in their views of teaching: they have not thought of leaving, but claim less than complete commitment. They hold decided views and are the most distinct group. They show greater satisfaction than group A on support on discipline, availability of resources and society's view of teaching (significant differences only), and their overall satisfaction is greater. This group also shows more dissatisfaction than teachers in group C on influence over school policies. This could suggest that they are concerned about how the school is operating. That B claim less commitment than group A, and yet have not thought of leaving, could be explained by their higher levels of satisfaction, especially in relation to society's view. They may be more satisfied and therefore see no reason to leave. Group A who appeared less satisfied may not have thought of leaving because they were completely committed.

Groups B and C compared

Group B teachers were significantly more satisfied overall than group C, although B were less satisfied in relation to autonomy over their teaching.

Job satisfaction and commitment

Clearly in most areas of job satisfaction there were similarities between A and B and between C

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and D. With the exception of 'influence over school policies and procedures', the means for the four groups consistently showed that those who had thought of leaving were more dissatisfied. The literature contends that job satisfaction and commitment are related and these data support this.

These data also suggest that the more indirect measure of commitment embodied in 'thinking of leaving teaching' is more influential than the direct measure, since those who had thought of leaving and yet were completely committed, were less satisfied than those who had not thought of leaving but only claimed some commitment. It seems that groups A and B can usefully be combined as a more committed group, while those who have thought of leaving, and those registering little or very little commitment (C and D) , can be classified as less committed.

Additional data

Additional data were sought on a range of aspects of the current job, and the rest of this analysis is reported in relation to this new grouping of more or less commitment. The more committed were significantly more likely to agree with :

> 'I enjoy the company of my colleagues' and 'I am still enthusiastic about teaching'

while the less committed were significantly more likely to agree with :

> "I feel demoralised in my current job', 'I would like to move to another school' and "I work only to live'.

There were however no differences in their responses to :

> 'Discipline is easier for me than 5 years ago' (both groups tended to agree)
> 'I spend too much time on non teaching activities in school' (both groups tended to agree)
> 'I enjoy seeing pupils in the morning' (both groups tended to agree)
> 'I still find teaching rewarding' (both groups agree)
> 'I find teaching more stressful than 5 years ago' (both groups agree)
> 'I find it hard to face work most mornings' (both groups tended to disagree)

Taken together, these results would suggest that, for some of the less committed, a move to another school might be a solution. Although they may find their colleagues' company less enjoyable and are less enthusiastic about their teaching, many report that teaching is still rewarding and that they enjoy seeing their pupils. These may partly explain why so many plan to stay in teaching: an explanation which is clearly preferable to one of inertia!

An understanding of factors affecting teacher retention and commitment is likely to be crucial to

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the management of change, and is therefore important for school effectiveness and improvement. Where there is high turnover there is little continuity, and resources will instead require to be invested in recruitment and selection, induction, socialisation and support. Where high numbers of staff contemplate leaving their jobs, even if they do not actually leave, it is logical to expect that their commitment to change and to involvement in its planning may be reduced. At best, in Fullan's words, they are likely to be 'compliant with change'. It seems unlikely that those who are consistently more dissatisfied with many aspects of teaching will be enthusiastic about involving themselves in the effort required for the implementation of change. Although they may have much that they would wish to have different, since they are more likely to describe themselves as demoralised, the literature on self- esteem (eg Burns, 1982) would suggest they are more likely to react with withdrawal than action.

Relating these findings to Mortimore and Sammons' descriptors of effectiveness there is cause for concern, but the picture is complex and it also offers some cause for celebration. There are signs of potential for collaboration and collegiality for many of these teachers were well satisfied with the friendliness of their colleagues, although those who had thought of leaving did not enjoy their company as much as those who were more committed. They all agreed that teaching was rewarding, although those who were more committed were more likely to say they were still enthusiastic about their teaching. Many saw teaching as intellectually challenging in itself and it is to be hoped that intellectually challenging teaching followed therefrom. Continuity of teachers seems assured: nearly all expected to stay in teaching for the next five years, albeit a substantial proportion might be there rather unwillingly, in the absence of alternative opportunities. Finally, in considering participative school management, they seemed mainly neutral about their degree of influence within school although some of those who were more committed were significantly more dissatisfied with this aspect than those who were less committed.

Conclusion

An intention to improve school performance and to increase effectiveness must take account of the range of teachers' views of their work. The profession is not uniformly satisfied or dissatisfied with aspects of teaching, nor does dissatisfaction link in a direct way to likely teacher loss. While satisfaction with work and commitment to work were found to be related, commitment to work and retention were not. Within schools therefore it seems likely that there are a number of teachers who are not fully committed to their work but who intend to stay in teaching. In a context where school development requires teacher commitment to change, rather than merely teacher compliance, planning for the management of that change must embody not only an understanding of the diversity of views held by teachers, but perhaps also some

commitment to trying to address the factors which are associated with lower commitment to teaching. Waiting for the disenchanted to leave is no solution, when some of those who are very dissatisfied do not see a way out.

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Chapter 12

Career Decision-making in Teaching: Does Classroom Work Satisfy Teachers?

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Their (teachers') careers, their hopes and dreams, their opportunities and aspirations, or the frustrations of these things are important for teachers' commitment, enthusiasm and morale. (A. Hargreaves, 1991, p. 9)

It is clearly important that the core part of the teacher's job is recognized as enabling others to learn and that much res earch should concentrate on ways of making that engagement as effective as possible. However, knowing how teachers feel about their jobs is also necessary for effective education and for achieving some understanding of the best ways to both support the ed ucational process and to manage change in schools and classrooms. How satisfied teachers are with their jobs, how likely they are to remain, and where they want their careers to go are all issues which must be considered by good educational managers in making provision for staff development and future strategic initiatives. If everyone, or no one, wants to be a headteacher, then there is likely to be a problem. A related issue is whether or not working in the classroom is an attractive career proposition. If it is attractive, it is important to identify those aspects of the work which contribute most powerfully to satisfaction. If it is not, there may be implications for teacher supply and for the design of teachers' work. Is there cause for concern about how teachers view their work, and particularly their work in classrooms; and, if there is, does this have implications for the supply of teachers?

To begin I offer three bald statistics from our studies of Scottish teachers' career decision-making and career planning. Firstly, only one quarter of teachers[1] in their fifth year did not intend to apply for promotion, but were opting instead for a full career in the classroom (Draper, Fraser, & Taylor, 1998). Secondly, three quarters of a sample of teachers[2] had thought of leaving

teaching (Draper, Fraser, & Taylor, 1995). Thirdly, of the four thousand teachers who left the Scottish teaching profession in 1997-98,[3] one third left with less than 15 years, and a quarter left with less than five years of teaching experience (Sharp & Draper, 2000).

An initial consideration of these suggests therefore that classroom work is less than generally appealing and that classic signs of dissatisfaction with teaching are evident.

In this chapter I intend to review key findings of a range of studies of Scottish teachers to address the issue of the attractiveness of classroom teaching relative to other careers. I shall also draw on two main sources of literature and theory: on people at work in general and on teachers at work in particular. The main concepts and issues considered are teacher motivation, job satisfaction and commitment to work, the retention of employees, the trend to casualization in teaching, and patterns in career decision-making and leaving teaching. Issues relating to continuing professional development permeate the consideration of the findings.

I have been working with colleagues[4] in the area of teachers' careers since 1987. We have researched the early experiences of beginning teachers (1988-91) and have followed a sample of these teachers through to their fifth year of teaching (1993-94) and compared their experiences of work and their career decisions with a sample of more experienced teachers. We are now renewing our acquaintance with them in their tenth year (1998-99). In the interim, we have investigated the impact on professional development of the trend to more casualized employment, and recent work has included an analysis of all those who left the teaching profession in the year 1997-98. I have also studied the career choices of those who sought to diversify into new areas of teaching, by changing the school sector in which they teach, for example, from secondary to primary. In addition, I have engaged with another colleague, Paquita McMichael, in research on the perceptions of headship of early retiring headteachers, those who have recently become headteachers, and those promoted staff who seek to be heads and those who do not.

TEACHING IN SCOTLAND

Scotland has a population of 5.1 million and its education system is distinct from those found elsewhere in the UK. Major changes in Education often

resemble those occurring in other parts of the UK, but there are also differences in both the content and process of change. In September 1997, the last date for which full figures are currently available, there were 3,983 schools in Scotland, 850,000 pupils and over 52,000 teachers. Almost all schools in Scotland (3,869) were publicly funded. There were approximately equal numbers of teachers in the primary and the secondary sectors, and together they constituted nearly 90% of all Scottish teachers. There are also smaller nursery and special school sectors. Pupils in Scotland enter primary school around five years of age and remain there for seven years. Secondary schooling is offered for six years, with compulsory schooling until the age of 16.

Of all teachers in publicly funded primary and secondary schools (46,062), 55% were unpromoted, 33% were in middle management posts (Senior Teacher, Assistant Principal,[5] and Principal Teacher), and 12% were in senior management posts (defined as Headteacher, Deputy Headteacher, and Assistant Headteacher). There were significantly more promoted secondary than primary teachers (57% compared to 32 % in primary) (Scottish Education Statistics, 1998). All those entering the teaching profession in Scotland are graduates and hold a professional qualification. These enable provisional registration with the General Teaching Council (GTC) for Scotland, which is required as a condition of employment in publicly funded schools. Currently a two-year probationary period must be satisfactorily completed by a teacher before full registration with the GTC is granted.

While recruitment into pre-service teacher education has been fairly robust for primary and some secondary subjects, this is influenced by the state of the economy and the availability of jobs elsewhere and there are some (subject) areas where recruitment is habitually difficult (for example in Technology). In Scotland, an approaching crisis in teacher recruitment was predicted in the Times Educational Supplement Scotland (10 December 1999). Teacher supply has been identified as a problem in England. The Times Higher Educational Supplement of 17 December 1999 highlighted, not for the first time, a crisis in recruitment to Secondary teacher education in spite of costly initiatives to attract new entrants. In addition, the age structure of the profession predicts substantial departure through retirement in the next few years. For all these reasons, issues of both teacher supply and teacher retention have become prominent in Scotland.

TEACHER MOTIVATION

Recent public concern about teaching has questioned the adequacy of the supply of teachers (and indeed of applicants for headship) and the effectiveness of some teachers (and of some headteachers). There has been rather less interest in what motivates and satisfies teachers at work. Fullan and Hargreaves (1992), however, offer a timely reminder: "The greatest problem in teaching is not how to get rid of the deadwood but how to create, sustain and motivate good teachers throughout their careers." (p. 84)

The quotation implies that teaching is a career in which people are expected to stay, that once they have entered the profession they will work throughout their career in teaching.   Since just under half of the members of the Scottish teaching profession (45%) hold promoted posts, it follows that many teachers will be in unpromoted posts, although they may carry specific responsibility for particular areas of work. In Scotland, the required qualifications for entry into initial (pre-service) education and the length and much of the content of that training are prescribed. As with medicine (Allen, 1994), one of the consequences of this is that employers (and indeed teachers themselves) may perceive teachers as trained for a specialism (teaching in school) rather than as general graduates. Alternative employment opportunities may therefore seem limited.   If teaching is not experienced by teachers as stimulating and motivating, as offering real opportunities for both professional and personal development, then the teaching force may include some who would wish to be elsewhere but who believe they have few viable options.

In a report on a study of newly qualified teachers in primary schools, Calderhead and Shorrock (1997) highlight the intrinsic appeal of teaching (as useful and important employment working with children and helping them learn) to those who enter initial teacher education. They argue that this intrinsic motivation is "closely tied to the satisfactions which intending teachers, and perhaps experienced teachers, expect to obtain from their work" (p. 205). Furthermore, they signal concern that a failure to recognize the importance of intrinsic elements of teachers' work may lead to difficulties in retaining staff. While the data reported above give some credence to this concern, Calderhead and Shorrock's (1997) data relate to beginning teachers, and they assume a link between satisfaction and retention which may not hold, or at least may not hold for all who are dissatisfied. It is likely therefore that some who are not satisfied with teaching remain in post while some may

indeed leave. It cannot therefore be assumed that those who stay in teaching are content and thus the question arises of what do teachers find satisfying and dissatisfying in their work?

JOB SATISFACTION

The general occupational literature on job satisfaction is extensive. It suggests sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction and offers numerous theories of motive and ambiguous findings about links between job satisfaction and productivity. Herzberg's (1966) work, for example, identifies several sources of positive satisfaction, including recognition, achievement, and having control over oneself at work. Herzberg's dissatisfiers include poor working relationships and poor working conditions. The educational literature, especially the work of Nias (1981), has highlighted many of these and confirmed that much of the theoretical framework which has been applied generally to people at work is of relevance to teachers although Nias herself proposes that teacher job satisfaction is rather more complex than Herzberg's model implies.

Our own work on teacher job satisfaction (Fraser, Draper, & Taylor, 1998) reveals that teachers (200 teachers - 5, 10, and 15 years since qualifying - representative by sector and gender) generally felt satisfied with a number of elements of their jobs, including the friendliness of colleagues and the level of autonomy they experienced. The findings also reveal that salary did not seem to be a particularly important dimension in influencing overall job satisfaction. Salary, an extrinsic rather than intrinsic motivator, has not been found to be of major significance in a number of studies of teacher job satisfaction, and it is interesting therefore to note that moves are currently afoot throughout the UK to increase pay considerably to very good teachers as an incentive to stay in the classroom rather than have them seek promotion, or leave teaching, for financial gain. These data on job satisfaction suggest, however, that change in other aspects of teachers' work would be more likely to influence teachers' career decisions.

Highest levels of dissatisfaction in our study of Scottish teachers were experienced in relation to society's view of teachers, to workload levels, and to the amount of time that administration took out of teaching time. The effect of the last factor is unsurprising given the emphasis on "Intensification" by A. Hargreaves (1994) and the identified trend towards making highly critical

public comment on teachers and to attribute a range of society's ills to teacher behavior. Our findings suggested that the core task of teaching itself was perceived as satisfying and attractive, while parts of its context and design were perceived more negatively. Teachers were concerned about not having enough time to do their work properly. They were also concerned about other people not rating it highly, but they enjoyed their working situation with colleagues and the degree of autonomy that they had at work. Other researchers, in contrast, have suggested levels of dissatisfaction with autonomy (Travers & Cooper, 1996), particularly in the light of the trend towards increasingly centrally imposed curricula (Helsby & McCulloch, 1996). A further element of our own findings was that, in keeping with other occupational literature (e.g., Weaver, 1980), those who had been promoted showed higher levels of satisfaction with their working situations than those who had not. A career in the classroom might therefore seem relatively unattractive in comparison to a career of managing schools.

COMMITMENT TO WORK

The concept of commitment to work is a more recent development than job satisfaction and it offers an overarching framework within which job satisfaction is frequently subsumed. Bateman and Strasser (1984) suggested that job satisfaction derives from commitment, but others were not able to confirm this link (Curry, Wakefield, Price, & Mueller, 1986). Curry et al. (1986) did find, however, that levels of commitment were associated with levels of responsibility in an organization, with more senior staff usually found to be more committed. In the general occupational literature, commitment is reflected in the likelihood of staying on in a job (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1979). The importance of commitment appears to lie in its link with both turnover of staff when alternative jobs are a possibility and to levels of absenteeism when exiting from a post is difficult (Saal & Knight, 1987). Decisions to stay or go are influenced by how easy it is to leave, and Mowday, Koberg, and McArthur (1984) have termed as "restraining factors" those elements in a job which encourage employee commitment and loyalty and, consequently, retention.

In the educational literature, Coladarci (1992) used the following definition of commitment - "psychological attachment to the teaching profession" - while Chapman (1983) found that commitment influenced whether or not teachers stayed in the profession. Fresko, Kfir, and Nasser (1997) found that job

satisfaction was the best predictor of teacher commitment. D. Hargreaves (1994) suggests teachers now "feel a stronger obligation and responsibility for their colleagues." Talbert and McLaughlin (1996) warn: "Teachers' commitment to all students' personal and academic growth cannot be taken for granted" (p. 130). Commitment to teaching is clearly complex: it may be to the post held, to a particular school and/or a set of colleagues, to pupils, or to the profession.

The picture on commitment and retention is further complicated by the fact that teachers (like others in work) may leave their posts for a range of reasons, including career, domestic, personal, and financial, which do not necessarily directly relate to satisfaction or commitment. In contrast, a number of teachers continue to belong to the professional register in Scotland after they have left teaching jobs.

Several factors are held to contribute to the development of commitment to work, including early success, good induction, and recognition of efforts (Mowday et al., 1979). The educational research on teacher commitment identifies several of the same issues or elements. Good induction is recognized as important in beginning a teaching career (Draper, Fraser, Smith, & Taylor, 1991; Draper, Fraser, & Taylor, 1997; GTC, 1990; Hagger & White, 1994). There has been much emphasis in teaching on career long professional development, which is identified as having two functions: supporting development towards becoming a better teacher or, for those in promoted posts, a better manager; and updating teachers in knowledge and skill terms for new developments, new initiatives, and new targets. An emphasis in initial teacher education on self-evaluation and reflection (rather than a technicist, competence-based view) might be argued to offer a better starting point for a career devoted to continuing professional development. Similarly, early socialization experiences once in post which support a developmental view of teaching, through constructive feedback and support systems rather than an emphasis on proving one can cope unaided, should also lead more naturally into commitment to work and to continuing professional development.

Our studies of Scottish beginning teachers (probationers) (Draper et al., 1991; Draper, Fraser, & Taylor, 1997) have suggested that while, quite appropriately, schools have concentrated on the needs of their pupils as learners, this has meant that the needs of new teachers as learners, and their needs for induction information and for feedback and support too often go undermet. At the very

beginning of teachers' careers, it seems we could more effectiv ely address the needs of new employees and new professionals in order to facilitate the development of professional commitment.

An expected consequence of that commitment is the maintenance of an adequate supply of teachers, due in part to lower levels of teacher loss. Within the educational literature restraining factors (Mowday et al., 1984) identified have included enjoying working with children and the satisfaction of seeing pupils learning, which directly parallel the intrinsic motivation discussed by Calderhead and Shorrock (1997). A less positive, but none -the-less effective, restraining factor may be the perceived unavailability of alternative opportunities for work.

THE TREND TO MORE CASUALIZED EMPLOYMENT

Looking at the wider scene in terms of occup ational opportunities, one of the striking shifts is in the patterns of work. More people are now employed in casualized posts such as short-term contracts or part-time contracts. The occupational literature suggests that this will impact on commitment. Casualised employment has also been identified (Ozga, 1988) as limiting access to continuing professional development and promotion opportunities. Our own work (Draper, Fraser, & Taylor, 1997) looking at the experiences of beginning teachers in Scotland fo und that starting a teaching career on short term contracts was quite different from the expected stability of permanent employment. Of 193 teachers who completed their (two -year) probationary period in 1995-6, two-thirds had begun their careers on tempora ry or very short-term contracts. This survey sample may paint an overly optimistic picture since it did not include those who had left teaching before their probationary period had been finished. The sample reported in some detail about their early profes sional development. A more detailed interview -based study of 26 of those with very broken employment experiences (Draper, Fraser, Raab, & Taylor, 1997) identified a series of particular themes. There was a relative narrowness in the experience of those on non-permanent contracts. Confirming Ozga's (1988) view, they had had difficulty in accessing continuing professional development opportunities. There was an emphasis on survival rather than on making progress. Time and effort had been put into ensuring the next employment contract rather than concentrating on learning to be a better teacher. At the end of a period of short -term work, they reported that they had developed strategies for handling the job, but these were for

handling a narrower job than that experienced by their more favorably employed peers. For these teachers working on short-term contracts, opportunities for long-term planning, for curriculum development, for being a member of a staff team had all been scarce. If satisfaction is strongly associated with friendliness of colleagues (and support from them), and if commitment and retention are closely linked with early success and good induction, then these experiences of early employment are not encouraging.

CAREER DECISION-MAKING

On career decision-making, the educational literature distinguishes a number of factors. For example, Caplow (1954) distinguishes vertical and horizontal career moves where vertical moves involve promotion and horizontal moves involve changing school and, perhaps, changing sector. The work by Huberman (1993) and others has generated a number of different frameworks for considering career decisions, through the identification of career stages and strategies. Huberman presents a very graphic description of people a t different stages of their careers, and of their motives for staying in teaching and their feelings about leaving. However, his basic sample was drawn from those who had stayed in teaching and thus the career patterns offered mainly reflect full, rather than foreclosed careers in teaching. MacLean (1992) has highlighted a range of factors which impinge on career decision-making, with a particular emphasis on promotion. He suggests that conceptions of career possibilities in teaching are mainly defined by opportunities in schools, with schools themselves being perceived as differing markedly in status. Furthermore, he has found that career decision-making operated at an individual level, with individual differences in the relative importance attached to external and internal factors. He has also reviewed career studies and concluded that, having accumulated around five years of experience, teachers enter the "teacher career proper" where promotion becomes more feasible and decisions about application are more likely to be made.

Our own work in this area involved groups of teachers with 5, 10 and 15 years of experience, 200 in all (Draper et al., 1998). They indicated whether or not they had applied for promotion already and whether or not they intended to seek promotion in the next five years - 169 were both planning to stay in teaching and answered the two questions. Linking past career decisions and future career intentions gives four distinct combinations or career strategies: Stayers, Starters, Stoppers, and Movers.

One of the striking findings of the results (see Table 1) was that only one quarter of all the teachers involved in the project were Stayers, i.e., those who had not applied for promotion and did not intend to do so. Three-quarters of the group were planning to seek promotion in the next five years. Of these, two-thirds had already applied for promotion and were classified as Movers, while most of the remainder were contemplating a first application for promotion and were thus named Starters. The fourth group is a small number who had applied in the past, but were not intending to do so again and these were named Stoppers.

Table 1: *Career Strategies Defined by Past Career Decisions and Future Career Intentions*

Past Applications	Future Applications	
	Will not apply	Will apply
Have not applied	Stayers (24.3%)	Starters (5.9%)
Have applied	Stoppers (23.0%)	Movers (46.7%)

While the operationalization of the intention to apply in the future is inevitably dependent upon real opportunities for promotion arising, and intention measures may therefore overestimate actual future application, at the very least these data suggest that classroom teaching as a career is not seen by many as an attractive long term strategy. This is further supporte d by the fact that, of the quarter who were not planning to seek promotion but were intending to stay in the classroom full time, not all were held there by the intrinsic appeal of teaching. Two-thirds of these Stayers gave reasons for their career decisions which could be classified as resisting managerial posts or as feeling trapped in teaching with no other options available or alternatively as unable to progress because their short term contracts (and lack of extended experience) made them ineligible to apply for promotion. A very small number therefore reported that classroom teaching was attractive as a long -term prospect in and of itself.

But is promotion more attractive? Is the idea of moving into school management sufficiently appealing to encoura ge people to stay in schools if not in classrooms? Further along the career spectrum, we found a number of people who were not interested in seeking further promotion. Some had already gained promotion, but had no plans to apply again (Stoppers). The final goal of headship was not attractive to everybody (Draper & McMichael,

1998a, 1998b; MacLean, 1992). Our studies have included both primary and secondary deputy headteachers. These have shown that most would be extremely selective and strategic in seeking promotion prospects and nearly half of the primary deputy headteachers had decided that headship was not for them. A number of these had already held acting headships and so were making their career choices from an informed position. Concern has been expressed recently in the UK, though more in England than in Scotland, about the availability, and/or willingness to apply, of suitable applicants for headship (James & Whiting, 1998). The National Association of Headteachers drew attention to problems with the supply of headteachers, claiming that a sixth of schools in England seeking to fill headship posts had been unable to recruit new headteachers (*Sunday Times,* 17 October 1999)

It seems then that, while a relatively small number of teachers wished to stay in the classroom, some of those who had begun on the promotion route did not wish to take it any further. What were the options for them? Some sought alternatives within teaching, finding new stimulation (and intrinsic appeal) in teaching a new age group (Draper, 1997) or a new subject. Others considered leaving or actually left teaching.

LEAVING TEACHING?

Several studies of teachers have broached the question of leaving teaching (Huberman, 1993) and some studied those who had actually decided to go (Darling-Hammond, 1990). As with future plans for applying for promotion, intention may not lead to action. Thinking of leaving does not necessarily lead to departure. Instead, it may be a natural response to frustrations and irritations in any job. Actually leaving is also frequently dependent upon alternative employment being available, and feeling "trapped" may be the result for those who do not perceive there to be alternative opportunities. However, even if teachers who have thought of leaving do not actually leave, it seems possible, and even likely, that their sense of commitment is undermined by their thoughts of leaving. Members of a workforce who regularly think of leaving are likely to be less involved in and committed to plans for future change and development. The scale of the numbers who have thought of leaving has potential implications therefore not only for managing teacher supply but also for the management of, and provisional of support for, those who continue to stay, for whatever reasons, in teaching.

Our work in this area (Draper et al., 1995) found that three-quarters of a group of 100 experienced teachers had thought of leaving, which is higher than corresponding figures from Huberman (1993). The sample was representative by gender and sector (and in secondary, by subject) of all those who had completed their full registration with the GTC in 1982 and 1987, and thus had 10 or 15 years experience when they took part in the study. Data were collected by questionnaire. The questions on thinking of leaving, on the seriousness and frequency of those thoughts and reasons for thinking of leaving (a prompt list of reasons was supplied) formed part of a wider study on teachers' careers.

The study is small and limited in its generalizability to those with other lengths of experience, but it raised interesting questions. Most of the teachers in the study reported that their thoughts of leaving had been influenced by general dissatisfaction rather than by specific incidents or initiatives or by the existence of attractive alternative employment opportunities. This was interesting given that the study took place during rapid and extensive curriculum and managerial change in schools and when concern had been expressed about pupil behavior and indiscipline in schools. (Concern about the latter had already led to the Elton report: Discipline in Schools, 1989.) The findings therefore suggested that general dissatisfaction was significant and that at any one time the profession might be held to comprise those who are keen to stay, those who have had passing thoughts of leaving, those who feel trapped, those in the process of deciding to leave teaching, and those who have decided to leave. We believe this range of views has important implications for the perceived relevance of professional development opportunities.

Turning to those who actually leave teaching, a number of studies have suggested that teaching has a higher wastage rate than other professions (Anderson, Stacey, Western, & Williams, 1983; Spaull, 1977). In addition, some factors are associated with higher levels of teacher loss: for example, more men leave than women, and more secondary teachers leave than primary (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Heyns, 1988). It is interesting to note that Heyns' (1988) paper is entitled "Educational defectors," which reflects the sense of betrayal which is a not infrequent element of the response of colleagues as reported by teachers who are leaving. Our recent analysis of all those (some 4,000) who left the profession (rather than a specific post) in 1997-98 in Scotland found that while a quarter of those who left had less than five years' of teaching experience, over half left less than 25 years after qualifying (Sharp

& Draper, 2000). Given MacLean's (1992) five year marker for moving from novice status, it seems that many highly experienced teachers left the profession well before retirement age. If we assume that continuing professional development is anything more than rhetoric, then this represents a huge loss in skill and expertise. While recruitment into teaching remains robust, there may be little concern raised although the level of professional experience of those who replace these teachers will be much lower. Should recruitment become more difficult, however, a very real supply problem is a possibility.

Reflections on the Studies Described

The Scottish career studies outlined in this chapter are varied: some draw on a longitudinal sample which was constructed in 1988 as representative of beginning teachers, while others were one off projects. The data that have been assembled here to address the issue of the attractiveness of classroom teaching were all collected as part of more extensive investigations, and derive mainly from questionnaires, although follow-up interviews have also played a part in most of the studies.

Together, they offer a range of insights into the experiences of Scottish teachers, but they have their limitations. The samples are not large, and although they are representative by gender and sector for Scotland the findings that stem from them may in part reflect issues which are local to Scotland rather than common to teachers elsewhere, although major curriculum and managerial change in schools is not uncommon. The availability of alternative work, the status of teachers in Scotland, and the gender balance in primary and secondary sectors may all play their part in affecting the results. Analysis is currently in progress of data collected from the longitudinal sample in their tenth year. Such data sets are very unusual and yet necessary if the development of teachers and of their views about work over time are to be fully understood.

DISCUSSION

Drawing all these findings together, what sort of picture can we build of teachers' careers?

If we are looking for a vibrant profession populated by enthusiastic

professionals who will instill in their pupils a desire to learn, partly because the education they offer is exciting and partly because teachers themselves offer a model of people constantly learning, then what conclusions can we draw from studies of teacher careers? Do teachers wish to work in the classroom? And if so, for how long?

Key Points For Consideration

There is no doubt that many enthusiastic people come into teaching. In the early years in post, especially for those with temporary employment as beginning teachers, developmental feedback and support were found to be limited in availability. Partly as a result, beginning teachers may easily come to believe that they have completed the process of developing their teaching and begin to look for new opportunities and new stimulation.

It is not surprising therefore that it is more normal to think of going for promotion than not, but it may have repercussions in that rather more teachers wish to go for promotion than are likely to achieve it. Disappointment over rejection may in time add to the numbers of those who already report feeling "trapped" in the absence of other employment or career prospects and this could result in a cadre of discontented or alienated teachers. Thinking of leaving as a means of achieving variety may simultaneously act as a spur to seeking promotion.

On the data presented here, what can be concluded about the relative attractiveness of classroom teaching? Many sought opportunities which would take their careers, at least in part, outside the classroom. Many teachers thought of leaving. Of those who stay in teaching, and particularly teaching in the classroom, many did not do so by choice.

What are the Implications of These Findings?

There are implications here for initial teacher education and for those concerned with continuing professional development. To develop either form of professional development on false assumptions of a contented workforce who want to spend their lives in classrooms may be to overlook the real needs of many of those who have initially chosen teaching as a career.

Is it necessary that what is offered is specialist training which will only equip

those who take it for one job, or are there transferable skills which can be carried into other jobs? The professional status of teaching requires an emphasis on specialism but to respond to the career needs of those who might spend only part of their lives teaching may require something different.

It is also necessary to consider carefully the most appropriate and relevant continuing professional development opportunities which will meet the varied needs of these teachers who are engaged in a range of career paths.

- For some there is the need for opportunities to develop and innovate within teaching and to stay within the mainstream of classroom work.

- For others, appropriate support is needed for those who wish to seek promotion which must surely include information and experience which will enable informed career decision-making. Otherwise, some may leap into the void of promotion without knowing whence they go.

- For others, the need may be to open up alternative career routes out of teaching: some may need assistance to leave teaching. It may be that this is because they have decided they are not suited to teaching, or perhaps, and possibly rather more, that after some time in teaching some people feel ready to move on to something else. They may have lived through several innovations and be ready for a new setting. They may have developed as far as they wish or as far as they feel they can in teaching. It surely needs to be possible for people to leave teaching with honor, not as an escape or as a sign that vocational commitment was never there, but as a perfectly normal part of many people's career patterns, particularly in a climate where people expect to change career during their working lives. It has to be better for teaching to be done by those who **want** to do it rather than those who cannot get out.

Underpinning this is the need for teachers to be clear about their options and possibilities and to be familiar enough with the nature of different jobs in education to be able to make informed decisions about how they wish to develop their careers. When well over a third of primary deputy headteachers do not wish to seek headship because they have partially tried it and decided it is not for them, I suggest that that may be a cause for celebration rather than despair, if that stems from a desire to stay more involved in classroom work. Opportunities for teachers to familiarize themselves with the nature of

promoted posts, for example, through "acting" posts, should help ensure that those who do seek promotion know what they are choosing and, while this may discourage some of those who might otherwise apply, it might also serve to stimulate interest in others.

Looking ahead to the challenges of the new millenium, and assuming that schools in their present form continue to exist, these studies suggest that there are problems which need to be addressed in relation to a number of dimensions of teachers' work. These include issues relating to the design of teachers' work. The emphasis on increased accountability and centralized curriculum planning has increased time spent on administration, altering the balance between teaching and other parts of teachers' work, as well as possibly reducing teacher autonomy. While accountability and record-keeping are clearly necessary, they have also been interpreted as undermining teacher professionalism (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996). Alongside that concern, however, must lie a recognition of the breadth of teachers' work both in the classroom with learners and beyond. The demands of planning, preparation and assessment, professional sharing with adult colleagues and with parent partners, and professional development are all part of the extended job of the teacher. An inclusive conception of teaching as work, which recognizes and supports the wide range of tasks and roles associated with teaching should underpin both initial teacher education and continuing professional development. An undue or exclusive emphasis on interactions with learners misrepresents the work experience of teachers, in the same way that an assumption of a lifelong career in teaching following qualification misrepresents teachers' careers. In addition, there needs to be a recognition that those who pursue a career in teaching must be able to live lives beyond their work also.

There are very real dangers in ignoring the needs and views of teachers and the diversity of their career intentions. New work opportunities are likely to be created by future developments outwith education for people with intellectual, interpersonal communicative, and organizational skills. Assumptions about vocational commitment and about teachers being unlikely (or unable) to leave or being easy to replace are a recipe for complacency. Teaching must be able not only to compete for but to retain the best.

It will be necessary, however, to ensure that teaching can stay exciting for those who wish to remain. This has implications for how schools and

educational systems are managed, and it must relate to levels of professional autonomy and control if we are to avoid burn-out. Restructuring, as outlined by A. Hargreaves (1994), offers some possibilities but as he confirms there are dangers that its real effects may be insubstantial. One of the advantages of studying teacher careers is that they emphasize that real decisions are made at an **individual** level. Different people in the same position choose different paths. If many of these decisions are to leave, then we have problems of teacher retention with its attendant risks for supply. If entering teaching looks relatively unattractive, then it is individual decisions which will lead to teacher supply problems. If teachers do not wish to stay in the classroom, and there seems ample evidence that many do not, then we have a problem....

NOTES

[1]One quarter of a sample of 100 teachers, half primary and half secondary, with five years experience.

[2]Three quarters of a sample of 100 teachers, half primary and half secondary, with either ten or fifteen years of experience.

[3]Analysis of records of all teachers those whose professional registration with the GTC for Scotland lapsed between April 1997 and March 1998.

[4]The Teachers' Careers research team also includes Helen Fraser, Stephen Sharp, and Warwick Taylor.

[5]Assistant Principal Teacher and Principal Teachers are subject related posts which are only found in Secondary Schools. Principal Teachers are heads of subject departments.

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Career-long professional development : dream or reality ?

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Career-long professional development : dream or reality ?

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Education In Scotland

Scotland has a population of 5.1 million and its education system is distinct from those found elsewhere in the UK. While major changes in Education often resemble those occurring in other parts of the UK, there are also differences in both the content and process of change. Education is overseen by the Scottish Executive Education Department which is answerable to the Scottish Parliament and which was re-established in July 1998. Thirty two local authorities employ all teachers in state-funded schools in their area. In 1998, the last date for which full figures are currently available, there were nearly four thousand schools (3983) schools in Scotland, 860,000 pupils (aged 3-18) and over 52,000 teachers. Almost all schools in Scotland (3869) were publicly funded. Pupils in Scotland enter primary school around five years of age and remain there for seven years. Secondary schooling is offered for six years, with compulsory schooling until the age of 16. There were approximately equal numbers of teachers in the primary and the secondary sectors, and together they constituted nearly 90% of all Scottish teachers. There are also smaller nursery and special school sectors. The profession is ageing (71% over 40 years of age); predominantly female (92% of teachers are female in primary schools , 60% in secondary); relatively stable in terms of employment and highly unionised (Scottish Abstract of Statistics, 1998).

Entering teaching and retention
All those entering the teaching profession in Scotland are graduates, and hold a professional qualification and provisional registration with the General Teaching Council (GTC) for Scotland as a condition of employment in publicly funded schoolsCurrently a two year probationary period as a teacher must be satisfactorily completed before full registration with the GTC is granted. While recruitment into pre-service teacher education has been fairly robust for primary and some secondary subjects, this is influenced by the state of the economy and the availability of jobs elsewhere and there are some (subject) areas where recruitment is habitually difficult (for example in Technology). Along with concern about recruitment, parallel concerns have been voiced over retention, with some recent evidence (Sharp and Draper 2000) suggesting that teachers are leaving the profession at all points in their careers, rather than, as formerly, within the first five years and at retirement..

Promoted posts in schools in Scotland
There are five levels of teaching post in primary and six/seven in secondary schools and teachers stop at all levels of post by choice. Of all teachers in publicly funded primary and secondary schools (46062), half were unpromoted, one third were in middle

management posts (Senior Teacher, Assistant Principal[1] and Principal Teacher) and the remainder (12%) were in senior management posts (defined as Headteacher, Deputy Headteacher and Assistant Headteacher). There were significantly more promoted secondary than primary teachers (57% compared to 32 % in primary). Promoted posts are filled by application and selection and a further area of concern has been the falling level of interest amongst experienced staff in applying for senior posts in schools. Recent studies (Draper and McMichael, 1998a,b) found that less than half of those eligible to apply for school headship were planning to do so. Reduced interest in applying for senior posts may reflect wider changes in career planning, with fewer striving to be at the top, or, as is more commonly assumed in the UK, the increasing demands and pressures on, and accountability of, school leaders resulting in many taking a rational decision to avoid seeking headship. Rapid changes in the role of headteachers (school principals) have also led to increased demand for appropriate training and for that training to be undertaken prior to taking up post.
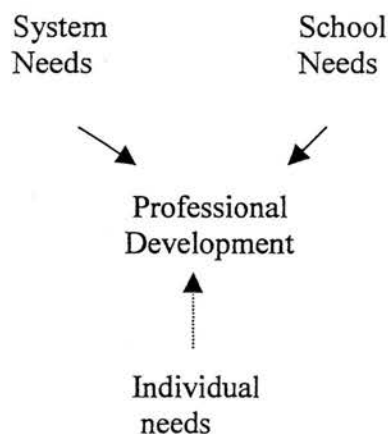
Recent reforms

Recent educational reforms in Scotland have been similar to those elsewhere: the introduction of curriculum guidelines and changes to assessment procedures; increased accountability; changes in the conception of the role of school leaders and the devolving of school management to schools; school self-evaluation and development planning; the introduction of standards and competences into teacher education and development and the absorption of teacher education (formerly delivered mainly in specialist institutions) into universities. No area of formal educational provision has remained untouched. Continuing professional development and school leadership have been identified as key factors in the successful implementation of change and improvement in schools.

Continuing professional development for teachers (CPD)

Continuing Professional Development (CPD) is understood to be essential to progressing educational change and reform. (Fullan and Hargreaves, 1991, McMahon, 1999 amongst many). The literature on managing educational change makes much of the central role of CPD in supporting and enabling such change. System and school level changes are seen to be dependent upon properly targeted, designed and delivered CPD. Alongside this celebration of its importance in taking Education forward the literature sounds warnings that CPD must meet the needs of individuals as well as school and systems. The importance of the link between personal and professional development needs and hence of designing CPD around individually identified needs are the basis of this counter argument, which is supported by, amongst others, Day 1997 and Harris 2000. Day (1997) highlights the importance of conceptualising Professional Development as a broad and deeply based activity, which impacts on teachers' values, beliefs and understandings in contrast to more technicist interpretations aimed at simply increasing skill and knowledge. There is therefore a tension between the needs of the wider system and school and the needs of individual teachers, which links to models of professional development.

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[1] Assistant Principal Teacher and Principal Teachers are subject related posts which are only found in Secondary Schools. Principal Teachers are heads of subject departments.

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System                    School
Needs                     Needs

        ↘           ↙
        Professional
        Development
            ▲
            ┊
        Individual
        needs
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Conceptions and frameworks for teacher development

A key area of recent reform has been the drawing up of standards and associated competences which define levels of teacher development. The process began with initial teacher education (ITE), has been extended to school leadership and beginning teachers, with, now, an overall aim of defining standards for all key stages of teacher careers.

Standards and initial teacher education in Scotland and subsequent CPD
The first standard of professional competence to be defined in Scotland was that for Initial Teacher Education (ITE) (1993). A revised version was produced in 1998. (SOEID, 1998). These Guidelines spell out the competences expected of the beginning teacher and incorporate Government policy on courses leading to teaching qualifications for the primary and secondary sectors. How the competences are to be covered, the order in which they might be addressed in courses and the ways in which they are to be assessed are not specified. These are evaluated during professional accreditation which is a joint governmental and professional process. The Guidelines identify that the overall aim of ITE is to prepare students to become competent and thoughtful practitioners, who are committed firstly to providing high quality teaching for all pupils and secondly to their own future professional development. At present however support for this subsequent development has been limited and has reflected the emphasis identified by Day (1997) on familiarisation and preparation for curricular and management reforms, national innovations, local policy developments or the aims and targets of individual school development plans, informed by self-evaluation approaches (SOEID, 1996). The needs to be met have therefore been identified at national, local authority and school levels

The Sutherland Report and national consultation on a CPD Framework
In his report on teacher education and training, Sutherland (1997) concluded that greater coherence was required in the arrangements for CPD. He argued for an encompassing

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national framework to include probation and induction, and the range, types and levels of CPD undertaken by teachers. This framework has interesting parallels with the ladder of opportunities proposed by KC Pang here at the Institute (Pang 2000). In its consultation exercise on a framework for CPD (SOEID, 1998b), the Government endorsed Sutherland's assessment believing that a framework for CPD would help to raise standards. Under the auspices of the General Teaching Council for Scotland a further standard for full registration (SFR) has been developed. This is intended to be set the expectations for the end of probation (currently two years). This standard upon which consultation is shortly expected to take place, will be the starting point for subsequent CPD.

The need for a standard for headship
It has already been noted above that expectations of schooL leaders were changing and that there was recognition of a need for training. The importance of school leadership has been emphasised and identified globally as a key constituent of effective schools (see for example New Zealand Dept of Education, 1988, Tang, 2001). There are also assumptions about what is construed as good leadership. In the UK, Government and the school effectiveness literature (Southworth, 1990; Sammons et al, 1995) have endorsed the link between effective leadership and effective schools and Sammons et al (1995) identify participative styles of school management as significant contributors to school success. The UK declared educational priority of raising educational standards has been endorsed by the new Scottish Executive. The need for "the highest qualities of leadership and management at all levels in schools but particularly at the top where the driving force for improvement must originate" (SOEID, 1997) is generally recognised. It was accepted that aspiring head teachers require to be fully trained and developed in the necessary leadership and management skills, abilities and values in the form of an appropriate qualification for the demanding post of head teacher. To this end a consultation process began to define a standard for headship

The Scottish Qualification for Headship (SQH)
A Standard for Headship was published in 1998 (SOEID,1998a). Like ITE, it comprises a set of competences, related to agreed key aspects of the role. However, individual strengths and development needs require to be taken into account so that the standard is centred on the individual's values, aptitudes and attitudes plus the knowledge and skills associated with a senior management position. There is an emphasis on the practical, including an industrial experience, underpinned by theoretical insights. The SQH is not at present a mandatory qualification for those aspiring to headship. It was agreed that SQH would be a post-graduate award (equivalent to a post-graduate diploma) incorporating significant elements of work-based learning with, in the first instance, two routes - a standard route which would normally take 2+ years to complete in part-time mode and an accelerated route involving claims of prior learning for experienced staff. The agreed Standard for Headship has been well received by the profession and employers.

CPD for all teachers ?
While standards and competences were agreed, or in preparation, for ITE, for the early

years of teaching and for headship, CPD for the majority of teachers had not yet been tackled. This is perhaps unsurprising since those stages for which standards have been being developed are probably more definable and more focussed. The complexity of the variations in teachers' career paths and their associated CPD needs will be less easily addressed. How might teacher needs be differentiated and met ?

Teachers Career plans and CPD

Given the range of opportunities, what plans do teachers have for their careers and what are the implications of these choices for the provision of CPD ? To address this question I would like to turn to recent findings drawn from a longitudinal study of teachers on their career plans which the Teachers Careers research team has conducted in Scotland. The respondents were 153 teachers in their tenth year since qualifying, teachers who were entering their professional prime . The sample comprised roughly equal numbers of primary and secondary teachers and the gender split was similar to the gender split in each sector. Data were collected by questionnaire in the first instance. Follow-up interviews were conducted in order to pursue issues in greater depth. Major areas of teacher satisfaction and dissatisfaction were illuminated. (Fraser, Draper and Taylor, 1998; Draper and Fraser, 2000) Teachers generally appreciated the friendliness of colleagues, their level of autonomy and the intellectual challenge of their work. Key satisfactions were thus concerned with aspects of the core teaching task. Dissatisfaction was strongly recorded however in relation to the content and context of teachers' work. Workload, proportion of time spent on administration and society's attitudes to teaching were significant sources of concern. While wider issues were recognised as relating to careers and were explored in the study, the issue of the numbers of staff interested in seeking promotion has become of significant concern in the UK along with concerns about recruitment and retention. The findings from the study which are reported here therefore relate to retention and to the vertical dimension (Caplow, 1954) of career: seeking promotion.

Career intentions at 10 years
A range of career possibilities exist for the ten year teacher. For those who continue to hold dear and central the intrinsic reasons which brought them into teaching originally, promotion may well look unattractive as a route which increasingly removes opportunities to teach. In Caplow's (1954) terms they prefer a horizontal career.

Others may change their priorities as they move through their careers and/or new factors may influence their choices: promotion may offer the possibility of putting one's ideas into practice for a wider group of pupils or it may ease the meeting of more recently acquired financial commitments. Others may decide they have moved far enough vertically and others again may feel it is time to move on to new work.

Our studies have focussed on the career plans that teachers have developed. While Harris (2000) found that teachers were frustrated in their attempts to clarify their career goals we found teachers had a clear sense of what they expected to do career-wise over the next five years at least.

Assuming that professional development needs vary with career intentions and plans, it is important to establish what teachers' career intentions are.

Career intentions model

Our model (Draper et al 1998) is constructed from the answers to two questions: one looking back and one looking forward..

Q1   Have you applied for promotion in the past?
Q2   Are you planning to seek promotion in the next five years?

Answers to these questions are then combined to identify four career intentions: stayers, starters, stoppers and movers.

	Future won't apply	will apply
Past have not applied	stayers	starters
have applied	stoppers	movers

Findings and discussion

Staying in teaching

Nearly all planned to stay in teaching: 93% of the sample expected to be in teaching in 5 years time. Reasons for staying may of course be instrumental rather than indicators of continued magnetic attraction to teaching: Harris (2000) found some felt they were at the stage of burn out but did not want to leave and lose the financial security their job brought.

Career intentions

How many have sought promotion in the past?   66%   (n=153)

These comprise 57% of primary teachers and 77% of secondary teachers in the sample, and 61% of female teachers and 89% of male teachers in the sample. The corresponding figure for the five year point was 37%: the second five year period has been an important one for these teachers in vertical career terms.

How many will seek promotion in the next 5 years ?43%   (n=134)

These comprise 36% of primary and 50% of secondary teachers in the sample and 38% of female and 58% of male teachers in the sample. The corresponding figure at five years was 71%.

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Two thirds have sought promotion in the past but less than half intend to in the next 5 years. In relation to both questions, and as found elsewhere (Darling-Hammond, 1990), a significantly higher proportion of secondary and male teachers have sought and intend to seek promotion.

The career intentions model
Applying the model to 134 ten year teachers the percentages are as follows:

	Future won't apply	will apply
%		
Past		
have not applied	stayers 29	starters 6
have applied	stoppers 29	movers 37

These data can be compared with similar data drawn from responses at 5 years. (Draper Fraser and Taylor, 1998)

n=98 5 year teachers: percentages

	Future won't apply	will apply
Past		
have not applied	stayers 25	starters 35
have applied	stoppers 2	movers 34

Analysis of career intentions
At both the five and ten year career points around one third were planning to change their current career strategy. It seems a reasonable assumption that different career intentions will be associated with different professional development needs. Some teachers are committed to staying in the classroom, while others have been, and will continue to be, actively seeking promotion. Those expecting to change strategy (the starters and stoppers) in particular will have specific new needs.

Comparing the two sets of data, the change in the relative proportions of stoppers and starters is most marked. This suggests that the 5-10 year period may be very important for teachers in vertical career terms. While around a third had sought promotion by 5 years, by ten years this had effectively doubled. Professional development provision, of a range

of possible kinds, aimed at familiarising teachers with the nature and demands of promoted posts is likely to be important here to ensure that informed career decision making is possible.

Looking ahead at ten years far fewer are planning to seek promotion than was the case at five years. Interviews at ten years suggested that the balance of home life demands and work/career was being actively considered as new domestic responsibilities had developed especially with regard to children.
Teachers were being strategic as they juggled work and home responsibilities.
The personal and domestic lives of staff were important in career decision making. In the face of competing demands from personal life what may appear an instrumental approach to work and career may in fact be highly strategic as evidenced in:

> I make a point in of getting home as sharp as possible, getting the kids dinner, bath and bed. Then when they are in bed I work....I am happy to work at any point, but after the kids are settled. At the moment there is only school and home. I have never been so snowed under. (Male, Principal Teacher, secondary)

There was also in the data some evidence of sector differences: although there are a relatively small number of starters, most of them are primary teachers. At the five year point more of the primary teachers than the secondary felt they had not achieved a satisfactory balance between work and personal life. By ten years this difference had diminished and more primary teachers than before felt ready to move on to new challenges.

Implications for professional development : defining the problem

Simplistic assumptions about what teachers need will not reflect the complexity of teachers' lives and careers, what Day describes as the "dynamic interplay" of the personal and professional. We found evidence of teachers shaping their career plans round their personal lives (for example some, both male and female, had put ideas of seeking promotion on hold until such time as their domestic commitments would permit a different kind of involvement in work)

In thinking about professional development, there is a need to recognise and plan for a range of teachers with very different career plans:

> to stay in the classroom or in the current promoted post
> to leave teaching[2]
> to seek promotion to some level: for some at 10 years this will be the first time, while some others have already made multiple applications.

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[2] Not detailed in this paper, but some of those interviewed who had left teaching (n=18, a separate sample) had left because they said felt they could not do the job the way they felt it needed to be done.

These teachers' professional development needs and preferences are likely to be different

> those planning to stay in their present post need support to maintain motivation and to develop current practice
>
> some need support to familiarise them with the demands of, and prepare for, promotion
>
> some who have been unsuccessful in gaining promotion a number of times may need different support

.... others may prefer to leave teaching: what support do they need ?

A failure to identify individual concerns and needs may result in wasted effort and resources if only wider system or local or school needs are addressed at the expense of what may be most relevant to some teachers. There are serious dangers in failing to differentiate between the needs of teachers: the largest group of public employees in our society.

Addressing the problem? The McCrone inquiry into the pay and conditions of teachers

The demand for relevant CPD combined with concerns expressed by teachers about their current workload in the context of massive and rapid educational reforms. Involvement in new developments was resisted until workload issues were acknowledged and addressed. The solution that was found was to establish an inquiry into the pay and conditions of teachers and this inquiry, chaired by Professor Gavin McCrone, reported after wide consultation in May 2000. (SEED 2000). The inquiry collected the views of many of those involved in education in schools and commented on a range of issues. The final report, A Teaching Profession for the 21st Century, proposed a new career structure for schools, changes in pay and conditions of service and a central role for CPD for teacher development. These proposals were the basis of extensive discussion within government in Scotland and with professional associations, employers and the GTC. The report offered a broader and more individually focussed conception of CPD and highlights its significance for all teachers, seeing motivation and individual work satisfaction as important goals for CPD. This is a significant re-orientation from the agendas focussed on system- and school-change which have driven CPD developments in recent years. Following consultation, a package of proposals was subsequently presented to the profession and a ballot on this package took place in February 2001. Eighty per cent of teachers who voted supported the package, which include the creation of Chartered Teacher status for those teachers who can demonstrate professional development and expertise. Entry to the chartered route depends upon having reached the top of the main salary scale (six points). Achievement of chartered status requires the completion of total of 12 CPD modules.

The McCrone package (further details remain to be clarified)

Changes in the structure and management of schools

- A reduction in the hierarchy of posts in schools : 4 levels of post instead of 5/7
- Chartered Teacher status to recognise the professional development of experienced teachers for those wishing to remain in classroom
- A new culture of professionalism with more collegial/participative styles of management
- Discipline task force to be established

Changes in pay and conditions

- 21.5 % over three years (10% by April 2001)
- 35 hour week with all work contained within
- 22.5 hour contact time by 2003, with at least 1/3 of class contact time protected for preparation and marking (protected until 2006)
- Remaining hours for CPD: use to be negotiated at school level

CPD

- Expected of all staff: Portfolio to be kept
- Provision must be relevant to all teachers
- Provision should sustain motivation
- Accredited provision and providers to guarantee quality
- CPD a requirement for entry to and achievement of Chartered Teacher status
- Twelve modules accredited CPD on Chartered Teacher programme for achievement of CT status

Staffing implications

- 4250 extra teachers to enable class contact time reductions
- 3500 extra administrative staff (including senior administrative officers)
- Extension of classroom assistant programme (unqualified helpers)
- Significant increase in ITE provision

Reviewing the proposals

The package will require substantial funding from government and has been fairly well received by teachers but a number of issues remain unclear.

a)   There is a strong emphasis on the accreditation of CPD. This implies that formal traditional courses are likely to play a major part in CPD developments. The role of work

based learning and its accreditation is unclear. Yet many teachers talk of doing their job as being developing in itself, and some more flexible mechanism will need to be found to acknowledge the day to day experience and development of teachers. This is already part of the SQH structure and could usefully be extended to general CPD.

b)   Teachers will be required to have 6 years experience before they can enter the Chartered Teacher route, and in effect a new level of professional recognition and a new pay scale. The completion of the route will take at least a further 6 years. Work is currently underway (by a consortium of Arthur Anderson Consultants and the Universities of Edinburgh and Strathclyde) to draw up a framework for CPD.
It is not however clear what might lie beyond the achievement of Chartered Teacher Status. Neither multiple masters degrees nor headship qualifications are likely to be attractive to all and yet at least some teachers may expect to work for 25 years beyond achieving chartered status.

- The relatively focussed development needs of those in Initial Teacher Education, of beginning teachers and of aspiring headteachers may fit neatly into a standard and competence model. For an area as wide ranging as the full professional career of teachers who do not wish to be school leaders the model may be limiting and may fail to offer adequate potential for individual development. This is not to criticise Chartered Teacher status which usefully emphasises professional development beyond basic competence and confirms the importance of CPD but it does not in itself do justice to career long or life long learning. Furthermore, fostering a recognition of career long professional development implies a commitment to providing opportunities for that development.

- There is a clear recognition that many teachers do not wish to become headteachers and that a range of supportive and stimulating CPD provision is required for all staff. In the terms of our career intention model the stayers and stoppers require CPD but not as preparation for headship. Similarly, we should expect that many of the starters and movers will wish to stop short of headship, particularly with better monetary rewards for staying in the classroom. That being the case, CPD must be designed with clear horizontal as well as vertical development goals. McCrone highlights the role of CPD as motivating and stimulating. This is a far cry from traditional views of CPD as preparation for change and imposed new policies. It will require new ways of thinking about and planning for CPD and educational change. It potentially heralds a new way of relating to the professions....if the government, the employing authorities and the teachers can achieve it.

- If all that is proposed comes to pass, there may be a new problem. We know that those who enter teaching in Scotland at present do not do so for the monetary rewards (Fraser, Draper and Taylor, 1998). The proposals include a substantial increase for those who stay in the classroom, as well as a very significant increase for those who become headteachers. But fewer may wish to become headteachers if they are reasonably recompensed for a job they enjoy. There have already been concerns expressed about low interest in headship : so the question remains whether the

significantly increased salaries will be sufficient to tempt enough teachers to leave the classroom for headship?

Conclusion

Will these changes enhance the professional nature of teaching ? They are clearly intended to change the relationship between teachers and their school and local authority managers, This will not be easy but there is a corresponding emphasis on participative management in the Scottish Qualification for Headship. The hope would be that managers' views of teachers as autonomous professional partners will be enhanced. Changes in the public perception of teachers would also be desirable. Firm definitions of the teachers working day, of teaching as more than class contact and increased pay could all support an increase in public assessments of teacher status. The concentration on professional activities and the stripping away of basic administrative tasks should give more emphasis to the distinctive skills of teachers.

Key aspects of professional activity have been built into the package. A commitment to continuing improvement, an emphasis on CPD as part of the teacher's job and as a criterion for progress, provision of CPD for all not just those seeking promotion, the responsibility of system and school as well as teachers for professional development and the establishment of Chartered Teacher status requiring a high level of professional competence all signal a greater recognition of the professional dimension of the work of the teacher.

The McCrone report and the proposals which follow from it imply genuine possibilities of a move to real professional status for teachers and an interest in providing for the CPD needs of all teachers at all stages of their careers. The question remains whether the government, the employing authorities, the institutions which will deliver and/or accredit CPD and the teachers who will engage with it will grasp this opportunity to create a teaching profession for the 21st Century.

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Keeping the Show on the Road?

The Role of the Acting Headteacher

Janet Draper and Paquita McMichael

Introduction

There is substantial agreement on the significance of the contribution of the headteacher to school performance (DES, 1977; Hopkins et al., 1994; Mortimore et al., 1997; Reynolds and Cuttance, 1992). The Scottish Office Education and Industry Department has endorsed this view in defining the Standard for Headship (SOEID, 1998). Given this strong recent emphasis, it follows that discontinuities in management staffing in schools may be a threat to performance. In fact, the responsibility accorded to headteachers for school performance assumes long-term tenure, allowing school leaders to identify development strategies, plan change and supervise the process of implementation. Such tenure is subject to fluctuations. Heads become ill, move and are seconded. Under these circumstances acting heads may be appointed in their place for varying (and sometimes wholly uncertain) periods of time. The acting heads may thus find themselves in an unusual situation for a school leader: that of 'holding the fort' with little expectation of long-term involvement in, or responsibility for, the progress of the school. There is a need to consider the implications of this reality for our assumptions about headship and for school performance. With increasing recognition of the need for training for headship, and particularly the provision of training before taking up headship, the position of acting head becomes more anomalous, unless different expectations and support systems are applied to such posts.

Literature Review

Given the demands now made of permanent headteachers, it is interesting that little has been written on the role, training, experience and development of the often summarily appointed individual who acts as substitute—the acting headteacher. In fact we need to turn back as far as two papers published in the late 1980s (Gardner, 1988; West, 1987). Gardner described his experience in an acting primary school headship in terms of his preparation for the task, the problems which faced him, the support offered him and his growth in the post. He commented that he was not expected to initiate serious change and had to keep the organization running smoothly, making sure, since the 'real' headteacher was due to return, that he made decisions that were compatible. He was helped in this by having worked closely with the permanent headteacher beforehand. Gardner's description has many points in common with the experience of holders of present-day posts,

except in the greater emphasis on management systems, curriculum development, monitoring and school evaluation, all of which shape the current work of headteachers. Change is continuous but nevertheless it is possible that acting heads still feel the constraints of pursuing the administrative systems, style of management and policies of a head likely to return.

The management implication of Gardner's paper is that the acting post is essentially one of caretaking and maintenance of the status quo. He found limited scope for leadership, with its emphasis on ends as well as means, on development as well as maintenance and on autonomous decision-making rather than bureaucratic accountability. We must question the meaning of 'caretaking'. Does it imply no change or simply 'continuity', which may well mean sustaining change and indeed contributing to it? In present-day circumstances we believe it is well-nigh impossible to avoid change and simply maintain the status quo if an acting post is held for any length of time.

West (1987) writes of the constraints that will be reimposed upon an acting head upon reversion to the previously held post. Having crossed the boundary between the primary school classroom and headship and having acquired new 'zones of influence' (Lortie, 1975), the one-time acting head must lose the status of recent months (or even years). Although stressing the effect that holding a post with limited tenure has on freedom of action, West goes on to argue for the importance of the interdependence of head and deputy, their mutual concern, their shared experience and the potential for mentorship in a 'dyadic process' once the move into acting headship takes place.

More than a decade later, in the light of the changed views of headship highlighted in the introduction, we have returned to the questions surrounding acting headship because of its widespread use, its present management by local authorities and its effects on the individuals and schools placed in this position. An acting head who is encouraged to construe the task as merely 'maintaining' a school for many months may take it backwards rather than develop it to meet and even anticipate new demands. Schools with temporary heads may struggle to innovate and to respond to national and local authority requirements and initiatives. Consideration therefore needs to be given to arriving at a realistic expectation of the balance of maintenance and development functions associated with an acting headship.

Research Focus

It is important to note here that Scottish local authorities continue to play a significant role in the employment, training and management of schools and their staff. For example they have played a key role in negotiations with government and teacher unions over changes in teachers' pay and conditions, the structure of posts in schools and new arrangements for continuing professional development (CPD), all of which follow from the McCrone agreement (SEED, 2001).

Having already learned from the local authorities that few had policies with respect to their expectations, appointment and support of acting heads (Draper and McMichael, 2001) we raised questions about the appropriate roles of both the acting heads and the LAs. Did acting heads still feel they were there merely 'to keep the show on the road' and 'to create the minimum disruption', as one LA wrote and as West (1987) and Gardner (1988) emphasized? Or did the acting heads perceive the job differently, as one in which valuable development can take place and which requires continued LA interest?

Although we report many complaints we also describe the feelings of success experienced by acting heads, and consider the range of leadership options available to them. How far are they free to innovate? We finally raise the question of whether, having operated for weeks and months in the post, they would wish to go on to apply for a permanent appointment, possibly building on their acting experience to work towards the Scottish Qualification for Headship.

Research Design and Method

The findings reported here are drawn from a study of acting headship which was designed in two phases. Phase one was a survey of local authority policy and practice and phase two, through preliminary interview and survey, explored the views and experiences of those holding acting posts. (Phase one is reported elsewhere: Draper and McMichael, in press.)

In order to devise a questionnaire that tapped into the concerns of people occupying acting headships as well as to address issues of leadership and support we initially interviewed five deputy headteachers who had returned to post after being acting heads.

These were chosen because their experience of acting headship had not been overlaid by subsequent experience as a permanent headteacher in the same school. Two were from secondary schools and three from primary schools. Their responses shaped our questionnaire which explored the following research issues.

Research Issues

- Appointment processes: reasons for acting headships, expected versus unexpected appointment, expected length of appointment

We hypothesized that there would be relationships between the reasons for creating acting posts and the expected length of the appointment. We also supposed that, when unexpected appointments occurred, they might have an adverse effect on preparation for and early experience of the job. We further expected that where appointments were made and taken up suddenly, these acting opportunities would arise in relation to unpredictable events such as illness.

- The perceived role of LAs: appointment, expectations and uncertainty, preparation and support
- Support from previous head and present school staff
- The scope for leadership and the influence of length of appointment
- Advantages and disadvantages of acting posts
- Return to post

Space was left after several questions for open-ended responses.

Sample

In total 105 questionnaires were sent to all 13 local authorities who had reported (in phase one of the study) that they had had at least five acting heads in role the previous year. Those authorities (7) with between five and ten acting headships in the previous year were

sent five questionnaires; those (4) with between 10 and 15 acting headships were sent 10 and those (2) with 15 or more were sent 15 questionnaires. The questionnaires were accompanied by a request that they be distributed to staff who had held acting posts during the previous 12-month period. Individual covering letters accompanied each question-naire to individual ex-acting heads. Questionnaires were returned directly to the research team. We received 64 responses. The results reported are based on the 64 returned ques-tionnaires which were received from the sample described here.

Numbers of acting heads across all sectors were as follows: nursery (2), primary (50), secondary (9), and special (3) schools. The ages ranged from between 21 and 30 to over 50: 21–30 (n = 1), 31–40 (n = 9), 41–50 (n = 34), over 50 (n = 19). The majority were over 40 and under 50. The most common recent post before appointment as acting head was deputy head, though there had been a few assistant heads, and senior teachers, seven class teachers (no doubt in small schools), and one head. Thirty-four had had 20 or more years in teaching. Most of the sample had been acting heads in primary schools and the sample was weighted towards women (48) compared to men (15). Twenty percent of the sample were still acting heads when they completed the questionnaire.

Results

Absence and Appointment Processes

Reasons for Acting Headships The survey of local authorities had reported percent-ages, for the previous year, of acting headships attributed to temporary and permanent reasons for absence. (Some temporary absences through illness subsequently became permanent absence through health-related retirement.) The LA data suggested first that secondment and illness were the most common reasons for acting posts arising, and second that two-thirds of acting posts arose in relation to temporary rather than permanent absence, i.e. where the permanent headteacher was expected to return. The sample data reflect these patterns (although the percentage of temporary absence is even higher) and suggest that the sample is reasonably representative in terms of reason and type of acting post. The clear finding is that illness and secondment provided the major reasons for acting appointments. The first is to be expected given the recent English evidence on teacher absence (Bowers, 2001) and on the age structure of the profession. (SEED, 2000). Bowers reported that the likelihood of longer spells of absence increases with age. McCrone showed that more teachers are older and senior posts like headship are more likely to be held by older teachers. Acting posts were usually confirmed once absence had been for at least 20 days.

Expected versus Unexpected Absences

We assumed that those appointed to acting headteacher posts who had some time to prepare for the change would feel more in command of the situation, particularly when they were appointed within their existing school. Most of the listed reasons should provide acting heads with a lead-time before taking up their posts. Few acting heads therefore should have been catapulted into the job. In practice, 34 of 63 respondents (54 percent) indicated that the appointment had been sudden. There were no absences caused by death or resignation which might precipitate a sudden appointment. The major contributor to

Table 1. Reasons for acting appointments

Temporary	N	%	Permanent	N	%
illness	28	43.7	death	0	0
pregnancy	3	4.7	resignation	0	0
secondment	24	37.5	promotion	3	4.7
			retirement	3	4.7
			others	3	4.7

unexpected appointments was illness (20 of 28). Illness will often be unexpected and will frequently introduce uncertainty into the acting arrangement. However, the second most common cause of temporary absence was secondments (n=11 of 24). Secondments are often, but not exclusively, short-term and usually to LA projects, so planning for them and provision for a lead-time might reasonably be thought of as within LA control.

Expected Length of Appointment

The expected length of time allocated to acting appointments varied between one and 23 months, but could rarely be precisely predicted. Secondments are, however, time limited, though sometimes extended and on occasion cut short. In the event 48 respondents, when asked how long they expected to remain in their acting post, reported as shown in Table 2.

Half of the sample expected to be acting heads for no more than three months, suggesting that for them the appointment would have time to be disturbing and at times exhilarating but leave little time for anything but keeping the ship steady and not 'rocking the boat'. Most of this group were temporarily replacing heads who were absent due to illness. It is worth noting that respondents have replied in terms of expected length of acting headship and that this can be remarkably inaccurate in reality. One respondent wrote that she had expected the absence to last a matter of weeks and found herself actually in post for three years! The quarter who could not respond to this question were uncertain how long they might be in post. Needless to say, such doubt undermines the capacity to plan.

Internal and External Appointments

Sixty-nine percent (44) held internal appointments: acting headships in their own school. Thirty percent (19) had been appointed to acting headships from another school (external). One respondent did not answer this question. Perhaps surprisingly, expected

Table 2. Expected length of time in post

	N	%
1–3 months	26	54
4–6 months	5	10
10–12 months	4	8
18 months	7	15
23 months +	6	13
Unknown	16	25

length of appointment was unrelated to whether appointments were external or internal. It might have been expected that acting headships which were likely to be of longer duration would be those to which external appointments were made, but this was not the case. In fact just as many external as internal appointments (half) were made for shorter acting posts of three months or less.

There were few differences between the experiences of external and internal appointees. Both had found their induction into post to be of little help; very few (2 internal and no external) attended induction courses from the local authority. Only half of the 48 offered preparation by their LA had found such help valuable. On expectations held of acting heads, both groups were clear that they were expected to introduce changes and keep in touch with their authorities. Both groups also felt they needed more support than they had received.

External appointees were more likely to have been interviewed: one-third had had interviews. They were also more likely to have met an LA officer in connection with the post. The key area of difference lay in the relationship with the departing headteacher and the support deriving from that head. Those acting as heads in their own schools more commonly found the relationship with the departing head offered a valuable channel for preparation. However, we argue that the finding highlights a need to provide proper formal support for all acting heads, since an informal system is less likely to be monitored and assured.

The Perceived Role of LAs: Appointment, Expectations and Uncertainty, Induction and Ongoing Support

Appointment

Appointments were often made (50 percent of 56 respondents) simply on the head's recommendation, with little or no active participation from the local authority. However, occasionally LAs had been involved directly in selection, especially in the case of the 19 external appointments (for which seven had been invited to apply and six had involved interviews). Most acting heads (87 percent) were not in fact interviewed by the departing head or by anyone else. Since many appointments were for three months or less, this is not surprising and is in tune with the LAs' responses to us that these appointments were largely 'automatic', and went to the deputies already in the school, the aim being to minimize disruption. Some disruption might thus be avoided but, in larger schools and where the absence was expected to be longer, a 'ladder' of subsequent appointments of assistant heads, department heads and even senior teachers might follow with their own disturbing consequences. One-quarter identified the creation of such a series of acting up posts as an important disadvantage.

Expectations and Uncertainty

A simple question asked respondents if they were clear about what was required of them. Almost all agreed with the view that they should 'keep the show on the road', but surprisingly 28 (44 percent) felt the remit was also 'to introduce change'. These tended to be the acting heads who expected to be longer in post. It may be that we should see such stability as creating the basis for change. The role was clarified to them however, despite little contact with LA staff over the appointment. Over half the acting heads reported that, in

addition to the headteacher, LA staff (education officers, advisers, directors of education and deputy directors) *had* indicated their expectations.

It is at this point that we call upon the free responses to these questions. The issue of *uncertainty* was raised again and again and concerned:

- the date of taking up the post: 'It would have been good to have some indication of this happening—no warning!'
- the length of appointment: the litany of complaint on this topic was long, and clearly led to great difficulty in planning both for the school and for personal decision-making. 'If I had known that the three months would have ended up being a year I could have made decisions and moved on . . .'
- the freedom to act

We return to this when considering the freedom within the role experienced by acting heads.

Induction and Ongoing Support: Preparation, Training and Support

LAs have a continuing role in enabling acting headteachers to function at the beginning, during the post and at the end. Carrying out this role effectively enables these temporary heads to cope with uncertainty. Few answered that they had been offered any preparation by the LA. However, 21 had met with an officer and two had been given an induction course. Those who had attended the induction course joined new or about-to-begin permanent heads in one LA where such a course had been opened to acting heads. Administrative and financial affairs were considered in the induction course. Other aspects of formal induction were not regarded as helpful. Slightly over half of those responding to the question found that LA officers had been valuable or moderately valuable to them, but it must be noted that the rest saw them as being of little or no help. 'I didn't find there was any planned support at all apart from induction meetings which were for new heads rather than acting heads.'

In fact, in the acting heads' opinion, the best preparation offered by others had been provided by those departing headteachers who were in a position to do so. Heads offered advice and discussed matters with their successors, and in some cases provided instructions. The close working relationship with the outgoing head provided a useful outside means of sustaining the acting head both at the preparatory stage and during the time in post for nearly all those with a head who was able to help them. Many heads thus sustained a mentoring role.

But in an assessment of the various contributions to readiness to take on the role of head, two-thirds of the respondents indicated that their own previous management role had been their mainstay. Since the acting heads had often been in a mutually supportive working relationship with their heads they had had opportunities for learning through consultation as well as involvement in administrative and management functions.

It became clear that only half the acting heads perceive local authorities as playing a helpful part in the preparation of acting heads for the job. Some reported positive help during the period of the appointment, but there were varied experiences of local authority support, with half the respondents saying they would have liked more support. As we had expected, external appointees found initial LA preparation more valuable than did their

internal counterparts. Those appointed internally reported more access to support from the departing head.

When the LAs were involved and took their responsibilities to acting heads seriously (as seriously as some might take them to permanent heads), their support was welcomed and the time usefully employed. The positive responses we received should not blind us, however, to those who felt that they needed more support than they actually received from their LA.

The support given can add to or subtract from an acting head's capacity to initiate rather than simply 'keep the show on the road' awaiting the permanent head's return. Greater opportunities for leadership and a definition of the role in these terms may have been available to those with six months or more in post, during which time they were likely to be faced with embarking on a school development plan.

> As a deputy it was almost like getting the school up and running on a daily basis and it was highly reactive, whereas the head's job in many ways is reactive but in a less instant way and is more proactive: let's look at charts, development planning, looking at the bigger picture, whereas as a deputy I had to play a part in the bigger picture but I wasn't in control then. (secondary school acting head)

Freedom and Limitations for an Acting Headship

Freedom

All heads are constrained by the various, often conflicting, demands made on them from the LA, the staff, the pupils, the parents and the wider community. An acting head might be supposed to be yet more constrained as the post may be held for another, and the consciousness of the ultimate return of that other and the loyalty of the staff to that other inevitably fetters action. We asked respondents whether they felt they had great, moderate or limited freedom or felt strictly constrained. Somewhat to our surprise, of the 57 who answered the question, 21 (37 percent) felt there was great freedom, 23 (40 percent) moderate freedom, 12 limited freedom (21 percent) and only one felt strictly constrained (2 percent). Nearly all those (8 out of 12) expecting to be in post for 18–24 months considered they had enjoyed great freedom, while of those in acting posts for one to three months only 6 of 24 were similarly enthusiastic. Thirteen even felt that there was great freedom to pursue their own agenda and introduce their own ideas. It seems clear that expected length of appointment can significantly affect acting heads' perception of possibilities for initiative, action and managing change. This quotation aptly illustrates the point: 'Six months expected, but now I know it's likely to be a year so my goals have changed.'

Overall the majority of the acting heads felt they exercised very considerable freedom with respect to working with staff, whether supporting them or in their development and training. Most reported good reciprocal support. Similarly many felt a certain amount of independence in engaging staff in collaborative enterprises (usually projects within the school but also with respect to the school development plan). When it came to the appointment of staff there were greater limitations. In the case of acting staff, a ladder of promotion within a school usually worked automatically and choice was limited.

There appeared to be a fairly sanguine outlook on the freedom allowed to acting heads. Many did not seem, on our evidence, to feel that they were merely caretaking, though they were all aware they had 'to keep the show on the road', a sine qua non, in fact. It is worth reiterating here that it is those with the expectation of a longer period in post who were more apt to escape from the simple notion of caretaking. On the whole, however, the analysis revealed little difference between those with shorter and longer expected periods in post with the exception of impacting on the development plan. While most felt relatively constrained in relation to implementing their own agenda, those expecting to be longer in post felt more freedom in relation to the development plan, the key mechanism for introducing change. Those who had expected to be longer in post perceived *less* freedom to improve school provision, possibly as they grew to understand local authority constraints better.

Limitations

Several aspects were identified as potential limitations: holding back on radical change because of a returning head, time limiting opportunities to change, a need to be reactive, loyalty to a returning head and staff attitudes. The data show substantial variance, but overall did not generally appear to be limiting, especially in the case of staff attitudes.

The open question responses give some helpful insights of extremes in experience. In some cases, however, possibly when a head was away for a short period, the acting head was left with strict instructions, with negative consequences if these were not obeyed. 'The head emphatically stressed no changes to be made and has been critical of some of the improvements made.' In a more collegial setting acting heads might still work hard at maintaining existing systems, but were also able to exercise some initiative.

The time was too long to be keeping it just for [the absent headteacher]. I desperately tried to keep the financial and housekeeping systems the same. I was obliged to do this so she could see what had been happening. But the decisions and plan had to be mine.

When there was no current head peering over an acting head's shoulder there could still be considerable uncertainty. 'Not knowing who the new head would be and her/his style of management; how much to change/leave.' This respondent was not alone. Asked about limitations, over half of the respondents felt a fair degree of limitation on their freedom of action by the expected constraints—a returning head and time in post. It is therefore not surprising that there was hesitation in many cases over planning and developing policies. Further hesitation no doubt arose from the fact that many did not know for some time how long their period in post might be, e.g. in the case of the head's illness, or perhaps an extended secondment, or even the period between a head's retirement and replacement. In this way it becomes apparent that the acting head's role can be ringed around with uncertainties. As a result it is particularly encouraging that many found important advantages in having taken the post, and reported with pride on their successes. These often indicated a confident use of their freedom to lead.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Acting Headship

The acting heads were asked to consider the advantages and disadvantages of taking the post in terms of the opportunities offered and their importance.

Advantages

Nearly all felt that it offered a chance to familiarize themselves with headship and to take on new responsibilities. Many felt the value of widening horizons and of testing out this wider perspective along with trying out their ideas. Two-thirds of the respondents reckoned that the post had offered them important opportunities. The more instrumental items were regarded as less important, possibly for reasons of social desirability. These included opportunities for higher pay, recognition, new status and career options. The items winning the greatest number of positive responses tend to confirm the view that the post offered considerable scope and gave many a strong sense of success. 'I developed my self-confidence enormously and raised my aspirations.'

Disadvantages

The studies by Gardner (1988) and West (1987) suggested a number of disadvantages which were incorporated into the questionnaire. The conflict between the constant and stressful demands of headship (which stretch into evenings, weekends and vacations) and normal non-school life emerged in our data as a great disadvantage. For many it was a major disincentive to application for headships. Eleven (17 percent) admitted that their experience of acting headship had been enough to deter them from attempting the permanent post, a disillusioned and disenchanted response (Day and Bakioglu, 1996) that we had earlier found in our studies of senior staff in primary and secondary schools (Draper and McMichael, 2000). Other disadvantages were to be expected, particularly instability and discontinuity within the school, very apparent to those who were appointed (the majority) from within the school.

End of Acting Post

Perceived Local Authorities' Responses on Completion

As already mentioned, half the sample were dissatisfied by the support offered during their acting post and afterwards many were disillusioned by the LA responses to their period in post. Those acting heads whom we interviewed at the instrument design stage told us they welcomed the opportunity of the research interviews to put their experiences into context and evaluate them, and in some cases regretted the absence of equivalent LA interviews. In the questionnaire we therefore asked if they were thanked for their work, if they were debriefed and offered an opportunity to reflect on the experience, and if they were given career advice and professional development guidance. Table 3 indicates a disappointing LA response to need.

It would appear that the LAs are missing opportunities not only for being gracious to employees but for useful feedback to themselves on the needs of acting heads and how they might meet them. This would seem all the more necessary since two-thirds wished for more LA support than they received. The comment quoted captures the disillusioned response to remarks that might have been intended as supportive, but were not what this acting head was seeking. She had needed more substantive help and later more helpful feedback. '[The LA officer] never came to talk to me profession-ally—he just made flippant remarks. "You're doing a great job. I'd give you a job as heidie any day." '

Table 3. LA responses on completion of the appointment

	Yes		No		Totals
	N	%	N	%	
Thanks offered for job done	28	66.6	14	33.3	42
Debriefing and opportunity to reflect with LA officer	5	12.2	36	87.8	41
Career advice	6	15.0	34	85.0	40
Professional development guidance	3	7.7	36	91.3	39

Return to Previous Post

Thirty-five of the 48 respondents to the question indicated that they had reverted to their previous post and 20 that the previous head had returned. Twenty of the respondents were still in post at the time of completing the survey.

Status Change

A shift in status and power from head to deputy, assistant head, or even to being a senior teacher or class teacher could not be expected to take place without emotion, whether of relief or disappointment. How was the return experienced?

Several mentioned that it had taken several weeks to readjust to an altered status, changed relationships with staff and head and a loss of school-wide influence. 'I found it difficult as I enjoyed making decisions.' 'I felt a need to redefine myself, to re-establish relationships and to review responsibilities.'

Relationship with a Returning Head

Three themes emerged:

* alterations carried out by the acting head might be reversed
* returning heads might feel threatened
* changes in expectation of the acting heads might occur because of their increased understanding of school-wide management

All of these themes contributed to altered dynamics. The return therefore might be quite a painful experience for both the acting head and the head who had been replaced.

In an earlier study (McMichael et al., 1995), secondees to initial teacher education and national development posts reported a lack of recognition of their newly developed knowledge and skills on their return and the study suggested that return to post was often mismanaged.

However, of the acting heads, only 15 felt their return to post could have been managed more satisfactorily, suggesting that perhaps problems were regarded as inevitable and not susceptible to 'management'. The LA could perhaps play a role in enabling returning heads and reverting acting heads to renegotiate their tasks in order to take account of newly developed expertise.

Career Plans

The acting heads looked back on stimulating experiences during which their professional development had proceeded apace. 'I proved to myself that I had the ability to undertake a headteacher's position and would apply for a permanent post in the future.'

This did not necessarily mean that they all wished to assume these burdens permanently. Of those whose acting post had finished, half had applied for permanent headship. For those who had decided not to apply (17 percent), their period as acting heads had been important in influencing that decision. Disincentives lay in the not uncommon complaint that the role had consumed them, leaving little time for family or out-of-school activities.

Despite difficulties, self-doubt and uncertainty about the role, only one of our respondents decided an acting post was not for them and resigned. The others struggled and largely overcame problems. Many were encouraged by their local authorities to apply for headships and 15 (23 percent) did so immediately, though only eight were successful. Six of them felt they might apply later.

We complete this study of acting heads on a note of some discomfort and criticism but should not forget the powerful and exhilarating effect of holding the post on most of these serious and hard-working teachers.

In Figure 1, the stages of progression through an acting headship as revealed in the study are presented. The third column identifies key issues at each stage for the appropriate management of acting headship.

Discussion

Maintenance or Development?

The studies of West (1987) and Gardner (1988), based on acting posts of short duration, led to two major conclusions: (1) that acting headship is commonly limited to caretaking rather than embarking on change, and (2) that, following a close and mutually supportive relationship between heads and their deputies (who in most cases become acting heads), the process can proceed on a previously established developmental pathway and continue the shared experience and policies. However, the results we report from our more recent inquiry suggest that there is a wide range of responses among acting heads who, while recognizing the fundamental requirement of preserving a stable school environment, do not shrink from responding to expectations that they should introduce changes, adopt their own (possibly different) style of management and pursue their own agendas. Indeed, in the prevailing climate of reform, they often did not see themselves as having any alternative: standing still was not an option, and they felt they would be held to account for what they achieved. This raises the issue of whether these competing demands for maintenance and development can be satisfactorily balanced.

Freedom to Act, Uncertainty and Expected Length of Appointment

The achievement of such a balance, given contrasting pressures for continuity and change, seems likely to relate, at least in part, to length of appointment. Over half the acting heads expected to be in post for three months or less and for these the constraints of a returning or a new head were more likely to affect their sense of independence and freedom to act. Although we did not discover how many had to draw up a school development plan, it is clear that those with longer appointments would find themselves embroiled not only in maintenance but in major elements of development planning. Uncertainty (often in the
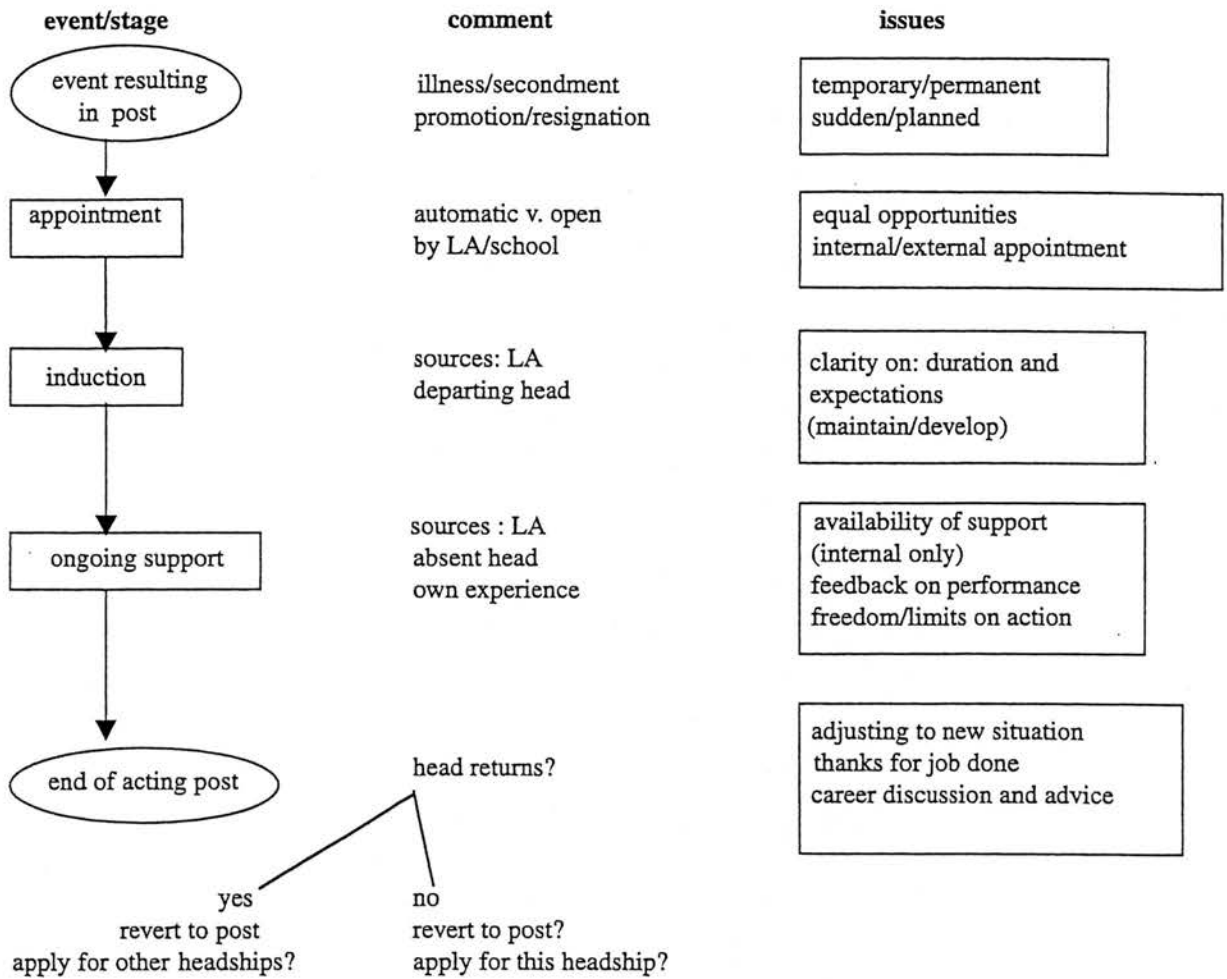
event/stage	comment	issues
(event resulting in post)	illness/secondment promotion/resignation	temporary/permanent sudden/planned
appointment	automatic v. open by LA/school	equal opportunities internal/external appointment
induction	sources: LA departing head	clarity on: duration and expectations (maintain/develop)
ongoing support	sources : LA absent head own experience	availability of support (internal only) feedback on performance freedom/limits on action
(end of acting post)	head returns?	adjusting to new situation thanks for job done career discussion and advice

yes   no
revert to post   revert to post?
apply for other headships?   apply for this headship?

Figure 1. Stages in an acting headship and related issues

hands of the LA either with respect to forewarning with respect to length of appointment or support during an appointment) was felt to be a major element in hampering independence and planning. Moves by LAs to reduce uncertainty would seem to benefit not only continuity and the psychological comfort of the acting heads but also their schools' development.

It is interesting that, despite complaints, a large proportion of the heads, even many of those who were not in post for long, felt they had great to moderate freedom to confront ongoing administrative and policy matters, though for some a pervasive sense of uncertainty undermined their capacity to offer leadership. Nonetheless, for many, the current climate of continuous change offered considerable scope for innovation, over half being clear that their task was to introduce change. This contrasts with the 1980s during which West and Gardner observed that caretaking was the dominant concern of acting heads.

Support for Acting Heads

Within school support   In examining the support offered to acting heads, who necessarily go through many of the anxieties and adjustments of those taking up permanent positions, we would support the earlier studies in their observation that a dyadic and developmental relationship with a now absent head was immensely valuable and usefully

sustained many acting heads. Existing heads in neighbourhood clusters provided ready advice.

Local authority support   The role of the local authority, however, proved very variable. Uncertainty seemed to dog many of these acting heads, whether it concerned the length of the appointment or the actual requirements of the post. Many LA officials, while indicating that the acting heads should keep in touch with them, keep the show on the road and in some cases introduce changes, did not always make their briefs clear and gave little preparation or formal induction. During the period of the acting headship over half of the sample were disappointed in the assistance offered to them, and on leaving the post most received no career advice or professional development guidance. Some LA advisers and liaison officers were, in fact, highly regarded, sensitive to needs and ready to respond with help of all kinds. The warmth of comments on these LA staff point up the perceived needs of the acting heads and the role LA staff may desirably play. We concluded that those LAs which, at present, do not have policies with respect to support for acting heads might consider how to improve preparation, induction, the reduction of uncertainty (if only through keeping in touch) and accessibility, with particular attention given to the externally appointed. An extension of concern for the acting heads of the future would certainly include thanking them for the work they had done. Overall, the somewhat negative findings on LA contributions to the capacity of acting heads to fulfil their roles confirm the results of two of our earlier studies in which newly appointed primary and secondary heads reported a similar lack of support and guidance which they would have welcomed (Draper and McMichael, 1998, 2000).

Career Issues

Some had been fired by their experience of acting headship and wished to be permanent heads. This included some who had not had headship as a career goal prior to their acting experience. Others, now more familiar with the demands and nature of headship had become clear that the job was not what they wished. It is surprising perhaps how little the local authority had been involved in career discussions while debriefing after the event. A period of acting experience gives not just the incumbent but also the employer an opportunity to see someone in a leadership post: this is a level of information not usually available about aspiring heads and it is unfortunate that it appears to be often overlooked. This suggests that the professional development dimension of acting headship is less acknowledged than it might be. Perhaps acting posts are seen as a way of solving a short-term problem rather than an opportunity for staff development? The findings reported here suggest it is both, but the system may often fail to make use of that development!

Conclusions

Acting posts may be seen as a way of solving a short-term problem rather than as an opportunity for the development of staff. The findings reported here suggest acting headship can be both, but that the system may often fail to make use of that development. Development was driven in part by pressure to innovate as well as to 'keep the show on the road'. Nearly half of the acting heads had felt that, in an unfamiliar role and with little support, they were expected to introduce change and to simultaneously strive for stability. It comes as no surprise therefore that some had subsequently decided that headship was not for them.

There is recognition that becoming an effective headteacher requires preparation for

school leadership. The system now invests in development opportunities for those who aspire to permanent headship. That a proportion of schools are, sometimes quite suddenly, taken over by acting heads with considerable freedom but little or no preparation and support raises the question of the impact of acting posts upon school effectiveness.

With short-term leadership, uncertain time scales and little support it may be difficult for Local Authorities to demonstrate they are able to safeguard the effectiveness of their schools, with inexperienced headteachers working in a climate of change and reform.

Acknowledgements

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The rocky road to headship

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This article considers career decision making in relation to headship/principalship. It explores the career options open to experienced and promoted teachers. Changes in the role of the headteacher and perceptions of the role of the head held by potential and recently appointed headteachers are reviewed. Findings on acting headship are used to illuminate headship itself and recruitment issues. Headship is analysed in terms of factors at four levels: the system, headship itself, the school and the individual. The outcome of a recent major inquiry into teachers' pay and conditions in Scotland and changes subsequently agreed is analysed for its likely impact on the nature of and recruitment to headship. The article concludes with some thoughts on the need for sufficient but not excessive numbers of good applicants for headship, for effective human resource management of teachers and potential heads and for shared realism about the role of school leaders.

Introduction

There are many dimensions to headteacher or school principal supply. There is the question of whether there are enough applicants for headship: a quantity issue. There is the question of whether there are enough good and suitable candidates for headship: a quality issue. There is concern that some of those identified as suitable candidates are choosing not to apply for headship, which could be seen as a concern over control: who decides who will be heads. Where there are several candidates for a post, the selectors decide; where there are very few the decision may effectively lie with candidates.

Is headteacher recruitment an issue in Scotland? There is no simple answer to this. In some areas, advertisements for headship attract more than enough good candidates. In some schools and in some areas, on the other hand, there have been problems, especially in the case of small rural primary schools, which have led to public concern (e.g. *Times Educational Supplement* 6 April 2001). However even though the scale of the problem is not large as yet, the difficulty identified by Williams (2001) in Ontario of an ageing profession, many staff due to retire shortly and a shrinking pool of applicants is as relevant to Scotland as it is to many other places.

Part of the wider context for a consideration of headteacher recruitment must be that of recruitment and retention in teaching. Headteachers in Scotland are still, as in most other parts of the globe, professionally qualified and experienced

teachers. Difficulties in recruiting into teaching will necessarily have a knock-on effect on applications for headship. Recruitment into and retention in middle management posts in schools are also important, for it is here that most head-teachers acquire their initial experience of management.

This article will begin with a brief description of the Scottish system. We shall then consider the process of career decision making and the factors affecting decisions about whether to apply for headship at four different levels: the system; headship per se; school-specific and the individual. The paper will draw on studies of headship conducted in Scotland, which explored possible contenders for headship and recently appointed headteachers. We will also draw on a longitudi-nal study of teachers' careers and patterns of career decision making in Scotland and a recent study of acting headship which throws into sharp relief some of the issues relating to the nature of headship itself.

Education In Scotland

Scotland has a population of 5.1 million and its education system is distinct from those found elsewhere in the United Kingdom (UK). Although major changes in education often resemble those occurring in other parts of the UK, there are also differences in both the content and process of change. Education is overseen by the Scottish Executive Education Department which is answerable to the recently re-established Scottish Parliament. Thirty-two local authorities employ all teachers working in state-funded schools. There are nearly 4000 schools in Scotland, approximately 850 000 pupils (aged 3–18) and over 52 000 teachers. The profes-sion is ageing (71% over 40 years of age), predominantly female (92% of primary teachers are female, 60% of secondary), relatively stable in terms of employment and highly unionised.

Promoted posts in schools in Scotland

There have been five levels of teaching post in primary and seven in secondary schools and some teachers stop at all levels of post by choice. Half of all teachers in schools are unpromoted, one third are in middle management and the remainder (12%) are in senior management posts (defined as headteacher, deputy headteacher and assistant headteacher).

New developments in teachers' work

Recently there have been substantial changes in the nature, context and potential career pathways of Scottish teachers. Resistance by teachers to the implementation of new developments, pressing complaints about workload and concern about recruitment and retention in teaching, with an ageing professional workforce and teacher supply problems in nearby England, led to the establishment of a com-mittee of inquiry into teachers' pay and conditions. The McCrone committee examined teachers' work on a broad basis and reported its findings in *A teaching profession for the 21st century* (Scottish Executive Education Department [SEED], 2000). The report offered powerful recommendations which were then discussed by the government department responsible, by the local education authorities, the

teacher unions and the profession (represented by the General Teaching Council for Scotland). These negotiations led to *The McCrone agreement* (SEED, 2001) on which teachers were then successfully balloted. The agreed changes to teachers' work were numerous and will affect the structure of schools (with a flattening of the hierarchy of posts), the nature of the working day, week and year, and the purpose, nature and control of continuing professional development.

Career options for experienced teachers

Although in the past there has perhaps been an expectation that people would go as far as they could, increasingly models of work and careers suggest that people are making their own decisions about how far they wish to go in career terms. The appreciation of this is not always easy for senior managers who themselves have made quite ambitious career decisions, but it is clear that a number of people do not wish to keep going up the ladder. Wilson and McPake (1997) for example found that 80 per cent of heads of small schools chose not to move to a bigger school. An early model of career patterns was produced by Bobbit, Faufel, and Burns (1991) who identified stayers, movers and leavers. A subsequent development of that model by Draper, Fraser, and Taylor (1998) has suggested that there are five different career strategies from which teachers choose: staying (in the classroom), starting (to apply for promotion), stopping (applying for promotion), moving (continuing to apply for promotion) and leaving (teaching). Those who choose to stay in the classroom are not going to apply for headship. Those who start are on the first step towards headship, but there are many who choose to stop well before headship. Even at deputy head level, we found that maximally half of those in the deputy post were interested in seeking headship (Draper & McMichael,1998a, 1998c). The number of movers who are interested in repeated applications to work their way up the ladder is substantial, but we must question whether it is substantial enough. In addition some choose to leave.

Leaving may be motivated by a number of factors including the availability of alternative posts outside schools, outside education and retirement. Findings (e.g. Darling-Hammond & Sykes, 1999, in the US and Howson, 1995, in England) suggest that many leave in the first few years of teaching. Whereas the original Darling-Hammond model (1990) suggested that people left early or stayed to retirement, Sharp and Draper (2000) found some Scottish teachers leave at all career stages in teaching. The loss of more experienced staff diminishes the potential pool for senior posts in the school.

Reasons for not seeking headship

Explanations for the falling level of interest among experienced staff in applying for senior posts are numerous and include broad changes in career planning, with fewer striving to be at the top and, commonly assumed in the UK, the increasing demands on, and accountability of, school leaders resulting in many taking a rational decision to avoid seeking headship (Waugh, 1999). Reasons for not applying are numerous and may include the absence of appropriate experience. A study conducted with subject heads in secondary departments suggested that acting posts

in senior management were unequally distributed (Draper & McMichael, 2000). The varying health and career plans of senior staff in schools affected the opportunities that arose for accruing useful experience. The absence of appropriate role models and encouragement has also been cited in the case of females in secondary schools (Coldron & Boulton, 1998). Additional reasons include a reluctance to take on increased responsibility, especially when it is not seen as worthwhile due to low monetary rewards or personal costs (e.g. stress and quality of life consequences). It is clear from a range of studies in Scotland and elsewhere that the job of headteacher has changed, to the discomfort of some. It has become more managerial, less concerned with educational matters and involves less contact with pupils and more with others (Hellawell, 1990; Jones, 1999; Menter & Ozga, 1995).

Leadership style and incentives to apply

A different factor has also emerged as a result of changes in school leaders' styles of management, moving away from more authoritarian patterns of headship to more collaborative, participative management. Wallace and Huckman (1996) suggest that, because of the scale and complexity of school leadership, heads of large schools have no option but to operate in collaborative teams. Such teams bring opportunities for deputy and assistant heads to have influence. One unintended consequence of this may be that some potential heads find they already have scope to put their ideas into practice and contribute to school developments. Thus there may be fewer incentives for people to seek headship itself. Wallace and Hall (1994) suggested that collaborative working was not an easy option but a high gain, high strain strategy which might empower colleagues at the expense of heads. Interestingly, our studies of those who were interested in seeking headship suggested that their conceptions of leadership were less collaborative but more akin to what Gronn (2000) described as 'visionary champions' than to sharing the burdens of developing a school. They sought opportunities to control the agenda and to put their ideas into practice. There appear to be conflicting notions of what headship is likely to involve and offer!

Acting headships: A source of recruitment to headship?

Our study on acting headship gives some insight into the experience of headship, including the role it may play in career decision making and the extent to which employers expect to plan for headship vacancies and to entice people into the post (Draper & McMichael, 2002, 2003). The study began with a survey of the 32 local authorities in Scotland. Three-quarters responded to a series of questions about numbers of acting headships, the reasons for these headships arising, how acting heads were identified or selected, how they were supported in post and what happened at the end of a period of acting headship.

Approximately 10 per cent of schools had an acting head within the year studied. If this is representative of other years, then many schools are being run by acting heads at any one time. Given the emphasis on the role of the headteacher as a key player in school effectiveness and school change (e.g. Sammons, Hillman, & Mortimore, 1995; Teddlie & Reynolds, 2000), it is interesting to find the

proportion of acting heads so high. In order to take forward major reforms and changes, it can reasonably be argued that headteachers need to be able to plan into the medium term in order to achieve the goals set for them of improvement and raising standards. Acting headships arose for several reasons including the secondment, illness, promotion, retirement and resignation of the headteacher. In some cases, there could be no notice of the circumstances precipitating an acting headship, but a surprisingly high proportion were created suddenly—surprising because they involved precipitators like secondment or promotion where sudden replacement was avoidable and timely arrangements for hand over could be put in place.

Acting headship: Opportunities for development?

Acting headship was seen by incumbents ($n=64$) as an opportunity for development, for familiarisation, for the accrual of skills and experience which would impact on future career decision making and future applications. If these are acknowledged, then a key element of the management of acting posts must include appropriate induction, preparation and support in the post along with sensitive handling at the end of the post. However, the data from the local authority employers suggested their priorities were rather different. They wanted to fill a post quickly, which precluded adequate preparation and made training unlikely. Induction for the post often depended on the availability of the departing head. There was an emphasis on finding a safe pair of hands that would keep the show on the road. This often led to the acting head being someone already in the school, usually a deputy. Many of the acting headships were not advertised or available to others, thus limiting opportunities for those in other schools. A few posts were taken up by staff who were external to the school.

Earlier literature on acting headship is limited but suggested that holding the school together and keeping it running on the path set by the previous head was a manageable task which left people keen to seek future headship (Gardiner, 1988; West, 1987). In the present however, in an era of reform, taking over a school meant not just keeping things going, but supporting change already in train and introducing new change in response to what Webb and Vulliamy (1996) have described as a 'deluge of directives'. Many of the acting heads reported that this was an expectation even for those for whom the time in a post was very short.

Impact on career decision making

There is obviously a danger that relatively unsupported opportunities for acting headship will impact on career decision making. In the study, only half of those who had held acting headships had sought permanent headships. Although some looked back on their experience as interesting and stimulating, one sixth had decided that the job was not for them. If acting headship is a poor experience, it may put people off. Even a good experience may lead some to decide that the job is not what they wish. Feldman and Arnold (1983) argue that having a realistic preview of a job is important both in informing career decisions and supporting the process of settling in. Decisions made after a period of acting headship should

be better informed and based on a 'realistic preview' of the job. However, the suddenness of many acting arrangements meant that staff felt highly exposed in a situation which even with good preparation and support would be very challenging.

There is a further reason for employers to recognise the importance of acting headships. They offer an opportunity to see potential school leaders in the post. We suggest that the more acting heads are selected, inducted and supported in the same way as permanent appointees, the greater the chance of gauging how staff might cope with 'the real thing'.

Recommendations from the study included the strategy reported by two local authorities of creating a pool of those interested in acting headships. Staff volunteered and those selected were given induction and training prior to specific acting headships becoming available. This approach appears to offer much more chance of staff being ready to take up headship quickly, where this is really necessary, and being able to benefit from any developmental opportunities . However these opportunities will only be realised if employers offer adequate support for the acting head faced with many pressures and decisions in a relatively unfamiliar role.

Analysis of factors affecting headteacher recruitment and supply

Factors affecting applications for headship may be considered at four levels. These are systemic, generic, school specific and individual. They will be dealt with in turn though inevitably they overlap to some extent.

Systemic issues

System-level factors relate to the public profile of headship and policy matters which have the potential to impinge on the number of applicants, especially those which increase the expectations and accountability of heads. The conception of leadership as vested in the head as responsible visionary rather than a conception of leadership as distributed (Gronn 2000) continues to inform most policy and accountability processes for schools in the UK. A range of financial and educational responsibilities have been devolved to heads rather than to schools. The expectations of heads as individual workers are thus very high and it is interesting that Hay McBer (2000) reports that even 'highly successful business executives would struggle with the job of headteacher' (p.2).

Headship in Scotland is now defined by a Standard for Headship (Scottish Office Education and Industry Department, 1998) in which headship is underpinned by three elements (professional values, management functions and professional abilities). The Scottish Qualification for Headship (SQH) has been developed in the light of the Standard. The existence of this qualification, which is not mandatory at present, may affect the number of people who apply for headship. Waugh (1999) argued that the introduction of a qualification for headship in England offered the opportunity to prepare staff for effective headship. In Scotland, O'Brien and Draper (2001) found that headteacher training generally increased perceived capacity to do the job. However Williams (2001) in Ontario expressed concern that introducing hurdles for headship would threaten supply routes into

headship. In Scotland it is hoped that having a standard and qualification which clarifies the status and experience required for headship will enhance the role's status and its attractiveness.

Generic headship issues

Generic issues relate to the nature of headship. What does headship offer? What are the pros and cons as perceived by potential applicants and recent appointees? The *Times Educational Supplement* of 6 April 2001 reported that bureaucratic overload and lack of incentives were being blamed for the record number of headteacher vacancies. A number of factors affect the attractiveness of headship. In our studies (Draper & McMichael, 1998a, 1998c) all potential headteachers agreed that there were incentives and disincentives associated with the head's post. Indeed there was striking similarity in how the post of headteacher was perceived. However, an important difference between those who were keen to apply for headship and others who were unsure or positively reluctant was the significance accorded to the disincentives. Headship was seen to offer positive opportunities for autonomy, for control, for direction and for the introduction of one's own ideas and to have costs in terms of bureaucracy and paperwork, pressure and stress, a degree of isolation in the role and impact on the quality of life. Those who did not intend to apply were seriously put off by the disincentives whereas others saw them as inevitable and acceptable dimensions of the post. Interestingly however, recently appointed heads reported that the administrative burdens were even greater than they expected (Draper & McMichael, 1998b) which Daresh and Male (2000) confirmed, saying that 'nothing could prepare them [new heads] for . . . the intensity of the job' (p.95). Perhaps familiarisation can only go so far in preparing staff for new posts.

The attractiveness of alternatives is an issue. Data collected on satisfaction and dissatisfaction in teaching (Draper, Fraser, Sharp, & Taylor, 1999; Draper, Fraser, & Taylor, 1998) suggested that satisfaction for many teachers remained centred on the task of teaching and on working with colleagues and learners. The wider context of teaching, society's views of teaching, the demands of administration and extensive workload were continuing key dissatisfiers. For some, promotion was attractive because it offered increased control and opportunities for development and there were financial incentives associated with a move into management. However, management roles also involved a move to a whole school orientation, often initially a de-skilling experience, the loss of collegial contact and changes in professional identity (Draper & McMichael, 2000).

There are also differences within headship. These differences include the probability of becoming a head, the length of time to reach headship. In Scotland, for example, some 10 per cent of primary teachers are actually headteachers, whereas in secondary the proportion who are headteachers is much smaller, about 1.5 per cent. The likelihood of becoming a primary headteacher is thus higher and may seem a much more imaginable career option than for secondary teachers. However, a considerable number of primary heads simultaneously carry teaching responsibility, and filling such posts has proved to be more difficult in both Scotland and England.

School specific factors

It is also clear that potential heads discriminate between schools. The attractiveness of individual schools varies significantly with teachers identifying some schools as more appropriate for them given their past experience and expertise. Staff were selective about which applications they made for at least two reasons: the process involved considerable research and time was limited and since the number of headships they would hold was small (usually one or two over their career) they were concerned to select the right opportunities. School ethos and dynamics were also factors and schools varied in their reputations.

Individual factors

Some factors which affect choice of school such as the salience of certain incentives and disincentives were more individual. Relocation of the family and the 'trailing spouse' issue were important to some. Even those who were keen to apply considered their applications carefully and would be highly selective as a consequence of domestic pressures and preferences.

Other individual factors relate to career intentions. Those who enter teaching early may come to consider headship after considerable experience in teaching. Others may have moved from posts, sometimes managerial posts, into teaching as mature entrants. Some wish to capitalise on the management experience they have elsewhere, others come into teaching with different intentions.

Changes with McCrone: Is headship changing and is it likely to be more or less attractive?

The McCrone agreement (SEED, 2001) has brought major changes in teaching in Scotland. These include changes in the work of teachers, in the pay and conditions associated with that work, in the treatment of teachers as autonomous professionals, in the hierarchy of posts in schools, with flatter structures, and a new emphasis on participative management. It has also brought the introduction of a new non-promoted high status career route of 'chartered teacher', a professional status to which people can aspire and achieve through continuing professional development. Chartered teacher status will allow the acknowledgement of professional development and experience without the need to pursue a promoted managerial role and will be associated with increased salary. McCrone arrangements will also mean changes in the administrative and classroom support for teachers, and leave more time for professional activities for which they were trained and remove some of the more burdensome administration about which they have complained bitterly.

There are clearly implications in all this for the headteacher role. The new arrangements will change the balance between incentives and disincentives. They alter salary comparisons and the career alternatives available. It is difficult to predict the likely impact on recruitment into headship. In some ways, headship may become less attractive because there will be a well paid, professionally recognised

high status alternative. On the other hand, a more contented workforce, with higher morale and with more space to develop professionally, may actually be an easier group to manage. If this is coupled with a reduction in the bureaucracy and paper work which has been seen as a serious disincentive for some potential heads, then headship may become more attractive. We also know that some people interested in managerial roles wish to be able to introduce their own ideas, to direct the way in which schools develop. A move to increasingly participative management and a more autonomous profession may diminish the attraction for some potential applicants.

Implications for recruitment into headship

With these changes, and against a backdrop of a limited number of people interested in applying for headship, how do we gauge future possibilities? We are faced with an ageing profession, many of the most senior of whom will be leaving teaching within the next five to ten years. However, there are currently no problems in recruiting into teaching and provided we can retain these teachers long enough for them to reach the point of seeking to become heads, there may not be a headship recruitment crisis ahead. If McCrone succeeds, we will see different kinds of working relationships and associated changes in the nature of headship.

What is needed?

We need enough good applicants with a realistic view of the job, to ensure a reasonable, but never a perfect, goodness of fit between the person appointed and the requirements of posts in individual schools. We suggest we do not need too many applicants, especially many disappointed and perhaps disaffected unsuccessful ones. We also want many teachers to stay teaching in the classroom by choice. There need to be sufficient applicants to fill posts, where sufficiency takes account of the fact that potential applicants will be selective in terms of their experience and personal/domestic circumstances, which implies some oversupply.

It seems likely that a considerable amount of career support and advice will be necessary. This would suggest that the human resource management of the teaching profession needs to reach a much higher level of sensitivity and practice than it has achieved hitherto (Halpin, 2001). Teachers may be becoming more autonomous professionals in Scotland but that does not mean that there is less need to consider their development needs. Teachers' commitment to work, their interest in learning and teaching, and their commitment to their professional development have perhaps been taken for granted for too long. The idea of supporting and positively recognising teacher performance will be the key to ensuring that enough people stay in teaching and that there are potentially therefore enough people who could become headteachers.

Conclusions

This article has considered findings on headship and suggested four levels at which issues related to recruitment to headship may be considered. A number of problems exist in relation to recruitment into headship.

Due to the age structure of the professions, there is an increasing need for new headteachers to replace those who are retiring. In addition, teachers are lost to other employment and there are career alternatives within schools and education which are attractive to potential applicants for headship. Included in these alternatives is the new chartered teacher status. Some senior staff also report a reluctance to take on further responsibility with little training and support and those who are ambivalent are put off by burdensome bureaucracy and loss of control over life.

Do these problems represent a serious threat to headteacher supply in Scotland? The answer seems to be, 'not necessarily'. A number of staff have always rejected headship as a career goal. The demands on heads will change and may indeed decrease if McCrone has the desired effect on administration, paperwork and the morale of teachers.

To ensure a reasonable supply the following seem likely to be needed:
• ensuring opportunities for familiarisation with headship
• recognising that recruitment and retention issues in teaching and middle management are the key to ensuring there is a pool of prospective heads
• encouraging potential headteachers
• clarifying realistic expectations of headship
• reducing bureaucratic burdens
• recognising applications may be more selective than in the past
• monitoring numbers seeking middle management posts and headship training and responding if numbers look unpromising.

What is needed are enough good applicants for headship who are interested in a job with which they are familiar enough to make an informed career decision. Good applicants are those who are competent enough to be heads of particular schools, or types of school. Realistic job previews are required since, even though this may inhibit supply, it should aid retention.

Although it is individuals who make career decisions about specific applications, responsibility for headteacher supply also rests at many other levels: those who set national policies and make public comment about schools and their leadership; those who view leadership simplistically as resting in the hands of one person rather than being a complex dynamic of negotiated relationships between leaders and followers; and those who have responsibility for the employment and management of headteachers and their staff.

Finally, if the job of headteacher is not one that committed, experienced and trained staff believe they can and wish to do, then this must be a major concern and the job may need to be both redesigned and differently managed. The redesign should not solely rest in a job description but also impact upon the expectations of others. It is perhaps not only potential heads who need a realistic preview of the job!

Keywords

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The significance of the work

There have been very few studies of teachers as people at work in schools, particularly in Scotland, in spite of the scale and origin of changes in the nature of that work. Robertson (2000) comments on the lack of 'detailed systematic and rigorous comparative work focusing on teachers as an occupational group'(p.186). A major exception is the work of Connell (1985) whose focus on teachers explored the links between teaching as work and teachers' experiences and understandings of career.

In 1996 our research team jointly presented a paper at the British Educational Research Association. The paper reported findings from the five year stage of a longitudinal study of teachers' work and careers, on teachers' views of their work, and plans for their future careers and explored sources of teachers' satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The first question asked at the session was why had we conducted this research. Who needed to know how teachers felt about their work and how would that knowledge impact on children's learning in classrooms? That was a timely reminder a) that the focus of most research in education was on the educational process in schools, b) that children's performance was seen by some as the only outcome worth considering, and c) that teachers as workers were relatively invisible in thinking about education. Yet teachers are the key resource in education in schools and current thinking on management suggests that in seeking to enhance the effectiveness of any system the key resource, which is frequently staff, deserves detailed consideration. Research on the education system and how it works (and does not) is as valid as, if different to, that on the educational process and given the extensive development of the sociology of education by the mid 1990s we were surprised to have to justify our interest. Connell felt in 1985 that he had to remind readers that schools were places where people worked and that teachers were workers. Ten years later the context reflected a rapidly developing policy and research focus on school effectiveness, renewed interest in the processes of professional formation which brought changes in initial teacher education to shape input to the profession and a growing sense of the importance of career-long professional development. However there was still little understanding of the

situation of teachers as people at work and teachers remained remarkably overlooked even while the impact of headteachers and school structures were explored as major contributors to school performance and in spite of Fullan and Steigelbauer's (1991) warning that 'education depends on what teachers do and think..its as simple as that' (p. 117).

We began our studies of teachers' work in 1987 and found little research on teachers, especially Scottish teachers, that paralleled studies of other types of work and professional work. As our research progressed, we found little relationship between teachers' own experiences and what had been identified as effective practice in supporting staff in teaching and elsewhere. The wider literature emphasised the significance of intelligent induction into professional work but there was little recognition of this in either research on, or practice in, teaching. While this could be argued to be inevitable given that it was embedded in a context which did not focus on the analysis of teachers' needs as people at work, the consequences of overlooking teachers and their needs was apparent. Our early exploration of the experiences of new teachers left us shocked by the lack of support many received in their first posts and deeply concerned about the lack of continuity between the ideas and principles of reflective practice and career-long development which underpinned Initial Teacher Education (ITE) courses in Scotland and the realities of work which faced new teachers. Two short examples should suffice. The professional rhetoric of teaching, and a focus of ITE, emphasised the importance of good planning and preparation for teaching in order to be effective, yet many beginning teachers, some appointed 'just-in-time', did not know which class (es) they would be teaching until the day they began work or the day before, and they worked, some for many months, without information on key school policies, including policies on discipline. Secondly, although it had long been known that feedback was important in supporting learning and was regularly given to pupils in classrooms, new teachers reported they received little or no feedback, and had no clear sense of whether or not they were doing an adequate job until the end of the year when their first year probation report was written, when more than half were surprised by the positive

content. In spite of formal mechanisms being on paper to support new teachers, the reality was different and many teachers' needs were not met.

These examples illustrate that while there may be a relationship between articulated educational practice in theory and a policy rhetoric to support learning, what was actually experienced by teachers was different.   It may be that the debate about professionalism is important in understanding this gap. The debate on whether teaching is professional work has tended to focus more on teaching as public service and other more abstract dimensions of the teacher role rather than focussing on what teachers actually do and how they experience and understand their working setting and their careers. The concept of the autonomous professional sits uneasily with the concept of the professional who requires support and opportunities for learning. Yet the latter is inherent in any focus on career-long professional development and in the concept of lifelong learning and could easily be interpreted as a dimension of the commitment to improving practice which is characteristic of some definitions of professionalism.

This series of studies offers evidence to help fill the gap in understanding the teaching profession in Scotland, by enabling analyses of teachers' work to reflect other key dimensions of professional work like the need for expert knowledge and for judgement to be employed, for example in deciding how to meet the needs of diverse learners in varying contexts. The assumption made here is that teachers' views are valid in themselves, whether or not they correspond to the views of others either in or out of school. That is, teachers may have views and understandings of their work which do not triangulate with the views of head teachers policy makers or others. Munn (2005) argues there is a need for research to address the question 'what works'? Studies which explore teachers' experiences, including several of those included here, may also reveal situations and processes which do not work well and these can offer valuable insights about what might work better. Much of the research reported here reveals gaps in the human resource support offered to teachers. The effects of these gaps include making it more difficult for teachers to work effectively and enhancing the likelihood of problems arising, especially through the lack of key

information. The fact that employing authorities and schools believed themselves to be under-resourced for the provision of good support to teachers does not change the fact that some teachers were, or perceived themselves to be, under-supported.

The study of teachers' work is valuable because it raises issues such as career and career progression, morale, professional development, collegiality and retention, which require analysis if the functioning of the educational process in schools is to be effectively understood. Work and career both have the capacity to shape self and impact significantly on the individual. Work moulds the lives of teachers on a day-to-day basis, offering or denying opportunities for achievement, control, recognition and development. Career embodies past, present and future, and reflects the availability or absence of opportunities to develop and progress. Both are considered here.

Focus and structure of the commentary

At the same time it is important that studies of teachers' work and careers are placed in a wider context and this commentary will explore a context which is wider than that generally acknowledged in writing the papers themselves, with a view to understanding how the issues that faced these teachers reflected broader issues in work and career and the changing policy framework for teaching. The papers raise questions about the changing nature of teachers' work and the extent to which teachers have autonomy over, and support for, their professional activities and how satisfied they are with their work situation and with the opportunities for development and progression that are available to them in their careers. The papers will also be used to argue that teachers are a very diverse group about whom broad generalisations are unreliable. It will be argued that while there are commonalities in teachers' work, teachers' approaches to work and career vary in relation to individual circumstances and their gender, age and working sector. There has been little appreciation of the diverse ways in which the profession has responded to the shifting context of work and there is a need for the development of a more differentiated understanding of teachers as an occupational and professional group. In addition it will be argued that teachers' commitment is frequently taken for

granted and that this results in failure to take account of how they relate to their work and how the ways they are managed and supported may impact on their attitude to work and career. The commentary concludes by arguing that while modernisation has, as elsewhere, impinged on teachers' work with a powerful effect on workload and accountability, its impact on teacher autonomy could be conceived of as ambiguous or, at the strongest, absent. On these same issues, the changes following from the implementation of the McCrone agreement are considered as contributors to the nature of teachers' work and careers.

The commentary begins with a brief reflection on the methodologies employed in the studies from which the papers are drawn and the nature of the evidence offered. This is followed by an exploration of work and particularly public sector work, with particular reference to changes in the work of teaching. Much of the literature is drawn from England and the section which follows comments on the extent to which the documented changes have assumed a similar shape in Scotland. The McCrone inquiry (SEED, 2000) into teachers' pay and conditions and the subsequent agreement (SEED, 2001) which was struck on changes to pay and conditions has created a new context for teachers' work and careers in Scotland. This section concludes with a consideration of some of the changes resulting from the McCrone agreement. The third section addresses issues relating to career, exploring the changing concept of career and its realisation within teaching, and the nature of career paths in teaching. This section again concludes with the impact of McCrone on career opportunities. The final section of the commentary considers how issues raised by the set of papers may be understood with reference to the wider literature considered here and in the light of subsequent events including changes wrought by the McCrone agreement.

Reflections on the nature of the evidence presented in the papers. (Methodology)

Educational research has struggled over the last fifty years to clarify its position within the framework of research traditions. The scaffold of psychological research, as it sought to meet the image of 'natural science' techniques of controlled laboratory experiments in order to achieve acceptance and parity of esteem as a science, was influential in the early years of educational research development (Nisbet and Entwistle, 1970) and encouraged a set of expectations about method and research perspectives which are of questionable relevance to educational research (Hammersley, 1997), and possibly to much of psychology and beyond. These expectations have informed much public criticism of educational research (Hargreaves, 1996, Tooley and Darby, 1998) which attracted responses which argued for more realistic and relevant approaches and expectations (e.g. Hammersley, 1997).

There has been therefore much debate about the purposes and goals of educational research and about the best way to carry out educational enquiry. A significant division developed between those adopting a more positivist approach and those pursuing more interpretive methodologies. This division has tended to be reflected in the use of different research methods with the former supporting more quantitative methods and the latter more qualitative, although that distinction has not been consistent.

While the subject matter of educational research has predominantly been classroom and formal learning, analysis of the educational, or educationist (Keddie, 1971) context has also advanced over the last forty years and this has included studies of the broader educational process, the power relations of those involved in education and the policy process. The articulation of democratic values and concerns about the research process have also raised questions about the relational context within which research should be conducted and has encouraged the development and use of new methods and frameworks in educational research. Disquiet has also been expressed recently about the independence of the research process especially with regard to studies of policy (Munn, 2005, Munn and Ozga, 2003). Humes (1986) and

MacPherson and Raab (1988) argue that researcher independence is accompanied by the danger of being marginalized in the policy process, but effective research requires independence of approach and analysis and the avoidance of advocacy.

The papers reported here seek to communicate the views and experiences of teachers. In doing this, only some papers carry triangulated data from other sources. The position taken here is that a one-sided teacher-focused view is not advocacy, but is rather an attempt to add a perspective which has been overlooked. The need to explore teachers' views is particularly important when it becomes clear that teachers' views are complex and diverse and cannot be neatly summarised.

This section reflects upon the designs and methods used in the studies reported in the submitted papers. All twelve papers are concerned with teachers at work. All are based on empirical studies, although papers 9, 10 and 12 synthesise the findings of several studies rather than offering new findings in themselves. All the studies have been conducted collaboratively, mostly within well-established teams of researchers, who brought their own views and disciplinary backgrounds to the work. The long-term nature of these working relationships makes it difficult to uncover the individual contributions to the final outcomes. For example I created the career intentions model during an analysis of the career decision data. However as a team we had talked about teachers' careers frequently beforehand and following its initial production the model was subsequently adopted and refined by the team. This section however explores my own research perspective and comments on issues of design, sampling, and method.

Research perspective

I believe that achieving the goal of knowing what is actually 'out there' by accurately measuring the 'real world' is beyond possibility and that all our impressions are interpreted through our own understandings and preferences, but that it is important to attempt to be systematic and to check out those impressions and query our understandings. So while the notion of testing out a positivist answer may be beyond hope there is also an obligation to try to consider critically the ways in which our understandings may be shaped. My present position would be best described as broadly systematic, qualitative and interpretive, but I also, like Glaser and Strauss

(1967, p.17), see no 'fundamental clash' between qualitative and quantitative methods. Indeed the papers themselves reflect at times a more positivist and certainly a more quantitatively orientated approach. The studies reflect attempts to find out how work was experienced by teachers themselves. I see considerable value in the use of a range of research methods having found that different methods yield different and often complementary and sometimes contradictory perspectives on the topic being researched. A range of methods thus allows triangulation but also novel insights. The need for systematic activity has been well recognised (Stenhouse, 1975, Peters and White, 1969) and also underpins the designs used, along with a concern for reliability, validity and relevance, the last of which is sometimes overlooked (Hammersley, 2001). The choices made seem to fit most closely Denzin and Lincoln's 'post positivism': 'postpositivism relies on multiple methods as a way of capturing as much of reality as possible' (p9) and enables the balancing of the distant inferential nature of quantitative methods and interpretations with the more impressionistic interpretations of qualitative methods.

As noted above, little was known about Scottish teachers' work, which had not been subject to analyses similar to those conducted by Goodson and Ball (1996) and by Hargreaves (1994). Part of the purpose of our research in this area has been to begin to map out, as far as possible, how teachers' work is experienced as well as shaped, and this has required a range of methods in which quantitative approaches have played an important part. Quantitative findings, for example of types and patterns of employment over time, have considerable value as foreground and as background statistics when they are used to illuminate circumstances, when they are interpreted in context and when alternative understandings are explored through the use of more qualitative methods.

The significance of the research presented here is that is maps out teachers' experiences of work and presents key statistical and other data which question received wisdom and mythology about teachers. Quantitative findings have their main use in these papers in opening up an area for subsequent deeper exploration and offering background information for more in-depth study. In an under-researched

area there is a need for a considerable body of quantitative findings to define the area for further research. Quantitative findings thus serve as both foreground statistics, drawing attention to an issue (for example the 52 schools and 130 employment periods of one beginning teacher in paper 1) and clarifying diversity in experience and background. Thus while it is held that stability of experience is valuable for professional development, these data show that it is not the experience of all, and that in fact many do not experience this. The quantitative data in this case highlighted that it cannot be assumed that it is only a few who vary from the expected experience. Similarly, evidence that new teachers did not observe others teaching or that in one year 10 per cent of schools were run by acting heads become foreground in making the general argument that all is not as it seems nor does it fit the 'working models' of teachers and teaching which appear to be held by many, including administrators and policy makers. An example of the discrepancy between working model and actuality may be seen in the design of the new induction scheme where it seemed that planning had not taken account of the wide range of ages and life stages at which new teachers enter the profession. In consequence the complex situations of the large number of mature entrants (average age of entry to PGCE at that time was 29) had apparently been overlooked in developing the allocation system of new teachers to schools and the new pay structure. Many mature students complained that their reasonable expectations on entry to ITE included a) a capacity to choose where they worked geographically and b) that their experience would be acknowledged in setting their initial level of pay as beginning teachers. These were both denied in the subsequent design of the new scheme. The new design was implemented so quickly that the conditions operating when they began their programme changed in the brief period during which they were in ITE. The figures on age of entry were available but did not appear to be part of the 'working model' of new entrants which informed the new scheme's design. One of the contributions of this body of research is thus to clarify the ways in which the profession is constituted, including the career intentions of members, and to explore some of the implications of that constitution.

Much of the data reported is quantitative with interviews conducted subsequently to achieve depth after initial findings had been established. Quantitative findings in

themselves are limited and shallow in terms of the insights they can offer and interviews were conducted to combat this. However it remains the case that the interviews were themselves shaped by the quantitative findings, and thus by a more positivist approach. With hindsight, the qualitative material collected, with its potential for greater depth and complexity, could have played a larger part in the analyses undertaken.

The absence of monitoring of the experiences of teachers, the strong focus on curriculum, learners and, more recently, finance and the efficient management of resources in schools have meant that teachers' experiences were less well understood. The absence of effective two-way appraisal mechanisms has not helped. In exploring teachers' views and perspectives on their work, these papers contribute by enhancing understanding of how the work is experienced by those most directly engaged with it. There has been a need for initial descriptions of teachers' working situations and their variety to act as a basis for further study. These papers provide insight and initial exploration of a number of aspects of teachers' work and their engagement with career opportunities: a mapping of the experience of teaching in Scotland. The time is now ripe for more detailed study of the issues they raise.

Value stance

My primary relationship as a researcher has been with teachers and with how they experience their work. My analysis of evidence rests in what I believe makes for good opportunities to develop at work, how work could or should be. My belief is that teachers should be treated at work in ways which enable them to do their jobs well and that, since teachers are expected to develop, they should have opportunities and support in order to develop.

In reviewing the papers as a whole there is an evident tendency to attribute some responsibility for the situation in which teachers find themselves to their employing authorities and to policy makers and this could be interpreted as a bias in favour of teachers. However what is suggested here is not that local authorities or policy makers are 'to blame' for the complex and contested circumstances in which

employed teachers find themselves, but rather that an understanding of teachers' work requires an appreciation of the extent to which teachers' working lives are shaped by the fact and consequences of their employment as well as by their professional tasks and commitments. As employed staff, teachers' room for manoeuvre is constrained. Teachers' work is shaped by policies set at local and national level. Government and authorities have a job to do: to oversee education and to develop policies which will facilitate the educational process. However many policies impinge on the nature of teachers' work and where these effects are overlooked, a lack of appreciation of the nature of teachers' work is likely to contribute to implementation strategies that are clumsy or inappropriate. One consequence of recognising that teachers are employees, predominantly within a public sector bureaucracy, is that this generates obligations for those employers in relation to the human resource management of their staff. It is important to emphasise that the teachers in the studies reported were in the main accepting, or compliant (MacDonald, 2004) of their treatment. Although frustrated that they could often see ways of improving on changes they frequently saw little opportunity to communicate their point of view. Tellingly they expected the reality rather than the rhetoric. But this is at odds with the growing prominence of CPD: it is clear from the papers that the situations and supports available to new teachers and new headteachers were often not conducive to effective practice and represented a failure to facilitate development in post. Inadequate support of new teachers and of new and acting headteachers carries costs in retention, in speed of settling into the job and ultimately in the educational processes of teaching and learning. For example new heads found themselves with no time to monitor class teaching while they struggled to comprehend administrative systems for which effective induction could have prepared them. Contractual arrangements and uncertainties dogged early months in post and undermined engagement with the professional development opportunities essential to settling in and to further progress. While pride may be taken in the recent improvements to address the needs of new teachers, the absence of effective human resource management was still evident in relation to acting headteachers. Improvements have thus been piecemeal and do not reflect a recognition that the

needs of teachers as employees continue to be unmet and that this is costly to both the teachers themselves and to the quality of education.

In addition, while both policy makers and social theorists have made assumptions about the nature of teachers' work, these have mainly been framed by economic and political agendas and by theories of global change. Ozga (2000) in particular argues that the recent policy emphasis has been on the economic consequences of education, at the expense of its social and political functions. Teachers themselves have had less opportunity to contribute to the debate than might be wished for the achievement of a broad understanding.

Exploring teachers' experiences

In part the studies described here were intended to enable teachers' own experiences to be better understood. Given this aim, the methods were chosen to facilitate teachers' sharing their own understandings of their experiences rather than seeking to test out prior hypotheses. In a context where teachers' needs and perceptions were frequently overlooked it was especially important to ensure teachers' experiences were explored and communicated. In practice this has generally taken the form of preparatory pilot work (using, individual and group semi- and unstructured interviews and focus groups) to ensure teachers' concerns and themes shaped subsequent data collection, as well as, in some cases, subsequent semi-structured interviews to examine and further illuminate quantitative findings. Generally we have found teachers were keen to take part in all these stages and types of data collection, and it has been common to be told 'this is the first time anyone has asked me about what I do and how I feel about it'. Wellington (2000) argues for a return to a climate where 'teachers have the time and opportunity to engage with….educational research not as reluctant consumers but as willing participants' (p.183). I suggest therefore that we have striven to ensure that as much as possible teachers have been involved in the projects as 'willing participants'.

Sampling

The samples vary from a small opportunity sample (early retiring heads, paper 12) to whole populations (papers 1 and 2). While decisions about sampling were influenced by resources available and at times by funders' needs and the practicalities of time scale, they were also shaped by the needs of the research projects and the nature of the research questions themselves but also by a view of what would be likely to offer fruitful insights. The longitudinal, conversion, probation follow-up, leaving the register and acting headship studies were based on national samples. The other headship studies were more local and drew geographically from central belt authority areas with few rural schools with teaching heads. In the acting headship study data were also collected from Local Authorities.

Given that the sampling process inevitably influences the claims that can be made, most of the studies cannot make a claim to generalisability. At the beginning of the longitudinal study in 1988 the initial sample reflected the gender, sector and local authority base of probationer teachers in so far as it could be established, there being no full list in existence at the time of all those who were employed as probationers. Indeed the project was able to clarify the position of several potential probationers and central records were amended accordingly. But as far as was possible it was a representative sample. Even here however the employment of new teachers on supply contracts meant that they were not on local authority or GTC probationer reporting lists. This group was thus underrepresented and the extent of this was not appreciated at the time. Given that this sample formed the base for the longitudinal study which was subsequently undertaken, deficiencies in the sample have been carried through to subsequent stages. One of the findings of the initial study (Draper, Fraser, Smith and Taylor, 1991) was that the number and location of probationers was not fully known and that this in itself meant that appropriate support would be lacking for at least some at the start of their career. In seeking to draw samples for several of the projects reported here, requests for lists of teachers in various circumstances proved difficult for employers to fulfil. This lends weight to the argument that teachers (especially teachers as workers/employees) are relatively

invisible in the system and that their human resource needs as people at work are not given high priority.

A range of methods was used to ensure the full sample had the opportunity to take part in the research and respond, including reminders and repeat mailings and the follow up of non-respondents where this was possible. For the longitudinal study being able to trace teachers through the GTCS by superannuation number rather than by name (demographically prone to change especially during the longitudinal study) was invaluable. For the longitudinal study especially there is also the problem of survivor bias which is explored below.

In some cases samples were influenced by those who distributed research instruments, as, for example, in the case of local authority assistance in locating subjects for the acting headship study (paper 11) and the distribution of questionnaires to principal teachers and assistant headteachers in the identities project (paper 7). Actual criteria for the selection of individual schools and teachers are thus unknown. However the findings from these studies were not claimed to be representative nor predictive of the scale of an issue, but rather were used to illuminate the experiences of some teachers in the system and to raise issues related to how some teachers were treated both of which generate implications for policy on managing teachers as workers.

In the original probationer study (1991) we carried out extensive analyses on non-respondents but for some studies little or nothing was known about non-respondents. Reflecting now, this is an area which, in later studies, could have been explored with more vigour.

Analysis of data was also hampered by confounded variables. Sector and gender are regularly related in teaching and while reasonable gender comparisons can be conducted with secondary teachers, primary samples are overwhelmingly female, making it difficult to draw conclusions about gendered careers. Similarly, conclusions across a combined sector sample are heavily weighted towards female

teachers, and overlook sector differences in career which appear to be substantial in relation to both vertical opportunities and career intentions. The different contributions of gender and sector are difficult to disentangle given the composition of the relevant populations as well as samples

Methods used

Throughout the various studies the intention has been to collect systematic and valid data. The vagaries of research with people in complex and changing circumstances necessarily puts these aims at risk. A range of methods and methodologies has therefore contributed to the findings reported in the papers and different issues and different strengths and weaknesses inevitably derive from the designs and methods employed. The studies draw on both quantitative and qualitative methods and I perceive value in both, believing that each has something to offer to the overall more complex, if contested, picture which can be constructed. In addition our quantitative data collection has included many open, as well as closed, questions which invited comment on the topic of closed questions. These open questions drew frequent responses. While this approach requires more time for analysis and has surface potential for greater subjectivity in analysis it also offers more scope for teachers to shape the research and to contribute ideas and issues that have not been predicted. The mix of methods has also helped to triangulate findings in several of the studies

One group of papers (3, 8, 9, and 10) is based on a longitudinal study of teachers which has collected both quantitative and qualitative data at all stages. Three more (4, 5, 12) draw from a cycle of studies related to promotion and headship in primary and secondary schools and the design here is essentially cross-sectional in character, capturing the experience of teachers in different promoted posts, although the studies were carried out consecutively over a period of three years rather than simultaneously. Data collection during the cycle was by focus group, individual and group interviews, questionnaires and some subsequent interviews. The remaining papers (1, 2, 6, 7, 11) employed a range of methods including analysis of probationer records and professional records (paper 1), analysis of professional records and questionnaire data (paper 2), analysis of professional records and questionnaire data

(paper 6), focus groups and individual interviews followed by questionnaire (paper 7), individual interviews, and questionnaire data from local authorities and from those who had been acting heads (paper 11) In some of the studies therefore, early qualitative exploration contributed to the refinement of a quantitative instrument, while in others qualitative methods scrutinised and explored earlier quantitative findings and, in a few cases, a third stage sought further clarity through an additional round of data collection.

Issues arising in relation to the data collected.

Several issues arise in relation to the quality of the data, including the novelty and sensitivity for the respondents of the topics covered and the comparability of past and future career decisions. A number of additional issues are specific to longitudinal studies, including the use of repeated questions, the changing sample and survivor bias.

The studies explore the relatively sensitive topics of teachers' working and personal lives, especially in relation to job satisfaction and career strategy and intention. Given the sensitivity, and high ego involvement, of these areas it is reasonable to expect that teachers may be reluctant to share some of their feelings, especially in relation to areas where they may have experienced some disappointment. Return rates for questionnaires have varied and some teachers have declined to be interviewed having previously indicated willingness. In the main however teachers have taken part in interviews with gusto and have said they welcomed the opportunity to talk about themselves and their work. It has certainly been the case throughout the longitudinal study that respondents have often said they have seldom or never talked about their work as work but rather about work as a means to the educational ends of others, their pupils. The relative invisibility of teachers' work in considerations of education, and the emphasis in professional work on service to others may have resulted in teachers not having given their own careers much thought and thus finding the topics covered novel. There is also the possibility of post-hoc rationalisation and, for some, of realising, with acknowledged concern, that years have passed without their having taken decisions about work or career. In spite

of prior notice of interview structure and questions, the teams have regularly found that respondents express surprise at some of the points that strike them during interview, suggesting that we were receiving initial rather than long considered reflections.

Who we were as researchers must also be considered. For some studies reported here I was known to some teachers as either a lecturer involved in their Initial Teacher Education or their subsequent Continuing Professional Development or in these activities in general, and to some as a colleague in student selection or involved in visiting schools for a range of reasons. These various relationships and whatever I and my situation, and those of my fellow research team members meant to the teachers involved, may have influenced their responses and will have influenced our interpretations of what they shared with us. I am a white middle class middle aged woman interested in people at work, and particularly teachers, and I have a background in Psychology, and, though possibly less known to the teachers in our samples, an MBA. The import of any or all of this for the teachers with whom I worked is unknown to me. All the studies, except for the conversion study, emanated from the Institution where I worked and this may have influenced responses. Some studies had the symbolic and in some cases direct support of the GTCS and others were assisted by Local Authorities. These circumstances may have shaped what we were offered. The studies were funded from several sources including our own Institution, the GTCS and the Scottish Office and again this may have influenced the data.

In exploring career decisions and actions and future career intentions different types of data have been collected. Respondents were asked to report on applications for jobs that they had already made, and to say if they were planning to apply for promotion in the future. These are different types of question. One is a report on past action, while the other is a prediction for the future. One recounts responses to past specific opportunities (if they existed), while the other is a statement of general intention rather than a comment on a specific opportunity. Past decisions have been taken. Future intentions may not become reality for many reasons. Applications for

posts depend on relevant vacancies arising. Decisions to apply for specific posts may be subject to many factors including encouragement or pressure to apply, sponsorship, the vagaries of the teacher's domestic and/or personal situation, matters of location, school reputation, appropriateness of timing or nature of an application to name but a few. (Many of these indeed feature in the findings of papers 3, 5, 12). It could thus be argued that the validity of the responses on the two questions is different. The career intentions model which is derived from the answers to past and future career questions (paper 3) lends itself to considerations of the future supply of senior staff in schools, but such implications must be considered in the light of that variable validity.

Some special issues relating to longitudinal studies.

Longitudinal studies where participants are assessed at different time periods are those 'where time is the independent variable' (Gliner and Morgan, 2000, p186.) However in a context and period of time marked by fast social, economic, political and policy change, time cannot be the only variable and there are clear dangers in assuming time and experience-associated developmental variables are the main source of explanations of change (or stability). There are several issues which relate to the conduct of longitudinal studies in general and to the reported papers in particular. These include issues of survivor bias, changes in the sample over time and the stability of the meaning of questions over time. While there are undoubted difficulties, I am persuaded by Menard's (1990) argument that a 'compelling need for longitudinal data arises if we wish to study 'career' patterns of behaviour' (p15).

The issue of survivor bias has particular relevance for longitudinal studies. Studies of work and working groups, but probably any study, are subject to survivor bias, since those who have left, for whatever reason, are not generally included in the sample, and nor are those who applied for jobs but did not get them nor those who chose alternatives before starting work. However in a longitudinal study survivor bias is compounded at each stage of data collection, both in those who remain at work and those who respond to the research.

For those in the in-teaching sample, the gender and sector balance at five, ten and fifteen years have remained roughly in line with the profession as a whole but may not represent equally well the age/experience group of which they are members. Comparative data on the experience of members of the profession are unavailable.

At the five year stage, the five year sample comprised respondents from all those in the 1988-91 probationer study who had completed all 6 questionnaires during that project and some had already left teaching by five years. There were also two additional comparative (and anonymous) samples for ten and fifteen year (surviving) teachers which were drawn with the help of the GTCS. At the ten year point only the main longitudinal sample was involved. Mindful of the likelihood of further loss of respondents at the ten-year stage and in order to ensure a large enough data set for useful analysis, the sample was extended to include 'guests' from the original study of probationer (SOP) sample who had not been part of the study at five years. The plan was to include all those from the original SOP sample, but in the event a considerable number were no longer on the GTCS register. Those who had recently lapsed and for whom an address was still held were invited to complete a not-in-teaching questionnaire. Several responded that they were still in teaching but elsewhere (for example in England, Ireland and China) and most of these subsequently completed an in-teaching questionnaire. Sustaining a sufficiently large enough but valid group for comparison over time has been difficult and this influences the claims that can be made for these data as the sample has partially changed. Those lost may be different from those who stay with the project. At all three stages attempts were made to trace those who were not currently employed in or who had left teaching. These attempts met with limited success and the findings which followed from them can only be illuminative. The findings from the teaching sample offer useful insights into those who remain in teaching but may not reflect the views of the full group who began teaching in 1988. In addition over the time of a lengthy study there are likely to be major shifts in individual personal circumstances which will differentially affect both whether individuals continue to take part in the study and their responses.

A further issue related to the longitudinal study concerns the questions asked at different stages. While it may appear to be good practice to keep questions the same for comparative purposes, limitations embodied in early questions may restrict options later. For example the initial set of questions on job satisfaction was drawn from an American study in order to give comparative data, but proved to be limited in the areas covered and additional questions were subsequently developed for later use. It is also important to acknowledge that the meaning of a question may vary depending on when it is asked in relation to both work and personal issues. For example, asking about applications for promotion at a time when many teachers are seeking promotion, when application may seem normative, may seem unproblematic to a responder. Asking about applications when most have already applied may be different, especially for those who have not sought promotion and who may have indicated in earlier responses that they had strong reasons for not wishing to do so or that they have been hindered by circumstance in such a strategy. Similarly asking about views on senior management is different when asked of unpromoted teachers or senior managers. While the analysis can take account of differences in posts held, that does not mean one can assume that a question has been similarly perceived, and this is particularly the case if individual positions change between data collection points. It was important also to incorporate comments and contributions from the teachers who had taken part to enhance to relevance of data collected and this at times involved altering questions to make them more appropriate to teachers' situations. Finally, asking the same questions several times across the years may bring difficulties if respondents try to be consistent over time and this may have shaped some contributions.

Having recorded these reservations it remains the case that the longitudinal data set, while imperfect, is nonetheless very unusual and has considerable potential for further analysis, especially within the wider work and policy context considered in this commentary. The fifteen-year data phase, which has included as before a range of work and career questions and which captures the initial responses of the sample to the changes of McCrone, was collected in 2003-4 and its analysis continues both within year and longitudinally. Over the time of a longitudinal study there are likely

to be major shifts in individual personal circumstances which influence responses. A twenty-year phase which would take place in 2008/9 would allow for the collection of teachers' views on the longer-term impact of the McCrone-related changes and the changing policy context (post devolution) and the changing demographics of the profession as well as a picture of the development of teachers' work and careers over a considerable time. The relative stability of the profession revealed by the longitudinal data suggests that such a longitudinal study could be robust enough to yield valuable insights.

The Wider Context of Teachers' Work and Careers

The set of papers submitted here all derive from studies of Scottish teachers. This commentary considers their findings in the wider context of changes in the nature of work, especially professional and public sector work, and changes in the concept and experience of career. These wider changes reflect a global agenda of restructuring work which sought major shifts in public sector working within a business-derived model that called for reductions in bureaucracy in order to release managers to operate competitively and freely. However, the global reality which followed in practice in education increased central control through curriculum (and, in some cases, pedagogical) specification and performance measures, which brought their own *increasing* bureaucracy, while ceding limited devolved powers to schools and simultaneously undermining the professional confidence and status of teachers. Based on the assumption that the public sector was inefficient, the effect of modernisation has been understood to be a reshaping of work and the workforce to ensure 'value for money', through increased accountability and strengthened managerial authority (Ozga, 2005). Professionals were particularly identified as a source of resistance to change. Gewirtz (2002) argues that, together, welfare bureaucracy and professionalism were 'held to be the source of major problems rather than the source of solutions' in running public sector organisations efficiently and effectively.

The modernisation agenda has shaped policy making and subsequent management strategies within a diverse range of education systems, for example across the UK, USA and Australia. However, the way these changes have been realised has been shaped by the more local national contexts in which education operates. Ozga (2005), citing Jones and Alexiadou (2001) suggests that global 'travelling policies' are 'mediated by 'embedded practices'. Changes in teachers' work in Scotland therefore are likely to reflect not only wider shifts in work and careers but also the checks and balances within the Scottish system which have fashioned the ways modernisation has transpired.

Other changes have also impacted on teachers' work. An example of these is the increased participation of women in the workforce which has implications for the kinds of employment relationships being sought as well as offered, although this transition is not smooth. For example, there is evidence (Batt, 2005) that changes in the work/family life nexus have generally run ahead of institutional mechanisms of support.

This commentary will therefore explore what the papers contribute to an understanding of teachers' work and careers in Scotland as well as more broadly. Particular emphasis will be given to the issues of autonomy and control of teachers' work and changing and diverse conceptions of career.

Work

Work here is taken to mean paid employment as opposed to other forms of working which exist, including home working and voluntary work. It is well established that work plays a significant role in social identity and work remains 'significant in shaping the lives of individuals, the character of the self and social organisation' (Casey, 1995, p.48). With changes in technology, the impact of globalisation and the development of corporate employment, the nature of working has altered. Casey (1995) and Sennett (1998) explored changes in work and their impact on the person, and Sennett saw the end result of diminished and fragmented work opportunities as being the 'corrosion of character'. He argued that strong engagement of people with their work makes work, and the developmental and social opportunities it offers, central to their evolving identity and sense of themselves. As working is redesigned and becomes less engaging, as well as less secure, the opportunities it offers for a sense of personal progression and development are reduced. Furthermore, he suggests that an emphasis on rapid change denies the worth of what has been done and how it has been done in the past. In his conception of work he mirrors psychological analyses of motivation and the personal consequences of working and of not working. For example, the concept of higher order needs (Porter, Lawler and Hackman, 1975, a redesign of Maslow's earlier hierarchy, 1954) and their satisfaction through social contact and personal development at work are reflected in

his assumptions about what work has offered and should offer. So too are the latent, as opposed to the manifest financial, functions of work including sense of purpose, of mastery, of social integration and of security which were proposed by Jahoda (1982).

The focus of the papers in this commentary is working as a teacher in Scotland, where nearly all pupils (96%) are educated in publicly funded schools, and which is thus principally public sector work. Private sector working practice has visibly influenced the nature of public sector work since the late 70s and particularly the late 1980s when private sector models of management, organisation and practice, albeit in rather dated form, were proposed as blueprints for the public sector.

Changes in professional and public sector work, shaped in part by a governmental (and more global) modernisation agenda, are commonly identified as wresting central control over key elements of work through governmental and local authority micromanagement strategies, through the setting of targets and the introduction of central rather than local accountability mechanisms all of which reduce autonomy. Ranson (2003) offers a historical analysis of the development of accountability structures which are reminiscent of corporate forms and argues that accountability has become a key dimension of the system rather than being simply a monitoring instrument. In such a regime, 'devolved' management may be illusory, giving an appearance of local control and freedom which are undermined by central performance requirements (Ball, 2003) A trend towards more flexible and casualised working arrangements, as highlighted in Atkinson's core/periphery model, (Atkinson, 1984, Ackroyd et al, 2005) has resulted in a further loss of individual control over work, and these changes are frequently understood as an indicator of reduced commitment to staff and the attribution of reduced value to their experience in post. An associated and contributory development is the redefinition of some professional work as a set of technical tasks, requiring little in the way of complex skill or experience and incorporating little recognition of the personal and professional commitment which in the past has been taken for granted in professional work. Finally, a reduced respect for experts and a belief that some aspects of societal activity (like education) are too important to be left solely to the relevant (and

possibly self-interested) professionals has resulted in reduced trust of professionals and in intervention and central direction being seen as more reasonable than hitherto (Ranson, 2003).

Much of the literature related to teaching in particular is drawn from the perspective of how changes occurred within the English system. While modernisation is generally seen on a global scale, the impact on England has been starkly described by many writers (Gewirtz, 2002, Ball, 2003, Ozga, 2005, Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996, Menter, Mahony and Hextall, 2004). It has also been argued (Paterson, 2001,Humes and Bryce, 2003, Raffe, 2000, Menter, Mahony and Hextall,2004) that the Scottish system is distinctive in a number of ways and one would expect that modernisation would take shape in a distinctive way in Scotland.

Teaching as work

In considering teaching as work, Connell's (1985) rare analysis emphasised that little account had been taken of teachers themselves. Connell claimed that for a long time they were seen as mere vehicles, neutral agents of social control and social transmission, and he criticised sociologists of education for ignoring the interpersonal and individual dimension of the very human work of teaching. This might of course be seen as an inevitable consequence of classifying teachers by their group membership (gender, class etc) within a sociological analysis. However, psychologists fared no better in his account. They were criticised for focussing on the individual at the expense of noting the origins of the problems with which teachers had to deal. He adds support therefore to the thesis outlined here that teachers have been relatively invisible in analyses of the educational process and that their views and understandings are often overlooked in the development and implementation of policy. Connell suggested little was actually known about the day-to-day experience of teachers' work and working practices. His analysis yielded insights on teachers' work derived from the period prior to the development of the full modernisation agenda. He saw teachers as regularly sacrificing their interests to those of 'the kids' and he argued for the importance of protecting teachers' interests, drawing upon their

expertise in the processes of educational reform and recognising teachers' legitimate interest in 'the content of their jobs' and 'the control of their workplace' (p.203).

The bulk of the literature on the impact of the modernisation agenda on teachers' work suggests these hopes went unfulfilled. In the face of limited understanding of teachers' work this is perhaps unsurprising but has the consequence that the complexity of that work has often been disregarded. The complex role of the teacher means that teaching is not only work but also difficult work (Acker, 1999) and it takes place in multiple settings, not exclusively in the classroom. The exposure of the educationist context (Keddie, 1971) as a significant setting of teachers' work beyond the classroom teaching context has been regularly overlooked by many, including policy makers and sometimes by teachers themselves. Some teachers have colluded with policy makers in sustaining what Nias (1989) describes as a 'bounded' view of professionalism as for example in MacDonald's study (2004) where she found teachers reinforced their role as classroom based and ignored or resisted engaging with their role in the educationist context of professional life outside the classroom. This tendency to 'leave the managers to manage' does not support teacher participation in school or wider educational management and policy making. In the absence of a wider understanding about teachers' work, the narrowness of a conception of teaching as almost solely classroom based technical activity, which ignores the plurality of the teacher's role when engaging with colleagues, parents, and a range of agencies beyond the classroom makes it easier to sustain unrealistically simplistic perceptions of what is required from teachers. In the face of limited understanding of teachers' work there are significant implications here for the feasibility of central control, and for the central direction of teacher activity.

As education has moved to a centre stage position it has become more politicised (with education, education, education as a mantra) and economised (Menter et al, 1997, Ozga, 2005), and has become subject to more political direction and short-term targets with a more marked emphasis on the economic use of resources. Robertson (2000) suggests that this shift reflects not its lack of importance but a clear perception of its economic significance. Now not seen as purely the province of

experts, reflecting changed evaluations of professional work, education has been subject to specific recommendations on what, and how, to teach. Combined with descriptions of teaching which have emphasised a technicist analysis of the work and an increase in accountability which focuses on short-term measurables, the end result is a simplified public image of teaching and reduced autonomy for teachers.

The origins of changes in work have reflected the classic structure/agency dichotomy. Lawn and Ozga (1981) offered a structural analysis which emphasised external and policy drivers of changes in work with gradual changes in the nature of white-collar work away from skill and autonomy. The person centred or agency approach (represented by Hughes, 1960 and Becker, 1970) focused on the role of the person in generating change. In a structured work situation such as teaching within a public sector bureaucracy the impact of the individual as agent may at best be a compromise position on the structure-agency continuum, an interaction of individual decisions and structural opportunities where the individual adjusts and chooses between what is possible in ways of working. Dale (1988) identified that teachers were both subject and agent of change and thus in a privileged position to shape change. However, while some scope for agency in the interaction between teachers and their managing context may exist (Acker, 1999, Day, 1999), some exploit that scope more than others (Gunter's 'vocal practitioners' compared with 'listening practitioners', 1997), and some are more supported in this than others by their school contexts ('vocal' and 'listening' schools). This all suggests a variable response to attempts to increase central control where some may subvert while others comply and problematises an understanding of the role of teachers in change

While a body of literature now exists on teachers' work (for example Hargreaves, 1994,Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996, Acker (1999), especially in England, and the role and situation of teachers is becoming better understood by some, teachers have nonetheless emerged as having little influence and as being expected to implement policy decided elsewhere (Day, 1999). This demonstrates how selective the application of business methods to education has been. For example, quality circles techniques which bring direct input to planning improvements from those working at

the 'chalk' face have not found their way into the redesign of teachers' work. The recent very substantial changes in teachers' work and the central specification of how to work (for example the literacy strategy in England) have reflected an assumption that teachers do not have their own suggestions to make and that their own professional expertise and experience is not significant, which in turn is consistent with a perception of reduced trust in experts. In Scotland, while there was consultation on the development of new Standards for Professional Development, at the implementation stage consultation faded away (Purdon, 2003). The speedy implementation of complex arrangements for both induction and chartered teacher status has left little space for consultation which might have produced more streamlined and less bureaucratic arrangements. Given that the devil lies so often in the detail the absence of consultation on that detail is telling and one might argue counterproductive in terms of finding ways forward that will work. This could be taken as a confirmation of the politicisation of teaching since it reflects a modernised and media conscious timetable with (annual accounting type) short-term goals and scanty planning as well as the controlling of activities by central bodies.

Teachers' work as professional work

Hinings (2005) charts professionals as those who exercise control over how tasks are done and outcomes are evaluated and he flags the current conflict between professionalism and managerialism which threatens that control and encourages evaluation of outcomes by consumers and by others outside the group. There has been much debate over whether teaching is professional work. Some (e.g. Kirk, 1988) argue that it is clearly professional and draw upon criteria which emphasise the variations in what is required and necessarily involve exercise of judgement, work which is informed by a distinct body of knowledge, a commitment to continual improvement in practice, a sense of service, work which gives scope for development and progression. The distinctive specialist knowledge and its application to specific cases may lead to exclusiveness in professional groups (Abbott, 1988). Teaching has also been labelled a semi-profession, defined as work in a complex organisation under the control of others (Etzioni, 1969). Caplow's (1954) seminal study of occupational status, using a range of criteria (responsibility,

nature of work, formal education required, training, authority, class attributes, income, behavioural control) ranked teaching below that of many established professional groups (e.g. physician, lawyer, civil engineer, army captain) and sharply distinguished primary from secondary teachers, with the latter being ranked as having significantly higher status as a consequence of (now outmoded) differences in training. The observed threat to teacher autonomy which has followed the introduction of centrally specified curricula (including curriculum 'guidelines' which none the less have directly informed inspection and evaluation processes) as well as other reforms could thus be seen as more characteristic of semi- than full professional work.

However, with new modernised patterns of control and autonomy, professional work has itself been increasingly redefined with a new emphasis on effectiveness and efficiency with 'professional' being interpreted as meeting bureaucratic requirements on time. Apple (1986) suggests teachers may be misled by this and be unable to distinguish efficient levels of bureaucratic performance from the more discretionary autonomous behaviour more traditionally understood as professional. In the face of major changes in work and in policy it seems unrealistic to expect a definition of professional to remain unchanged, but that does not necessarily mean that professionalism has evaporated. Instead, shifting versions may need clarification and do not preclude the accommodation of some form of modernisation which couples an increase in accountability with more effective management and transparency, and which might impact on autonomy and increase regulation without destroying professionalism. In the face of this debate it is interesting to note that the McCrone Inquiry report (SEED, 2000) was firmly of the view that teachers were professionals and should be treated as such. For example, the report criticised casualised employment arrangements for beginning teachers arguing that they were wholly inappropriate for someone beginning a professional career and there was recognition of the threat to the professional status of teachers which led to a commitment to take action which would 'restore the public esteem of the teaching profession'. But the recommendations also included elements of greater accountability and regulation along with calls for greater participation and autonomy.

Much of the material in the literature (e.g. Hargreaves, 1994,Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996, Day 1999, MacDonald 2004) and in the set of papers being reviewed here reflects a role for teachers in the system which is subservient and relatively invisible. Compliance was identified as a requirement for entry to the policy community (McPherson and Raab, 1988), and Humes (2003) noted that HMI patronage was significant in the choice of members of committees developing reform policies, where the process of selection was opaque and representativeness remained in doubt. Many decisions about educational policy are made centrally, at government or local authority level, for example in relation to the curriculum where there has been more central specification, and about educational policy and practice by local authorities, rather than by schools and individual teachers. Ozga (2000) studying policy making in England, argued that there is an inherent tension between teachers and the state, that the government is inevitably engaged in the management of the teacher workforce because education is so important to economic progress. Furthermore she argued that the response to this tension swings between the degree and type of control exercised over teachers, which impinges directly on teacher autonomy. Because of this tension, she warned against seeing policy making as a discrete process, suggesting instead that policy making is a process borne out of struggle. She is not alone in arguing that teachers' participation in that policy process is a professional obligation to scrutinise and contribute as well as an entitlement, and indeed the McCrone report reinforced this. On a day to day basis in schools it can be argued that individual teacher autonomy at work is limited by local and national directives on practice and MacDonald (2004) provides supporting evidence of an employed professional group which complied with directives. The papers also provide some evidence of teachers believing that decisions about their work are made by others and from these it would appear that Scotland is little different to many other education systems in the sense that teachers have a role as implementers of policy decided and derived elsewhere (Day, 1999). However the findings in the papers on teacher satisfaction with autonomy confuse the picture. Poppleton et al's (2004) nine country study may be helpful here in that their findings suggested that while teachers in many countries perceived change generally to be imposed rather

than initiated by themselves and their autonomy to be low in relation to the nature of change, higher autonomy was found in relation to actual implementation.

In addition, teachers do have a number of ways to communicate their views. They have a professional body, the GTCS, whose existence is significant and whose room for manoeuvre has been constrained but of late has been extended. The OECD (1996) identified teachers as able to shape the direction of educational reforms through structures which create the opportunity for strong collective bargaining. The Scottish teacher unions have considerable influence. Teaching in Scotland is a highly unionised profession and, contrary to Robertson's (2000) assumption, provides some evidence that the existence of a teaching council does not weaken teacher unions, although it clearly alters the context. Collective action over such issues as testing, mentoring and appraisal have been testament to the power of teachers as a collective to impact on policy. In addition, ensuring that changes in practice which have been planned and directed from beyond the classroom are realised remains problematical once the classroom door closes. Robertson (2000) identifies closing the classroom door as symbolic, and classrooms as the place where teachers exercise 'organisational power' (p.2). Robertson also argues that teachers have considerable scope both individually and collectively to shape events in their workplace and beyond, but warns that the teaching profession constitutes a highly stratified occupational group, separated by sector, by gender and by place in the organisational hierarchy and that this weakens its force as a group. The papers highlight the diversity in teachers' experiences and a sense of power hierarchies between and within sectors and schools.

Sennett's analysis and teachers' work

Sennett's analysis of changes in work offers a useful framework for reviewing the situation of teachers and three key areas will be considered here: weak ties and fragmentation at work; risk and change; flexible working and commitment. While Sennett's work derives from the study of work which is rather different to that of teachers, the key changes in work which he identifies resonate with the literature on teachers' work and the findings in the papers considered here.

Weak ties and fragmentation: Sennett suggests that fragmentation of work is supported by casualisation and flexible working. In the absence of workforce interaction and with expectations of lifelong careers with one employer diminishing, Sennett argues that the link between person and work setting is weakened. The early experiences of new teachers during the 1990s reflected this. Many worked in a temporary capacity in several schools to earn their full registration with and membership of the profession. Findings on probationary teachers (paper 1) suggested that in the mid 90s about one half of new teachers worked their probationary period in one school, while the rest worked in more than one school and around a sixth in more than six schools, with a recorded maximum of 52 schools. The new teacher induction scheme, instituted in August 2002, offers a different example of potential fragmentation. Although it guarantees work for the probationary period (now one year), it also encourages mobility. It is expected that after their first year in a trainee post new teachers will seek a new post. There is no assumption that they will remain in the same school. In 2003, at the end of the first year of the new induction scheme, questions were obliquely raised about employment post induction (EIS, 2003a) and concerns were expressed that many new teachers did not stay on to work in the same school. The arrangements for the new induction scheme also altered the role of schools in teacher selection. During the 90s schools had chosen their own staff, following an earlier period where Local authorities selected new teachers and allocated them to schools. The new scheme with its computer matching of individual new teacher and authority needs resulted in a list being sent to authorities and their allocation of new teachers to schools for the nine month induction period. Schools were thus unable to select their own staff, and the new induction arrangements offered both development opportunities for new teachers and extended selection opportunities for schools. At the end of the year schools may decide to retain staff if they have a post available, though it must of course be competed for in the usual way. A further dimension of fragmentation comes about in the reduction of class contact hours (to 22.5) following the McCrone inquiry. While this makes less difference to most secondary teachers, it reshapes teachers' work in primary schools, since a class is not now wholly the responsibility or the province of

one teacher.

Risk and change: In a rapidly changing work environment, Sennett suggests that accumulated experience is taken to be of little value. With significant reforms reshaping the content and process of teachers' work, the past offers little guide to coping with the present or preparing for the future. Past ways of understanding role and goal are undermined by new accountability mechanisms which focus on measurables couched in managerial terms. There is a tendency to focus on the moment and to look ahead to next steps rather than reflecting on and learning from the past and past practice. In such circumstances, reflective practice models of professional development have little value. A current given in teaching is that reflecting on past practice is absolutely crucial in mentoring and other professional development mechanisms. Sennett argues that the new context of work focuses heavily on the present and future, relegating the past to oblivion. This not only reduces our capacity to draw on past experience to make sense of the present and future but it deprives us of the opportunity to see how we have developed over time and with experience. That absence of development and sense of progression in work (which we return to in the section on career) is a major loss for the character-building dimension of work highlighted by Sennett.

This denial of the value of experience may also be seen in responses to the loss of experienced teachers from the profession. A simplistic and instrumental view of teaching supports a view that teachers are interchangeable irrespective of their experience and leads to a failure to recognise the significance of losing experienced staff since it is assumed they can be replaced by inexperienced teachers. Senior policy makers have been found to show little concern about the loss of experienced teachers and their replacement with beginning teachers (Menter, 2002), and a similar response was found by the author when feeding back findings from the 'Leaving the Register' project. While experience has been recognised within the profession as important, with teachers being acknowledged as accruing expertise over many years (as reflected in salary increments), policy makers appear to be more concerned with numbers than with experience, a response perhaps to the public pressure which arises

when teacher supply is inadequate. But the work of experienced and inexperienced teachers is not interchangeable, though each has its own strengths (Burbank and Kauchak, 2003) and multi-staged models reflecting the development of expertise over time and with experience have also been suggested (Berliner, 2001). This all suggests that teaching is an old style profession within which several years of committed experience are needed to develop as an expert, thus making the loss of experienced teachers problematical. (That teaching continues to be an old style profession is also suggested by Robertson (2000) who flags the continuing membership of unions and collective association as indications of limited success in restructuring and modernisation).

Sennett further argues that rapid changes in policy and expected practice allow little time for consolidation and little experience of success. 'People have short memories.. you're always starting over, you have to prove yourself everyday.' (P.84) is well illustrated in education by the professional development 'provider' who claims 'you're only as good as your last in-service'. Changes which are externally driven coupled with the imposition of accountability (whose mechanisms give priority to some dimensions of work at the expense of other aspects) and inspection and little praise mean central control is high. The consequent absence of autonomy undermines self-esteem and the sustenance of a sense of worth, recognition and praise. These missing elements are all characteristic of Jahoda's (1982) latent functions of work and Herzberg's (1959) motivators while what remains would be best described as 'hygiene' factors. Sennett maintains that continual exposure to risk eats away at our sense of character making us vulnerable to the judgements of others. The very centrality of teaching in teachers' lives (Poppleton and Riseborough, 1990) means that the cost of this 'corrosion of character' is particularly high; and in a contested problematised view of work, teachers' roles are redefined by those outside their professional sphere. Professional work is expected to be central but technical conceptions of teaching encourage instrumental views of work. So redefinition of teaching as technical and directable tasks pushes it outside commonly understood conceptions of professional work and opens up new more varied career routes into and out of teaching.

Flexible working and commitment: Sennett suggests that flexible working makes people more available while simultaneously weakening ties at work because a communal sense of working is more difficult to develop. There is a loss of social cohesion and support. Flexitime itself has not generally been available to teachers in UK, though some changes following from McCrone have brought the possibility of more flexible use of time. It may be that the relative absence of flexible time has been a protection for teachers, bringing them together in school at the same time and offering opportunities for interaction and shared time and possibilities for sustaining social networks and collaboration. However much of teachers' work is undertaken mainly in the absence of other adults and it could be that teachers tolerate or even welcome fragmentation because it has the potential to offer opportunities for autonomy. Sennett would suggest that weak ties run the risk of diminishing commitment to work and that in a short term regime, loyalty and commitment to work lose their meaning. Yet commitment has been argued as crucial to effective operation in a devolved or decentred regime where employers must be able to rely on employees (Rubery, 2005). Commitment is also believed to be important for retention (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1981). If people at work develop no more than weak attachments to work it is easy to leave. If teachers are less engaged with work they are also enabled to consider other career options and this risks supply problems. Where reforms undermine professional dimensions of teaching then it becomes easier to leave because identification with the work is lessened. In England where reforms have been more radical and intervention in day-to-day practice more marked than in Scotland, more teachers have left and moved to other work. In Scotland where arguably the system has been more conservative and reforms in teacher work have been less extreme the profession has been more stable. If this argument holds then the major changes of McCrone represent a significant risk to supply and retention if they do not sustain teachers' ties to their work.

Scottish Education

Over the period of the papers submitted here some policy developments resembled changes in other parts of the UK (for example there are some similarities in content

between the McCrone changes and the English workforce agreement), others have been radically different in content, process and intention and some have been novel (for example the absence of tuition fees and increased central funding for HE). Scottish education has always been distinct as a system within the UK, but there has been more scope for diversity following the reintroduction of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. It is still early to say whether greater divergence will actually follow (Raffe, 2002). The situation of teachers has thus been shaped by factors at several levels. Wider changes in work and in the nature of professional work as well as specific changes in policies and practices related to teachers' work have changed the experience and potential of teachers' work. Similarly changes in the wider concept of career have influenced teachers' experiences and perceptions of their careers.

In 2002, the most recent year for which figures are available (published July 2004) there were 53, 282 teachers in Scotland working in three thousand schools, teaching 768,967 pupils. Almost all of these teachers were employed by the 32 local authorities and worked in publicly funded schools; the independent sector was small at 3.9% of pupils. There were approximately equal numbers of teachers in the primary and secondary sectors, and they constituted nearly 90% of all Scottish teachers with the remainder working in the smaller nursery and special school sectors. As the papers submitted show, the profession was relatively stable in terms of employment and highly unionised. The role of the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) illustrates how widely Scottish arrangements vary from those in other parts of the UK. The GTCS was established in 1966, is the keeper of the professional register and formally represents the profession in a range of settings. Its key aim is to maintain and enhance the professional standards of the teaching profession. It is responsible for approving programmes of initial teacher education (ITE), granting membership to the profession (provisionally at the initial professional qualification stage and fully following a probationary period) and, as a self-regulating body, for conducting disciplinary proceedings in relation to its members. Current registration with the Council is a legal requirement for all teachers in state funded schools. The Council's role has been enhanced significantly in the last five years as the probationary period has assumed greater priority, partly as a

consequence of a developing appreciation of the need for career-long professional development and general lifelong learning in a time of fast social and economic change, and partly because of the acknowledgement by policy makers and others of its significance for teacher retention and supply. Recently the Council has been made responsible for the accreditation of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and has played an active and major role in the development and implementation of both the new Teacher Induction Scheme and the new Chartered Teacher programme.

Comparing the Scottish context with England a number of key differences are evident, especially in relation to the role of government agencies. Scottish HMIE although an Executive Agency of the Scottish Executive continue in a fairly traditional way as a professional, full-time group, though with a narrower role than in the past which now focuses on monitoring and inspection as opposed to policy generation. Unlike England there is no OFSTED nor is there a Teacher Training Agency. In accrediting programmes of professional development on behalf of the profession, the GTCS has a wider and deeper role than its English counterpart The GTCS itself is a long established body, which by its very existence narrows the roles of both central and local government. However, the boundary between the GTCS and the Unions is permeable, and that with the Local Authorities is highly complex. It is not therefore simply that the tasks to be done are distributed differently from over the border, but that the interactions or flows (Beishon and Peters, 1976) between the elements of the system are different. The negotiations following the McCrone report illustrate this: the Scottish Executive, Local Authorities, GTCS, and the Teacher Unions all sat at the table discussing which recommendations might be implemented and how. One distinctive feature to which attention has been drawn (Menter, Mahony and Hextall, 2004, Humes and Bryce, 2003) is the degree of consensus which characterises these components of the Scottish system, although there are areas of dispute between them on some matters. While this arrangement has the potential for democracy it should be noted that the interdependence of these groups brings with it the corollary of conservatism and complacency and the unrepresentativeness (white middle class males) of those who predominantly manage the system (Humes, 1986, Humes and Bryce, 1999 and Paterson, 1997). When a

system is small, and many know each other and expect to work together in the long term, there may be a very real reluctance to 'rock boats' and to risk being marginalized

Changes in teachers' work over the last fifteen years have been substantial and many have been similar to those elsewhere, with major curriculum and educational management changes imposed on schools and teachers. Increased accountability has been coupled with changes in the conception of the role of school leaders, the devolving of management to schools, the imposition of school self-evaluation and development planning. The initial and subsequent development of teachers have seen the introduction of competence-based standards into teacher education and development. Professional development of Scottish teachers is now framed by four standards: Initial Teacher Education, Standard for Full Registration, Chartered Teacher, Standard for Headship. Continuing Professional Development and school leadership have been identified as key factors in the successful implementation of change and development in schools.

Significant contrasts have been identified in the nature of developments in Scotland and England, which were designed to meet the needs of experienced teachers who do not wish to go into management roles (Menter, Mahony and Hextall, 2004). Scotland has also been noted as different in that there is perceived to be greater trust between schools and parents (Paterson et al 2001, Menter 2002). While at one level changes resemble those experienced by teaching professions elsewhere, the size, structure and mode of operation of the Scottish system has meant that it is likely that Scottish teachers have experienced them differently. Ozga (2005) drawing upon the work of Jones and Alexiadou (2001) describes the process of local contexts and 'embedded practices' inevitably shaping 'travelling' policies in relation to both their substantive content and their implementation. The end result will be different in different systems: rather than transfer or policy borrowing there will be varying degrees of uptake shaped by circumstances, system dynamics and patterns of practice. The papers submitted here confirm this and reveal a different pattern of teacher reaction to modernisation changes in their career decision-making and retention rates and in

relation to their sense of professional identity and experience of work. The form modernisation changes have taken in Scotland have been shaped and experienced through the Scottish context and differ in scale and kind to those in England.

Interventions changing teachers' work: The McCrone inquiry (SEED, 2000)

Alterations in the nature of teachers' work frequently come about as unexpected and unplanned by-products of changes elsewhere, for example as consequences of developments in curriculum, the management of schools or local authority reorganisation. Occasionally however, there are initiatives which are specifically designed to alter teachers' work and the McCrone inquiry was one of these. The origins of the inquiry are numerous and include teacher resistance to new developments in response to major and long-term workload issues, and concerns about teacher supply and especially teacher retention, in the light of problems identified in England. In the run up to the inquiry there was concern expressed (EIS, 1999) that it should not confine itself to pay and conditions, but should consider the circumstances in which teachers worked including "being forced to spend more time out of the classroom", the "unchecked and under-resourced" pace of educational reform, class sizes and undervaluing of teachers.

The Committee of Inquiry into teachers' pay and conditions was established in 1999 under the chairmanship of Professor Gavin McCrone. It received views from teachers, local authorities, professional bodies and Institutions, parents and pupils, and commissioned comparative studies of workload and remuneration in the public sector. The final report, (SEED 2000), offered a concise analysis of issues and a strong set of recommendations and highlighted the economic significance of teaching and teachers.

> Scotland's future prosperity depends crucially on the skills of its people.. the people educated in Scotland's schools. (Para 2.3, p4)

The McCrone recommendations were discussed by government, the teacher unions and their employers and a negotiated agreement proposing a raft of changes was put to teachers in Feb 2001. Eighty per cent of those who voted supported the agreement

and initial increases in pay were introduced in April 2001. The changes finally agreed to teachers' work were numerous and significant. They included changes to the structure of schools (with some flattening of the long hierarchy of posts); to the nature of the working day, week and year; to pay scales; to administrative support for teachers; to support on discipline; to career routes through teaching; to arrangements for newly qualified teachers; and, as a central tenet, changes in the purpose, nature and control of continuing professional development (CPD).

While some of the recommendations made in the original report were not accepted, many worked their way through to the agreement, including the formal definition of a 35 hour working week and a reduction in class contact time to relieve workload pressures and make space for planning, preparation and CPD. The spirit of McCrone to make teachers more autonomous and better regarded (and paid) professionals also remained. CPD was a central dimension, as both an entitlement and an obligation and recognised for its potential to motivate and stimulate. There were changes to the working year to ensure time was available for CPD for all teachers. Thirty-five hours were to be set aside for CPD in the new working year and these were to be accounted for in an individual CPD record. To ensure relevance and enhance autonomy the use of that CPD time was to be negotiated at school level rather than externally specified. There were to be changes to early professional experience, in the shape of new arrangements for the induction of beginning teachers to support new teachers' development and to instil CPD as part of teaching from the start (see Draper, Christie and O'Brien, 2004, Draper and Forrester, 2004). There was to be a new professional-development-based and unpromoted high status career route (Chartered Teacher status), and there was to be the accreditation of CPD provision in general to ensure quality and relevance. Unusually, and perhaps most significantly, it identified teacher contentment as an important end in itself. This was a quantum shift from the earlier single-minded focus on learning outcomes and pupil performance

> Our objective should be to have an education service second to none. In order to achieve this we need high quality, trained, professional, motivated and contented teachers; and we need to restore public esteem for the teaching profession. (Para 2.7, p5)

That motivation and contentment were acknowledged as important suggests a return to teachers being viewed as significant players in the system. In 1969 James Scotland

had argued that the teacher was the 'most important person in the school' (p.275). Subsequently it was argued that the authoritarian methods of policy making in Scotland contributed to a democratic deficit and limited the contribution of teachers to the policy process (Humes, 1986, and McPherson and Raab, 1988). The McCrone changes therefore signal shifts in the status, entitlements and obligations of teachers as well as having the potential to offer an increase in teacher autonomy. Changes in opportunities for teachers to contribute their views at an individual level have also been available more recently. The process of consultation during the McCrone inquiry actively sought the views of individual teachers as well as those of teachers as a whole through standard representational mechanisms. The development process for Chartered Teacher status similarly actively canvassed views of teachers and others. The National Debate on education also invited participation from teachers and others. Opportunities have therefore existed for teachers to contribute to the policy process. As the paper show, teachers clearly hold diverse views about their work and their contributions to policy debate are likely to be varied also, creating a challenge for both their representatives and policy makers.

A career-long CPD framework for teachers was proposed in 1997 (Sutherland). The McCrone report endorsed this, seeing CPD as the route for strengthening the profession and its reputation, and the report's view was that teachers should see continuing professional development as a part of their professional commitment. Could this be new? Prior to the report, staff, or professional, development had certainly been part of the rhetoric of teaching. It had been at the heart of an unsuccessful attempt to introduce teacher appraisal in the 90s. Much in-service provision had been focussed on managerial development needs, and, as McCrone found, although teachers recognised the need for 'continuing development of knowledge and skills' they were critical of the quality and relevance of some provision. In common with English studies of CPD (e.g. Day, 1999), CPD provision in Scotland was system- and central-initiative-led rather than focusing on teachers' immediate and individual needs and often reflected a transmission model of professional development.

Enhancing Professional Autonomy

It is noted above that the professional autonomy of teachers was seen to be eroded as a consequence of increased central control and specification of education accompanied by increased accountability and the growth in managerialism in the management of education (e.g. as observed in England by Ozga, 1995, and in Australia by Smyth and Shacklock, 1998). The McCrone agreement, while in some ways tightening control over teachers' work also offered a number of mechanisms whereby the professional autonomy of teachers might be enhanced in a range of ways including:

- The removal of some administrative tasks which had burdened teachers, to enable more time to be spent on the professional tasks associated with teaching and for which teachers were trained;
- An emphasis on participative management and the active engagement of teachers in the running of, and decision making in, schools;
- the negotiation of the use of CPD time by teachers with their line managers at a school level;
- freedom to undertake tasks which did not require teachers to be in school 'at a *time and place of the teacher's choosing'*.

The enhancement of teacher autonomy was seen by McCrone to be useful not only in motivating and raising the morale of teachers but also in restoring the professional status of teaching to reflect better the public significance of education and hence of teachers.

While the McCrone inquiry and agreement both post-date the papers submitted here, they shape the current context in important ways and reflections on the papers necessarily relate to these changing circumstances. The changes wrought by the agreement will therefore be used as a backdrop for considering the contribution made by the papers to the ongoing debates on teachers' work and careers.

Career

Turning from work to career there are several themes in the area of careers which serve to illuminate issues raised in and by the papers submitted and which illustrate their contribution. These themes are the concept of career as:

- a significant influence on identity;
- a series of decisions about life and work;
- a source of development opportunity;
- movement through a series of stages or situations
- progression (horizontal and/or vertical);
- stable (retention issues);
- proactively or reactively determined, and gendered
- a changing set of options.

While much academic work on career decision-making has focussed on the decision to choose particular areas of work, the main focus here is on decisions made during a teaching career. As with teachers' work there has been limited attention given to the pattern of teachers' careers, in the UK in general and Scotland in particular, and the nature of teachers' career decision-making and where there has been interest it has reflected concern over supply or retention either at entry or in terms of applications for specific posts. For much of the time teachers' careers have proceeded without being monitored or understood. One consequence of this been a lack of understanding of teachers' perspectives on their careers and a lack of professional development opportunities to support decisions about, and to offer preparation for, careers and career moves.

What is a career?

Most writers appear to assume that there is consensus about what 'career' is but they attribute quite different characteristics to the concept and it is poorly defined. Early definitions flagged career as central to our understanding of our lives and ourselves, a 'moving perspective within which the person sees his life as a whole' (Hughes, 1937, p.409). Some emphasise the time dimension of career, seeing careers developing over time, while others see careers in terms of progression, often vertical

progression although horizontal movement may also be acknowledged. More recently there has been recognition of multiple careers (different areas of specialism and focus at different times or simultaneous self investment in a range of activities) and of the contrasting factors which shape career, using a concept of career characterised as proactively developed over time or as reactive to circumstances shaped by external events (Lyons, 1981). While generic analyses of career are considered here the material leans towards teaching careers since career patterns vary significantly across areas of work. The debate over who chooses career patterns for example, whether teachers are active agents or with respect to their careers, takes a particular shape within teaching where opportunities are characterised by fixed hierarchies of post and restrictions on horizontal movement between school sectors.

Career as finding a place and an identity

Several facets of career are identified in the early literature. Careers were identified as a means to seek stability and to give a sense of continuity by linking past and future (Watts Super and Kidd, 1981). Wilensky (1960) defined career as 'a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered predictable sequence' (p127). There is much to take issue with here in terms of current expectations of career, since jobs may not be related, nor arranged in a hierarchy of prestige and career paths may be interrupted and disordered. Wilensky also suggested that careers support delayed gratification, indeed that they provide an incentive to hold off for later 'By holding out the prospect of predictable rewards, careers foster a willingness to train and achieve, adopt long term perspectives, defer immediate gratification for later pay off' (cited in Watts, p213). Careers are also seen to play a crucial role in binding the person to the social structure and finding their place in it. This link between person, work and the wider world is characteristic of Sennett's sense of work as an integrating mechanism for the person. The changing nature of professional and personal identities over a period of three years in response to changes in the policy and professional development environment has been the focus of the recent VITAE study (Day et al, 2004). The multi-faceted nature of identity was found to be a valuable variable through which to capture teachers' career development.

Career as choosing life and work

Initial Career decision making: choosing a life

Understandings of career have broadened, in that careers are now seen to encompass work in life rather than focussing purely on work itself (Fessler, 1997) Work and career are seen to have an impact on lifestyle and pursuing particular types of career is seen to raise concerns about work-life balance. Teachers' work has long been recognised as having high priority in teachers' lives and as an important source of personal satisfaction (Lortie, 1975, Huberman, 1993). In 1987, the Meaning of Work international research team distinguished three types of involvement in work: instrumental, affective and cognitive and compared the work centrality of ten occupational groups. Teachers ranked third highest on their measures of work centrality. Such studies however deal in very broad generalisations.

A more differentiated view of teachers' involvement in their work contrasted 'restricted' and 'extended professionals', 'coasters' and a group they termed as 'no hopers', whose approach to working as teachers reflected lower centrality than the others (Poppleton and Riseborough, 1990) The 'restricted' professional group, characterised as not valuing highly their personal relationships in teaching, were deemed to be the least committed group and most likely to leave if their job satisfaction diminished. Centrality of work was influenced strongly by teachers' perceptions of their possible futures. 'Careers don't just happen but are consciously shaped to changing conditions' (p.122). Nearly 15 years later the policy and the working context, as well as the range of career opportunities have changed. Poppleton foresaw teachers' responses to the new managerialist developments in her suggestion that teachers might tailor their professionalism to economic strategies which encourage contractualism and draw closer to 'those who question the assumption that working should dominate' their lives (p107). For those for whom work appears to be quite peripheral or instrumental, a means of income generation to fund other more central aspects of life, its impact on identity is held to be significantly less and frustrations and stresses at work impinge less on the person. For those for whom work is central to their lives, there may be little separation

between work and the rest of life, with sense of self closely bound up with competence and success at work and in career (Huberman, 1997).

Choosing teaching

Traditionally studies of teaching and its appeal have focussed on those who enter teaching and their attitudes and values and studies have explored how these develop during initial teacher education and in early years in teaching (for example, (Calderhead and Shorrock, 1997). Some recent studies have focussed more on those who do not wish to come in to teaching with a view to enhancing recruitment by bringing in those who might otherwise not have become teachers. Studies of the attitudes of English undergraduates to teaching found that teaching was similarly perceived by those who wished and did not wish to enter the profession (Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2000). What appeared to vary was the importance accorded by individuals to aspects of the work of teaching. The differences appeared to lie in the reactions to the perceptions rather than in the perceptions themselves, which poses a problem for recruiters, since it is not that some people do not understand what teaching is like as work but rather that, in understanding it they do not wish to become teachers. Subsequent work (Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2002, Cockburn and Haydn, 2004) flag up similar concerns in England to those raised in several of the papers submitted here: that the design or nature, of work in teaching is itself a discouragement to many, and that remuneration, workload and autonomy are seen as a problem by those who are not contemplating teaching as a career. In Scotland, while recruitment into pre-service teacher education has been fairly robust for primary and some secondary subjects, it has been, as elsewhere, influenced by the state of the economy and the availability of alternative work and there are some specific subject and geographical areas where recruitment has been habitually difficult (for example in Technology and Mathematics and in some rural areas).

As part of the wider context, reviews of teacher recruitment difficulties in the US and beyond emphasise that a much wider range of career opportunities is now open to the young females who traditionally formed an important core of those recruited into teaching (Darling-Hammond, 1990). In Scotland, the target group for teaching has

been shifting with both a change in the balance of PGCE/BEd numbers and also with a shift in the average age of entry to a PGCE. In Scotland in 2002, the average age of PGCE students was 29 (calculated by the author from data supplied by GTTR), suggesting that for Scotland at least, the group whose attitudes about teaching as a career may be most relevant are those already in work rather than undergraduates. In England also those who entered teaching recently were older than in the past and many had their own children (Ross, 2002). If the age, and life stage of those coming in to teaching is changing, this carries several implications for the mobility of new teachers as well as for their expectations of work and career.

Career as Development

Understandings of career decision-making moved from talent matching models to a new focus on the individual, with the incorporation of a more developmental approach (Super 1957). This approach assumed work had many facets and elements which could offer scope for the individual to grow and develop. The implications of this liberal and optimistic view of work led to a recognition that career development involved a continuous process rather than discrete decisions. Issues of identity and life style choice were explored and the importance of values and interests was identified. A two-sided approach considered what individuals could offer work and what work could offer them, and how these might change over time, against a positive view of work as stimulating and as a core part of identity and people's lives.

Understandings of career choice have also developed from an early, psychometrically orientated once and for all fit-the-person to the job approach to a recognition that people and their work and career aspirations evolve and change with time, experience, personal development and circumstance. A similar structure-agency dichotomy thus emerges, between the jobs available to potential workers and individuals making choices about the kind of work they wish to do. The cold wind of realism was brought to bear on the concept of career choice (Roberts, 1977) with the recognition that choice was only available to some and that in most cases choices were restricted by a range of factors including circumstance, age, gender, educational performance and social pressure.

In relation to professional careers the concept of career includes scope to develop skill and understanding through experience, reflective practice and professional development. In turn, evolving skills and understandings lead to increasingly sophisticated complex and differentiated views of what can be done. While this may apply to most jobs, a necessary condition for career to encapsulate development would be scope within the job to develop expertise and professional jobs have traditionally offered such scope. Increasingly Sennett argues, with work designed as person proof, partly to cut labour costs and compete globally, the potential for work to be challenging and stimulating is reduced. The absence of scope for development in work constrains this aspect of the concept of career and in relation to teachers the question remains to what extent opportunities are available to enable them to pursue their career plans or whether these are frustrated (Huberman, 1997) The link between personal goals and environmental opportunity is further reflected in Fessler and Christensen's 1992 model of the teacher career cycle.

Career as movement through a stages or situations

Huberman (1993) proposes a set of career stages linked to time, but not shaped by post held. Huberman in his career-long framework of stages suggests earlier stages are common to all teachers (years 1-3 and 4-6) with differentiation in later stages (7-18 and 19-30) during which teachers who stay develop mellow accepting approaches to their work ('serenity') or are less satisfied ('conservative', resulting in: acrimony, disappointment and frustration) (Huberman, 1997 p. 201). Fessler's 1997 account sees teacher careers shaped by both the personal environment and the organisational environment. These two contexts influence dynamic movement around a number of career experiences, from pre-service through induction (first few years) and competency building to a 'high level of competence as professionals' (p.185). Four further career situations are career frustration, career stability, career wind down and career exit. While linear patterns are seen by Fessler to offer an unsatisfactory account of career the last two situations are more time and stage dependent. Fessler's argument is that contractual shifts, the opening and closing of career opportunities and the influence of personal circumstances all contribute to unique trajectories through career. Fessler further argues that the model implies that different support

will be needed for teachers in different career situations and that these systems should include support for personal difficulties and hence imply that a very broad concept of staff development is required. This diversity in career and needs as a consequence of changes in both teachers' personal and organisational environments is further evidenced in the set of papers.

The models offered by Fessler and by Huberman and the career intentions model in the papers all attempt to capture diversity in teachers' careers. Huberman emphasises dependence on time as an underpinning variable while Fessler and Christensen (1992) focus more on identifying a comprehensive set of career situations. Neither focuses on the actual form a career takes in terms of posts held and decisions surrounding application for these posts. The papers included in this submission thus add a further dimension to our understanding of career, both as regards the contribution of those papers drawn from the longitudinal study and those which explore the decisions made about whether or not to seek posts in school senior management teams.

Career as progression: horizontal and vertical careers

The papers highlight decisions about movement on the career ladder. Career progression has been conceived of in contrasting directions which emphasise **upward or sideways** moves within or between occupations (Acker, 1999), drawing upon Caplow's earlier (1954) work on horizontal and vertical mobility. Career is also shaped by structural shifts: changing political and economic activity shape the context in which careers occur (Acker, 1999). For those wishing to pursue horizontal careers in teaching by staying in the classroom, there exist a limited number of change options, which included staying in the same school, changing school, moving between the private and public sectors, or into special education and retraining for a change of sector through conversion. For those seeking vertical career movement there were several steps on the ladder. Until recently there were in Scotland five levels of teaching post in primary and six/seven in secondary schools. Of all teachers in publicly funded primary and secondary schools in 2001 half were unpromoted, one third were in middle management posts (Senior Teacher, Principal and Assistant

Principal Teacher) and the remainder (12%) were in senior management posts (defined as Headteacher, Deputy Headteacher and Assistant Headteacher). There were significantly more promoted secondary than primary teachers (57% compared to 32 % in primary), although a higher proportion of primary teachers were headteachers (10%) than secondary teachers (1.6%) Global concern about recruitment in education has applied not only to initial entry but also to applications for headship in response to the falling level of interest amongst experienced staff in applying for senior posts in schools (e.g. Williams, 2004, Gronn and Rawlings-Sanei, 2004, Ross, 2002). In the face of reduced autonomy, attaining headship may be seen as one way to reassert control. However, reduced interest in applying for senior posts may reflect wider changes in career preference, with fewer striving to be at the top or resistance to the increasing accountability of school leaders. Significant changes in the expectations of school heads have reflected changes in work generally, and the modernisation agenda has focussed on headteacher as manager of financial, educational and staffing matters and as carrying key responsibility for the planning and implementation of school change. As with the work of teachers, intensification, exceptionally high workload and all round accountability are characteristic of new headship. The attractiveness of headship, as with teaching, is relative to the attractiveness of available alternatives. One alternative to both horizontal and vertical progression in teaching is to leave the profession and seek to develop a career elsewhere.

Career as stable choice: teacher retention

Teacher retention is clearly important. There is a basic need to have enough teachers especially in the light of the demographics of the profession with a high percentage of teachers approaching retirement in the next few years. In teaching there has generally been an expectation that, except for those who left for maternity reasons, the majority of teachers would remain in teaching until they retire. Although historically people have entered teaching at a range of ages and have left to pursue other jobs, often work for which teaching experience is expected or preferred (for example educational psychology and educational publishing) there has been an assumption that most will stay to retirement and in consequence the loss of teachers

has been seen as something to be explained. For those leaving for maternity, changes in legislation and maternity support have led to changed career patterns with teachers returning earlier after child birth, thus reflecting broader changed patterns of female employment. For example, significant change in the career patterns of three cohorts of female teachers is reported in London (Ross, 2002). He also highlighted the long-term nature of teacher supply problems in London, noting that in 1988 42% left within five years. While some of this may be explained by the loss of teachers to other areas of the country, it nevertheless remains an issue. For England as a whole similar figures caused concern in 2001. The demand for teachers may also change. In Scotland, in spite of falling birth rates and projected smaller demands for school places, there have been recent changes which require significantly more teachers. McCrone recommended reduced class contact targets. The Scottish Parliament gave an undertaking to reduce class size in P1-3 and S1 and 2. These led to dramatic increases in quotas for entry to ITE which may prove more difficult to fill with quality candidates (Draper and Sharp, 1998) than the smaller quotas of earlier years. Confidence that supply problems might be avoided without intervention was low and the focus of the McCrone review reflected this.

Teacher Retention is thus *a live issue*, in spite of lower numbers threatening to leave teaching in Scotland than elsewhere. Concern over teacher supply in Scotland reflects growing global concern about teacher supply, the age structure of the profession, actual teacher shortages over the border in England, changes in teachers conditions of work which have increased the number of teachers needed even with falling birth rates, and the memory of severe teacher shortages in the 1960s, which led to part-time schooling coupled with class sizes which would now be unacceptable. Some recent evidence (paper 6) suggested that teachers are leaving the profession at all points in their careers, rather than, as formerly thought, within the first five years and at retirement. While little is known about those who leave there is no evidence to suggest that it is those who do the job less well. At the same time there is also evidence that teachers who thought of leaving teaching often saw no alternatives to staying in teaching, believing they were unqualified for any other work (Draper Fraser and Taylor, 1995), a finding mirrored for doctors by Allen

(1994). This raises the possibility that some at least of those who stay do not choose this outcome.

A concept much drawn upon by those analysing supply issues is that of commitment to teaching, commonly defined as the degree of attachment to the profession, with the assumption that high attachment makes leaving less likely. Studies of job commitment in other areas of work (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1981) suggest that high levels of commitment (and high levels of job satisfaction) are associated with low turnover. The career models of Gregorc (1973), Fessler and Christensen (1992) and Huberman (1993) suggest varying levels of commitment over time. They argue that to sustain a stable workforce effort needs to be expended to encourage the development of commitment to the job. Drawing upon Schein's (1988) work, one can argue that commitment is fostered by good induction and early success in post, and positive recognition thereafter. Teaching like much other professional work is often deemed to be a vocation. In practice this sometimes means that employers assume that a sense of vocation will ensure commitment and that no other effort needs to be expended to foster it. Others who have explored commitment suggest that the concept is more complex. Four types of commitment were suggested by Nias (1980): commitment as vocation; commitment as profession; commitment as identity; commitment to career continuance. She saw the key difference between vocational/professional commitment and identity/career commitment being the willingness of the individual to give scarce personal resources to one's work. Alternative typologies have been suggested: commitment to education; to a set of ideals about education and society (where teaching is one way to achieve them); professional commitment to teach, to a career in the school, to subject based teaching. (Lacey, 1977.) A further set of concentric and possibly not mutually exclusive types would be commitment to learners, to colleagues, to school, to the profession, to teaching/education, to values which underpin becoming a teacher.

A further feature of the significance of commitment is suggested by Leithwood and Jantzi (2000) who argue that most change and innovation in teaching requires teachers being highly motivated and committed. They argue these are essential to

sustaining momentum when difficulties arise in the change process. Poppleton and Williamson (2004) however suggest that teacher commitment to change is selective by topic and that interest in promoting change is more likely when change itself relates to teaching and learning matters, rather than managerial or social issues.

In some cases however high commitment may lead to turnover. Woods (1981) illustrated the complexity of commitment when he identified a teacher who was highly committed to education and teaching and left because he could not work in the way he felt was most appropriate within the set of constraints within his school. Two similar examples arose in the ten-year stage of the longitudinal study. Commitment to teaching is thus a complex variable and only some dimensions would imply staying in teaching. However, even if clarifying the concept is difficult it seems likely that to ignore it is a perilous strategy and Schein's work offers a timely reminder that commitment should not be taken for granted but instead should be fostered.

Career as proactive or reactive and gendered

A further difference in conceptions of career surrounds the scope of the individual to choose stages in a career and the extent to which choices are externally controlled, constrained or illusory. As careers progress, where individuals are seen to have some scope for decision making and action, detailed and long-term plans may be encouraged (Lyons, 1981) which is put into practice over time. However the logic of having a plan makes assumptions about both the degree of stability which will support a long-term plan and the role of the individual as key agent in shaping the way a career unfolds. With newer expectations of job change through life and multiple careers rather than one job for life, the assumption of stability is questioned, and with rapid changes in the work and employment context, longer term planning looks less feasible. Others see career development as more incremental, and more responsive to a changing environment, with the individual as victim (Jepsen and Dilley, 1974) rather than proactive and there is doubtless more scope for some to be proactive than others.

Grant's (1989) work on gender and career suggests that women are less likely to have career plans than man and that this may reflect women's engagement in a wider range of roles, including domestic and caring parental roles, with work being not the only or primary role. Alternatively it may be seen to reflect the different and generally poorer work and career prospects available to women. Given that many women have different life and career plans from men due to possible absence for maternity, one might expect women to have more flexible career plans. Evetts (1994) highlights that women in teaching 'are concentrated in certain sectors and predominate at the lower promotion levels' (p.157). Work (for example by Evetts, 1994, Huberman, 1993) has suggested that teacher careers vary by gender as well as by sector in terms of both timing and trajectory Male and female teachers have been found to follow different career trajectories, and opportunities for career development are found to vary between primary schools (Pollard, 1985) and secondary schools (Cunnison, 1990). Ross (2002) found career paths were differentiated by both gender and sector and that links existed between lifestyle and career. Ross reported that there were differences in family size by sector and gender, with male primary teachers having fewer children than female primary or male secondary teachers, at the time when the data were collected, and half of female secondary teachers having no children. Using a cross sectional design, he retrospectively charted the careers of teachers working in these boroughs from their entry into teaching. The study was focussed on issues of retention, a key concern in London. While careers in London may be different for a variety of reasons he raises several issues pertinent to this discussion. With three cohorts in the sample, he found varying patterns of gendered career decision making over time.

Career changes: McCrone and career paths

The McCrone agreement (SEED, 2001) restructured the career options open to teachers in several ways including the introduction of measures designed to improve early employment and induction to changes to the range of promoted posts in schools. New induction arrangements now guarantee a training grade post for one year to all EU students who qualify as teachers in Scotland, reflecting findings that

effective induction supports retention and changes in teachers pay and conditions of work.

There have been changes in career routes with a flattening of the hierarchies of posts in schools from 7 (secondary) and 6 (primary) to four matched levels across all schools. This flattening has been managed through a job sizing exercise to match roles and responsibilities to levels of pay which has been a cause of considerable complaint (EIS, 2003b). In addition the new non-promoted high status career route (Chartered Teacher Status) has been introduced which enables teachers to enhance their pay without leaving the classroom.

Chartered Teacher: a new career option

CPD was criticised in the McCrone report for focussing on managerial roles and vertical careers rather than supporting those who sought to stay in the classroom. In this it reflected career trajectories, for there were no posts beyond class teacher which did not, in practice, involve some management responsibility. Following prolonged teacher industrial action in the mid 1980s the post of Senior Teacher was introduced and was intended to offer recognition to good classroom practitioners who did not seek to be managers. Over time however this post became absorbed into the management structure. Senior Teachers had been given specific responsibilities and limited time out of class in which to meet these and experience in this post became helpful in securing promoted posts with managerial responsibilities. The role had been hijacked.

Being a Chartered Teacher however would not imply a role with specific responsibilities and thus would not become part of the management structure. Instead the development of Chartered Teacher status introduced a mechanism whereby engagement in CPD could have direct salary implications. The Chartered Teacher Standard (GTCS, 2002), as an element of a four-part CPD framework, was developed through a lengthy process of consultation with the profession and other stakeholders. The final arrangements specified that Chartered Teachers would be excellent teachers leading by example in their classroom practice. The Standard is

both academic (at masters level) and professional, and teachers may enter the Chartered Teacher programme once they have reached the top (sixth) point of the main grade teachers scale and provided they have maintained a CPD portfolio. On completing stages of the programme, teachers receive an increment on the Chartered Teacher scale, which overlapped with the first managerial scale of Principal Teacher. Entry to the programme is open to all experienced teachers and is not restricted in number (unlike promoted posts). In terms of the autonomy/control debate the Chartered Teacher route offers scope for teachers to decide their futures, although restrictions to entry exist in experience, CPD record and capacity to pay programme fees. The entire development has resulted in a wider range of career options whereby teachers may increase their pay than was the case before.

In sum, these changes alter the range of career opportunities for teachers. Chartered Teacher status, rooted in practice-based learning has the potential for increased teacher autonomy.

Summary on work and career

Key concerns raised have related to the changing nature of work and of career. Particular attention has been paid to issues of autonomy and control, the nature of professional work, the changing nature of career and teachers' career aspirations and teacher retention. The next section will relate the papers submitted to the current concerns and issues about the work and careers of teachers.

Overview of the papers submitted

There is an assumption in the papers submitted that teachers are important actors in education and that their views and experience of their work are important. While this may not match policy makers' views of teachers, wider research on work would suggest that ignoring workers views' of what they do is, at best, unhelpful and potentially counter productive. Most of the papers submitted report the findings of specific empirical studies on teachers. Three exceptions each present an overview of several pieces of empirical work in order to address an issue. The series of papers begins with a focus on ways teachers are treated in their early time in post. This concern over the positive support of staff to enable a) the early success of new incumbents and b) the professional development of teachers both of which are likely to sustain long term commitment, and hence retention, continues to be evident throughout most of the subsequent papers.

A further issue raised in the papers is that of the human resource management of staff, from recruitment and induction to support and feedback and the provision of adequate opportunities for development. Management of workload and opportunities for consultation are also raised and questions about the overall design of teachers' work are advanced in several papers. The diversity of teachers in their employment and teaching experiences, support and feedback, career intentions and CPD needs are a regular theme.

Unlike some studies of career (Huberman, 1993, Fessler, 1997), horizontal and vertical career opportunities are explored and these raise questions about what would constitute appropriate CPD. Distinctions are drawn in the attitudes and concerns of those seeking horizontal or stopping careers and those who seek to progress their careers vertically. A model of career intentions is proposed and subsequently drawn upon as an explanatory and analytical tool.

The attitudes of those with similar career intentions are explored, for example a range of stayers is highlighted in several papers, and varying motives for stopping are identified. Thinking of leaving teaching and actually leaving are considered as

normal and natural parts of work and career. Key links with the preceding analysis are underlined.

N.B. The papers are each annotated at the end with an indication of their historical position relative to the McCrone agreement. (SEED, 2000, 2001.)

1. Early experience of professional development:

This paper draws on an analysis of a sample of teachers who completed their (two year) probation in 1995-6. The initial analysis analysed their patterns of employment while meeting the two year teaching requirement and a key finding here was the proportion that had spent most of their probation in intermittent and uncertain employment. While policies on probation and expectations of support for development during probation were based on the assumption of continuous employment in one school in practice, this had only been the case for half of the teachers who completed that year. This illustrates discrepancy between a policy and practice rhetoric of new teachers' entitlement to support and the reality as experienced. The teachers in the study had all completed their probation. In relation to retention issues, there remained a question over how many teachers began probation but withdrew before having completed the required two years.

The findings of the follow up survey showed considerable diversity in the experience of new teachers, varying provision of support for development and the fragmented, insecure and casualised employment noted by Sennett. However those on broken employment patterns were more likely to say they had developed substantially during probation than those in more settled situations. The paper proposed two explanations for this. The first was that those in intermittent and short-term employment experienced extreme hardship and consequently developed faster. The second and more likely explanation was that their understanding of the nature of teaching work was constrained by their focus on securing employment, their role as 'jobbing teachers' and their limited experience of longer term work with its attendant demands to engage with pupils and colleagues in the longer term. Short-term work in teaching was suggested as resulting in a narrower conception of teachers' work, against which professional development during probation could then be perceived to be more advanced.

This project led to a more detailed study of the experiences of those who completed probation on supply teaching contracts, which in turn led to the establishment of a GTCS working party to review probationary requirements. Findings were submitted to the McCrone Inquiry which subsequently described probation on supply as 'little short of scandalous' as a way of beginning a professional career. New arrangements for probation are now in place.

The paper also raises questions about the extent to which <u>generalisations about teachers' experience of work</u> can be made as well as the extent to which the professional needs of teachers were acknowledged and addressed by the employment policies in force at the time. Teachers' needs were found in this paper to be relatively invisible.

The assumed or default model of teaching may have been one of staff whose professional development needs could be identified over time and met, who were employed in settled situations in schools which in turn had their own development plans and stable teaching and management staffing. This paper highlighted how far the <u>actuality varied from the assumed</u> for a considerable proportion of beginning teachers and how <u>little control</u> over their situations was available to these teachers. (Pre-McCrone).

2. Converting from Secondary to Primary

This paper explored the experiences of those who converted their professional qualification to enable them to teach in an additional school sector and who were, in the terms used above on career, making a <u>horizontal</u> career decision The data were collected to contribute to the deliberations of a GTCS working party which was reviewing the guidelines and arrangements for conversion. Only a small proportion of teachers converted from Primary to Secondary teaching. Most converted from Secondary to Primary teaching. Through an analysis of conversion patterns and a survey of those who had converted, motivations underlying, and consequences of, conversion were studied. The paper focussed on whether those leaving secondary sought to <u>escape</u> their existing work or were particularly <u>attracted</u> to primary teaching itself. The nature of such attraction was also of interest: whether motives were more strategic (for example improved employment prospects) or more intrinsic

to the new situation. The assumptions made were that these career decisions, which involved considerable commitment on the part of the converting teacher, would be rooted in an informed understanding of what the new situation would offer and that converting teachers would have considerable experience in their original sector on which to build. The findings revealed how very <u>diverse</u> are the experiences of teachers. While most of the converting teachers were female, over half were returning from a career break and now sought a new challenge. Some had little or no experience in their original sector, while others had considerable experience. Most had only limited experience of the new sector, and that was most commonly as a parent rather than in a professional role. Most were surprised by the limited job opportunities in the new sector and found themselves in <u>casualised, temporary employment</u> and with <u>limited support</u> as probationers. The findings suggested that career decision-making was based on limited information in relation to knowledge of the new situation and its associated demands and employment opportunities. Few complained of dissatisfaction with secondary teaching and indicated a wish to escape, but some were working in subject areas offering poor employment prospects. While conversion strategically increased the range of <u>employment opportunities</u>, thus offering <u>flexibility</u>, this had not been an important factor in the decision making process. Rather, converting teachers intended to move sector, changing their identity to become a new type of teacher. Against a backdrop of the literature on work and career, these decisions which were mainly neither suggested nor sponsored by their employers could be seen to represent a <u>proactive move to take control of their work and careers,</u> and certainly conversion within teaching offered an alternative to leaving. The decision to convert thus lends support to the position of Acker and Day in exemplifying <u>teachers' agency</u> in the use of alternatives to shape the job in preferred ways. In relation to retention, conversion illustrates how individual teachers' career decisions operate outside standard workforce forecasting models. Pre-McCrone

3. Teachers' Careers: Accident or Design

This paper reports findings from the longitudinal study, at this point in its fifth year, and two further samples of more experienced teachers which were drawn from the

GTC register. The paper presents a model of career intention, constructed from responses to questions about past career action and future career intentions. It tracks intentions for horizontal and vertical career progression and shows how teacher at different stages and from different sectors are differently orientated to future career opportunities. The model identifies five future strategies: staying in the classroom, starting to seek promotion, stopping applying for promotion, moving, continuing to seek promotion and leaving teaching. It confirms that some teachers prefer horizontal and do not wish vertical careers. The model offers a framework for identifying differing professional development needs and is found useful in aiding analysis in several of the subsequent papers.

The findings themselves raise a number of issues which relate to both work and career. Firstly they suggest a stable workforce with over 90% of respondents expecting to stay in teaching. By five years some teachers had already begun to pursue vertical careers and applied for promotion (more in secondary than primary) and many more planned to seek promotion in the next five years. Vertical career intentions were popular. An analysis of those who identified horizontal future careers suggested a range of reasons for staying in the classroom, not all of which were associated with enjoyment of teaching, but reflected issues raised above about work and career. Some were thus more willing stayers than others. For some, the more managerialist nature of promoted posts had put them off applying. There is also evidence of the impact of casualised employment on career: the 'constrained' had not accrued enough solid experience to make credible applications for promoted posts. In addition, some who would have liked to leave did not believe they were employable in other work. This raises a new dimension of the retention problem which is rarely mentioned in the retention literature, that of retaining unwilling stayers, resulting in children being taught not by those who are highly committed to teaching but by those who do not see a way out of teaching. The paper also contrast different definitions of stable career: one which might be termed a more modernist view where stable means settled; others which might be termed more post-modern, where 'stable' is keeping to the same strategy (as in staying or moving) or where stability is about having enough experience at one stage to be ready to spring to the next.
Pre-McCrone.

4. Preparing a profile

This paper, conducted early in the cycle of studies on headship, explores the horizontal/vertical decision or in the above model's terms the stopping/moving decision in the context of applications for primary headship. It sheds light on attitudes and reactions to the changed nature of promoted posts, and the issue of recruitment to headship. More than half of eligible depute heads in the primary schools studied were either unlikely or only fairly likely to apply for headship. Although they saw themselves as both familiar with the role and experienced enough to apply, many had decided against further vertical movement: stopping was not unusual. This suggests a clear sense of agency, and of career choice rather than being a victim of opportunity, and thus supports an assumption that teachers will go as far as they wish rather than as far as they can in pursuing their careers. Others were however keen to pursue headship. The differences between them lay not in how they saw headship as a role but in the importance to them of aspects of the role, especially the more negative aspects. (In this there are clear similarities with Coulthard and Kyriacou's (2000) findings on undergraduates' views of teaching where it is the differential importance accorded to the more negative elements of teaching that distinguished those who wished and did not wish to teach). The deputes agreed that headship offered scope for autonomy and an opportunity to put their ideas into practice, but it was the disincentives that distinguished them. Those who decided headship was a step too far were particularly put off by the bureaucracy, accountability and workload of the post and the change headship would bring to their relationships with pupils and colleagues. Those keen to apply for headship accepted that these were part of the job. The career decisions reported here could be construed as exemplifying the different aspects of professionalism and commitment defined by Nias, and also the impact of managerialism in changing the headteachers' role thus making it less attractive to those motivated by specifically educational concerns. A further issue raised in the paper and one to which we will return later is the limited support for transition into headship offered by local authorities.
Pre-McCrone.

5. Making Sense of Primary Headship

This paper reports a further study within the cycle on headship. Here the early experiences of those who had sought and achieved headship were explored. They had believed they were familiar with the role. In the study their expectations were compared with their actual experiences and the surprises of headship were delineated. They had expected to feel autonomous, in charge of their school, able to take forward their ideas and to support the school's development through monitoring of teaching and learning. Instead they found their time taken up with making sense of the school's administrative systems, with little time for observing in classrooms. They found themselves in a role defined by managerialism and bureaucracy but with little scope for leading or for enhancing effectiveness. The workload was even higher than expected and they reported little support from the employing authority once appointed.

Human resource support for transition was limited. The CPD needs of new heads as developing managers were apparently invisible. The new Scottish Qualification for Headship was shortly to bring a new training structure but the greatest problems they found were in understanding and managing administrative systems. Absence of good human resource support for new heads left them vulnerable, less effective and less likely to have the early success which research on induction suggests is important for commitment, and undermined their confidence about being able to do the job of headteacher. While a partial solution would be to improve induction at school, and local authority levels the paper also suggests some element of job redesign or changed expectations of new heads might prove more effective. In the light of the literature reviewed above, the expectations of new heads as new-style managers of unfamiliar and highly bureaucratic systems were very high. They experienced the impact of accountability and bureaucracy without the autonomy for devolved action which new managerialism suggested it would bring.

Pre-McCrone

6. Leaving the Register

This paper focuses on retention. It reviews the records of all of those who left the professional register in one year and thus focuses on the fifth career option in the

career intentions model. The paper draws attention to four key issues: those who did not complete probation, the loss of experienced teachers, the assumption of teaching as a lifelong career and the diversity of teachers.

Those who did not compete their probation and move to full registration occupied a peripheral role in the system, were employed on short term supply or small scale contracts and had little access to continuing professional development opportunities. While on the one hand this might be seen as a reflection of fragmentation in working and a further example of casualisation by changes in employment practices, it was also clear from the records that for some of these teachers this was a path they had chosen, which fitted their preferences and requirements for flexible working. It is important to bear in mind the issues of work-life balance and centrality of work in considering the impact of these forms of working.

The picture emerged of teachers leaving the profession at all stages, not simply in the first five years and then at retirement. Implications are identified of the loss of experienced teachers for schools as professional communities and for the profession, and for the increased cost of recruitment, training and induction of new teachers. It is well known that teachers have left the profession over the years for a range of reasons including maternity, domestic changes and natural career developments which required or welcomed teaching experience (for example educational psychology, educational publishing and broadcasting). The discussion here centres on the impact of 'those left behind' when teachers leave, for example the disruption to collegial groups, the loss of stability in staffing. In addition there is the issue of the reduction in the pool of experienced teachers who might a) offer professional development support to less experienced teachers and b) have accrued the necessary experience to be able to apply for promoted posts, including headship. Mentoring support and recruitment to headship are thus threatened. Ritchie's (2004) study in New Zealand highlights similar issues, and identifies teacher movement as leading to the loss of cultural capital (teachers' knowledge of specific school systems and of appropriate pedagogy for the local group); the loss of social capital (teachers' relationships with students are lost, lost too are collegial relationships but these are not mentioned by Ritchie); the costs of recruitment of replacement staff.

The third issue relates to the expectation held of <u>teaching as a lifelong career</u> and the concept of the <u>payback period</u> for investment in initial teacher education, induction and support, which is further complicated by the continuing investment in CPD. While the concept of payback may in some sense be calculable against costs of marketing and recruitment, initial teacher education and induction, the recent greater emphasis on, and commitment to provision for, CPD inevitably requires a continuing investment in staff. <u>Changing notions of career</u> as individual, varying and multiple rather than following a single path are reflected in the findings of regular turnover in the teaching force.

Finally, variations in career patterns by route of entry into teaching are also highlighted and reflect again <u>diversity</u> in the profession.

Pre McCrone.

7. Secondary School Identities

This paper addresses the inevitability of seeking promotion, once vertical career moves have been made. It confirms that some teachers in management posts do not wish to pursue further <u>vertical careers</u>. It explores <u>perceptions of senior posts</u> and <u>career intentions</u> through a consideration of identities. The data are drawn from Secondary heads of subject departments and assistant headteachers, the latter being at that time the first step on the senior management ladder. The paper notes that the debate on the availability of enough good applicants for headship has tended to focus on the unattractiveness of <u>long hours</u>, <u>increased accountability</u>, and high rate of change as factors <u>discouraging staff from seeking further promotion</u>. <u>Individual choices about career</u> tend to receive little attention. This overlooks the fact that many may find posts within the career ladder that satisfy them, as found above in the longitudinal study and in the paper on primary deputes. The paper explores several facets of identity formed in school. Schools and posts offer different options for identification for example with the subject department and with the senior management team. Further sources of identity include those which are external to school.

This paper pursues how role and identity might be linked. Dimensions considered include career orientation, subject identity, management identity, out of school, disenchanted identity.

Within the career model all those involved at these stages have already sought promotion and their options are therefore to seek further promotion (movers), not to seek (stoppers), or to leave. None spoke of leaving. No significant differences were found between the teachers grouped by role but differences did arise by career orientation within role. Those wishing to continue on vertical career paths were similar in career and subject orientation. Those who shared a common intention to stop at their current career point had different shared career and subject orientations. Some gender effects and age effects were also found

Respondents raised the raised the issue of Acting posts as an opportunity to test out career intentions, and to familiarise oneself with the next post and build useful experience, but they questioned the equity of access to these opportunities. In addition, not all stoppers were content: some were unhappy, having been denied opportunities to build an appropriate portfolio of experience, in a similar way to those termed 'constrained' in the paper which introduced the careers model. Career intention was found to be necessary to understand the link between individual role and identity as a mediator.

The Career intentions of principal teachers and assistant headteachers also underlined the existence of different CPD needs at this level and confirm the need to differentiate within groups of teachers, rather than using an assumption of continuing interest in vertical movement in shaping CPD provision. This flags up again the limited human resource support available to teachers
Pre-McCrone.

8. Teacher Commitment and School Development

This paper, which reports findings from the longitudinal study in its tenth year, explores the links between teacher commitment and teacher retention, It compares different measures of commitment and relates them to teachers' job satisfaction. Commitment is measured in terms of direct statements on commitment and, through its link to retention, to thoughts of leaving and teachers' intentions to stay in or to

leave teaching. Taking satisfaction as a dependent variable, the findings suggest that thoughts of leaving may be a more useful indicator of underlying level of commitment than direct statements. The differences arising in the three measures do suggest however that the ways in which commitment is measured is likely to produce different results and that the concept of commitment to teaching remains ill-defined and hard to measure.

Although teachers were not found to be uniformly satisfied nor dissatisfied with aspects of teachers' work, the paper's broad findings on job satisfaction suggest significant continuity in reports about teachers' work between the five and ten year measures. Areas of most satisfaction continue to be focussed on immediate aspects of the job of teaching: relationships with colleagues, the intellectual challenge of teaching and, perhaps most surprisingly in the current climate, autonomy over work. Areas of greatest dissatisfaction continued at the ten-year stage to be society's view of teaching, workload and proportion of time spent on administration. . The subsequent fifteen-year study confirmed these again (Draper and Sharp, BERA 2004). While the areas of dissatisfaction support much other research on findings on teachers' work, the finding on satisfaction with autonomy is an outlier relative to other research, and it has been a consistent finding at five, ten and fifteen year stages. There is, as elsewhere, frustration and negative comment on initiatives and on accountability processes and procedures in the responses but there is high satisfaction with autonomy. This may partly reflect the difference that while elsewhere central specification of teaching has been a focus of much complaint, in Scotland there has been little attempt to specify how aspects of the curriculum should be taught, though there has been tighter specification of learning outcomes. Given the reputation of modernisation, the high satisfaction with autonomy is probably the most surprising finding in the papers and it is therefore discussed in detail in the final section.

The paper also reports that dissatisfaction did not directly link to intention to leave/retention, although satisfaction may of course be important for recruitment. As Wragg (2000) points out ' cheerful practitioners are better recruiters than slick advertising copy'. While satisfaction and commitment were related, commitment to work and retention were not strongly related. It was clear that a number of teachers who said they were not fully committed to their work intended to stay. This ties in

with the earlier career data which also revealed a group of <u>unwilling stayers</u>. The literature on retention has tended to assume satisfaction is directly associated with retention and has paid less attention to those who stay in teaching unwillingly. However, Fullan (1991) argues that commitment is important to support the change process: that compliance with change is not sufficient and that commitment is needed for effective change. If they are correct then in planning for change there are two elements to consider: one is that planning needs to take account of the fact that that not all are fully committed, the other is the need to seek to address those <u>factors that reduce commitment</u> and which may impede progress.

The McCrone Inquiry also found evidence of dissatisfaction from the same sources as outlined in the paper and the agreement sought to address them. <u>McCrone</u> made recommendations <u>about reductions in administrative and clerical work, in workload</u> and recognised the need to <u>enhance the public valuation of teaching and teachers</u>. McCrone also advocated <u>enhancing the professional autonomy</u> of teachers in relation to both teaching and the management of school and sought to increase opportunities for participation in school decision-making. This emphasis on participation was itself a reflection of a key aim of the new Scottish Parliament (Humes 2003). As noted above, in teaching this may be more difficult to realise in practice than McCrone suggested.

(Pre McCrone)

9. Career decision making in teaching: does classroom work satisfy teachers?

This paper draws together a range of empirical findings in order to address the question of whether classroom work is satisfying and the implications of dissatisfaction for teacher supply, provision of and engagement in CPD and the planning of change. It was written for an international audience and was initially presented at a conference in Hong Kong.

The paper asks 'Is there cause for concern over how teachers see their work and are there implications for supply?' Three quarters of the longitudinal sample of teachers with five years' experience were planning to seek promoted posts which would take them increasingly out of the classroom; three quarters had thought of leaving

teaching; of all those who left the register in one year, one third left with less than 15 years experience and one quarter with less than five years. The conclusion was that classroom work was less than appealing and that signs of dissatisfaction with teaching were evident. These findings fit the general literature on teachers' dissatisfaction. The paper considers motivation, retention of employees; trend to casualisation, patterns in career decision making.

It questions whether lifelong careers in teaching can be expected or are desirable and raises the issue of unwilling stayers. The paper argues that commitment needs to be nurtured and that a failure to adequately support new teachers puts the development of commitment at risk.

Casualisation is introduced as a contributory factor, with early casualised employment leading to poor support and little collegial contact. Friendliness of colleagues as an important source of high satisfaction is thus at risk, and poor early induction and support threaten commitment as well as engagement in professional development. Given the acknowledged importance of continuing professional development, inadequate support for early development may encourage the development of a sense of having reached a necessary level of competence, rather than supporting the development of a need for career-long learning.

Thinking of leaving is associated with general rather than specific dissatisfactions and is therefore harder to address. Initiatives and critical incidents had not been a major source of discontent.

The paper raises the concern that at any one time the profession may comprise those who are keen to stay, those with passing thoughts of leaving; those who feel trapped; those deciding to leave and those who have decided to leave. This is a daunting prospect when one considers the importance of commitment for the work of the teacher, and suggests yet again that diversity is characteristic of the profession.

It appears to be normal to think of leaving teaching. This suggests it cannot be assumed when planning change that everyone wants to stay in teaching, and when planning CPD it is necessary consider a range of provision: to support teachers to develop and innovate in classrooms; to support those who wish to seek promotion to ensure they make informed decisions about career moves; to assist some to leave teaching with honour.

This paper also raises the issue of job design, suggesting that some consideration of the design of teachers' work may be necessary, including recognition of the extended nature of the teachers' work (the educationist context of Keddie,1971), of the need to ensure teaching stays exciting for those who stay; of the need to ensure teachers can maintain a reasonable work/life balance and of the need to protect enough autonomy to avoid burn out. The paper also offer a reminder that alternative work opportunities are available to teachers as workers with intellectual, interpersonal and organisational skills and that teaching must be able to compete to retain the best.

The McCrone report and agreement subsequently sought to address several of these issues including recognising the role of CPD as having the potential to sustain motivation and stimulate teachers.

Pre McCrone.

10. Career-long professional development: dream or reality

This was a seminar paper presented to an audience of academics and policy makers in Hong Kong. CPD had been recognised as essential to taking forward educational change and reform, and models of adult learning make clear that it is important that people see relevance of new learning. Teachers' individual needs however remain relatively invisible and the paper argues for the recognition of teachers differing career intentions and associated CPD needs.

The paper reviewed the development of standards for initial teacher education and for headship but also reported a move to encourage CPD for all teachers. How might these needs be met? Relevant CPD will depend on career intentions and overlooking individual career plans means there is a tendency to miss what teachers are likely to see as relevant to them. The findings showed clearly that it cannot be assumed that all wish to progress up the ladder of promotion. This paper revisits the ten-year longitudinal data on satisfaction and on career intention and reveals changing career priorities for many in the sample. Far fewer intended to seek promotion in the ten to fifteen year period compared to the previous five to ten year stage. It is thus suggested that the 5-10 year period is an important stage for career intentions. In the paper the shift to stopping, to more horizontal career intentions, is attributed to the developmental stage of the respondents as they had mainly entered stages during

which new personal, domestic and financial commitments and responsibilities are commonly acquired. The respondents themselves explained their career intentions in terms of their personal situations and described strategic ways of managing the work/family life competition for their time. (Indeed the ten-year study was the catalyst for a further study of teachers as parents (Cosford and Draper, 2003). Some of both sexes had put their careers on hold while they focussed attention on the needs of their children, a strategy identified for women in the past by Evetts (1990). However, given the wider literature reviewed above it is important to recognise alternative explanations which locate the career decisions of this stable group of teachers in the changing context and nature of work and the consequent relative appeal of managerialised promoted posts and of horizontal career options.

The evidence on workload and work intensification also confirms the concerns that surfaced both before and during the McCrone inquiry, and the larger proportion of stoppers who do not plan to seek promotion form a critical mass whose CPD needs would require attention. Again McCrone recognised these needs in identifying an important function of CPD as being to motivate and inspire those who wish to continue to work and teach in classrooms. Such CPD is not likely to be easily provided. Specific posts and stages (like ITE, the end of the first year of teaching and entry to headship) might lend themselves rather more to the specification of competence standards for CPD but it will be more complex for the more open-ended horizontal career paths which are more varied and where the avoidance of promotion leaves perhaps more scope for autonomous shaping of work.

One aspect of the McCrone agreement is a stated aim of changing the working relationships between school managers and teachers in the direction of greater teacher autonomy (especially in relation to the negotiation of CPD) and greater teacher participation in school management. This suggests the possibility of moving out from under the bureaucratic hierarchical constraints of past practice towards a more traditional concept of professionalism, but in the current context of high accountability and monitoring it is difficult to see how this can be realised without significant change in relationships with those holding power beyond the school. Findings collected pre-McCrone, published post-McCrone.

11. Keeping the Show On the Road

It is generally agreed that Headteachers are important for school performance. Changes of headteacher are therefore of some import especially given the emphasis on strategic planning for school change. But Heads become ill, are seconded, move on and acting headship fills the gap until the Head returns or a new incumbent is appointed. The assumptive model of school leadership is one of trained heads offering stable leadership, engaged in school planning and development and playing a key role in the implementation of change strategies. Acting headship sits uneasily within this model. In a previous paper, experience as an acting head had been perceived to be useful in applications for senior management posts. This paper considers how developmental the role was for acting heads.

The study looked at the selection, preparation and support of acting heads by employers and sought an account of the experiences of the acting heads themselves. There were several discrepancies between the two accounts and while there was evidence of some understanding of the needs of acting heads the actual delivery of effective support was much less common. There were some similarities therefore between the experiences of acting heads and those of probationers prior to the introduction of the new induction arrangements. In spite of the predictable nature of the creation of many acting headships, over half had taken up their posts at very short notice, with little or no opportunity for handover or induction, or prior training and preparation. Many appointments were for unspecified periods of time or specified but subsequently changed. Most appointments were internal and unadvertised, were made on the head's recommendation and were deputies or similar. While this is understandable it also raises equal opportunities issues. Appointees mostly had little or no induction or subsequent support from the authority. In spite of this most felt they were expected not just to maintain but also to develop the school even during short (3 month) periods of acting headship. The experience was thus often unplanned, fragmented and casualised and there was little training, preparation or support.

The findings reflect little recognition of the need for workforce planning and support, even at a time when concern was being raised about the future supply of heads for

vacancies. Two authorities were exceptions. They had each created a pool of staff who had expressed interest in acting headship and who had subsequently been selected for the pool. They then received induction into the head's role and training for specific parts of the job and were thus enabled to take up an acting post when it arose. This system offered an opportunity for a realistic preview of the post and supported familiarisation with headship.

The paper exemplifies the low level of recognition of and response to the needs of those dropped into posts at short notice with little or no training and little support. The failure to provide induction and support leaves acting appointees vulnerable and exposed and suggests that the system, for all its <u>rhetoric on professional development</u> and training, retains a belief that some are born to be leaders and will cope. The developmental potential of acting headship for incumbents was generally overlooked and the findings as a whole reflect a <u>casualised and fragmented</u> approach to solving a problem. Sennett's analysis of <u>weak ties, risk and change, little time for consolidation and a need for flexibility</u> are all found here. Indeed, in Atkinson's terms (1984), acting heads were effectively offered <u>casualised peripheral</u> contracts for posts which, with the attribution of responsibility for school performance, would normally be defined as <u>core</u>.

During McCrone.

12. The Rocky Road to Headship

This paper was commissioned for a special issue of the Australian Journal of Education which focussed on headteacher/school principal supply. It draws upon the cycle of studies on headship and offers a review of the cycle's findings in the context of the changes in teachers' work proposed in the <u>McCrone agreement.</u>

Headteacher supply is recognised as currently an issue in some areas and types of headship but not others, but concern is expressed for future <u>supply</u> given the demographics of the profession. The paper reviews the <u>career options</u> open to experienced teachers who remain in the profession, drawing on findings from the cycle of studies on incentives for seeking and reasons for not seeking headship. The experience of acting heads is drawn upon to establish the significant scale of acting headship (10% of schools having been found to have an acting head in one year) and

to clarify the vagaries of the appointment process and the common lack of support for new heads.

The paper argues that headteacher recruitment and supply may only be fully understood by considering factors operating at system, generic headship, school and individual levels since factors at all levels have been found to influence the decision to apply for headship. Hence taking a system level orientation to headteacher supply, for example reviewing policy related to heads and overlooking school specific and potential headteacher levels where quite different factors operate would be too simplistic.

The paper emphasises the need to plan for the development of a pool of potential heads through retention strategies aimed at experienced teachers, and the effective provision and support of developmental opportunities like acting headship. The absence of effective human resource development is highlighted.

Possible changes in headship likely to follow from the McCrone agreement are explored, with a conclusion that while some aspects of headship sought by current potential aspirants to headship may be diminished through increased teacher autonomy and participation, the difficulty of managing demoralised staff might also diminish. The paper concludes by raising the issue of job design, arguing that if enthusiastic, committed teachers and experienced school managers find headship is not a job they wish to seek then perhaps headship itself needs to be reviewed. Attention is also drawn to the realism of the expectations of what can be achieved by heads.

The paper thus draws together many of the issues which arise in the earlier papers. It draws attention to the need for teachers' needs as workers to be better recognised. It flags that teachers make active choices about their careers. It identifies that changes in the nature of headship brought by the modernisation agenda make headship look unappealing to many and it raises again the issue of job design.

Post-McCrone.

Reflections on the issues raised in the literature and by the papers

In seeking to understand and explain the findings presented, this final section will comment on key areas which link ideas from the wider context with the papers submitted. These are: work and employment; career and diversity; autonomy; modernisation and McCrone.

Work and employment

There are clear examples in the literature of teachers' work being narrowly defined, overlooking the complexity and breadth of what is done within a teacher's role. That complexity includes significant variations in work by sector, including the range of interactions in which teachers engage with children and adults, with adults based in and out of school in the educationist context, in the sustaining of the educational process in a context defined by policies decided elsewhere. The modernisation tendency to reduce teaching to a set of technical skills reflects an instrumental understanding of teaching but may at the same time be matched by some teachers' narrower perceptions of the role, for example by those teachers (MacDonald, 2004), who resist acknowledging the educationist context and a goodly number of the probationers on short term contracts in paper 1.

The limited support given to teachers as employed workers has been partially obscured by the debates over professionalism and the focus on pedagogy in educational research. Little attention has been paid to issues of recognition and reward, support and motivation. Teachers are employed workers. As such, and unlike professionals who work in firms or partnerships, they are subject to control by employers. As old style professionalism is replaced by a new emphasis on accountability and managerialism, control by employers and policy makers has become more explicit. However this assumption of authority and control brings obligations in its wake to provide appropriate support as well as opportunities for development. Under constrained working conditions, assumptions about commitment and vocation being self-sustaining are likely to be untenable. The papers raise the issue of responsibility for the commitment of a professional working group. Are

teachers well served by the human resource procedures of their employers or are there inadequacies in the procedures which undermine the development or enhancement of commitment? In the earliest stages of working, induction procedures, recognised as key to long-term commitment, were found to be lacking in some areas and for many teachers. Paper 1 brought clear evidence of the experience and impact of casualised employment and this was followed up in subsequent work, which contributed to major changes in GTC policy. Papers 3, 6, 9 and 11 also raise this issue. The lack of support at times of job change was further reflected in paper 11 where newly acting headteachers were plunged into coping with high levels of demand as new incumbents. The absence of a clear preview of the new post and of effective support once in post arose in several papers: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12. If teachers are considered as workers, then their needs are poorly met by their employers, although it should also be acknowledged that as very diverse workers their needs may be difficult to identify and address. If seen as professionals their scope to act as such is severely limited by their employment arrangements.

Does Scottish teaching share the identified trend towards casualisation and problems with supply and retention which have been identified as the legacy of modernisation strategies? While there are several examples of casualisation in the papers, the new induction scheme is a partial instance of the restoration of stability to employment, at least to the point where teachers can begin to apply for main grade posts. While teachers leave at all stages of their careers it seems that many do not actually wish to leave even though many of them may think of it. There are fewer retention problems than elsewhere but supply *is* an issue in some places and in some subjects. The literature suggested that the concept of teacher commitment is important but complex and contested. Evidence in paper 8 suggests that several measures may be used to try to understand commitment and that they yield different answers. Changes wrought by modernisation have been perceived as likely to undermine commitment. It appears however that to understand teachers' work more fully it will be necessary to understand more about teacher commitment, its origins, its nutrients, the role of teacher choice and agency and the role of employers and policy makers in sustaining, increasing or diminishing it. Teachers who are committed to their work do not appear

to be hypersensitive about how they are treated but the public's view of teaching remains a continuing thorn in the professional side and it is clear that there are also a number who are less committed to teaching but who remain. To make assumptions about commitment for all who stay is clearly misguided, and unlike studies of commitment in private sector business, in a value-based profession the focus of commitment may be to children or to colleagues or to the educational process, rather than to employers or schools or to vertical career progression. Key satisfactions were associated for many teachers with elements of the core task of teaching and being a teacher: the friendliness of colleagues, autonomy over teaching and the intellectual challenge of teaching. Questions related to their day-to-day work showed the importance for many of working with youngsters and helping them progress. Several of the papers highlight resistance to seeking promotion or further promotion because of the way such a move would be expected to alter relations with colleagues and pupils. With increased managerialism, the probability of these changes occurring in working relationships is enhanced and one would therefore expect that the resistance to seeking promotion will increase. After the five-year career point, the proportion expecting to seek promotion decreases. While this could be (and has been) interpreted as a developmental shift, reflective of age and career stage, it could also be argued to be a consequence of changes in the context in which teachers work for example the impact of modernisation or changing expectations of work

Career and diversity

The papers reveal diversity in work, in work setting, in employment, in support, in opportunities for professional development. They evidence particularly clearly diversity in career intentions, decisions and actions, especially with regard to decisions about vertical and horizontal career progression They reflect the dynamic teacher career cycle model of Fessler and Christensen (1992) more than the age and stage models offered by Huberman (1993). Career was perceived by the teachers in the papers as offering scope for development and progression, as key dimensions of career, irrespective of whether career intentions were horizontal or vertical. These findings accord with Fessler's dynamic teacher career cycle in finding elements in both organisational and personal environments shaping career decisions. A range of

distinct career patterns and factors were identified for Scottish teachers including horizontal and vertical careers; five teaching career intentions of staying, starting, stopping, moving and leaving; stable and changing career intentions; contrasting views on promoted posts and the impact of personal issues on career decisions. These inevitably lead to a view of careers as diverse and raise issues about understanding the career plans of a large group of professional workers, especially given the changes in train. There are dangers in generalising across such a large occupational group with significant differences in working, for example by sector and by vertical position on the ladder. Teachers located their current position in the context of their past experience and future intentions. With the major changes in career opportunities now being introduced these forward plans are likely to require significant revision for many teachers. This may include the setting aside of some planned futures and the development of new intentions and there will be a need to understand these shifts.

The papers show that some teachers actively made decisions about their careers within a context which shaped opportunities. Papers 4, 5 and 7 suggest that considerable effort had been put into exploring career opportunities. In contrast career decision-making was found to be relatively uninformed in papers 2, 5, 11 and 12. This raises again the role of teachers as agents or passive recipients in their work and career development. The existence of a body of unwilling stayers, who would like to be doing something other than teaching but do not see alternatives being available and believe they are trapped by their own job-specific skills, complicates the issue further. They may be interpreted in MacDonald's terms (2004) as compliant or as victims rather than active agents in their own career, but they offer a clear example of a poor goodness of fit between person and post and career and they question assumptions about teacher motivation and commitment.

The autonomy of Scottish teachers

Do Scottish teachers, like those elsewhere, report significant reductions in autonomy? The new headteachers in the cycle of headship studies certainly expected more autonomy than they actually experienced once in post. However, the

satisfaction of the longitudinal sample with autonomy has remained high and stable (paper 8). This could mean that at the level of actual work teachers find themselves no more fettered than is comfortable for them. Several explanations can be offered. These include the difficulties for policy makers of impinging directly on classroom practice (as implied by Poppleton and Williamson, 2004), hence ensuring continuing autonomy for teachers. While it might be thought this would in practice apply to many teachers in different settings and that there is no reason to believe Scottish teachers are different from other teachers, loss of autonomy has been identified by some researchers, especially in England where higher levels of monitoring may operate. A further contributor to autonomy may be the degree of representation teachers have in policy making (especially through the GTCS and the teacher unions, but also through individual participation in the policy process) leading to a more consensual policy process than elsewhere. Thirdly satisfaction may be high as an artefact of the nature of satisfaction measures where satisfaction is the outcome of the comparison of expectation and experience.

Dissatisfaction with accountability, as found in the studies reported here would suggest that the first of these explanations is relatively unlikely. Expectations that the new Scottish Parliament should seek to ameliorate the 'democratic deficit' (Paterson, 2000) have been accompanied by enhanced opportunities for participation in the policy process, but at the same time recent concerns about the role of the Scottish Executive (Bennett, Fairley and McAteer, 2002) suggest that during the time of these studies the second explanation would be weak, given the scale of new policy making and the speed of its implementation.

Satisfaction with autonomy could be high with any level of expectation. Here for simplicity we shall focus on low and high expectation of autonomy. If expectation of autonomy is low then satisfaction may be high even with quite low levels of autonomy. Low expectation in itself suggests a different conception of professionalism to the traditional one explored earlier. If expectation is low, and there is satisfaction with little autonomy, the question then becomes are these teachers somehow different from others, in Scotland or elsewhere? Here one could

consider the nature of the longitudinal sample. Most of the findings derive from teachers who began teaching in the late 1980s and who perhaps had less experience of the remembered greater autonomy of their more experienced peers. For many of them probation was a chaotic experience offering little guidance and support and the introduction of a degree of structure in the new curriculum 'guidelines' had been welcomed. They could also represent a new generation of teachers who accept a new definition of professionalism which focuses on efficient performance against centrally set targets. Yet the comparison samples from 10 and 15 years at the five-year stage of the longitudinal study (reported in paper 3) produced similar results, so there seems little reason to assume this is an anomalous finding. Low expectations might also be associated with the culture of education. Humes' analysis of the policy process (2003) suggested that the culture of Scottish education and educational policy was authoritarian in nature, that a 'leadership' class decided and others had little say. In such a context it is not unreasonable to suggest that teachers might expect little autonomy, especially on wider matters. Teaching may even attract those who find lower levels of autonomy acceptable and MacDonald's compliant teachers may not be unusual. There is recognition across the findings, and especially in the papers on senior management posts in general and those on headship, of increased and unwelcome bureaucracy and accountability and of intensified work. There is a mirroring of negative public and political comment about teachers in teachers' dissatisfaction with the public's view of teaching, which did not match their own assumptions about themselves or their expectations about the profession they had joined. While these stand separate from views on autonomy, the question remains whether and how autonomy can be sustained in the face of extensive accountability and criticality, particularly where families and the public, whose views are a source of concern, are defined as 'consumers' of education. These points would tend to encourage an interpretation of low expectation of autonomy.

If expectation of autonomy is high and satisfaction is high then the image of reducing autonomy offered in most of the research on the impact of modernisation does not fit the findings. Either modernisation has not impacted or it has not changed autonomy or teachers may have high expectations that are satisfied, or autonomy may be more

complex. It may be that teachers seek and find high autonomy in areas that matter to them. In a complex job such as teaching some aspects of the work would be expected to be more central than others. If teachers are satisfied with autonomy in the parts of their work that are most important to them, then restrictions elsewhere may be of less concern. Or, they may manage them, (Acker, 1990, Mac and Ghaill, 1992) by being proactive in finding ways of sidestepping or subverting reforms in order to protect those aspects they see as most important in their work. While satisfaction with autonomy was high, they were neutral, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, with their influence over school policy and procedures (as with salary). Influence therefore may be either sufficient or unimportant. Experiences or changes perceived as peripheral may be of less import. This problematises autonomy suggesting that it might not be identifiable as a single entity and implies that further work is needed to understand the nature of the autonomy which teachers seek and what they find in their work, or how their work is designed. The emphasis by Poppleton and Williamson (2004) on varying levels of autonomy (low in relation to designing change but high in relation to implementing change) suggests such differentiation.

Finally the findings could be interpreted as a reflection of changes in teachers' lives and the centrality of work in those lives, which could alter expectations about work in such a way as to compensate for changes in autonomy in work itself. Greater focus on domestic and personal issues with increased family commitments was raised by teachers of both genders. If autonomy at work was diminishing that may have been less significant or even welcome with other major priorities in the life context. However this did not apply to all and it would be difficult to sustain an argument in this area given the diversity of intentions about career. These explanations while plausible are rather elaborate and teachers may be simply satisfied with autonomy. The issue for the present is to consider the relationship between modernisation and satisfaction with autonomy, since it appears that for whatever reason these teachers were not in the main disturbed by the impact of modernisation on their autonomy.

Modernisation

The modernisation agenda represents an attempt to introduce a whole raft of changes

in work. The papers reflect many of the findings of research (Hargeaves, 1994,Gewirtz, 2002, Ball, 2003, Menter, Mahony and Hextall, 2004) on modernisation and, particularly, the effects on workload and working practices producing intensified, bureaucratised work characterised by accountability mechanisms which shape working practice. There is clear evidence of workload with which teachers are dissatisfied and of a shift to greater accountability. The modernised more managerial nature of senior posts is a change which attracts some and repels others in terms of career intentions. The concept as well as the practice of the modernisation agenda has proved useful in this commentary in providing a lens to explore teachers' work and the findings in many ways resemble those from research elsewhere. However as an explanatory tool modernisation also has its limitations. Firstly the narrowness of the conception of teachers' work and teacher motivation implied by modernisation does not match the complex and self-involving nature of teaching. These teachers are not solely 'economic workers' (Bradley, 2000) instrumentally driven by a desire to make as much money as possible. They are mostly engaged with work which in the main they find professionally rewarding and there is clear evidence of satisfaction: the friendliness of colleagues, the intellectual challenge of their work, the autonomy they have over that work. That the attack modernisation has been seen to make elsewhere on autonomy at work does not appear to apply to these Scottish teachers, neither in the longitudinal study nor in the perceptions and expectations that prospective heads have of the role, requires an attempt at explanation. It is a different picture from that drawn by Gewirtz (2002), and others, who suggest that change has driven roughshod over teachers' autonomy.

One possible explanation is that modernisation in Scotland has assumed a shape which achieves a reasonably acceptable balance for some (these) teachers between control and autonomy. In Ozga's (2005) terms this would reflect the impact of the 'embedded practices' of teachers' work and the management of teaching on the 'travelling policy' of modernisation and vice versa. This would bring about an interaction of competing forces where autonomy (at a level acceptable to these teachers) has been protected or sustained but is combined with accompaniments of bureaucracy, accountability and regulation. If this is the case then the challenge will

be for teachers to draw on that autonomy to play a fully participative, rather than a compliant, role to ensure that the mechanisms of accountability and regulation reflect and serve professional as well as, or less plausibly instead of, political, economic and administrative goals. On this, the changes instituted by the implementation of the McCrone agreement become relevant.

The impact of the McCrone agreement

The McCrone agreement represents significant and deliberate changes in teachers' work and may be classified as reflecting modernisation in the changes which have been introduced. Accountability is built into McCrone-related developments and there was effectively an exchange of more flexible working for more pay. The agreement stratifies careers more clearly into managerial/promotional routes and others (including chartered teacher) and in this it has the potential to divide the profession. The potential headteachers in our samples were mindful of the likely impact of vertical progress on relationships with colleagues and pupils and for some this was a major factor in their decision to 'stop'. Throughout the period of the papers (and on into the fifteen year phase of the study, Draper and Sharp, 2004) there has been a reduction in the numbers of teachers intending to seek promotion. Extending the managerialist nature of senior posts may continue this trend while simultaneously encouraging 'staying' and 'stopping' teachers to overlook or underplay their scope for influence in the educationist context. Although McCrone offers scope for new influence through participation this may yet founder on teachers' unwillingness to engage or on schools', local authorities' or the Scottish Executive's unwillingness to release space for that influence to be effected. If teacher participation does increase, as McCrone proposes, then this may offer a vehicle for the negotiation of the balance between control and autonomy that sustains teachers' sense of self and professionalism, albeit possibly a redefined sense of professionalism, while at the same time meeting the need for the effective operation of schools. Chartered Teacher status is a further mechanism which is intended to combine firstly, commitment to progress and development with classroom-based work and, secondly, classroom based work with high status and recognition. Such high status, coupled with flatter structures could alter the old hierarchies of control in

schools. The success of these ventures will depend, at least in part, on an appreciation that an understanding of teachers' work and careers is important for the facilitation and effective support of teachers' engagement. The research reported here offers some insights into what will be needed. Success will also depend on a willingness to listen to what teachers have to say and the willingness of teachers to engage.

Conclusion

The papers make a clear case for recognising that teachers do complex and varied work. They do this work within a personal context of different life and career plans which may be more varied than in the past because, in the wider context, work and career are changing. There are dangers therefore in making broad assumptions and generalisations about teachers' work and careers. These dangers have implications for CPD opportunities in that 'one size fits all' provision is unlikely to meet teachers' varying needs and career intentions. If the diversity in teachers' working lives and careers is to be understood then they must be considered at levels of analysis which go beyond the macro-level where modernisation most easily resides. Changes in teachers' work related to modernisation show much similarity with changes in systems furth of Scotland, except that these Scottish teachers were unusual in that they remain highly satisfied with their level of autonomy and a number of different explanations are offered for this. The role of the Scottish context and its 'embedded practices' in shaping the 'travelling policy' of modernisation is argued to be important. Further work is however needed in order to understand better the autonomy teachers seek and experience. Major changes have been made to the structure and context of teachers' work and too little is currently understood about how these changes have impacted on the very diverse teaching profession. The current stages of the longitudinal study reported here, which include findings at 15 years, should shed further light on some of the unanswered questions which are raised in this commentary. If one accepts the view of Fullan and Steigelbauer (1991) that 'education depends on what teachers do and think' then understanding more about what teachers do and think is essential to future developments in education.

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