THE STATUS OF TEACHERS AND
THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN ENGLAND:
VIEWS FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PROFESSION

EVIDENCE BASE
for the
TEACHER STATUS PROJECT

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GLOSSARY

ADHD: Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder

AST: Advanced Skills Teacher

BPRS: Best Practice Research Scholarship

CARP: Creative Active Research Projects

CAQDAS: Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis

CLANSA: Certificate for Literacy and Numeracy Support Assistants

CMCR: Centre for Mass Communications Research

CPD: Continuing Professional Development

CSA: Classroom Support Assistant

CTC: City Technology College

CUREE: Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education

DES: Department of Education and Science

DfEE: Department for Education and Employment

DfES: Department for Education and Skills

EPPI: Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordinating Centre

EWO: Education Welfare Officer

EY: Early Years

FE: Further Education

FSES: Full Service Extended School

GCSE: General Certificate of Secondary Education

GNVQ: General National Vocational Qualification

GOR: Government Office Regions

GTC: General Teaching Council for England

HE: Higher Education

HLTA: Higher Level Teaching Assistant

HMI: Her Majesty's Inspectorate

ICT: Information and Communications Technology

IEP: Individual Education Plan

INSET: In-service training

KS: Key Stage

LA: Local Authority

LfM: Learning from the Middle

LPSH: Leadership Programme for Serving Headteachers

LSA: Learning Support Assistant

MA: Management Allowance

NCSL: National College for School Leadership

NCTJ: National Council for the Training of Journalists

NFER: National Foundation for Educational Research

NLNS: National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies

NNEB: National Nursery Examining Board

NPQH: National Professional Qualification for Headteachers

NQT: Newly Qualified Teacher

NTRP: National Teacher Research Panel

NU(E)T: National Union of Elementary Teachers

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OfSTED: Office for Standards in Education

ONS: Office for National Statistics

OT: Occupational Therapist

OTIS: One term in-service (in relation to SEN teachers)

OTTP: Overseas Teachers Training Programme

PGCE: Postgraduate Certificate in Education

PM: Performance Management

PPA: Planning, Preparation and Assessment

PRP: Performance Related Pay

PRU: Pupil Referral Unit

QCA: Qualification and Curriculum Authority

QTS: Qualified Teacher Status

RTP: Registered Teacher Programme

SATs: Standard Attainment Tests

SCITT: School Centred Initial Teacher Training

SEBD: Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties

SEN: Special Educational Needs

SENCO: Special Educational Needs Coordinator

SENDA: Special Educational Needs and Disability Act

SENIOS: Special Educational Needs in Ordinary Schools

SMT: Senior Management Team

TA: Teaching Assistant

TAAF: Teacher Assessment Application Form

TDA: Training and Development Agency for Schools

TEEP: Teacher Effectiveness Enhancement Programme

TLR: Teaching and Learning Responsibilities

TTA: Teacher Training Agency (now the TDA)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER 1: THE STATUS OF TEACHERS AND THE TEACHING PROFESSION: THE EVIDENCE BASE

Chapter Overview

This chapter
- introduces the Teacher Status Project and the case for research on teacher status
- considers briefly the meaning of 'status' with particular regard to the status of teachers and teaching
- summarises recent government policy which is potentially relevant to teacher status
- outlines the research design and timeline.
- links the three main aims of the project to the methods used to fulfil these aims

Introduction

This report forms the evidence base of the Teacher Status Project, a nationwide study of the status of teachers and the teaching profession in England. The research was carried out at the University of Cambridge Faculty of Education and the Department of Media and Communication[1], University of Leicester. It ran from September 2002 to December 2006, and was instigated and funded by the DfES. The project had three main aims, and the ways in which these were addressed is detailed below:

1. to establish a baseline and monitor changes in perceptions of the status of teachers and their profession, among teachers, associated groups and the general public, between 2003 and 2006
2. to understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes
3. to identify how perceptions of teacher status can be improved.

The instigation of the project followed a period of national and international concern about the recruitment and retention of teachers (Hoyle, 2001; Ingersoll, 2001; Menter et al., 2002; Smithers and Robinson, 2003, 2004; OECD, 2005), and interest in the status of the teaching profession (Delors et al., 1996; OECD, *ibid;* Cameron, 2003). Historically, the status of teachers was of concern in 1966, when the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) Special Inter-governmental Conference on the Status of Teachers (UNESCO, 1966) drew up an extensive list of recommendations designed to improve the status of the teaching profession. In England, teacher status was fundamental to the inauguration of the (then) National Union of Elementary Teachers[2] in 1870. Thus, concern about the status of teachers in England has a longstanding and far-reaching background, and the case for government action aimed at raising the status of the teaching profession could be seen as necessary and overdue.

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[1] Originally the Centre for Mass Communications Research
[2] Soon to become the National Union of Teachers (NUT)

The Labour government, elected in 1997, expressed a commitment to raise the status of teachers and the teaching profession. Prime Minister Blair[3] referred to the government's programme of far-reaching reform and investment in terms of

> *the need for a step change in the reputation, rewards and image of teaching, raising it to the status of other professions such as medicine and law, which are natural choices for our most able and ambitious graduates. Teaching has this status in many other countries. There is no good reason why it shouldn't have it here too (Prime Minister's Speeches, 1999, p, 1446) .*

These reforms, set out in the Green Paper, Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change (DfEE, 1998), included the introduction of performance related pay, investment in buildings and educational technology, proposals for workforce reform, the introduction of national standards for Qualified Teacher Status, the implementation of national strategies for the teaching of literacy and numeracy in primary schools, and the establishment of a General Teaching Council for England (GTC). On the re-election of a Labour government in 2001, Estelle Morris, then Secretary of State for Education, elaborated the call to raise the status of teachers. Her speech to the Social Market Foundation, entitled 'Professionalism and trust: the future of the teaching profession', set out the government's notion of a new professionalism for teachers, saying that, '*we have a golden opportunity to secure major improvements in teachers' self-confidence and status*' (DfES, 2001a Foreword). Speaking at the end of 2001, she envisaged the teaching profession as a source of national pride, becoming a top profession in ten years' time. Morris's proposals (DfES, 2001a: 19) defined a teacher *professionalism for the modern world* which her predecessor, David Blunkett, had forecast as '*...a new vision of the profession which offers better rewards and support in return for higher standards*' (DfEE, 1998).

Having set down the immediate context of the Teacher Status Project, we look briefly at the concept of status itself before listing the reforms with particular relevance for teacher status. These topics are treated at greater length in the Teacher Status Project Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006) and the Summary Report which accompanies this Evidence Base.

The concept of 'status'

A primary task of the Teacher Status Project has been to consider the concept of status itself. The project took an empirical approach to discovering how teachers and those associated with teachers would define a high status profession, and subsequently how these groups perceived the status of the teaching profession against this definition. Part I of this report presents these definitions. This approach recognised the multifaceted nature of the concept of status that is intertwined with a number of related concerns around esteem, prestige, respect, autonomy, authority, confidence, professionalism and professionalisation, and enabled us to take into account a wide range of potentially influential factors, such as region, for example, as well as practical contexts such as pupil and teacher characteristics, and the working conditions and quotidian tasks expected of teachers.

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[3] In speeches at Moulsham School, Chelmsford, Prime Minister's Speeches, 1998, p. 1192; January 1999 National Association of Head Teachers Conference , Prime Minister's Speeches, 1999, p, 1446

For practical purposes, two existing definitions have been particularly helpful. Carol Adams, as Chief Executive of the GTC, provided the following working definition at a one day conference on the status of teachers in 2002:

> *Having the respect of clients and the public at large, being trusted to act in clients' best interests with in a framework of accountability, (and) experiencing appropriate reward for a complex and demanding role (Adams, 2002).*

Eric Hoyle's (2001) definition of status and his analysis of factors affecting teachers' status has afforded us a useful conceptual framework, which we elaborate in the Summary Report. Briefly, he suggests that status is comprised of three related facets: prestige, esteem and status. *Occupational prestige* is defined as the public perception of the relative position of an occupation in a hierarchy of occupations. *Occupational status* is the category (that is as a profession or not) to which knowledgeable groups, such as civil servants, politicians and social scientists, allocate a particular occupation. *Occupational esteem* is the regard in which an occupation is held by the general public by virtue of the personal, rather than technical, qualities, such as care, competence, conscientiousness, that practitioners bring to their work. According to Hoyle, teachers' *prestige* is comparable to semi-professions such as social work, rather than the major professions such as law or medicine. Teachers' *occupational status*, despite having achieved official professional status in the 2001 census classification of occupations, is limited by the image that people hold of teachers, principally because of the nature of the work that they do, with children. Teachers' *occupational esteem*, Hoyle suggests, is shaped by the public's own experiences at school, but is the only aspect of their status that teachers can influence themselves, through their practice.

We turn now to note the recent policies which have implications for teacher professionalism and status.

Recent policies relevant to teacher status

A host of government policies over the past few decades have the potential to influence the ways in which teachers and others, inside and outside the teaching profession perceive the status of teaching. A little more information is provided in our Summary Report, but the main relevant policies are simply listed here, along with signposts to some of the places in this report where the relevant evidence is discussed.

Structural changes, including the establishment of different categories of schools such as
- Beacon schools (phased out in 2005)
- Leading Edge Partnership Schools, and Primary Strategy Learning Networks (from 2004)
- Training schools (to be replaced by Specialist schools)
- Specialist schools
- Academies (previously City Academies)
- School Federations

School classification: a threefold classification of poorly performing schools established by The Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) (In effect whilst the present data were being collected in 2003-5.)

- schools with *serious weaknesses* which had not necessarily failed an OfSTED inspection but were weak in certain areas and could be given targets to meet prior to the next inspection.
- schools in *special measures* were failing to maintain an acceptable standard and considered to have serious problems which, if not rectified, may result in the replacement of the school management, budgets and ultimately closure of the school.
- schools *causing concern* were those in which local authorities could intervene where mutual agreement with the school management was not achieved, in order to prevent schools falling into either of the first two categories.

Teachers' perceptions of the impact of these and other structural changes on their status and the status of the teaching profession are included in Part III of this report.

Other major policy initiatives included:

- *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2004): the seamless provision of child support services, on school sites, with teachers as member of multi-professional teams to support children and their families. Schools will participate in the development of community structures and reach out to offer a range of services on school sites to local communities

- *Reform of the school workforce* (DfES, 2002): a three–year, phased, policy allowing teachers non-contact time for planning, preparation, and assessment (PPA) and release from a range of clerical and 'non-teaching' tasks. Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTAs), qualified through additional training, would work closely with teachers, and be involved in teaching and learning activities, taking small groups and whole classes in the teachers' absence.

- Diversification of the career paths for teachers such as the post of Advanced Skills Teacher (AST), set up to recognise and reward exceptional teaching skills, and to secure ASTs' cooperation as part of a network of specialist consultants, who would spend 80 per cent of their time in their own schools and the remainder disseminating their best practices to teachers in other local schools.

- Pedagogy and curriculum related policies including the Key Stage 3 Strategy, the Primary National Strategy (DfES, 2003), which supplanted the National Literacy (DfEE, 1998b) and Numeracy (DfEE, 1999) Strategies (NLNS), and emphasise excellence and enjoyment within the pedagogical arrangements prescribed in the NLNS. The Strategy encouraged primary schools, in partnership with local authorities and communities, to take ownership and develop a more innovative curriculum tailored to local needs but also to ensure that the following targets[4] were met:
  - 85 per cent of 11 year olds achieve level 4 or above in English and mathematics
  - 35 per cent of 11 year olds achieve level 5 or above in English and mathematics
  - 85 per cent of all primary pupils attain level 4 at Key Stage 2.

The effects of these policies on teachers' work and sense of status are explored in the school based case studies reported in Part II of this report.

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[4] These are targets set for 2006

The Teacher Status Project: research design

The Teacher Status Project design consisted at its simplest of national surveys conducted in the first and final years of the project, with a programme of case studies, and a longitudinal survey in the intervening years. The media study followed similar pattern with surveys for comparative purposes conducted in 2003 and 2005, and interviews and a retrospective survey in 2004. The strategies used to respond to each of the three overarching research questions were as follows.

Question 1 : What was the 'baseline' level of perceived status of teachers in 2003 and how did this change, if at all, by 2006?

This question was addressed by means of surveys which would provide quantitative data enabling us to ascertain change over time in perceptions of teacher status. The survey findings are reported in Part I of this report.

- Public opinion was surveyed in 2003 and 2006. A Module on teachers and teaching was inserted in the Office for National Statistics (ONS) Omnibus surveys of March 2003, and February 2006.
- Media coverage of teachers, teaching and education was collected in rolling week surveys conducted between March and September of 2003 and 2005. Archive press coverage was surveyed dating back to 1991. Interviews were conducted with education correspondents about how their professional practices and views might affect the presentation of news concerning teachers and educational issues. This strand of the project was carried out by the (then) Centre for Mass Communications Research (CMCR) at the University of Leicester.
- Teachers' perceptions of their status were surveyed in 2003 and 2006. National cross-sectional questionnaire surveys were conducted in 2003 and 2006, and a sub-sample of the 2003 participants completed a longitudinal survey in 2004 and 2006.
- Teachers', associated groups'(including teaching assistants, parents and governors) perceptions of teacher status were surveyed by questionnaire in 2003 and 2006.
- Trainee teachers' views were surveyed in 2003, 2004 and 2005, with a longitudinal sample of the 2003 participants continuing in their first two years as teachers.
- Local Authority recruitment managers were surveyed by email in 2004 on how status might affect recruitment and retention in their areas. This survey is reported in the Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006)

Question 2: What are the factors that teachers and others think influence their status, and why?

This question was addressed principally by means of a national programme of school based case studies and focus groups with specific groups of teachers.

- Case studies of 15 primary and 9 secondary phase schools, drawn from schools which responded to the 2003 survey according to a set of selection principles including region, school type, size and achievement level, and ultimately according to a school's willingness to participate. Interviews were conducted with senior managers, teachers, teaching assistants, governors, parents and children. The case studies were conducted in 2004 and 2005. Return visits were made to a selection of eight schools in the next school year to ascertain whether views had changed, and how policy implementation was progressing. These 'Type I' case studies are reported in Part II of this report.

(The findings of the group interviews with children are reported in Chapter 20, Part IV.)

- Case studies of 11 secondary and 5 primary or infant schools, selected for their particular status were conducted to explore the potential effects of the new structural changes in school provision on teacher status. They included beacon, training, specialist schools and academies, as well as schools causing concern or in, or just emerged from, special measures. These 'Type II' case studies are reported in Part III of the report.

- A third form of 'case study' was included. These were based on focus groups of teachers whose perceptions of their status within the profession might shed light on factors which teachers think influence their status. The groups were :
  - minority ethnic teachers
  - teachers involved in Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and/or research
  - teachers working in Pupil Referral Units
  - supply teachers
  - early years teachers
  - special educational needs (SEN) teachers and co-ordinators.

  These 'Type 3' case studies form Part IV of this Report.

- Finally, group interviews with children carried out in the 'Type I' case study schools have been treated as 'focus group' studies and form the final chapter, or 'last word' of this Evidence Base.

Question 3: How can perceptions of the status of teachers and the teaching profession be improved?

This question was explored in our surveys and case studies, and has been addressed through examination of all sources of evidence. It underpins the Implications of the project which are reported in the accompanying Summary Report, but is addressed also in the survey findings and the participants' words which are presented throughout the evidence presented here.

The timing of the various strands of the project is shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1   The Teacher Status Project research activities

Date	Research activity
September 2002 - February 2003	• Design, piloting and preparation of questionnaires for surveys of public opinion, teachers and associated groups (parents, governors and teaching assistants) and sample construction
March - September 2003	• Public Opinion survey I • Teacher survey I • Associated groups survey I • 1st trainee survey • Media project 'Rolling week' survey I
October 2003 – January 2004	• Analysis of surveys (ongoing) • Development and piloting of case studies programmes and procedures
February - July 2004	• 'Type I' school case studies: schools selected according to school phase, size, region and achievement level from those which participated in the surveys • 2nd trainee survey • Recruitment Managers email survey
September 2004 – July 2005	• Longitudinal survey of teachers • Type 1 school-based case studies re-visits • Type 2 school–based case studies: schools selected for their particular status • Type 3 case studies: focus groups of teachers working in e.g. PRUs, in CPD and research, and minority ethnic teachers
March – September 2005	• Media Rolling week survey • 3rd trainee survey (June) • Analysis of case study data (ongoing)
October 2005- February 2006	• Preparation for 2nd round of surveys
March – May 2006	• Public Opinion Survey II • Teacher Survey II • Associated groups survey II
June – December 2006	• Continued analysis and writing

Structure and contents of this report

The structure of this report follows the main strands of the project as follows:

Part I presents the findings of the surveys of public opinion, teachers, associated groups and the media research, Chapter 2 reports the findings of the public opinion surveys, Chapter 3 the Media survey and Chapter 4 the findings of the individual teachers surveys. Chapter 5 presents the findings of the surveys of teachers' associated groups including the trainees, parents, governors and teaching assistants.

Part II presents the case studies based in schools drawn from the survey, within four main themes that have underpinned our understanding of status and professionalism and are paralleled by recent policy initiatives. After an initial chapter introducing the case studies and their methodology (Chapter 6), Chapter 7 concerns teachers' personal sense of status and identity. Chapter 8 reports on the relationship between internal school relations, notably the effects of workforce reform, and teachers' sense of status. Chapter 9 deals with teaching and learning issues, central to teachers' professionalism and autonomy. The findings related to external relations in response to the extending participation agenda are in Chapter 10.

Part III presents the case studies of schools selected for their particular status, whether representing success or difficulties. Case studies of schools with specialist, beacon, training or academy status are reported in Chapter 12 whilst case studies of poorly performing schools are reported in Chapter 13.

Finally in Part IV, the teacher focused case studies, and the pupil interviews are reported. Focus group studies of particular groups of teachers, and interviews with groups of pupils were conducted and each separate group of participants is reported in a separate chapter. Minority ethnic teachers (Chapter 14); early years teachers (Chapter 15), SEN teachers (Chapter 16), teachers working in Pupil Referral Units (Chapter 17) , supply teachers (Chapter 18) and teachers engaged in CPD and research (Chapter 19). Last but not least are the pupils' views. Chapter 20 is a compilation of the pupils' views collected in meetings with small groups of the oldest and youngest students in the case study schools.

PART ONE: THE SURVEYS: PUBLIC OPINION, MEDIA, TEACHERS AND ASSOCIATED GROUPS IN 2003 AND 2006

Part I of the report includes the surveys conducted in 2003 and 2006 together with longitudinal surveys in the intervening years. These comprise the Public Opinion Survey, the Media Study, the Teacher Surveys, Trainees Surveys and Surveys of Associated Groups.

CHAPTER 2: THE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

OVERVIEW AND MAIN FINDINGS

This chapter reports the findings of the surveys of public opinion on teachers, teaching and teacher status conducted in 2003 and 2006, as part of the response to the first overall research aim, which was to establish a baseline, and monitor change in perceptions of teacher status over this three year period. The aim of the public opinion surveys in 2003 and 2006 was to find out how, or whether, public opinion on the status of teachers changed during this period. The surveys were conducted by the Office for National Statistics. They addressed the following questions:

- What are public attitudes to the attractiveness of a teaching career, and why are these attitudes held?
- Which occupations do people consider most similar in social status to teachers and headteachers, and why?
- What do people think of when asked about the activity of teaching?

Face to face interviews were conducted with adults in national random stratified samples of 1815 people in 2003, and 1252 people in 2006, from initial samples of 3000 and 2000 households respectively.

The main findings were:

- Public opinion was almost evenly divided on whether teaching was an attractive career. In 2006, 47 per cent agreed that teaching is an attractive career, compared with 49 per cent in 2003.
- Men over 55, graduates, parents of school-age children and people in the East Midlands were more likely than their respective counterparts to say that teaching is an attractive career.
- Pay, seen as an unattractive feature of a teaching career in 2003, was seen more often as a positive feature of teaching in 2006. *Having to control a class* was the most common reason for thinking that a teaching career is unattractive, in both 2003 and 2006.
- Primary and secondary teachers were considered most similar in social status to social workers by 40 per cent of the participants in 2003, and 35 per cent in 2006, largely because they work with children or young people. Primary and Secondary headteachers were likened most often in social status to management consultants, because of the level of responsibility associated with the job, and headteachers' authority to make decisions at work.
- The activity of teaching was thought of as *educating* by 30 per cent, and *responsibility for children* and *controlling a class* by at least 20 per cent of those with positive and with negative views of a teaching career in 2003 and 2006. In 2006, however, *dealing with difficult behaviour* had become a salient image of teaching for 26 per cent in 2006, compared with 18 per cent in 2003, of those who found a teaching career unattractive.

As part of a four-year study of the status of teachers and the teaching profession being conducted by a team of researchers from Cambridge University, sets of questions were inserted into broader public opinion surveys undertaken by the ONS in 2003 and 2006.

These surveys were carried out by means of face-to-face interviews with 1815 people aged 16 and over in March 2003 (821 men; 993 women; 1 gender not given) and with 1252 people in February 2006 (542 men; 710 women)[5]. The randomly selected samples were stratified by region and socio-economic factors. Respondents were presented with questions which required them to compare the status of teaching with that of other occupations, explored their general perceptions of teaching and asked whether they regarded teaching as an attractive career.

Is Teaching an Attractive Career?

It seems reasonable to assume that people's opinions of the status of teachers are likely to be related to their overall attitude to teaching. This factor was explored by asking respondents to say to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement, 'teaching is an attractive career'. In both 2003 and 2006 the sample divided more or less equally between those who agreed with the statement (49% in 2003 and 47% in 2006) and those who disagreed. Although this difference is small, together with the corresponding rise (from 49% in 2003 to 50% in 2006) in the proportion disagreeing, the overall picture is of a statistically significant fall in the attractiveness of teaching as a career (chi-sq; $p < 0.01$; small effect size[6]).

In 2003 significant differences were seen when the figures were broken down by age-range. In 2003, older people were more likely to respond positively than were younger people when asked whether teaching is an attractive career. This was in line with the results of other studies, in which children and young people appeared to have more negative opinions of teaching than adults (MORI 2000, MORI Schools Survey 2001b). By 2006, however, taking the sample as a whole, this age-related difference seemed to have disappeared with all three groups less likely to express a positive opinion. The oldest age group's opinion has dropped sharply from 53 per cent positive views in 2003, to 48 per cent in 2006. The only consistent age effect across the two surveys was among people aged 45 to 64 (not shown in Fig. 2.1) where a significantly higher proportion of respondents rated teaching as unattractive. Thus, in 2003, 54 per cent of this age group responded negatively, and in 2006, 58 per cent did so (chi-sq; $p < 0.01$ in 2003; $p < 0.05$ in 2006)

When men's and women's opinions about the attractiveness of a teaching career were compared in 2003, we found that men aged 55 and over were significantly more likely to be positive about a teaching career than women of that age (chi-sq; $p<0.01$) . This gender difference was maintained in 2006, although fewer people in both sexes gave positive views (chi-sq; $p<0.05$) (Figure 2.1).

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[5] The reduced sample size is due to changes made by ONS in April 2005 to their Omnibus survey such that surveys are conducted in 12 rather than 8 months of the year but the number of addresses contacted is reduced from 3000 to 2000 .

[6] In a survey with a large sample, statistical significance is frequently achieved. Effect sizes, however, which are not dependent on sample size, indicate the extent to which an effect would be noticeable in the general population. Up to 0.2 is considered a small effect size, 0.5 to 0.8 is medium and over 0.5 is large (see Cohen, 1988)

Figure 2.1: Older men's and women's views of teaching as an attractive career
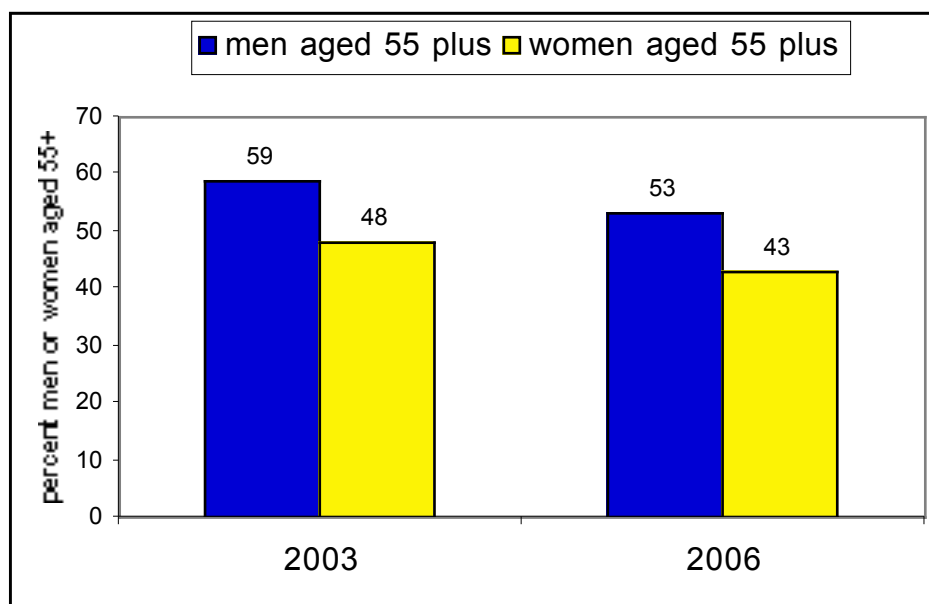
In 2003, very few differences emerged when the data were analysed by various demographic factors, but in 2006 some interesting differences were found. One of the few differences in 2003 was that employment status was significant. Of those involved in higher managerial or professional occupations 47 per cent were positive about teaching compared with 54 per cent of those involved in routine occupations (chi-sq; $p<0.01$, small effect size). In 2006, this significant difference had disappeared, with just 50 per cent of those in routine occupations finding teaching an attractive career. The proportion of those in professional and managerial positions with positive views (48 per cent in 2006) had hardly changed.

A potentially important change emerged when the data were broken down in terms of educational qualifications, ranging from degrees to no formal qualifications. In 2003 there were no significant variations but in 2006 significantly more graduates were expressing a positive view with 56 per cent of the graduates viewing teaching as attractive compared with 47 per cent of non-graduates (chi-sq; $p < 0.05$; small effect size). This is a notable development and is at odds with the findings of previous studies which reported that graduates and those with higher qualifications tend to have more negative opinions of teaching (MORI 2001a, Johnson and Hallgarten 2002).

In 2003 we noted an 'active parent effect' in some sections of the survey, but not in relation to the overall attractiveness of a teaching career. In 2006, 54 per cent of respondents who were parents (or partners of parents) of children up to the age of 16 years, viewed teaching as an attractive career, compared with 46 per cent of the non-parents, a significant difference (chi-sq; $p< 0.05$; small effect size) .

Analysis by Government Office Region in 2006 revealed that people in the East Midlands were more likely to give positive views (chi-sq; $p<0.01$, small effect size), whereas those in the South West and North East (both chi-sq; $p<0.05$, small effect sizes) were more likely to see teaching as unattractive. The only significant swing in opinion since 2003,

however, was from positive to negative views in the North East. In 2003, 42 per cent held negative views, but in 2006 this proportion was 66 per cent (chi-sq; $p<0.01$; medium effect size).

Reasons for seeing teaching as an attractive or unattractive career

Respondents were then asked why they had responded as they had. No prompts were offered but the reasons given were, where possible, coded against a list based on the classification of the open ended answers obtained in the 2003 survey. Table 2.1a sets out the four most frequently cited reasons given in 2003 and 2006 by those who viewed teaching positively and Table 2.1b, the four most frequently cited reasons given in 2003 and 2006 by those who viewed teaching negatively. As can be seen from the tables, the first three reasons given by those viewing teaching positively relate to altruistic and vocational factors, in contrast to reasons given by those seeing teaching as an unattractive career, who seem to base their perceptions on working conditions. The reasons appearing in these lists are almost unchanged from the top four reasons given in 2003. The only difference is that in the top four reasons given by those who viewed teaching negatively, *lack of discipline or authority* has replaced *status of teaching* (cited by 14% in 2003, but only by 10 per cent in 2006). Although not among the top four reasons, two new, overwhelmingly negative, reasons for people's opinions appeared in the 2006 survey. Each was offered by 4 per cent of the whole sample. These were *government interference/ and targets* and a perception of teaching as a *difficult, hard job today'*

Table 2.1a: Reasons given for viewing teaching positively

	2003	*2006*
	%	*%*
Interesting work	26	26
Influencing children	23	26
Working with children	24	26
Pay	18	20
Total Respondents	*888*	*582*

Table 2.1b: Reasons given for viewing teaching negatively

	2003	*2006*
	%	*%*
Workload	18	16
Lack of discipline or authority	11	12
Pay	21	12
Total Respondents	*882*	*625*

The percentages citing each reason are given for both 2006 and 2003 and there is one very interesting shift. In both 2003 and 2006, *pay* was amongst the top four reasons given

by both groups.   There has, however, been a dramatic change. In 2003, *pay* was cited by more of those who saw teaching as unattractive (21%) than those who saw it as attractive (18%).   In 2006, this situation had reversed with 20 per cent seeing pay as a positive reason for teaching and only 12 per cent seeing it as a negative reason, as shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: Pay as a reason for opinion about the attractiveness of a teaching career
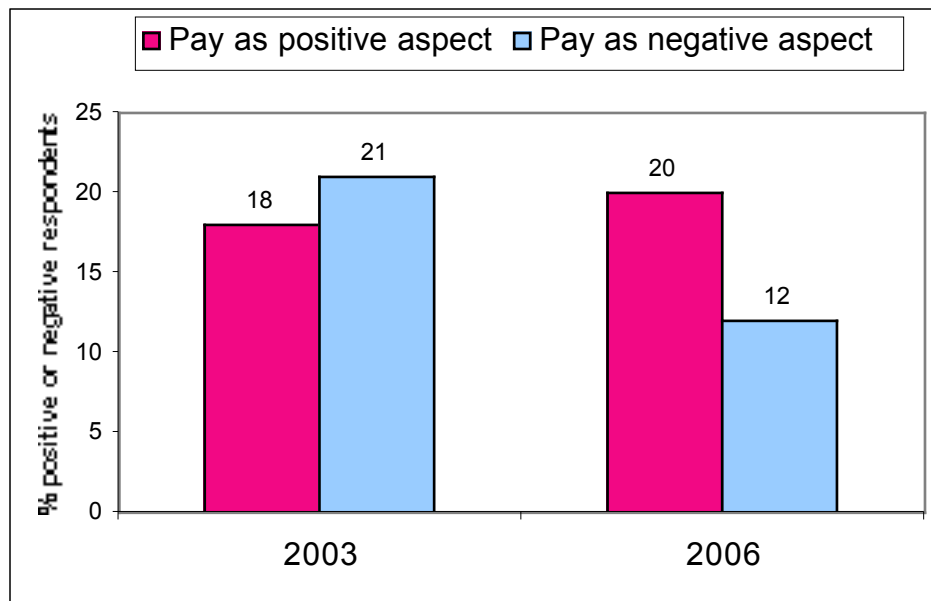
In 2003, when pay was seen as a negative aspect of a teaching career, this was due to men's attitudes. In 2006, this bias had disappeared.

There were some interesting and consistent patterns when the two sets of data were broken down by age range (see Figures 2.3a and 2.3b). The 2006 sample of 16-24 year olds was very small (N=90) but amongst those viewing teaching positively, 16-24 year olds were more likely to cite (26% in 2003 and 30% in 2006) and *working with children* (28% in 2003 and 35% in 2006).   16-24 year olds were also more likely to cite *pay* as a reason amongst those viewing teaching negatively (39% in 2003 and 21% in 2006). Indeed, it is noticeable that, irrespective of whether teaching is viewed positively or negatively, the importance of pay declined quite markedly by age group, and was never cited by more than 15 per cent of those aged 55 and over.   In both surveys an exceptionally small proportion of 16-24 year olds mentioned *lack of discipline* (1% in 2003 and none at all in 2006). It is possible that this arises from the fact that this group has recent experience of life in the classroom while older people are more likely to be dependent on impressions drawn from second-hand, or media reports. On the other hand, among the 16-24 year olds who saw teaching negatively, 25 per cent mentioned *children's attitudes/behaviour* and 23 per cent mentioned *having to control a class* as negative reasons in 2006, in common with their older counterparts. Thus it may be that

the youngest group do not perceive a lack of discipline, but they are aware of children's attitudes and having to control a class as challenges for teachers.

Figure 2.3a: Reasons for seeing teaching as an attractive career, by age group
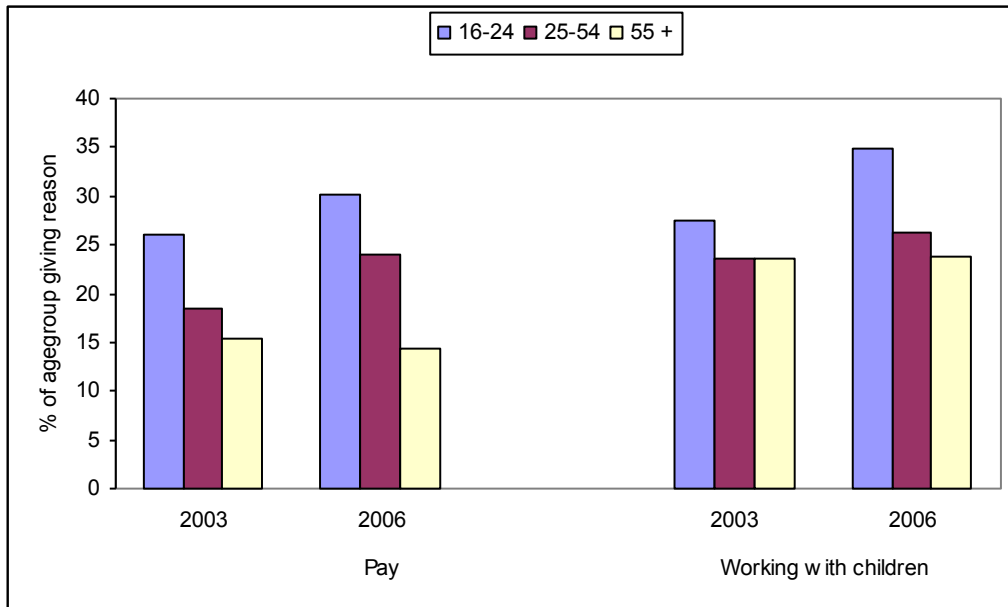
Figure 2.3b : Reasons for seeing teaching as an unattractive career, by age-group
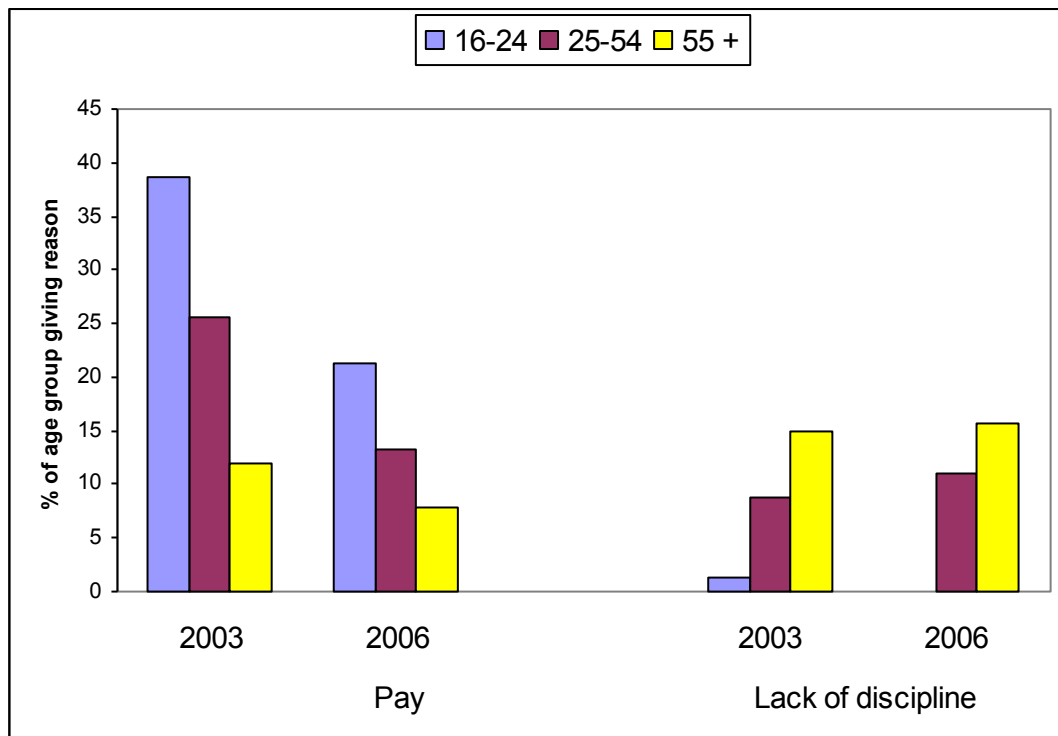
The status and image of teaching as reasons for attitudes to teaching as a career

In 2006, as in 2003, just 10 per cent of the sample referred to the status of teaching as a reason for their attitude to teaching, and the overall difference between those with positive or negative views was not significant. In 2003, however, status was seen as a negative aspect of teaching by significantly more of the 55+ age group. There was no difference of opinion in the younger age bands in 2003. In 2006, the difference among the 55+ age group had disappeared. The status was no longer a significant negative feature for any age group of participants. The media image of teaching was again mentioned by relatively few people, (and by only one person in the 16 to 24 age group) but when it was mentioned, in the two older age bands, media was seen overwhelmingly as a negative feature, just as in 2003.

Strength of feeling about teaching as a career based on reasons given

Altogether, 37 different reasons were given for seeing a teaching career positively or negatively, 29 of these were given significantly more often as either positive (13) or negative (16) reasons. Among the 13 positive reasons four were given by 20 per cent of the respondents or more and six were given by 10 per cent or less. Among the 16 negative reasons only one was given by over 20 per cent (34% referred to *having to control a class*), the next highest frequency was 16 per cent (workload) and 11 were given by 10 per cent or less (7 of these were under 5%). In other words, these distributions differed greatly and suggested a greater weight of highly salient positive reasons compared with a single dominant negative reason and a large number of much less salient reasons. Therefore, in order to obtain a composite view, taking account of all of the positive and all of the negative reasons, we calculated an overall 'strength of feeling' score which takes into account the proportion of respondents who used each reason to support a positive or a negative view. This was converted to a percentage of the total number of reasons given. This 'strength of feeling' value discriminates better between the different subgroups in the sample, than the differences based on single reasons. As shown in Table 2.2, the overall strength/intensity of negative feelings has reduced significantly. Furthermore, although the gain in positive scores is not significant, the strength of the positive feelings is significantly higher in both survey years.

Table 2.2: Changes in strengths of feeling from 2003 to 2006

Survey year	% strength of positive reasons	% strength of negative reasons	Total respondents
2003	6.12	4.96 **	1815
2006	7.08	4.46 **	1252

(** p<0.01, Mann Whitney, small effect size)

Thus whilst there was an overall decrease in the proportion of respondents who agreed that teaching is an attractive career, the intensity of this negative feeling as expressed through a variety of reasons was significantly reduced, and the strength of positive feeling in terms of reasons given, outweighs the strength of negative feeling. In other words, overall, reasons for being positive about teaching gained more support than reasons for being negative.

On the basis of these strength of feeling scores, there was no difference between men and women. Analysis by age groups, however, revealed significantly more positive strength of feeling in the under 55s in 2006 (p< 0.01: Kruskal-Wallis; small effect size).

Figure 2.4: Strength of feeling about the attractiveness of a teaching career, by age group
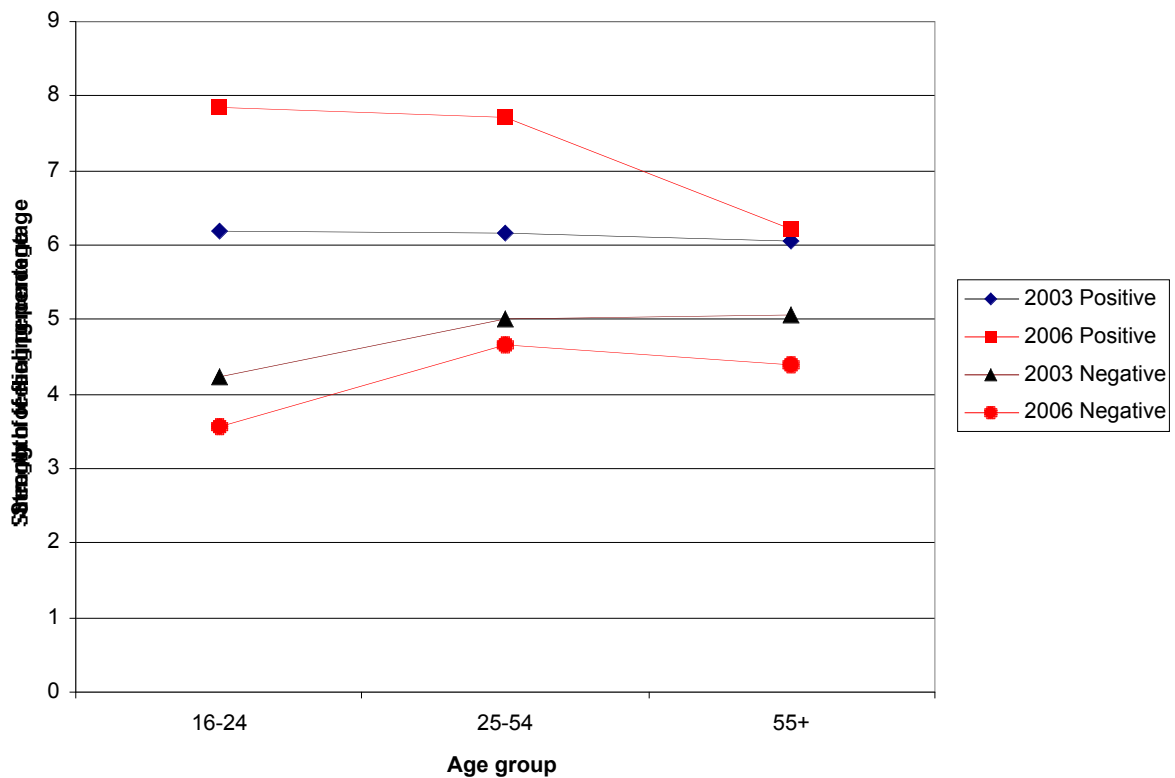
Comparisons of the status of teachers with other occupational groups

The surveys sought to explore how teachers were viewed in comparison with other occupational groups and in many ways the general findings replicate those of other studies. Teaching was perceived as a middle ranking profession, with very few respondents drawing comparisons with the law and medicine. Given that primary teachers have typically been awarded lower status than secondary teachers (e.g Hoyle 2001), it was surprising that the primary and secondary teachers were linked to the same occupational group.

Primary and Secondary Teachers

Half the respondents were shown the following list of occupations and asked which of the occupations in the list was most similar in social status to that of a primary teacher, and half were asked the question in relation to a secondary school teacher.

accountant, barrister, doctor, librarian, management consultant, nurse,
police officer, social worker, solicitor, surgeon, vet, web designer

Table 2.3 shows the four most commonly selected responses which are the same for both a primary and a secondary teacher.

Table 2.3: Occupations most similar in status to teaching

Primary teacher		*Occupation of similar Status*	*Secondary teacher*	
2003 %	**2006 %**		**2003 %**	**2006 %**
41	35	Social Worker	40	35
17	17	Librarian	12	12
19	21	Nurse	11	9
6	5	Police Officer	10	11
910	*625*	*Total Respondents*	*903*	*623*

In both 2003 and 2006, social worker was by far the most commonly selected occupation for both primary and secondary teachers. After social worker, nurse, librarian and police officer were selected most often, as most similar in status to both primary and secondary teachers, regardless of whether respondents viewed teaching positively or negatively.

In 2003, women were more likely to match both primary and secondary teachers with social workers, while the social worker comparison for secondary teachers weakens with age group. In 2006, there were no gender differences, but people aged 55 or above elevated the rating of librarian above that of nurse for the primary teacher.

Respondents were then asked why they thought their chosen occupation was most similar in status to that of a teacher. They were shown a list of possible factors as a guide and asked to identify up to three reasons. Table 2.4 shows the most common reasons given for selecting a social worker as being most similar in status to a teacher.

Table 2.4: Reasons given for selecting a social worker as most similar in status to a teacher

Reason for choice	Primary Teacher		Secondary Teacher	
	2003 %	2006 %	2003 %	2006 %
Working with children/young people	72	72	69	69
Level of responsibility	31	40	31	39
Nature of Work	30	39	32	40
Total respondents	*371*	*220*	*363*	*218*

The same reasons appeared in the top three for both those comparing social workers with primary teachers and those comparing them with secondary teachers. Furthermore, the increase in the numbers choosing *level of responsibility*, and *nature of work* are almost identical *working with children/young people* topped the list for both groups with around 70 per cent consistently citing it. The other two reasons were each cited by around 30 per cent of respondents in 2003 and by approximately 40 per cent in 2006.

In the case of primary teachers, significant numbers of respondents had chosen nurses and librarians as being most similar in status. For those comparing primary teachers with librarians, *working with children/young people* (cited by 43% of respondents in 2003 and 47% in 2006) was again the most popular response. For those comparing primary teachers with nurses, *working with children/young people* dropped to second place (35% citing it, both in 2003 and 2006); in 2003 the most popular response was *level of public trust* (38%) and in 2006 it was *level of responsibility* (36%).

In 2003 we did not ask our sample to make a direct comparison between primary and secondary teachers, and were surprised that the comparison of these teachers with other occupations produced the same results for teachers in both phases. As noted above, both were compared in status, with identical proportions, to social workers. In 2006 respondents were asked directly whether they thought that there was any difference in the status of primary and secondary teachers. Table 2.5 shows the responses. Men were significantly more likely to rate secondary teachers as being of higher status while women were more likely to report *no difference* (chi-sq;.$p < 0.05$; small effect size)

Table 2.5: Primary and secondary status compared: gender difference

	Men %	Women %	Total %
Yes, primary teachers have a higher status than secondary teachers	8	6	7
Yes, secondary teachers have a higher status than primary teachers	51	45	48
No, there is no difference	41	48	45
Total respondents	**529**	**699**	**1228**

Overall, very few respondents (just 7%) deemed primary teachers of higher status but when the data were broken down in various ways a number of groups emerged who were significantly more likely to elevate their status: specifically respondents with no formal educational qualifications (10%); those with routine and manual occupations (9%); those from Scotland (16%); and those describing themselves as Black African/Caribbean British (28%) were likely to do this, although this last group were very small in number (just 18) (all p<0.05, chi-sq; small effect sizes) .

Respondents were then asked the reasons for their answers and Table 2.6 shows the reasons where frequency of response differed significantly depending on whether primary or secondary teachers were seen as having higher status.

Table 2.6: Primary and secondary status compared: reasons for answer

Reason	Primary higher status %	Secondary higher status %
Influencing children's lives	44	23 **
Qualifications/knowledge required	12	24 *
Workload	9	21 *
Salary	5	17 **
Total respondents	**85**	**588**

(* p<0.05; ** p<0..01;chi-sq; small effect sizes)

As can be seen from the table, primary status is attributable to the *influence on children's lives*, while secondary status derives from the *level of qualifications/knowledge required*, *workload* and *salary*.

These perceived differences between primary and secondary teachers are worthy of note because they may indicate lack of public awareness that the same qualifications are required to be either a primary or a secondary teacher, and of primary teachers' equivalent workloads and salaries.

Headteachers

Respondents were also asked to compare the status of headteachers with that of the other occupations on the list given at the beginning of the last section. Again, half the sample was asked which of the occupations in the list was most similar in status to a primary school headteacher and half were asked the question in relation to a secondary school headteacher. Table 2.7 shows the six most common responses.

Table 2.7: Occupation most similar in status to headteacher

Primary headteacher		*Occupation of similar status*	*Secondary headteacher*	
2003 **%**	**2006** **%**		**2003** **%**	**2006** **%**
31	29	management consultant	34	31
14	13	social worker	9	8
10	10	doctor	12	11
11	10	accountant	9	8
8	8	police officer	6	9
7	6	solicitor	10	9
903	*625*	*Total respondents*	*911*	*623*

The lists are again similar for both groups with management consultant clearly the most common match. In 2003, 16-24 year olds were significantly less likely than other age groups to match management consultants with primary headteachers (18% compared with 31% overall) but in 2006 this difference, still in the same direction was no longer significant (22% compared with 29%). In both 2003 and 2006, librarian, surgeon, nurse, vet and web designer were selected by under 5 per cent of the overall sample, but 5 per cent of the 2003 sample likened secondary headteachers to barristers in social status and in 2006 this proportion had risen slightly, but not significantly, to 6 per cent.

Respondents were then again shown the list of possible factors and asked why they thought their chosen occupation was most similar in status to a headteacher. Table 2.8 shows the most common reasons given for selecting a management consultant as being most similar in status to a headteacher.

Table 2.8: Reasons for selecting management consultant as most similar in status to headteacher

Reason for choice	Primary Head		Secondary Head	
	2003 %	2006 %	2003 %	2006 %
Level of responsibility	62	54	60	62
Authority to make decisions at work	52	45	48	51
Qualifications required	18	27	17	17
Nature of work	20	26	18	30
Public recognition and respect	16	15	18	20
Total respondents	*282*	*180*	*317*	*191*

Those comparing management consultants with primary headteachers and those comparing them with secondary headteachers came up with very similar lists. In both 2003 and 2006 *level of responsibility* topped both lists with *authority to make decisions at work* in second place.

As regards secondary headteachers, in the 2006 survey there was very little change in the proportions of people giving each reason. The only reason for choice of management consultant that was given by significantly more people in 2006 than 2003 was 'nature of work' (30% compared with just 18% in 2003: a significant rise ($p<0.05$)). The reasons for choice of management consultant as similar in status to a primary headteacher showed greater variation however. There was a potential reduction in recognition of the primary headteacher's *level of responsibility* and *authority to make decisions at work*, but more people selected *qualifications required* and *nature of the work* than in 2003. Whether these changes in perceptions owe anything to respondents' knowledge of primary headteachers' work, or to that of management consultants, we cannot know, of course.

Perceptions of the activity of teaching

As shown above, about 40 per cent of respondents selected *nature of the work* as a prime reason for comparing teachers with social workers in 2006, and over a quarter cited it as a reason to compare headteachers with management consultants. In order to explore general perceptions of the nature of the work that teaching involves, respondents were asked to name the three things that first came to mind when they thought about the activity of teaching. Again, no prompts were given but where possible the responses were coded against a pre-constructed list. Table 2.9 sets out the five most common responses. The table shows the percentage of respondents who mentioned each of these aspects and the data are broken down according to whether or not respondents viewed teaching as an attractive career.

Table 2.9: Activities associated with teaching

Activity	2003		2006	
	Negative %	Positive %	Negative %	Positive %
Educating	27	30	31	32
Responsibility for children	20	22	20	22
Controlling a class	21	22	20	18
Inspiring children	15	19	17	17
Dealing with difficult behaviour	18	14	26	17
Total respondents	*882*	*888*	*625*	*582*

Interestingly, in both 2003 and 2006 the same five activities were suggested most often by those who viewed teaching as an attractive career and those who did not. Overall there is little change between 2003 and 2006 apart from the fact that, in 2006, a higher proportion of respondents cited *dealing with difficult behaviour*. This particular activity was cited by significantly more of those viewing teaching negatively in both 2003 and 2006 ($p<0.01$; chi-sq; small effect size), and moved up from fifth to second in the rank order of activities most commonly suggested. According to Hoyle (2001), if a common public image of teaching is that of dealing with difficult behaviour, this is a barrier to improvement in teachers' occupational status. Respondents with a negative view of teaching were also significantly more likely to mention notions of stress, *large workloads* and *bureaucracy, government control* and *imposed changes* (not shown in table). When the data were analysed across the three main age bands few consistent patterns were found when comparing 2006 with 2003. In 2003, activities concerned with managing pupil behaviour and *controlling a class* were mentioned less often by the 16 – 24 year olds but became increasingly salient in the middle and oldest age-bands. We found then that the 16 – 24 years were more likely to mention more directly *educational* issues such as *inspiring children, planning lessons'* and *preparing children for their future careers*. In 2006, the activity of *dealing with difficult behaviour* was now the second most commonly mentioned activity by the 16 – 24 year olds as well as the older age groups, being third in the middle age band and second among the 55 plus age group. That said, *controlling a class* was second and third respectively in the middle and oldest age groups in 2006, but only fifth for the 16 – 24 year olds, coming after *inspiring children* and *responsibility for children*. This continues, therefore to provide some support for the notion that the 16 – 24 age group, who have the most recent experience of school, also have a more realistic, or perhaps more varied perception of teachers' work. To test this, further analysis of the 54 activities that were mentioned was conducted. This revealed that, overall, significantly more of the youngest age group (17%) mentioned activities related to *teachers as professional educators* (that is, educating, marking work, preparing lessons, organising activities and teaching methodology) than the 55 plus age group (12%) ($p<0.05$; Mann Whitney; small effect size).

These data were analysed to explore whether people with school-age children, and hence perhaps, more contact with and interest in schools, also have distinctive views. In 2003 what might be called an 'active parent' effect was found. People with dependent children were more likely than non-parents to cite *responsibility for children* and *preparing children for future careers* and were less likely to cite *controlling a class*. In 2006, however, 'responsibility for children' was the only activity for which there was a significant difference, with those with dependent children again more likely to cite it. Nevertheless this active parent effect combined with the younger people's perceptions of the activity of teaching offers a little support for the idea that those who are more likely to be directly in touch with teachers have a more positive overall impression of teaching. Their views seem more likely to be mediated by personal experience and be less dependent on reports which might highlight dealing with difficult behaviour. This, according to Hoyle (2001) would have a positive effect on teachers' occupational esteem.

Finally, another interesting change was that, in 2006, the 16 – 24 year-olds had reversed their position on pay. In 2003 the notion that teaching was *not well paid* was in the ten most common perceptions of teaching for this age group, whereas in 2006, *not well paid* had dropped out of their top ten, and the perception that teaching was *well paid* just entered it. This change parallels the positive swing referred to earlier in people's reasons for seeing teaching as attractive or not.

Summary

The report has presented the key findings from the survey of public opinion on teachers and the teaching profession conducted in February 2006 by the Office for National Statistics in their Omnibus survey. It has compared the responses of over 1200 adults in England with those of a larger sample of people (1815) who answered the same questions in March 2003. To sum up a complex set of findings, it would seem that in the three years between 2003 and 2006, the general public is slightly less positive about the possibility of a career in teaching. On the other hand, when asked to give reasons for their answers, the overall strength of the various reasons for a positive view of teaching outweighed the negative ones, and there was a reduction in the negative strength of feeling. Another important change is that teachers' pay is now more likely to be perceived as a positive aspect of teaching, but lack of discipline and *dealing with difficult behaviour* has become more prominent in people's perceptions of the job. By 2006, the status of teaching was no longer seen as a negative feature of the profession, even by people in the 55 plus age group. Overall, younger people, and parents of school-age children, although aware of teaching as having to deal with difficult behaviour, were more likely to perceive teaching as the work of professional educators, educating, marking work and preparing lessons, whereas their older counterparts focused more often on teaching as dealing with difficult behaviour and controlling a class. This could reflect a difference in perceptions between recent first-hand experience of teachers' work, and perhaps impressions gained from second-hand accounts and media reports. It is to the media reports that we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: THE MEDIA SURVEY

Introduction and Overview

Objectives

The media strand examines the extent and nature of news coverage of education, teachers and the status of teachers in the national and Regional press, with a view to establishing how news coverage of teachers, teacher status and the teaching profession has changed over the lifetime of the project (ref. Project Objective 1) as well as over the much longer period from the early 1990s to the present. Recognising that education correspondents and editors play a key role in shaping the nature of news coverage and, by extension, the public image of teachers and education, the media strand further explores the professional practices and beliefs of education journalists vis a vis media coverage of education, teachers and teacher-status (ref. Project Objective 2).

Method and data

The media study combines a systematic analysis of news coverage with an interview-based analysis of education correspondents and editors, and comprises four analytical foci: 1) Two surveys of national and Regional newspaper coverage of teachers and education during 2003 and 2005; 2) A retrospective analysis of news coverage from the start of 1991 till the end of 2002; 3) An analysis focusing specifically on the representation of teachers over the full period from 1991 till 2005; and 4) An interview-based study of leading education correspondents and editors.

Key findings

1. The increasing political priority given to education since the election of the Labour government in 1997 was reflected in an increase in overall amount of coverage as well as in evidence that the education beat – on both national and Regional newspapers – has grown in prestige and editorial importance and now ranks among the top three or four areas of news coverage. News coverage focusing specifically on teachers became relatively more prominent between the early 1990s and the present.

2. While a prominent strand of reporting overall focused on the negative image associated with teachers in court cases for sexual and other misconduct, a large portion of such headlines were about teachers as victims, reported in a way which often conveyed sympathy with teachers. The sympathetic outlook manifested itself in the form of reporting on an increasingly diverse range of problems, increasingly articulated by the teachers themselves, and portrayed by the newspapers as legitimate claims or as unreasonable pressures.

3. There was much explicitly positive or supportive reporting of teachers, increasingly so towards the latter end of the 1990s and through 2005, and not infrequently casting teachers as 'heroically' fighting against extraordinary outside pressures on them, the education system and on students. The identifier 'teacher' itself was shown to carry powerful positive connotations. While much coverage focused on confrontation between teacher unions and government or government-related institutions, there was markedly less emphasis on confrontation – and

concomitantly more emphasis on support and help to teachers – in the most recent period.

4. The misconduct of individual 'bad' teachers was highly newsworthy and consequently figured prominently in the headlines, but it was extremely rare to find headlines which showed teachers – as a body of professionals – as anything other than dedicated and committed professionals struggling against a broad range of serious problems and pressures. Earlier news coverage of the 'teacher bashing' mould has given way to a more supportive and less confrontational style of reporting, which gives teachers a prominent 'voice' and recognises, as genuine, the problems and pressures faced by teachers.

5. A key indication of the credibility and status accorded teachers in news coverage was the finding that teachers, headteachers and teacher trade unions, along with government and higher education sources, were among the most prominent 'voices', the most prominent sources directly quoted in the news. While government sources were the single most prominent directly quoted sources in the national newspapers, this place was taken by headteachers in the Regional newspapers. The teaching profession, then, enjoys remarkably high visibility as a key voice in public debate, with the authority, credibility and status, which in itself contributes to the public image of teachers.

6. The interviews with education correspondents and editors indicated that the prominent position of government, teachers, teacher-trade unions etc. as key voices in media coverage of education issues was itself a result of an increasingly active and increasingly professionalised media publicity strategy on the part of these sources. Teachers/headteachers in particular were described as having become much more 'media-savvy'.

7. The image of teachers and the teaching profession has improved considerably between the early 1990s and the present. While there is a great deal of emphasis (particularly in the Popular newspapers) on 'bad' individual teachers in sexual and other misconduct cases, teachers – as a professional body – are generally portrayed in a way which implies respectability and esteem, which affords recognition to their claims, and which recognises their plight and (sometimes) beleaguered situation as a genuine problem requiring political action.

I. National and Regional newspaper coverage: 2003 and 2005

The sample of newspaper coverage comprises all coverage of teachers and education in 17 national daily and Sunday newspapers and 5 Regional newspapers[7],[8] sampled as 2x24 sampling days selected on a 'rolling week'[9] basis from 14 March – 15 September in 2003 and again in 2005.

All newspaper articles were sampled from the electronic full-text database Lexis/Nexis. Articles were selected for the sample if they included one or more variations on the word-stem 'teach' or the word-stem 'educat' in either the headline or the first paragraph of the article.

This sampling definition produced a total of 2898 newspaper articles (1356 for 2003 and 1542 articles for 2005), of which 1717 articles (59.2 per cent, Table 3.1) were found to be actually about or relevant to 'education and teachers'. Of the 1717 relevant articles, 39 per cent were specifically about teachers and 61 per cent were about education more generally (Table 3.2). The 40.8 per cent <u>non</u>-relevant articles were articles where the search-keywords appeared only in a passing context or were used metaphorically in a non-teacher/education context (e.g. 'teach a lesson' in a non-educational context, and 'convent-educated' or 'university-educated' when profiling an individual).

The Quality newspapers had by far the most coverage of teachers and education, yielding approximately twice as many teacher/education relevant articles as the Popular newspapers. Of the 1717 articles relevant to education and teachers, 52 per cent came from the Quality newspapers, 26.5 per cent from the Popular newspapers and 21.5 per cent from the Regional newspapers (Table 3.1).

The Popular newspapers differed from the two other groups in that they placed a stronger emphasis on 'teacher-relevant' coverage. Approximately two-thirds (Table 3.2) of the relevant coverage in the Quality and Regional papers was about education generally, with approximately one-third being specifically about teachers. By contrast, just over half of the Popular papers' coverage was about teachers and just under half about education more generally.

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[7] **National Quality newspapers**: *The Guardian* and *The Observer, The Times* and *The Sunday Times, The Independent* and *The Independent on Sunday, The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph, The Financial Times*. **National popular Newspapers**: *The Sun* and the *News of the World, The Mirror* and *The Sunday Mirror, The Express* and *The Sunday Express, The Daily Mail* and *The Mail on Sunday*. **regional newspapers**: *The Birmingham Evening Mail* (West Midlands), *The Leicester Mercury* (East Midlands), *The Newcastle Evening Chronicle* (North East), *The Yorkshire Evening Post* (Yorkshire & Humber), *The London Evening Standard* (London).

[8] The principal criterion for the selection of regional newspapers was for these to coincide with the larger Teacher Status Project's case study areas. Additional selection criteria were: *circulation, the nature and content of titles* (i.e. 'paid for' or 'free'; whether a 'newspaper' or a dedicated 'advertising sheet') and *electronic availability*.

[9] 'Rolling week'-sampling: Monday of one week, Tuesday of the next week, Wednesday of the next, etc.

Table 3.1: Teacher/education relevance by newspaper type

		Quality Papers	Popular Papers	Regional Papers	Total
Articles relevant to education & teachers	Count	893	455	369	1717
	Row %	52.0	26.5	21.5	100.0
	Col %	54.8	66.3	63.5	59.2
Articles NOT relevant	Count	738	231	212	1181
	Col %	45.2	33.7	36.5	40.8
Total	**Count**	**1631**	**686**	**581**	**2898**
	Col %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.2: Teacher or education relevance by newspaper type

		Quality Papers	Popular Papers	Regional Papers	Total
Teacher-relevant	Count	306	245	119	670
	Col %	34.3	53.8	32.2	39.0
Education-relevant	Count	587	210	250	1047
	Col %	65.7	46.2	67.8	61.0
Total	**Count**	**893**	**455**	**369**	**1717**
	Col %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Types of Newspaper Articles

The analysis sought to establish the prominence of teacher/education coverage within each of the three groups of newspaper, as well as to establish the particular article types or formats predominantly used for such coverage. Three key findings emerge from this analysis: 1) teacher/education issues are a prominent news issue, but 2) not often front-page news, and 3) teacher/education issues are a matter of considerable public interest or concern (this latter conclusion is based on the prominence of Letters to the Editor - especially in the Quality newspapers - and of Comment/Review articles, see table 4). Overall, teachers and education made the front pages only twenty-eight times (1.6 per cent) during the two sample periods, and very infrequently in the Popular newspapers (0.9 per cent). The Regional newspapers were more likely than the national newspapers to feature teacher/education news on the front page (2.2 per cent of Regional news items about teachers/education appeared on the front page compared with 1.8 per cent and 0.9 per cent in the Quality and Popular papers). Despite the infrequent appearance of teacher/education stories on the front page, the finding that 58.8 per cent of the articles

on teachers or education appeared as 'news reports' is nevertheless a clear indication of the prominence of teacher/education issues on the news agenda.

Table 3.3: Article type by newspaper type

	Quality Papers	*Popular Papers*	*Regional Papers*	*Total*
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
News report	42.3	74.7	78.9	58.8
Feature / profile	19.9	4.0	8.9	13.3
Letter to the editor	17.9	8.8	4.3	12.6
Comment / review	15.3	5.7	4.3	10.4
Front page news	1.8	.9	2.2	1.6
Editorial / leader	1.0	4.0	.0	1.6
Survey / Investigation	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4
Other	.3	.4	.0	.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

The 'news report' format was particularly pronounced in both Popular and Regional newspapers, where this particular format accounted for some three quarters of the coverage of teachers and education. Teacher/education issues were the subject of editorial or leader comment in only 1.6 per cent of articles overall (1 per cent in the Quality newspapers and 4 per cent of Popular newspaper articles).

Feature/Profile articles, Comment and Review articles, and Letters to the Editor were relatively prominent at between 10.4 and 13.3 per cent of articles overall. These three formats were much more prominent in the Quality papers than in the two other categories of newspaper. It is especially noteworthy that Letters to the Editor were particularly prominent in the Quality papers, and least prominent in the Regional newspapers. It would have been reasonable to expect Letters to the Editor to be prominent in the Regional papers, which in many other respects seem to cultivate a much closer 'dialogue' with their readers than the big national newspapers.

While the overall number of teacher/education relevant articles was remarkably similar in the two sampling periods (865 in 2003 compared with 852 in 2005), Table 3.3 below indicates that teacher/education issues became slightly more prominent on the news agenda in 2005, with 2.2 per cent of articles appearing on the front page compared with only one per cent in 2003. Other indicators, indicating that teacher/education issues became politically more 'important' in the second phase, come from the increases – albeit relatively small – in Feature/profile articles, Letters to the Editor and Editorial/leader articles (Table 3.3).

Table 3.4: Article type by year

	2003 Col %	*2005* Col %	*Total* Col %
News report	59.1	58.5	58.8
Feature / profile	12.8	13.8	13.3
Letter to the editor	11.3	13.8	12.6
Comment / review	11.4	9.4	10.4
Front page news	1.0	2.2	1.6
Editorial / leader	1.2	2.0	1.6
Survey / Investigation	2.7	.1	1.4
Other	.5	.1	.3
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Themes/Issues

All newspaper articles were analysed and coded in terms of their main thematic focus, in order to establish which issues and topics make up the news agenda on teachers and education. Initial coding resulted in some 202 topics, the majority of which appeared relatively infrequently. The longer list of topics was then regrouped under a smaller set of seventeen thematic headings (and an additional 'other' category), and it is these that are presented here.

The single most prominent thematic focus (Table 3.5) is *government targets/new schemes for schools*, accounting for 13 per cent of cases, and particularly prominent in the Regional newspapers, where nearly a fifth of the coverage focuses on this theme. The second most prominent thematic focus, surprisingly, is *teachers in civil or criminal cases* (including cases concerning inappropriate sexual relationships between teachers and pupils, sexual and other abuse, financial misconduct, etc). The prominence of this theme stems largely from its unique prominence in the Popular papers, where just over a quarter (27.7 per cent) of all coverage revolves around teachers in legal cases. The preoccupation, in the Popular papers, with this particular issue-domain or aspect of education is, as implied by the label 'Popular papers', closely related to the core mass-market news-values of 'controversy', 'human interest' and 'crime'.

In this context, it is perhaps only surprising that the Regional newspapers – which could reasonably be expected to pursue a similar broad popular appeal as the national tabloid papers – seem much more akin to the Quality newspapers in their degree of coverage of *teachers in civil or criminal cases*. The third most prominent thematic focus is *teachers' employment and pay issues*. This focus enjoys remarkably similar prominence across the three newspaper types, indicating a degree of consensus across the newspapers that these dimensions, which are in themselves closely related to 'status', are seen as a key and relevant focus for public debate about teachers and the education system.

Table 3.4: Main thematic focus by newspaper type

	Quality Papers Col %	Popular Papers Col %	Regional Papers Col %	Total Col %
Govt. targets & new schemes for schools	12.5	9.5	18.4	13.0
Teachers in civil & criminal cases	5.8	27.7	6.8	11.8
Teachers employment & pay issues	13.0	10.1	10.3	11.6
Social issues & their impact on schools	7.4	4.8	6.5	6.5
Teaching of certain subjects in schools	9.1	3.7	3.3	6.4
Issues facing pupils after leaving school	5.9	3.7	4.9	5.1
Examinations reform	4.6	4.8	6.8	5.1
Bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers	3.7	7.0	6.0	5.1
Funding shortages in schools and higher education	4.8	3.7	6.5	4.9
Teaching awards/tributes to teachers	5.2	1.1	7.3	4.5
Other issues specifically involving students	3.7	3.3	4.3	3.7
Media coverage & portrayals of schools & teachers	3.4	3.5	2.7	3.3
Profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions	4.0	2.0	1.9	3.0
State versus private education	3.1	1.8	1.6	2.4
Teachers lives outside school	1.5	4.2	1.1	2.1
Other issues specifically involving parents	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.2
Govt.statements on teachers/ministers views on education	1.2	.2	0	.7
Other issues	9.9	7.7	10.3	9.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The 'status of teachers' is interestingly rarely commented on in a vocabulary that includes the word 'status' itself. Although the word 'status' appeared 164 times in the corpus of newspaper articles (the same number of times, 82, in both sampling periods),

only four times was it used to refer directly to the recognition and general 'standing' of teaching (implied: compared with other professions), and two of these four occurrences appeared in the same *Guardian* article.

Class strugglers: New thinking needed on failing schools

(…) What is needed now is more recognition of the crucial job teachers in these schools are undertaking. They need more resources, smaller classes, better vocational courses and, most important of all, higher status for tackling the toughest challenge. (*The Guardian*, Leader page, 21 August 2003, p.27, *box added*)

Why teachers need trainers: People are flooding into teaching. Now we have to improve their career development, Ralph Tabberer tells Rebecca Smithers

"If I got on a train five years ago the chat was always about someone leaving teaching because of the workload, the behaviour of the kids, whatever. Now it is always 'I know someone who has just gone into teaching'," says Ralph Tabberer.

"That itself is such a mark - people have in the past wrung their hands about the status of teaching. But it has improved in probably the most important way you can possibly measure it - people actually prepared to make a career and life choice. The combination of making a difference - doing a job that makes a difference to people's lives - and doing a job in which there is self-fulfilment, that is a very powerful cocktail in the modern career choice." (*The Guardian,* Education pages, 6 September 2005, p.2, *box added*)

CLASS ACTS: Those who can, do. Those who can't, teach? The familiar mantra is being overthrown by a controversial new project in which high-flying graduates, after just six weeks' training, are being parachuted into tough inner-city schools

(…) Some teachers, though, still have doubts. 'It's a great shame that the only way to boost the status of teaching is to attract high-fliers on the basis they don't really have to commit,' one London teacher told me. 'It suggests experience isn't important, which is simply not true. Surely the best way to attract more and better teachers would be to improve the status of the ones we've already got?'

(…)

Some Teach Firsters will be effective, no doubt, and some, much less so; that's how it is with teachers, even at the best-run schools. On their side, they have youth, energy, enthusiasm, determination and an awareness that they have a limited time to achieve. Their involvement will help boost the status of teaching, a process already underway through a variety of changing circumstances, if only for shallow reasons. (*The Observer*, Review Pages, 26 June, 2005, p. 4, *boxes added*)

The most common uses of the word status were the collocations 'university status' (see the list below) and the standard expression 'status quo'. Other common uses referred to school categorisations: 'charity/charitable/beacon/specialist/training/star (school) status' or to teacher training/career progression: 'qualified/senior (teacher) status'. The collocation 'foundation status', which appeared four times, referred to hospitals, not schools.

Table 3.6 Common collocations of 'status'

Number of occurrences	Status collocation
15	university status
12	status quo
11	charity/charitable status
8	beacon (school) status
6	(qualified/senior) teacher status
4	specialist (school) status
4	foundation status
3	training (school) status
2	star status
2	Cinderella status
2	equal status
2	international status
2	legal status
2	mutual status

While the word 'status' is thus rarely used to refer to the 'status of teachers', many of the themes listed here do, however, have a direct or indirect bearing on the media and public definition of teachers' status. This is particularly so in the case of the themes *teachers' employment and pay issues* (which may be generally 'supportive' of teacher status issues, if only in terms of highlighting for political and public debate the plight of teachers) and *teachers in civil or criminal cases*, which would tend to have a distinctly negative effect on the public image – and status – of teachers, by drawing attention in particular to misconduct, to 'bad apples', to unprofessional conduct or criminal individuals.

By contrast, the theme *teaching awards/tributes to teachers*, which occurs in 4.5 per cent per cent of all coverage, makes a distinctly positive contribution to the public image of teachers' status and the teaching profession, and is possibly quite unique – at least in terms of sheer relative prominence – to news coverage of this particular profession compared to news coverage of other professions, such as the police, social workers, nurses or doctors. This category is also noteworthy for the considerable differences across the three newspaper categories, being rather more prominent in the Regional newspapers (7.3 per cent of coverage) and much less prominent in the Popular newspapers (1.1 per cent of coverage).

The fourth most prominent thematic focus, s*ocial issues and their impact on schools* (6.5 per cent overall, slightly higher in the Quality press and slightly lower in the Popular press), covers a broad range of specific topics which include concerns about children's transport to and from schools, concerns about the impact of gender, social class, ethnicity and religion on schooling and academic achievement, social deprivation and surrounding drug cultures and their impact on/challenges to schooling and academic achievement, etc.

Three issue clusters share fifth place in the overall prominence ranking: *issues facing pupils after leaving school, examinations reform* (a comparatively more prominent concern in the Regional newspapers) and *bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers* (a comparatively more prominent cluster in the Popular and Regional newspapers than in the Quality newspapers).

A further, but much more indirect, indication of how various thematic categories may have a bearing on the public image of teacher status stems partly from the theme *teachers' lives outside school* (2.1 per cent of coverage overall) and partly from the finding that the professional identifier – teacher – is frequently used in news stories which are not specifically about either teaching or education. In both cases, the fact that the person described in the news story happens to be a former or current teacher, may be of little significance to the key issue or focus of the story; yet, the identification of the person as a 'teacher' is clearly used as a convenient news-shorthand for conveying a particular connotation or identity.

As indicated previously, the 'status of teachers' is rarely referred to in news coverage through the direct or explicit use of the word 'status', but it is clear from the identifier-labelling of people as 'teachers' in news stories, which are not about teaching or education, that being a teacher is seen as an important characterisation, and one which 'means' something to the public and is easily recognised. The analysis presented in the next two sections will pursue this line of investigation further to establish, inter alia, whether the values and status associated with the label 'teacher' are relatively uniform, variable across types of media, and/or changing over the time-span covered by this research.

A sense of serious 'funding and resources' problems in the education sector is conveyed through the prominence of both *teachers' employment and pay issues* and, more directly, through *funding shortages in schools and higher education*, which, at 4.9 per cent, appears in 6th place in the overall ranking, but is relatively more prominent in the Regional newspapers (6.5 per cent).

The discourses under these thematic clusters (including also the theme *bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers*) contribute to a prominent sense of 'a profession under siege': of (mostly) decent, hardworking, professional, committed teachers under attack from, inter alia, funding crises, resources cuts, a deteriorating infrastructure, frequent changes in education policy, a deterioration in the value of pensions, job-related stress, a decline in social values, a rise in violence and discipline-problems, and increased government interference. The sense of a 'profession under siege' is also projected in a prominent strand of coverage (under the most prominent thematic cluster *teachers' employment and pay issues*) concerned with professional status, and more particularly with hierarchy and differentiation within the profession (e.g. head/senior teachers versus teachers/junior teachers; old versus young; qualified teachers versus teaching assistants) and concerns about de-professionalisation.

There are very considerable variations in thematic emphasis across the Regional newspapers (Table 3.7), reflecting, in some cases, genuine regional differences in the kinds of issues, challenges and problems facing schools and teachers in a particular region, but reflecting also possible differences in editorial policy/priorities and journalistic/news-gathering practices.

The two north eastern newspapers, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle,* give particularly high emphasis to *government targets & new*

schemes and a higher than average emphasis (together with the *London Evening Standard*) to *bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers*. The *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* further distinguishes itself from the other Regional newspapers with a much lower emphasis on *examinations reform*, and a higher than average emphasis on *funding shortages* (also particularly emphasised in the *Leicester Mercury*), on *issues facing pupils after leaving school* and on o*ther issues specifically involving students*. The *Yorkshire Evening Post,* in addition to the difference noted above, gives comparatively little emphasis to *teaching awards/tributes to teachers*, to *teachers in civil and criminal cases* and to *funding shortages* (which also receives comparatively little coverage in the *London Evening Standard*) and a higher than average emphasis to *teaching of certain subjects in schools*.

The two major metropolitan newspapers, the *London Evening Standard* and the *Birmingham Evening Mail,* give comparatively more prominence (like the national Popular papers) to *teachers in civil and criminal cases*, while the *Birmingham Evening Mail* distinguishes itself from the other Regional newspapers by its uniquely high emphasis on *social issues and their impact on schools* (14.6 per cent of articles compared with the Regional paper average of 6.5 per cent). The *Birmingham Evening Mail* and the *Leicester Mercury* also give a higher than average emphasis to *teaching awards/tributes to teachers* (13.4 per cent and 10.4 per cent of articles, compared with the Regional newspaper average of 7.3 per cent). Finally, *teachers' employment and pay issues* receive comparatively much more prominence in *The London Evening Standard* and the *Leicester Mercury* than in other Regional newspapers.

Table 3.7: Thematic focus by Regional newspapers

	The Evening Standard Col %	The Birmingham Evening Mail Col %	The Yorkshire Evening Post Col %	The Newcastle Evening Chronicle Col %	The Leicester Mercury Col %	Total Col %
Govt. targets & new schemes for schools	18.3	12.2	31.6	22.2	14.3	18.4
Teachers employment & pay issues	22.0	4.9	7.9	5.6	10.4	10.3
Teaching awards/tributes to teachers	3.7	13.4	2.6	4.4	10.4	7.3
Teachers in civil & criminal cases	8.5	8.5	2.6	5.6	6.5	6.8
Examinations reform	9.8	9.8	7.9	1.1	6.5	6.8
Funding shortages in schools and higher education	1.2	7.3	2.6	10.0	9.1	6.5
Social issues & their impact on schools	1.2	14.6	5.3	6.7	3.9	6.5
Bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers	11.0	4.9	7.9	6.7	0	6.0
Issues facing pupils after leaving school	3.7	3.7	2.6	8.9	3.9	4.9
Other issues specifically involving students	1.2	2.4	2.6	6.7	7.8	4.3
Teaching of certain subjects in schools	4.9	1.2	7.9	2.2	2.6	3.3
Media coverage & portrayals of schools & teachers	3.7	2.4	0	3.3	2.6	2.7
Profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions	1.2	1.2	5.3	1.1	2.6	1.9
State versus private education	2.4	2.4	0	1.1	1.3	1.6
Other issues specifically involving parents	0	1.2	5.3	1.1	1.3	1.4
Teachers lives outside school	0	0	2.6	3.3	0	1.1
Other issues	7.3	9.8	5.3	10.0	16.9	10.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.8: Main thematic focus by 2003 and 2006

	2003	*2005*	*Total*
	Col %	Col %	Col %
Govt. targets & new schemes for schools	11.7	14.3	13.0
Teachers in civil & criminal cases	11.9	11.7	11.8
Teachers employment & pay issues	9.8	13.5	11.6
Social issues & their impact on schools	4.7	8.3	6.5
Teaching of certain subjects in schools	5.8	7.0	6.4
Issues facing pupils after leaving school	6.0	4.2	5.1
Examinations reform	6.8	3.4	5.1
Bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers	4.2	6.0	5.1
Funding shortages in schools and higher education	6.4	3.4	4.9
Teaching awards/tributes to teachers	5.2	3.9	4.5
Other issues specifically involving students	4.0	3.4	3.7
Media coverage & portrayals of schools & teachers	3.7	2.8	3.3
Profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions	3.1	2.9	3.0
State versus private education	3.2	1.6	2.4
Teachers lives outside school	2.9	1.3	2.1
Other issues specifically involving parents	1.3	1.2	1.2
Govt.statements on teachers/ministers views on education	1.3	.1	.7
Other issues	8.0	10.8	9.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0

As indicated in Table 3.6a above there was relatively little change between the two sampling periods, 2003 and 2005, in the prominence of most of the main thematic foci. This was the case with most of the least prominent thematic foci, but also applied to one of the top ranking topic clusters, namely *teachers in civil and criminal cases*. Four of the top ranking issue clusters became more prominent in 2005 than in 2003: *government*

targets and *new schemes for schools, teachers' employment and pay issues, social issues and their impact on schools* and *bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers.* Another four of the more prominent issues became less prominent in 2005 compared with 2003: *issues facing pupils after leaving school, examinations reform, funding shortages in schools and higher education* and *teaching awards/tributes to teachers.*

Key definers of teachers and education issues

The analysis of 'actors' (people/institutions/organisations) is important for understanding who is identified by the news media as the key people or agencies – stakeholders – in the education discourse, and, more particularly, to understand who, in the public forum of the news media, define what teaching and education issues are about, and who is responsible for dealing with and resolving the education issues of the day. This analysis examines the range of actors, who – by being quoted directly by the newspapers – become the key voices in the education debate and the key definers of this debate.

In the national newspapers, the education debate is very predominantly defined by the government (quoted directly in nearly a fifth, 19.9 per cent, of all articles), teachers (17.2 per cent), higher education sources (14.8 per cent) and teacher trade unions (13.8 per cent) (Table 3.9). Other relatively prominent actors quoted directly in between 6-9 per cent of the national newspaper articles are headteachers, police/law enforcement/the legal profession, campaign/pressure groups, the political opposition parties, quangos and parents.

The main differences between Quality and Popular papers (Table 3.9) concern their quoting of school teachers, higher education sources, QUANGOs and police/law enforcement/legal professionals. The Popular papers are more likely to quote teachers (who are the single most prominent directly quoted source in the Populars), while the Quality papers are almost three times as likely as the Popular papers to quote higher education sources (19.3 per cent of Quality paper articles compared with 7 per cent in the Popular newspapers).

The Quality papers are also more likely than the Populars to quote quango sources (8.3 per cent compared with 4 per cent) and published media reports (4.9 per cent compared with 1.5 per cent), while the Popular papers (reflecting their thematic emphasis on news stories about civil or criminal cases involving teachers – see above under the analysis of Themes) give particular prominence to the direct quoting of police/law enforcement/legal professionals (16.5 per cent of articles compared with 3.8 per cent of Quality paper articles).

Table 3.9: Actors quoted directly by newspaper type

	Quality Papers	*Popular Papers*	*All National Papers*	*Regional Papers*	*All Papers Total*
	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %
Government	18.7	22.0	19.9	14.0	18.5
School teachers	13.0	24.5	17.2	17.5	17.3
Higher education sources	19.3	7.0	14.8	12.2	14.2
Teacher trade unions	13.2	15.0	13.8	13.5	13.8
Headteachers	9.3	7.7	8.7	22.3	11.9
Parents	5.5	7.7	6.3	11.4	7.5
Police/law enforcement & legal profession	3.8	16.5	8.5	3.5	7.3
Quangos	8.3	4.0	6.7	7.4	6.9
Campaign/pressure groups	6.8	9.5	7.8	3.1	6.7
Pupils/school students	5.3	4.4	5.0	9.2	6.0
Opposition	7.0	7.3	7.1	.4	5.5
Local government	.8	3.3	1.7	11.4	4.0
Education experts	5.3	3.7	4.7	.4	3.7
Published media reports	4.9	1.5	3.6	.4	2.9
Local Education Authorities	1.1	.7	.9	5.2	2.0
Other sources	20.4	24.5	21.9	19.7	21.4

Column percentages do not add up to 100 as up to three separate actor-categories could be coded for each article.
The percentage figures denote the percentage of articles in each newspaper category making reference to a particular type of actor.

The Regional papers differ considerably from the national papers in terms of the rank order of directly quoted sources (Table 3.9). The government, campaign/pressure groups, police and legal professionals and education experts are rarely quoted and the political opposition parties are hardly quoted at all (0.4 per cent) in the sampled Regional newspapers. Headteachers are the single most prominent directly quoted source in the Regional newspapers, appearing in over a fifth (22.3 per cent) of articles.

Teachers are also a prominent source of direct quotations (17.5 per cent), as are pupils and students (9.2 per cent). The particular prominence of directly-quoted pupils/students in the Regional press is interesting and reflects the different style of 'reader-address', which characterises the Regional press when compared with the national Quality press in

particular, namely a much stronger emphasis on a direct engagement (through the featuring of selections of quotes – and often photographs of readers in the local community) with their community of readers. The more direct engagement with and featuring of stakeholders from the local region of the newspaper are also reflected in the relatively much higher prominence given to Parents (11.4 per cent), Local Government sources (11.4 per cent) and Local Education Authorities (5.2 per cent) in the Regional Papers compared with the national newspapers.

Table 3.10: Actors quoted directly by year

	2003	*2005*	*Total*
	Column %	Column %	Column %
Government	15.9	20.5	18.5
School teachers	18.0	16.7	17.3
Higher education sources	8.8	18.3	14.2
Teacher trade unions	10.4	16.3	13.8
Headteachers	12.3	11.6	11.9
Parents	6.4	8.3	7.5
Police/law enforcement & legal profession	3.8	10.0	7.3
QUANGOs	5.5	8.0	6.9
Campaign/pressure groups	8.1	5.6	6.7
Pupils/school students	5.5	6.4	6.0
Opposition	4.7	6.2	5.5
Local government	3.1	4.7	4.0
Education experts	5.9	2.0	3.7
Published media reports	1.7	3.8	2.9
Local Education Authorities	2.1	1.8	2.0
Other sources	10.2	29.9	21.4

Column percentages do not add up to 100 as up to three separate actor-categories could be coded for each article.
The percentage figures denote the percentage of articles in each newspaper category making reference to a particular type of actor.

While the rank order of key actor groups changed relatively little between the two sampling years, 2003 and 2005, in the sense that the actors who were most prominent in 2003 generally remained so in 2005, there were some differences in relative prominence (Table 3.10). Higher education sources were quoted directly more than twice as often in 2005 (18.3 per cent of articles) as in 2003 (8.8 per cent of articles), as were police/law enforcement/the legal profession (10% in 2005 compared with 3.8 per cent in 2003). While school teachers and headteachers dropped were slightly less frequently quoted

directly in 2005 than in 2003, they nevertheless remained firmly amongst the top five definers of issues relevant to teaching and education.

Both the government and the political opposition parties were more frequently quoted directly in 2005 compared with 2003, but while the government became the single most prominent definer of education issues in 2005 (quoted directly in a fifth, 20.5 per cent, of all articles), the political opposition parties remained at the lower end of the overall rank order and were quoted directly in only 6.2 per cent of all articles. Teacher trade unions, quango sources and parents all achieved more direct quotation in 2005 than in 2003, and a similar, but less pronounced, pattern held true for pupils/school students and local government. By contrast, campaign/pressure groups, education experts and LEAs were relatively less frequently quoted in 2005 than in 2003.

II. Newspaper coverage of teachers and education 1991-2002

Introduction

In addition to tracking the changes in media reporting during the project period (the Phase I and Phase II analysis), a longer-term retrospective analysis of newspaper coverage of teachers/education over approximately a decade from 1991 to 2002 was carried out. The aim of this analysis was to map the key changes in the amount and nature of press coverage of teachers and education, and particularly to examine what changes took place in media coverage from the early 1990s to the present, in terms of the relative prominence of different education-related themes and issues, and in terms of who principally set the public and media agenda on education issues.

Sample

Given the sheer volume of coverage during the extended period from 1991 to 2002, the initial task was to establish a manageable sample, sufficiently representative to facilitate the tracking and mapping of *changes* in media reporting of teachers and education. Following consideration of a number of sampling strategies – including the possibility of sampling from every year during the retrospective period – a sampling strategy was arrived at which combines the purposive sampling of three year-clusters (positioned around the last three General Elections) with systematic random sampling (using a sampling interval of 15 days; in other words, a 'rolling fortnight' interval) within the three year-clusters.

The three year-clusters are: 1991-93 (3 years), 1996-98 (3 years) and 2001-02 (2 years). The systematic rolling fortnight sampling from the selected eight years produced one hundred and ninety four sampling dates, from which a total of 6359 newspaper articles were retrieved, using the same keyword selection criteria as applied in the Phase I/Phase II media analysis. The percentage of articles found to be relevant (i.e. specifically *about* teachers and/or education) was very consistent with that found in the Phase I/II analysis; thus, 58.2 per cent (3702 three articles) of the 6359 articles were found to be about teachers and/or education (59.2 per cent in the Phase I/II sample), while the remaining 41.8 per cent mentioned the key search-words only in a context which was incidental or peripheral to teachers and education.

Newspaper articles were sampled from each of the project's 17 national daily and Sunday newspapers using the full-text electronic newspaper data-base Lexis/Nexis. However, not all of the 17 newspapers were available on Lexis/Nexis for the entire sampling period. Thus, the *Telegraph* newspapers were available only for the most

recent year-cluster, and from the Popular papers, the *Mail* newspapers were available from 1992 onwards, the *Mirror* only for the two most recent year-clusters, the *Sun* and the *Express* newspapers only for the most recent year-cluster.

While all the retrieved newspaper articles have been content analysis coded, using the same content analysis frame as for the Phase I/II analysis, the analysis presented here focuses only on those newspapers for which coverage was available *throughout* the period from 1991-2002. These are all the national Quality daily and Sunday newspapers, except the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Telegraph.* The analysis presented here then comprises the following Quality newspapers: *The Financial Times, The Guardian, The Observer, The Independent, The Independent on Sunday, The Times* and *The Sunday Times.*

Teacher/education-relevant coverage

The total number of articles retrieved from the seven selected Quality newspapers for the three year-clusters was 4874, of which 57.1 per cent (2784 articles) were specifically about or relevant to teachers and/or education. As shown in Table 3.11, the overall volume (number of articles) of teacher/education-relevant coverage rose considerably during the period. This is particularly evident, when taking into consideration that the 894 articles for the most recent year-cluster, 2001-02, were derived from just two years compared with 884 and 1006 articles for each of the earlier 3-year clusters.

Table 3.11: Teacher/education relevance by year-cluster

		1991-93	*1996-98*	*2001-02*	*Total*
Articles relevant to education & teachers	Count	884	1006	894	2784
	Col %	60.7	52.7	59.2	57.1
Articles NOT relevant	Count	572	902	616	2090
	Col %	39.3	47.3	40.8	42.9
Total	**Count**	**1456**	**1908**	**1510**	**4874**
	Col %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The overall percentage of coverage specifically about teachers or teacher-issues was 25.5 per cent (Table 3.12), compared with 74.5 per cent of coverage about education issues generally. Teacher-relevant coverage was relatively less prominent at only 22.2 per cent of coverage in the middle year cluster, and relatively more prominent at 29.2 per cent in the third and most recent year-cluster. When comparing with the 39 per cent of coverage specifically about teachers in the Phase I/II analyses from the period 2003-2005, then there is a clear trend of 'teachers/teacher-issues' becoming increasingly

prominent in media coverage in the period from the second half of the 1990s to the present. This trend is also - as will be seen below - confirmed by the analysis of changes in the thematic emphases in media coverage.

Table 3.12 Teacher or education relevance by year - cluster

		1991-93	*1996-98*	*2001-02*	*Total*
Teacher-relevant	Count	226	223	261	710
	Col %	25.6	22.2	29.2	25.5
Education-relevant	Count	658	783	633	2074
	Col %	74.4	77.8	70.8	74.5
Total	Count	884	1006	894	2784
	Col %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Types of newspaper articles

The analysis above indicates that teacher/education coverage increased in sheer volume during the period from the early 1990s to the early 2000s. This trend is further underlined by an increased prominence/importance within the newspapers analysed as indicated by the distribution of education coverage across different types of news article. The same general pattern found in the Phase I/II analysis holds true with regard to the three year-clusters (Table 3.13): 1) teacher/education issues are a prominent news issue, but 2) not often front-page news, and 3) teacher/education issues are a matter of considerable public interest or concern (as indicated by the prominence of Letters to the Editor (12.6 per cent of articles) and of Comment/Review articles (4.8 per cent)).

Overall, articles about teachers/education were front page news in 1.9 per cent of cases, but interestingly it seems that teacher/education news advanced considerable on the news agenda in the two later periods, where the percentage of front page articles more than doubled, at 2.5 per cent and 2.2 per cent, compared with only 1 per cent of articles in the first year-cluster. Feature articles also increased in prominence in the two later periods, indicating a move towards more in-depth analysis, while straight news articles – the single most prominent category - declined slightly in relative prominence from 51.5 per cent in the first year cluster to 44.6 per cent in the most recent period. Editorials were surprisingly infrequent in the two earlier year-clusters, but came to considerable prominence in 2001-02 where they were 3 per cent of articles.

The increased front-page presence of education news, and perhaps particularly the increased prominence of editorials and feature articles, signal an overall rise in the prestige and prominence of education coverage (resonating with the evidence from interviews with education correspondents and editors), as well as giving an indirect indication of an increased public/political significance (see particularly the rise in editorial comment) of education issues.

Table 3.13: Article type by year cluster

	1991-93	*1996-98*	*2001-02*	*Total*
	(n=884)	(n=1006)	(n=894)	(n=2784)
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
News report	51.5	49.9	44.6	48.7
Feature / profile	25.5	31.5	31.7	29.6
Letter to the editor	13.6	13.8	10.4	12.6
Comment / review	7.2	.9	6.7	4.8
Front page news	1.0	2.5	2.2	1.9
Editorial / leader	.7	.2	3.0	1.3
Survey / Investigation	.2	.2	.2	.2
Other	.3	1.0	1.1	.8
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Themes/issues and 'status'

One of the key objectives of the retrospective analysis was to examine which themes or issues make up the media discourse on teachers and education, and to examine how the relative prominence of key themes may have changed over the 12-year period examined, from the start of 1991 till the end of 2002. All the retrieved and relevant newspaper articles were coded on two key dimensions: 1) their relevance to questions about the status of teachers, and 2) their main thematic/topic focus. In addition, all uses of the word 'status' were examined in order to identify those that referred specifically to the 'status of teachers' (in the sense used in this project), and these were then analysed in terms of what the newspapers commented on in relation to the status of teachers.

'Status' in media coverage

All newspaper articles were classified in terms of whether their content had a direct bearing on 'teacher status', as understood in the sense used in the Teacher Status Project. This analysis showed that overall 10 per cent of the 2784 articles in the retrospective analysis discussed issues of direct relevance to teacher status, but the more interesting finding is perhaps the steady, if relatively small, rise in articles relevant to a teacher status context over the period examined, from 8.9 per cent in 1991-93 (n=884), through 9.6 per cent in 1996-98 (n=1006), to 11.5% in 2001-02 (n=894). While there was thus a significant amount of coverage relevant to or about the status of teachers throughout the

period, it is also clear that these concerns became more pronounced and prominent during the period.

Table 3.14: 'Status' and relevant uses of 'Status' by year-cluster

	1991-93		*1996-98*		*2001-02*		*Total*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
'Status' occurrences	163	11.2	167	8.8	109	7.2	439	9
Relevant uses of 'status'	7	0.5	21	1.1	12	0.8	40	0.8
Total articles retrieved	**1456**	**100**	**1908**	**100**	**1510**	**100**	**4874**	**100**

All occurrences of the word 'status' were analysed in order to determine the number of times 'status' was used to refer to the standing of teachers. As the analysis of Phases I/II showed, the word 'status' is rarely used in this sense: of 439 occurrences of 'status' across the three year-clusters, less than a tenth (40) referred to the standing of teachers in the sense of the Teacher Status Project. Interestingly, however, while the overall prominence of the word 'status' decreased slightly between 1991-93 and 2001-02, as shown in table 15, the relative prominence of 'status' referring to the 'standing of teachers' more than doubled between 1991-93 and 1996-98 and although falling again in 2001-02 still remained slightly more prominent than at the start of the period examined here.

The particular prominence of status, as referring to the standing of teachers, during the middle year-cluster of 1996-98 was caused to a large extent by a single act of 'claims-making', namely that of the widow of headmaster Philip Lawrence, stabbed to death in December 1995 outside his school in West London. Mrs Frances Lawrence's 'manifesto' called for, inter alia, "A higher status in society for teachers and the police" (*The Guardian*, 22 October 1996), and this or equivalent phrases received extensive coverage:

THOUSANDS BACK WIDOW'S CALL FOR GOOD CITIZENSHIP

(…) The group also called for more government support for some of Mrs Lawrence's other aspirations, such as raising the status of police and teachers. Mrs Morrissey added: "Successive Secretaries of State and ministers have criticised, and still do criticise, our teachers. It may not be their intention to lower the teachers' standing in the eyes of the public, but that is what happens. Sadly, it will take more years to rebuild the status of our professional people than it took the Government to smash it." (*The Times*, 22 Oct 1996, *box added*)

TRAGIC EVENTS THAT CAN SPARK CHANGE

(…) Less precisely, she also calls for the raising in $\boxed{\text{status}}$ of teachers and police, as key contact points for young people. (*The Independent*, 22 Oct 1996, *box added*)

Although the use of status to refer to the standing of teachers was much less prominent in the first year-cluster, 1991-93, it is also noteworthy that the general ingredients of the 'status-discourse' were present right from the start of the period examined here. Thus, the notion that high morale and status were important for teaching, and particularly for solving some of the key problems in the education system, was present throughout.

RALLYING CRY OF THE STANDARDS BEARERS: CONSERVATIVE

Stephen Bates speaks to Kenneth Clarke

"It is high time the morale and $\boxed{\text{status of teachers}}$ was genuinely revived. We will do that by restoring public confidence in the state education system, giving teachers the leadership, the sense of satisfaction from change effectively put into place. As they get familiar with the changes there will be a change of culture and people will derive considerable pleasure from working in a better directed system. The purpose is to get the 20 per cent of schools that are underperforming to accept the need to adopt the good practice of the best." (*The Guardian*, 17 March 1992, *box added*)

So too was the idea that status is closely linked to pay and performance, that both must be improved if status is to be improved, and the notion that status is closely linked to pay as well as to the values of the profession.

THE HARD SCHOOLING OF WARNOCK

(…) But she delivered a ringing plea for the reform of teacher training (in her Dimbleby lecture, and on many other platforms) suggesting a teaching council on the lines of the BMA, and "teaching schools" on the lines of teaching hospitals. Teachers are an important resource, and must be paid accordingly. As for their morale: "It is not something that can be artificially raised, by bringing in Vera Lynn," she says. "It arises from high $\boxed{\text{status}}$." (*The Times*, 6 July 1991, *box added*)

Leading Article: TEACHERS' PAY IS THE FIRST LESSON

(…) Perhaps the Department for Education should take a little advice from Adair Turner, the director-general of the CBI, who yesterday stressed that businesses had to invest in staff and pay them well. Successful schools, just like successful businesses, need a culture that encourages and rewards performance. The only way to turn teaching into the $\boxed{\text{high status}}$, well-respected profession that schoolchildren and parents need is to increase the rewards for good teachers and to remove those who prove unable to do the job. (*The Independent*, 26 Jan 1996, *box added*)

Leader: MORE FROM MORRIS: BUT TEACHERS ARE STILL UNDERPAID

(…) Thirty years of under investment in public services cannot be achieved overnight. It will take a decade, but it needs to start now if Labour is to restore the status of teachers - and the respect for education in the land. (*The Guardian*, 24 Jan 2002, *box added*)

Leading Article: THE BEST WAY TO IMPROVE SCHOOL STANDARDS IS TO EMPLOY MORE TEACHERS

Old-fashioned though it sounds, that problem can only be solved with money - lots of it. The steady drain of teachers away from the profession - around 400,000 in recent years - is for a mixture of reasons. Teachers leave because they are paid too little - especially in the south-east, where the cost of living is so high. The shortages pile the pressure on those that remain, adding to the stress and pushing morale down further. The status of teachers in society remains too low. (…) No amount of "distinct identity" (to quote Mr Blair's buzzword yesterday) or of advertising campaigns can reverse that trend. (*The Independent*, 13 Feb 2001, *box added*)

While the status discourse, from the outset, was linked closely to questions about standards in teacher training, one dimension of the status discourse which emerged only in the most recent period, was controversy about the recommendations of the General Teaching Council, particularly with regard to the introduction of ancillary teaching posts.

TEACHERS TOLD TO BOYCOTT RULING BODY'S £23 FEE

The unions campaigned for decades for a General Teaching Council to be set up, arguing that it would give teaching the status of professions such as law and medicine. But since it was established the two sides have been at loggerheads. (*The Independent*, 14 May 2001, *box added*)

REPORT REJECTS TEACHERS' CALL FOR 35-HOUR WEEK

The unions claim that the use of untrained assistants merely adds to the strain on teachers and risks diluting the status of the profession. (*The Times*, 9 May 2002, *box added*)

CHALK AND TALK

It is incredible when the unions are hostile to the introduction of classroom assistants who can relieve teachers of a range of tiresome burdens. There can be no other example of a profession where the offer of a personal assistant would be taken as degrading the status of the manager concerned. (*The Times*, 9 May 2002, *box added*)

Thematic focus

The analysis of major thematic foci gives an overview of the relative prominence of the themes and issues which make up the media agenda on education. Table 3.15 further enables a comparison of the three year-clusters, showing the relative movement of the major thematic foci over the 12-year period from the beginning of 1991 to the end of 2002.

First, it is worth noting that the overall rank order of themes for this period matches the rank order of themes found in the Phase I/II analysis quite well, with one major difference: the theme *teachers in civil and criminal cases*. This was the second most prominent theme in the Phase I/II sample, due largely to its extraordinary prominence in the Popular newspapers. The retrospective sample analysed here includes only the Quality newspapers, and this particular theme has thus moved down to 10th place, occurring in 3.8 per cent of the articles overall for the retrospective sample.

The single most prominent thematic focus (Table 3.156) is *government targets/new schemes for schools*, accounting for 15.3 per cent of cases, and particularly prominent in the middle year-cluster, 1996-1998, at 18.6 per cent of articles. The second most prominent thematic focus, confirming the indication from the above analysis of status references, is *teachers' employment and pay issues*. This is especially noteworthy for its increased prominence in the two most recent year-clusters, and particularly so in the most recent year-cluster, 2001-2002, where at 14.1 per cent of articles this theme became the single most prominent theme in newspaper coverage of education. The rise in prominence of this particular theme confirms the indications from the above analysis of status relevant articles – also shown to increase during the period examined – and from the above analysis of issues mentioned in the context of explicit references to the 'status of teachers'.

The theme *teaching of certain subjects in schools* is at 9.1 per cent of articles the third most prominent thematic focus. This theme includes a broad range of topics from proposals for reform of the national curriculum to home schooling, the teaching of Scottish history and native minority languages, and from ICT, music, PE and sex/drugs education to concerns about the private provision of instruction in subjects discontinued in the school curriculum. Despite receding slightly in prominence in the middle year-cluster, this theme rose in prominence overall from 8.7% of articles in 1991-93 to 12.1 per cent of articles in 2001-2002.

The fourth most prominent thematic focus, *social issues and their impact on schools* is present in 8.2 per cent of articles overall, with relatively little change across the three year-clusters. This theme includes concerns about children's transport to and from schools, concerns about the impact of gender, social class, ethnicity and religion on schooling and academic achievement, social deprivation and surrounding drug cultures and their impact on/challenges to schooling and academic achievement, etc.

The fifth most prominent theme, *issues facing pupils after leaving school*, present in 6.5 per cent of articles overall, is noteworthy for its rise in prominence from 5.1 per cent in 1991-93 to 8.7 per cent in 2001-02, where it shares fourth place with *social issues and their impact on schools*. The rise in prominence of this theme reflects increased debate and concern about vocational training and about the impact of changes to higher education fees and student finance. Also noteworthy for its increased prominence across the three year-clusters is the seventh most prominent theme, *examinations reform*, which is present in 5.2 per cent of articles overall, but more than doubled its prominence from 3.2 per cent in the middle year-cluster, 1996-98, to 7.2 per cent in 2001-02.

Particularly noteworthy for their *declining* prominence on the news agenda are the three themes: *funding shortages in schools and higher education* (5.2 per cent overall), *profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions* (4.6 per cent overall) and *teaching awards/tributes to teachers*. Funding issues (4.4 per cent overall), as a central news focus, declined from 6.9 per cent in 1991-93 to a mere 3.8 per cent of articles in 2001-02, but it is worth bearing in mind that *funding* bounced back to prominence in 2003 (6.4 per cent, as seen in the Phase I media analysis) and then receded again in 2005 (to a lower level, 3.4 per cent, than that of 2001-02). This overall trend regarding *funding issues* was also echoed in the interviews with education correspondents and editors, who felt that funding – and associated concerns about teacher-recruitment and retention - was no longer (in 2004-05 when they were interviewed) a key issue on the education news agenda.

The decline in prominence, from over five percent of articles in 1991-93 to less than four percent in 2001-2002, of the themes *profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions* and *teaching awards/tributes to teachers* is noteworthy because both of these themes contribute to meanings about the status of teachers. This is explicitly the case with regard to *teaching awards and tributes to teachers*, which, as a theme, makes a distinctly positive contribution to the public image of teachers and the teaching profession.

Two further themes distinguish themselves by their change in prominence during the period examined: *bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers*, and *teachers' lives outside school. Bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers* more than doubled in prominence from 1.5 per cent in 1991-93 to 3.6 per cent in 2001-02. This trend needs to be seen in relation to the findings from the analysis of news coverage in 2003-2005, which showed a further considerable increase in prominence, namely to 4.2 per cent in 2003 and to 6 per cent in 2005. Concerns about discipline, violence, security, attendance and truancy in schools have thus moved from a very low position on the news agenda of the early 1990s to being the sixth most prominent news theme in 2005.

By contrast, *teachers' lives outside school* – a theme which, as argued in the Phase I/II analysis, indirectly contributes positively to the 'status of teachers' – declined as a main thematic focus from 2.5 per cent in 1991-93 to a mere 0.3 per cent in 2001-02.

Table 3.15: Main thematic focus by year-cluster

	1991-93	*1996-98*	*2001-02*	*Total*
	(n=884)	(n=1006)	(n=894)	(n=2784)
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Govt targets & new schemes for schools	14.6	18.6	12.4	15.3
Teachers' employment & pay issues	8.3	9.8	14.1	10.7
Teaching of certain subjects in schools	8.7	6.7	12.1	9.1
Social issues & their impact on schools	9.2	6.9	8.7	8.2
Issues facing pupils after leaving school	5.1	5.7	8.7	6.5
Funding shortages in schools and higher education	6.9	5.0	3.8	5.2
Examinations reform	5.5	3.2	7.2	5.2
Profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions	5.3	5.1	3.2	4.6
Teaching awards/tributes to teachers	5.8	4.0	3.6	4.4
Teachers in civil & criminal cases	3.3	4.7	3.5	3.8
Other issues specifically involving students	2.3	5.2	3.9	3.8
Bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers	1.5	4.3	3.6	3.2
State versus private education	4.0	2.1	3.1	3.0
Media coverage & portrayals of schools & teachers	2.5	3.3	2.8	2.9
Other issues specifically involving parents	.8	2.2	2.0	1.7
Teachers' lives outside school	2.5	1.2	.3	1.3
Govt statements on teachers and ministers views on education	.5	.4	.1	.3
Other issues	13.5	11.9	6.8	10.8
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Overall, the analysis thus shows that while the key components of the teacher-status discourse were present throughout the period examined here, news coverage about or relevant to discussions about the status of teachers and the teaching profession became more prominent between 1991 and 2002. This was further underlined by the high and increasing prominence of *teachers' employment and pay issues*, which rose from fourth place in 1991-93 to become the single most prominent thematic focus in the coverage of 2001-02. When considered together with the increasing thematic prominence of curriculum and assessment change/reform (*teaching of certain subject in schools* and *examinations reform*) and of issues related to discipline, violence and disruption in the education system, then the thematic changes point to a discourse of a system – and a profession – under considerable stress. This is further underlined by the relative prominence – increasing during the period examined – of concerns about the *issues facing pupils after leaving school*, including controversy and uncertainty about the adequacy of training, changes in vocational training, entry into further and higher education, etc.

Key definers of teachers and education issues

The aim of this analysis was to establish who the key definers of teachers and education issues were and changes in their relative prominence over the 12-year period from the start of 1991 to the end of 2002.

Corresponding with the findings from the Phase I/II analysis of Quality newspapers, the most prominent definers were, in this order, higher education sources (who were quoted in 30.9 per cent of all articles), government (25.5 per cent) and teacher trade unions (16.2 per cent) – see Table 17. Quangos (13.5 per cent), school teachers (11.7 per cent) and head teachers (11 per cent) also figured prominently, quoted directly in between 11 and 14 percent of articles, as did the opposition political parties at 9.9 per cent of articles. Lower down the list, but still relatively prominent, were pupils/students and parents, quoted in respectively 6.8 per cent and 5.8 per cent of articles. Campaign/pressure groups and police/law enforcement/the legal profession were each quoted directly in 4 per cent of articles, while local government, education experts and LEAs exerted little definitional power with direct quotes in each case in less than 4 per cent of the articles analysed.

As indicated above, the rank order of definers listed in Table 3.16 corresponds closely to the rank order found in the Phase I/II analysis, with one or two exceptions. Thus, Quangos were in 6th place in the Quality papers of 2003/2005, but in 4th place overall in the retrospective period analysed here. By contrast, campaign/pressure groups, in only joint 11th place in the retrospective sample shown in table 3.16 below, were in 8th place in the Quality papers of 2003/2005. Interestingly, the higher ranking of campaign/pressure groups in the 2003/2005 sample corresponds to a considerable resurgence in prominence in the third year-cluster of the retrospective sample, i.e. campaign/pressure groups rose from being quoted directly in 4.7 per cent of articles in 1991-93 to 7.1 per cent of articles in 2001-02.

Table 3.16: Actors quoted directly by year cluster

	N	*1991-93*	*1996-98*	*2001-02*	*Total*
		(n=884)	(n=1006)	(n=894)	(n=2784)
		Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %
Higher education sources	446	21.1	37.0	31.7	30.9
Government	367	25.6	20.7	33.2	25.5
Teacher trade unions	234	12.4	16.0	20.8	16.2
Quangos	195	9.9	16.5	12.7	13.5
School teachers	168	10.3	12.2	12.1	11.7
Headteachers	158	10.6	10.2	12.7	11.0
Opposition	143	12.7	10.2	6.3	9.9
Pupils/school students	98	3.8	7.4	9.2	6.8
Published media reports	94	8.5	6.4	4.5	6.5
Parents	83	4.5	7.5	4.2	5.8
Campaign/pressure groups	58	4.7	1.7	7.1	4.0
Police/law enforcement & legal profession	58	4.7	4.2	2.9	4.0
Local government	47	3.3	3.6	2.6	3.3
Education experts	34	3.8	2.4	.8	2.4
Local Education Authorities	25	1.4	2.0	1.6	1.7
Other sources	328	18.3	29.2	16.9	22.7

Column percentages do not add up to 100 as up to three separate actor-categories could be coded for each article.

Parents were prominently quoted (7.5 per cent of articles) in the middle year-cluster, 1996-98, but otherwise remained relatively unchanged, while pupils/students became considerably and progressively more prominent, from being quoted directly in 3.8 per cent of articles in 1991-93 to 9.2 per cent of articles in 2001-02. There was relatively little change over the three year-clusters in the extent to which teachers and head teachers were quoted directly in news coverage. Teachers were thus quoted in 10.3% of news articles in 1991-93 and in 12.1 per cent of articles in 2001-02, while head teachers were

quoted in 10.6 per cent of articles in the earlier period and in 12.7 per cent of articles in 2001-02.

The declining prominence of published media reports – i.e. the direct quoting in news articles of reports, often research reports, published in journals, as single publications, or in extract in other (mass) media – from 8.5 per cent in 1991-92 to 4.5 per cent in 2001-02 is likely related to changing news gathering routines and to changing journalistic practices, although this requires further investigation for a full explanation to emerge.

The most notable and interesting changes were undoubtedly in the top three groups of primary definers and, associated with these, in the changes in prominence of opposition political parties. Higher education sources became particularly prominent primary definers in the middle year-cluster, 1996-98, where they were quoted in over one third of all articles (37 per cent), and, although dropping into second place behind government sources in 2001-02, they remained considerably more prominent in 2001-02 (31.7 per cent) than in 1991-93 (21.1 per cent). Teacher trade unions were the third most prominently quoted sources throughout the retrospective period analysed here, as indeed they were in the more recent 2003/05 analysis, increasing considerably in prominence from being quoted directly in 12.4 per cent of articles in 1991-93 to 20.8 per cent of articles in 2001-02.

The government was the single most prominent definer of education issues in 1991-93 (under the Conservative Party) and again in 2001-02 (under the Labour Party), but the percentage changes are particularly noteworthy here, particularly when compared with the figures for the opposition political parties. Thus, the Conservative Government was quoted directly in just over a quarter (25.6 per cent) of all news articles in 1991-93, while the Labour Government was quoted directly in a third (33.2 per cent) of all news articles in 2001-02. By contrast, the Labour, Liberal and other opposition parties were quoted directly in 12.7 per cent of articles in 1991-93 compared with the Conservative, Liberal and other opposition parties commanding a much less prominent position in 2001-02 (and in 2003/05, as shown in the Phase I/II analysis) where they were quoted in only 6.3 per cent of articles, half as prominent as the Labour/Liberal opposition of 1991-93. There is then a clear indication from these results, that the government has become increasingly more prominent as a primary definer of education issues in the national Quality press, while the opposition political parties have become increasingly less prominent. The findings also indicate that the three dominant actors defining the education news debate in the national Quality press are government, higher education sources and the teacher trade unions (although, interestingly, the education correspondents and editors interviewed for this study, felt that the teacher unions had become much less 'important' in the last 10-15 years).

III. THE IMAGE OF TEACHERS IN NEWSPAPER HEADLINES, 1991-2003/2005

The retrospective analysis of press coverage and the analysis of education correspondents and editors have both indicated considerable changes in the coverage of education and teachers over the last fifteen years or so. Some of these changes can now be examined in more detail, and with specific reference to the way in which both individual teachers and teachers as a profession are portrayed in newspaper headlines.

The first thing to note is confirmation of what has already been indicated in the retrospective analysis and in interviews with media professionals, that the coverage of education and teachers has risen considerably on the media agenda and in terms of sheer quantity and prominence over the period looked at here. Thus, the number of headlines containing either the singular or plural form of the word 'teacher' rose from 71 in 1991-93 to 133 in 1996-98 and to 122 in 2001-02, which, if extrapolating to a comparable 3-year period, would correspond to 183 headlines. Table 3.17 further shows that the number of headline references to teacher(s) also rose relative to the overall number of teacher/education-relevant articles across the three retrospective year-clusters analysed: in the early 1990s 'teacher(s)-headlines' were 8.1 per cent of headlines; this figure rose considerably to 13.2 per cent in 1996-98 and remained high at 13.7 per cent of all headlines in 2001-02.

Table 3.17: 'Teacher(s)' - headlines by year-cluster (1991-2002) and by type of newspaper (2003/5)

	Quality papers			Popular papers			Regional papers		
	N	n	%	N	n	%	N	n	%
1991-93	884	71	8.1						
1996-98	1006	133	13.2						
2001-02	894	122	13.7						
2003	408	49	12	252	52	20.6	205	27	13.2
2005	485	55	11.3	203	53	26.1	164	29	17.7
2003/05	893	104	11.6	455	105	23.1	369	56	15.2

N: number of teacher/education relevant headlines
n: number of headlines referencing 'teacher' or 'teachers'

As shown in the bottom half of Table 3.17, the percentage of 'teacher(s)'-headlines remained at a higher level than for the early 1990s in 2003 and 2005, although 'teachers' were not quite as prominent as in 2001-02. The bottom half of Table 3.17 demonstrates quite clearly that the Popular newspapers, in particular, and the Regional newspapers are

considerably more likely to mention teacher(s) in their headlines than the Quality newspapers (confirming the finding from the phases I and II analysis that coverage specifically about or relevant to teachers (as opposed to education generally) is relatively more prominent in these two categories of newspaper compared with the Quality newspapers). Thus, 23.1 per cent of the Popular newspaper headlines and 17.7 per cent of the Regional newspaper headlines mention teacher(s) compared with 11.6 per cent in the Quality newspapers during 2003/2005.

Teacher/Teachers collocates 1991-2003/2005.

An indication of the overall 'image' of teachers, as they are represented or portrayed in newspaper headlines, comes from a collocation-analysis, that is, an analysis of the words most closely associated with or most frequently occurring together with the two key-words 'teacher' and 'teachers'. Table 3.18 below shows the top most frequently occurring (significant or meaning-carrying) words appearing within two words either side (to the left or the right) of the word 'teacher' or the word 'teachers' across all headlines (Quality newspaper headlines from the year-clusters 1991-93, 1996-98 and 2001-02, and Quality, Popular and Regional newspaper headlines for 2003 and 2005). The table only lists significant or meaning-carrying collocates of 'teacher(s)'; it excludes the most common (non-meaning-carrying) articles (a, an, the), numbers, prepositions and verbs (is, are, etc.).

The very considerable emphasis (as seen in the thematic analysis, this is especially pronounced in the Popular newspapers) on teachers involved in court cases and/or as victims or perpetrators of misconduct – often of a sexual nature – and violence is clearly signalled through the extraordinarily frequent collocates 'jail/jailed', 'air-gun/gun', 'rape/raped' and 'sex', and the further prominence of the collocates 'murder/murdered', 'seduced', 'attack/attacked/attacks', 'killed' and 'porn'. As simple word-associations, these collocates, together with a further generally negative, challenging or gloomy set comprising 'sacked/sacking', 'loses', 'appeal', 'fears', 'charge/charged', 'face/facing' (i.e. it is rare for the verb 'face/facing' to be used in conjunction with something positive), 'crisis', 'driven' and 'row, convey an image of teachers in trouble (because of their conduct) or 'under siege' (in terms of the violence committed against them or the pressures on them). However, it is important to put these simple word-associations into their context to see what is actually said about teachers, as we shall do in the more detailed analysis of headlines offered below.

Positive collocations include the prominent headline-occurrence of the phrase 'My favourite teacher', which stems from a series run by *The Guardian* in 1997, where various celebrities praised their favourite teacher. Teacher-training, the second most prominent co-occurrence, is not by itself either necessarily negative or positive, but nevertheless indicates the prominent political and news-interest in reform and enhancement of the training of teachers.

Table 3.18: Collocations of TEACHER and TEACHERS in all headlines (significant words within 2 words either side of Teacher or Teachers)

TEACHER collocates	N	TEACHERS collocates	N
Jail (12), jailed, 15	27	Head	9
Training (14) trainee (1)	14	Pay	9
Air-gun (8), gun (2)	10	Union (6), unions (3)	9
Head	9	School (1) schools (7)	8
Rape (6), raped (2)	8	Strike (7), striking (1)	8
Union (1), Unions (6) Superunion (1)	8	Call (5), calls (2)	7
Favourite	7	Train (2), trained (1), trainee (1), trainers (2), training (2)	7
Sex	7	New	6
Dance (4), danced (1), dancer (1)	6	Conference (2), conferences (3)	5
Murder (5) murdered (1)	6	Demand	5
Sacked (5), sacking (1)	6	Need (4), needed (1)	5
Seduced	6	Some	5
Appeal	5	Vote	5
Face (1), faces (2), facing (2)	5	Accuse (1), accused (3)	4
Job	5	Action	4
Loses	5	Attack (1), attacks (3)	4
PE	5	Class (3) classroom (1)	4
Attack (1), attacked (1), attacks (2)	4	Cut (3), cuts (1)	4
Boy (3), boys (1)	4	Do	4
Fears	4	Doctors	4
Justice	4	English	4
Killed	4	Fear (1) fears (3)	4
Pet	4	Get (3) gets (1)	4
Case	3	Give (2) given (2)	4
Charge (1), charged (2)	3	Inner-city	4
Crisis	3	Pupil (2) pupils (2)	4
Drive (1, verb), driven (2)	3	Reject (3) rejects (1)	4
Education	3	Threaten (3) threatens (1)	4
Held	3	Time	4
Mathematics (1), maths (2)	3	Want	4
Porn	3	Blame (2) blamed (1)	3
Pupil (2) pupils (1)	3	Go	3
Row	3	Hour (1) hours (2)	3
Shortage (2) shortages (1)	3	Just	3
Spill	3	Leader	3
Talk (2), talks (1)	3	Oppose	3
Top ('top 1500' and 'top school')	3	Rise (2) rises (1)	3
		Should	3

* Frequent collocates like BRIEF, LETTER and EDUCATION are not included as they generally appear as type-of-article identifiers only.

While these word-associations *are* the most prominent associations created by the news-headline referencing of teachers, it also needs to be borne in mind that this kind of analysis is easily skewed by a few prominently reported specific cases: thus the frequent collocation 'airgun teacher' relates to a single, but much covered, story. 'Dance teacher' likewise relates to the reporting of a single story concerning a female dance teacher who

had a sexual relationship with one of her under-age pupils. The collocation 'favourite teacher' falls into a similar category, prominent through, in this case, a single newspaper using this phrase in a celebrity-focused series.

The most frequent collocates of the plural form 'teachers' are notable for the general image which they convey of teachers as a union-organised body (with particular unions/associations for 'headteachers'), making claims regarding pay and conditions (e.g. 'hours') and threatening strike action. The headlines focus on organised confrontation, on head teachers' and other teachers' union-related 'strike'/ 'pay'-'action' and 'calls', threats, 'demands', rejection, 'votes' – at union 'conferences'.

The relative frequency of 'doctors' within close proximity to 'teachers' gives an interesting first indication of which professions teachers are compared to or discussed together with in the news. This was pursued further through a simple enumeration of the number of times selected other professions were referenced in the full corpus of teacher/education-related newspaper articles. Table 3.19 then gives a general indication of the kinds of other professions mentioned (albeit not necessarily by way of comparison with teachers as a profession) in news articles about teachers and education. It is particularly interesting that 'social workers', who have often been regarded as comparable to teachers as a profession, are the least frequently mentioned profession. Doctors and nurses, by contrast, are mentioned considerably more frequently than any of the other selected professions, in these articles about teachers and education.

Table 3.16: Number of full-text references to selected professions in the retrospective sample (1991-93, 1996-98 and 2001-02)

Teachers	*1669*
Doctors	152
Nurses	97
Lawyers	42
Civil servants	40
Accountants	36
Journalists	31
Solicitors	27
Policemen	13
Social workers	11

Changing images of teachers, 1991-93 to 2003/05

The portrayal of teachers in the Quality newspaper headlines changed considerably between 1991-93 and 2001-02. The most noticeable change between the headlines of the early 1990s (1991-93) and those of 1996-98 is a change from an almost exclusive position as object/target of government and other actions to a much more active position as the subject/agent of various actions.

In the **1991-93** headlines education secretary Patten 'defies' teachers and 'threatens' teachers, a teacher is found 'guilty', a teacher is 'told', a council offers 'local pay rates to teachers' or 'retains teachers', the 'Minister tries to head off teachers dispute', teachers

are taught a lesson ('The lesson that the Tories have taught teachers'), 'Teachers at fee-paying schools [are] hit by job losses' or 'Teachers [are] blocked in effort to offer range of subjects', 'Teachers put to test', 'Extremist teachers [are] curbed', 'Patten proposes one-year college courses to train mature students as infant teachers', 'Schools to train teachers'. Amidst all these teachers-as-object references there are only a few references where teachers are portrayed in the subject/agency role of doing something: 'Teachers hold to defiant line', 'Teachers oppose …[truancy tables/training proposal]' and 'Teacher won't be dismissed'.

By **1996-1998**, teachers are very predominantly portrayed as subjects and in an active role: here, teachers variously 'have grave doubts', 'prepare to strike', 'say', 'beat clampdown', 'find it harder', 'savage reading report', 'demand', 'accuse Shephard', 'boo', 'threaten', 'object', are 'enraged', 'reject', 'ask' etc. Unlike the 1991-93 headlines, there are very few occurrences of teachers as objects/targets in the 1996-98 headlines, although such sentence constructions do of course still occur: 'Spoonface and pals help teacher with the hard stuff', 'Boy, 12, attacks teacher', 'Suicide verdict on teacher', 'Teacher jailed for armed robbery', 'Shephard expels scruffy teachers from classroom', 'Shephard seeks to raise hurdle for new teachers', and 'Extra funds for teachers and nurses'.

The 'teacher'-headlines of the **2001-02** year-cluster are similar to those of the 1996-98 year-cluster in that teachers – both as individuals and as a group/profession – continue to be portrayed predominantly in a subject – rather than an object – position in sentence-structures. There is thus a clear and seemingly lasting change from the teachers-as-object position characteristic of the headlines of the early 1990s to a teachers-as-subject/agency representation in the latter half of the 1990s and early 2000s. This may possibly merely reflect a general change in news-headline language, unrelated to how teachers in particular are portrayed and possibly applicable to a range of professions and their representation in newspapers, but it is also possible that it reflects a genuine change in the public image and representation of teachers, from a position of less respect (and perhaps 'status') in the sense that we are told what is done to/said about teachers to one where teachers are portrayed/reported in the subject/agent position - with the added credibility and legitimacy associated with such a position; in other words, teachers are given a 'voice' and what is reported is – if not exclusively, then predominantly - what teachers say/demand/ask for/call for/claim/do etc.

With very few exceptions the 'teacher' headlines of **1991-93** are, what can best be described as, 'problem' or 'confrontation' news stories, in other words there are few distinctly 'good/positive' news stories (exceptions being: 'Classroom fit for modern teacher', 'Teacher prize launched', '(…) Teacher of the Year', 'Further education for better teachers'). The more common headlines are headlines which highlight conflict/disputes/disagreements, mainly between teachers/teachers' unions and government ('Names on teacher-blacklist top 1500', 'Teacher unions attack Clarke for outrageous slur on profession', 'Teacher unions set to escalate row over testing', 'Teacher union ready to give Patten a lesson', 'Minister tries to head off teachers dispute', 'Tories launch offensive to woo teachers', 'Tory unease as Patten defies teachers over tests boycott', 'Teachers hold to defiant line', 'Teachers leader appeals for truce', 'Patten threatens teachers on tests', 'Extremist teachers curbed') and resource/pay/job/employment-problems ('Fears of teacher crisis justified, researchers say', 'Warning of cut in teacher numbers', 'Reforms blamed for teacher cuts', 'Teacher

redundancies warning', 'Teachers' pay rises will cost jobs and materials', 'assault on jobs', 'teachers (…) hit by job losses', 'insult to pupils and teachers', 'Head's rule by diktat …',

The language used is predominantly the language of crisis, violence, conflict and combat with words such as 'crisis', 'action', 'strike', 'dispute', 'launch offensive', 'assault', 'blocked', 'rule by diktat', 'truce', 'threatens', 'oppose', 'boycott', 'defiant' and 'defies'. While the lexicon of crisis and conflict continues to be prevalent throughout the three retrospective year-clusters examined, the image of teachers becomes much less one-dimensional both in the 1996-98 and in the 2001-02 year-clusters. There is a noticeable shift in the 2001-02 headlines, particularly compared to the 1991-93 headlines, but also to a lesser extent compared with the 1996-98 headlines, towards a more diverse range of issues and towards an openly supportive recognition of the problems facing teachers and the profession. Thus two Leader/editorial headlines explicitly support calls for more teachers and better pay:

- The best way to improve school standards is to employ more teachers
- More from Morris: But teachers are still underpaid

Further headlines with implications for the public image and status of teachers are:

- Respect for teachers [which appears twice]
- We need to value our teachers

Where the 1991-93 headlines focus mainly on problems of discipline/violence in schools, on pay, on standards and on 'bad' teachers in a range of misconduct or criminal cases, the 1996-98 headlines and particularly the 2001-02 headlines give considerable emphasis – in addition to the court-case and misconduct reporting – to pensions, working hours and workloads, teacher training, recruitment, teacher shortages, and 'attractive' features of a teaching career. Where the 1991-93 and 1996-98 year-cluster headlines highlighted concerns about teacher training in terms of (teachers' and others') concerns about dilution of standards and de-professionalisation, the 2001-02 headlines portray 'training' in an almost promotional language. Thus, terms like 'job satisfaction', 'incentive', 'attractive', 'attracted', 'accessible', and 'help' (to teachers), appear in the 2001-02 headlines but less frequently, or not at all, in those of the earlier year-clusters.

While the headlines in all three year-clusters convey a prominent sense of conflict, crisis and problems in relation to both individual teachers (appearing in the news either because of individual misconduct or criminal behaviour, or because of being the subject/target of attacks, abuse, violence or accusations) and in relation to the profession as such (teacher shortages, low morale, violence and discipline problems, pay, industrial action, lack of resources, workload and work hours), there is a pronounced change in the overall language and tone used for describing these conditions. The change - as argued above in relation to the grammatical analysis of teachers as objects/subjects in headline sentences – results in a change of perspective, from what is being done to teachers, to what teachers themselves articulate as the key issues or problems needing to be addressed.

While there is little overtly negative or directly derogatory or disparaging comment on teachers (with the exception of headlines about teachers jailed or sentenced for criminal

behaviour of various sorts) in any of the year-clusters, the tone of the 2001-02 headlines is noticeably more sympathetic to or supportive of teachers than the 1991-93 headlines. The tone cannot be separated from the change in object/subject-position commented on above, but it extends further than this in at least two ways: through affording 'news space' to the cataloguing of a wide range of issues/problems facing the teaching profession, and through the tone or stance of reporting which generally conveys acknowledgement and recognition (by the newspapers) that these issues or problems are genuine and legitimate (in contrast to coverage which would imply that teachers were forever whinging or were militant, extremist, obstinate, regressive, unreasonable etc.).

Repeated news attention is thus given, in the 2001-02 headlines in particular, to the (implied: unacceptable or difficult) general plight of teachers as a beleaguered profession, reflected in the many headlines cataloguing the range of problems associated with teaching and the teaching profession. The problems include, inter alia, teacher shortages/recruitment/retention, pay (which is either recognised by the headlines as still being too low per se or described as such in reports which focus on the mismatch between teachers' pay and the cost of housing/living in parts of the country, notably London), workloads and hours, problems of discipline and violence, lack of appropriate powers to exclude disruptive pupils and enforce discipline, intimidation by parents, stress, safety and teacher liability on school outings, pension shortfalls, etc.

Not only are these issues/problems given prominence on the news agenda, but in addition the tone of coverage is one of recognition that they are genuine problems, and one of sympathy and support:

- Cash: Property: A semi for teacher - problems for us all: Graham Norwood on how local authorities are trying to force builders to cater for moderate earners
- Efforts to improve maths hit by teacher shortages
- Analysis: teacher's hours - the formula for a rise in school standards: lighter workload = greater recruitment;
- Teacher training drive to lift results: Minister says targets will be hit next year
- Letter: The big issue: It's for the government to learn from the teachers
- Leading article: The best way to improve school standards is to employ more teachers
- Extra Pounds 52m to fund teachers' pay awards
- Pay package wins backing of Scots teachers
- Fast-track inquiry plan for accused teachers
- Blunkett to offer help for teachers accused of abuse
- Teachers 'fleeing' discipline crisis 'drives out teachers'
- Teachers' morale
- State teachers 'should share in school profits'
- Thousands of teachers left off new register
- Education: schools to escape full inspections under new plans; teachers' unions welcome proposals for a revamp by the standards watchdog but baulk at giving parents and pupils a role in reviews
- Letter: respect for teachers
- Business: Teacher Training: Opening up the school doors: Amid the worst shortage of teachers in 20 years, training is becoming more accessible
- Teachers hit by bad advice on pensions

- Comment & Analysis: Leader: More from Morris: But teachers are still underpaid
- We need to value our teachers
- Teachers' stress and long hours
- Boarding schools see first rise in pupils for 15 years. Education headteachers delighted by positive publicity provided by Harry Potter books and films
- Report backs cut in teachers' hours
- Review body backs 7-hour cut in teachers' working week; schools government welcomes report, although meeting proposals may be 'challenging'
- Education: middle class abandoning state schools, union warns; national association of head teachers conference steps up calls for more resources and demands powers to enforce discipline
- Head teachers warn over school violence
- Teaching lures 'dissatisfied' recruits from private sector; schools more than half the people becoming teachers are over 30 as the security, hours and job satisfaction prove increasingly attractive
- Teachers' fury as board cleared in A-level fiasco: Exam board cleared over A-level crisis

And a small number of negative ones:
- Teachers blamed for exam crisis
- Teachers and schools blamed for failing grades
- Faster exit for bad teachers

The **2003/2005** (Phase I and Phase II) headlines mirror to a large extent those of 2001-2002 in terms of both the range of issues associated with references to teachers and in terms of the image and (generally supportive and sympathetic) tone conveyed in headlines referencing teachers. Particularly interesting, when comparing with headlines of the early 1990s, is the almost complete absence of references conveying the notion that teachers are being ordered, told or commanded to do this or that – and associated with this absence, an absence of headlines implying that teachers are being set unreasonable goals by government. As noted in relation to headlines from the 1996-98 and 2001-02 year-clusters, there is also a marked predominance of 'teachers' in the grammatical position as sentence subject/agent rather than in the object-position, which was prevalent in the headlines of the early 1990s. In 2003/05 teachers variously 'tell', 'demand', 'seek', 'may', 'need', 'want', 'vote', 'are', 'call for', 'threaten', 'attack' etc. The emphasis then is on articulating teachers' voices or perspectives, with the credibility and authority that this grammatical position affords over the grammatical object-position.

Although the lexicon of combat, crisis and conflict continues to be present, there is less headline-reference to or linguistic emphasis on direct confrontation between teachers and government. Where headlines of earlier year-clusters often refer to clashes/conflict between teachers/teacher unions and government (frequently in the form of direct reference to the Secretary of State for Education, government ministers or the Department for Education and Skills) and occasionally to clashes/conflict between teachers and the political opposition, there are relatively and comparatively few of these types of 'confrontation'-references in the 2003/2005 Quality newspaper headlines. Thus the only headlines to directly refer to the Secretary of State for Education are generally less confrontational compared with examples from earlier year-clusters:

- Clarke plan to give funds directly to headteachers (2003)
- Clarke to set targets on teacher pay rises (2003)
- Clarke urges pay curb for teachers (2003)
- Conman Clarke prevents 20,000 teachers from receiving bonus pay (2003)
- Business to be made the apple of teacher's eye: Ruth Kelly believes a shake-up of education and skills training to be an economic imperative' (2005)

Compared with:
- Patten defies teachers … (1993)
- Patten threatens teachers … (1993)
- Shephard expels scruffy teachers (1997)
- Teachers boo Shephard attack on union (1997)
- Blunkett … will announce … and order each school in England to… (1998, emphasis added)
- Classrooms in crisis as teachers revolt: Unions set for battle with government …amid claims that Estelle Morris has taken her eye off the ball (2002, emphasis added).

Continuing the trend identified in the 2001-02 headlines, and to a lesser extent in the 1996-98 headlines, the headlines of 2003/05 mainly contribute to highlighting the range of key issues and problems facing teachers, in a form which generally conveys the perspective/view of the teachers themselves (see the above comments about subject/object positions) and affords legitimacy and/or sympathy in relation to their situation or plight. This comes across in two ways:

1) Overtly laudatory reports, including several obituaries, which highlight teachers' positive contributions in various ways, including:
   - Class act: The teacher who inspired … Michael Wood
   - Teacher's pet sounds: Producers, stylists and God often crop up on album credits, but some pop stars have another thank-you. [the article goes on to list a succession of pop stars who thank one or more of their school teachers]
   - Obituary: Nina Fonaroff: Choreographer and teacher …
   - Obituary: George Rochberg: A composer and teacher…
   - Staff mourn the teacher who made a difference
   - Teachers' zeal gets results

2) Through headlines which are explicitly supportive of teachers' claims or demands or imply/highlight seemingly positive developments/targets/goals/policies :
   - Education: 'teachers at difficult schools should be paid as much as they are at Eton'
   - The big issues: classroom chaos: Time for teachers to just say no
   - Education: Why teachers need trainers: People are flooding into teaching. Now we have to improve their career development, Ralph Tabberer tells Rebecca Smithers.
   - Education: Opinion: Creative teachers should be positively encouraged, not made to toe the line
   - Leading article: The teachers are right: tests are no substitute for education
   - Big rise in graduates joining courses to be teachers

As in previous year-clusters, the 2003/2005 Quality newspaper headlines contain a large number of references to individual teachers in the context of misconduct, violence, discipline, abuse, and sex-related cases of various sorts. While at a simple word-association level these clearly contribute to a negative image of individual teachers, with perhaps unavoidable extensions to the profession as such, it is important to note that such headlines are by no means exclusively anti-teachers or negative. Thus, a large number of the 'violence, crime, jail'-related headlines referencing teachers in the 2003/2005 qualitative newspaper headlines point to the unreasonable pressures on teachers, problems of discipline/lack of respect, threats and violence against teachers, inadequate legal and other backing for teachers to enable them to defend themselves or to enable them to enforce order and discipline in schools, etc. The perspective of these headlines is one which is critical of the wider context and system within which teachers are forced to operate, not of the teachers themselves. The tone of these headlines is one which supports the 'case' of teachers. Numerous headlines in the 2005 sample related to a single story regarding a teacher's use of an airgun:

- Teacher gets six months for air pistol clash with 'vandals'
- Six months for teacher who took on 'yobbos'
- Jailed: teacher who snapped
- Teacher who fired air gun at 'vandals' is sent to jail
- Teacher jailed for firing air pistol is sacked from job
- Air gun teacher sacked by school
- Air-gun teacher loses job appeal

While the newspaper headlines are careful to appropriately indicate, with quotation marks, that the labels 'vandals' and 'yobbos' are from the court evidence and not their terms, the message that is clearly communicated is that the teacher in question reacted in response to unacceptable taunting and pressure, and was unduly harshly punished by both a jail-sentence and by being sacked from her job.

The headline identifier 'teacher', and later the nominalization 'air-gun teacher', is notable for the fact that the person in question is consistently identified by her profession, as a teacher, even though the vandalism, taunting and indeed the air-gun incident itself took place near her home and was unrelated to her place of work or to her profession. The consistent use of the identifier 'teacher' is thus an important part of the way that the newspapers – without using language or descriptors that could be regarded as biased or value-laden – build up a 'frame' and perspective to signal whether the person's behaviour was justified and appropriately dealt with by, in this case, the legal system. The identifier 'teacher' is used to convey the normal qualities associated with this profession, namely as someone who is respectable, reasonable and – as the text beyond the headlines stresses in more detail (e.g. "Mrs Walker, a teacher at New Park High School in Eccles, Salford, a special school for children with behavioural problems …" *The Independent*, 17 May 2005) – doing a valuable and caring job.

These positive associations with the label 'teacher' are further emphasised by the juxtaposition with the negative labels 'vandals' and 'yobbos'. We have noted in other parts of the analysis that the label 'teacher' often appears as an identifier in stories unrelated to teaching, education or the profession as such and is used essentially to convey, in shorthand fashion, the positive cultural values and characteristics associated with the teaching profession. There are thus no examples in this analysis of the label

'teacher' ever being used – on its own – as a negative identifier. The 'air-gun teacher' headlines confirm this general argument in the sense that the primary headline identification of the person involved is through her professional label as a 'teacher' (as opposed to other possible identifiers that could have been used: e.g. 'mother', '47-year old', 'Urmston resident', etc.), even though the incident itself seemed unrelated to both the place and nature of her work as a teacher. 'Teacher' is used as part of the newspapers' building of a character-profile (together with age, relationships (partner, son, etc), place of living and place of incident) and this is further cemented through the juxtaposition with the labels used in relation to her accusers.

While many headlines focus on teachers who have unlawful sexual relationships with (underage) teenage pupils in their charge, and while there is certainly media coverage of bad teachers who commit violence or other criminal offences, there is also much coverage, particularly in the post-2000 headlines, to indicate that teachers are too easily and often wrongfully accused, that they are victims of violence – and murder in some cases - battling against a rising tide of indiscipline, disruptive behaviour, harassment from pupils as well as parents etc.

The **Popular newspaper headlines** – referencing 'teacher' or 'teachers' – cover, not surprisingly, many of the same stories as the Quality newspapers, but put a much greater emphasis – and consequently a narrower focus – on stories about sex, crime and violence against teachers or perpetrated by teachers. In the Popular newspaper headlines of 2003/2005, prominence is likewise given to the 'air-gun teacher' story, but where the Quality newspapers were careful to use the labels 'vandals' and 'yobs' with quotation marks, and never directly or explicitly articulated a stance on the jail-sentence passed on Mrs Walker, the tabloids were more forthright:

- Call this justice? Admired teacher driven to fire air pistol at yobs is jailed
- Teacher trial yob 'is a liar'
- Youth who helped jail teacher is violent yob

Outrage is expressed by the opening rhetorical question, the 'teacher' is described as 'admired' and there are no distancing quotation marks around the label yob/yobs.

Almost all of the Popular paper headline references to the singular form 'teacher' concern sex, crime and violence acts either committed by teachers against pupils or committed against teachers:
- Jailed, teacher who seduced a pupil aged 14
- Teacher's sex shame with the girl who sent him 850 texts
- Teacher struck off for having an affair with pupil
- Teacher had sex with her pupil, 16
- Dance teacher, 25, faces jail for sex with a pupil of 16
- Man in court over teacher's murder
- Teacher's sex romps
- Levels of sex attacks on school staff are soaring; pupils threat to rape teacher
- Teacher is trapped by the net
- Charlotte [Church] teacher in porn probe
- Teacher jailed for two kisses

While the headlines describing teachers accused or sentenced for inappropriate sexual relationships clearly convey a negative image of teachers, these are to some extent counterbalanced by the also numerous stories about teachers as victims.

Regional newspaper headlines, referencing teacher(s), from the 2003/2005 sample comprise a mixture of violence/malpractice/sex-related court cases, tributes to teachers, concerns about teacher shortages and strike threats. Despite the prominent reporting – as in the national newspapers – of teachers accused of various offences, there is also a strong emphasis on praise for teachers, on positive/promotional headlines, and on highlighting offences committed/false charges against teachers:

Praise for teachers:
- Oscars for the teacher
- Teachers who go the extra mile
- Tributes to head teacher Fred Norris
- Teacher saluted
- Teacher is honoured for 35 years' work at same school
- 'Give teachers year's pay bonus for saving schools'

Positive/promotional headlines:
- My £ 4,000 'Golden Hello' as a maths teacher adds up to the deposit on a flat
- Novices cash in on career kick-start; A new bursary scheme offers inexperienced teachers the chance to boost expertise
- Career change adds up; Teaching: Taking the fast track is a profitable move for new maths teachers
- Minister praises school's teacher training
- Extra time for teachers

Teachers as victims:
 Offences/false charges against teachers:
- Teacher's torturers jailed
- Raped teacher tells of terror
- Classroom plot to get teacher
- Teacher: Class rape has destroyed me
- Boy of 15 who raped teacher is named
- Teacher assault
- 'Protect Falsely Accused Teachers'
- Attacks on teachers must stop

 Job cuts:
- 24 teachers face the axe
- Axed teachers scandal; dream of new life in Birmingham shattered
- Life on a knife edge; teacher fears she may be deported
- Air gun teacher to fight job axe
- Pistol teacher to appeal over sacking

IV. PRODUCING EDUCATION COVERAGE – A STUDY OF EDUCATION CORRESPONDENTS AND EDITORS IN THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PRESS

Introduction

News coverage of teachers and education is the end result of complex processes of communication and claims-making by key stakeholders in the education debate and of the professional routines and practices of media professionals, who in turn operate within the organizational framework and constraints (economic, regulatory, political, etc) which govern the news media. Education correspondents and editors play a key role in determining what is portrayed about teachers and education in the news media. They also have a key influence on *how* teachers – their status and the issues of concern to teachers – are portrayed. An insight into news professionals' view of teachers and teacher-status and an insight into the processes involved in the production of news coverage of teachers and education are therefore important to understanding the news media's contribution to public images of teachers and more particularly to understanding how change in public images of teachers may come about.

In order to gain a better understanding of what is portrayed about teachers and education in the media, and to begin to understand some of the processes and working routines which contribute to the final look of media coverage of teachers and education, the analysis presented here focuses on the professional practices and values of the key journalists and editors who produce the coverage of teachers and education in the national and Regional media.

Sample and method

The detailed analysis of newspaper coverage of teachers and education during Phase 1 (2003) was used to identify the most frequently occurring media staff writing about teacher and education issues. A total of 25 newspaper reporters and editors were selected for interview and of these 21 were successfully interviewed (3 Popular newspaper journalists and 1 Regional correspondent refused to be interviewed). The respondents' media-affiliations are as follows: *The Financial Times* (1), *The Guardian* (3), *The Observer* (2), *The Independent* (2), *The Daily Telegraph* (2), *The Sunday Telegraph* (1), *The Times* (2), *The Sunday Times* (1), *The Sun* (1), *The Mail on Sunday* (1), *The Yorkshire Evening Post* (1), *The Newcastle Evening Chronicle* (1), *The Leicester Mercury* (1) and *The London Evening Standard* (2).

All but two of the respondents were designated as either 'education reporter/ correspondent/ feature writer' (14) or as 'education editor' (5). The two who did not carry the title of education correspondent/editor were specialist correspondents whose area included education.

All interviews were digitally recorded with the consent of the interviewees. The respondents were assured of confidentiality and are thus identified here only by a

number and by type of newspaper (using the following letter-codes: 'D' for Daily, 'S' for Sunday; 'Q', 'P' and 'R' for Quality, Popular and Regional). The interviews were on average 40-50 minutes in length. All interviews were transcribed in full and coded/analysed with the qualitative text-analysis software *Atlas.ti*.

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured conversations structured, in order to ensure comparability, around a menu of questions or 'issue-areas'. The framework of questions was designed to explore working practices, news-routines, news-selection criteria, relationship with sources, perceptions of their readership, and professional notions of the role, function and influence of teacher/education coverage, including its status on the news agenda, changes/developments in the nature of teacher/education coverage and journalistic beliefs about the public role and implications of news reporting on teachers and education.

News values/criteria and news selection routines in education coverage

Contrary perhaps to common beliefs about the randomness of news, news gathering practices and the production of news are highly structured and highly routinised. This is even more so in the case of education news than in some comparable areas. All the correspondents noted the highly structured diary of events – and associated media coverage – which characterises the school and academic year, and consequently the education news year. This is notably so in relation to the regular teacher/education conferences and the regular repertoire of reporting associated with key points in the school-year: admissions, start of the school year, the Chief Inspector of Education's annual report, exams, exam results, league tables, etc.

> (…) it [education news] follows a calendar just as school life does, or university life does. In January there's the north of England educational conference, which is the first big conference of the year, usually taken by politicians, ministers as an opportunity to say something significant to cue up the year and also to catch the headlines. It's literally within the first four or five days of the new year. There's very little going on, they know that if they say something significant it's going to get the public's attention. So they take that opportunity. February we have the Chief Inspector of Education's annual report. March or April, depending on when Easter is, you have the three big teacher union conferences. In the summer then you've got GCSE and A Level results. In the autumn it's the political party conferences, the governments usually take initiative to try and set some kind of agenda there. Independent schools have their conferences in the autumn. (15-DQ)

As shown in this quote, journalists are fully aware of the careful ways in which sources *use* these fixed points in the education diary for news and publicity purposes, particularly with regard to the timing of new policy announcements (to for example be made at points in the news calendar where these are most likely to command the maximum degree of attention). As shown in more detail in the discussion about sources and source-journalist relationships below, this offers a first indication of the journalists' clear sense of the highly developed active news-management practices of sources. The key sources in education coverage are thus not seen as passive sources waiting to be approached by education correspondents for 'a bit of news'; rather, the whole process of news coverage

of education follows a highly structured diary, and within the main parameters of this diary, sources take a pro-active and deliberate – and generally 'media-savvy' – approach to managing *what* is being said, *by whom*, *when* and in *which* (news-)forums.

Foremost amongst the sources turned to by journalists for regular monitoring of developments in the education field is the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), which is regarded by the journalists as at once a valuable resource and an inevitable active manager of the education news agenda. It is also apparent, however, from the interviews that the DfES competes as a news source and agenda-setter with an array of other media, news wires, organisations and individual sources. Journalists look at the Press Association wires and they keep a close eye on their immediate competitor-newspapers as well as major news organisation websites. The BBC education website was specifically mentioned as a key resource by several of the interviewed journalists. They monitor – and often contact for comment on DfES generated news – news from the major teaching unions and from a host of teaching/education related organisations, including OfSTED, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), the Exam Boards and the Commons Education Select Committee.

> Obviously I keep in contact with all the main organisations, obviously the DFES, OfSTED, QCA, official government level, the various teacher unions and professional associations, academics with whom I'm in touch, headteachers with whom I'm friendly, tip me off about things that are happening on the ground that they think might have wider implications and obviously the political side of it as well. (15-DQ)

> Well, it's partly driven by what the DfES themselves are saying, I mean if there's a new policy or the ministers are making a speech, then obviously we need to react to that. (07-DQ)

As well as having clear routines for the monitoring of developments in key news forums, several journalists spoke of the regular and ever-increasing mass of information and approaches directed to or at the journalists and their news organisations, increasingly and predominantly in the form of email, although also in the forms of post, faxes and telephone calls.

In this regard, the journalists conveyed a clear sense of technological and temporal changes in the nature of routine monitoring. Email has replaced the fax machine as a key publicity instrument for sources and as a key way for journalists to routinise their monitoring of the information environment. Likewise, and unsurprisingly (although worth mentioning because this is a complete change that has come about in the last 10-15 years) it is clear from the interviews that online information and the websites of all the key government departments, as well as of other institutions and organisations involved, have become the single most important resource for journalists. Websites and online information have changed in many respects, if not the journalists' general notions of newsworthiness etc., then the nature of their monitoring as well as the physical nature of their work: what in the past might have required a telephone call or even a visit, can now be done with a computer in the news office.

A lot of things now come on the email, so increasingly it's a question of sifting through email suggestions, which is a range of things, from press releases from, for instance NAHT, or one of the teaching unions, to a piece of research work that might have been done by an academic at a university or by one of the think tanks. (01-DQ)

The relationship between journalists and their sources

The journalists talk about the increasing use of PR-companies or agencies and about the increasing attention paid by the DfES and other key departments and organisations to active news management, coordination of news releases, and to the expansion and maintenance of press offices/officers and associated media-liaison personnel.

I think they [journalists and sources] need each other. The media has an important function, which is to inform the public to, if you like, be the host of a public debate, the nation talking to itself as somebody once called it. People who want to get their point across understand that they have to do it through the media and have a relationship with the media. Every organisation I can think of has spent large sums of money on PR people, marketing advisers, in house campaign teams. So they are all aware that they have to develop their image and find ways to advance what they want to say. As I say, I think the era in which people refrained from going out and saying what they think has passed, because they see the benefits of being in the public eye. (15-DQ)

The journalists are thus acutely aware of and sensitive to the *game* or *dance* which they engage in every day in their interaction with sources. There are no illusions about the fact that most, if not all, sources have 'an agenda' and that information about education or teachers does of course not simply emerge in altruistic form or in an interest-free vacuum. Likewise, the journalists generally express a clear sense – and again a remarkably uniform sense across the different types and stances of the newspapers which they represent – that their role is to provide a 'balanced' account and to make sense of the issues, developments and policies affecting education, teachers and everybody involved in education.

Symbiosis and the professionalisation of news management

If the relationship between journalists and their sources is indeed as interactive as this implies, then a key question of interest is the classic question from studies of other specialist areas (e.g. crime, science etc.) of who has the upper hand in this interactive process, whether the journalists need the sources more than the sources need the journalists, and whether the relationship between journalists and their sources is best described as a symbiotic one. The journalists' answers indicate a symbiotic, mutually beneficial, relationship with sources, while at the same time pointing to a trend of increasing professionalisation of news management.

When someone is telling you something, you often have to remember why they are telling you this. Obviously they have their own agenda, their own views about things. But that doesn't necessarily undermine what they are saying. I think it's a

mutual thing. They will be cooperating with us for a reason, and often that reason is obvious, sometimes it's not. (11-DQ)

I mean, it's a symbiotic relationship, they, they use us and we use them. (12-SQ)

It's a bit of both actually, and you also play the relationship. At times they need and want publicity. You try your hardest to give it to them because you know there are times when you want them to help you on some story. (10-DQ)

Within this seemingly mutually beneficial relationship there is also, however - amongst many if not all of the journalists interviewed - a sense that sources are becoming ever increasingly 'media-savvy' (the term used by the journalists) and that the recent decade or so has witnessed a significant increase in the professionalisation of news management by sources. While it is generally recognised that the trend toward increasingly careful management of publicity and news is most pronounced among government departments, major education-related agencies and organisations, the journalists also indicate that this trend goes much further, in some case right down to the level of individual schools or education establishments, to headteachers and, in some instances, even to teachers and parents.

The notion that anybody in the teaching profession is naïve about manipulating public opportunities to advance their interests is a wrong one. I think they are all pretty well media savvy these days and they know how to catch the attention and how to catch the eye. And they take those opportunities. They understand that the way perhaps they didn't ten years ago that they are the market place and the market for public attention. And if you get public attention, you may get resources and if you get ignored you certainly won't. They understand that. (15-DQ)

Change over time in source-journalist relationships

While relationships with sources, as articulated by the journalists, were characterised by a high degree of uniformity, the journalists and editors interviewed here had rather mixed views – or no views in some cases – on whether the relationship with sources had changed significantly in the last decade or so. Many of the journalists seemed slightly surprised by this question, and either indicated that they had not given much thought to it or argued that they had not been in the job (as education correspondent) long enough to say.

Others argued that while there had undoubtedly been changes both in the ways sources (meaning mainly organisations, Government departments, unions) operate and in the nature and organisation of journalistic and media work, there had been no fundamental change in the interaction between sources (actively promoting their particular version of reality) and journalists (dealing critically and sceptically with the information before them). There was a general sense that sources at all levels – but particularly heads and teachers at the individual school level – had become much more accessible and much more accommodating and willing (albeit out of a sense of necessity, in the view of the journalists) to talk to the media.

Head teachers are more willing to speak out, not afraid of local authorities, and they're better paid. They've got more prestige; they're more willing to venture information. They're more willing to let you into their schools. They're more open. (06-DQ)

I think more teachers are coming round to the idea that if they make a phone call, they can get something nice about their school in, something good that they've been doing. I think as well that some of the LEAs actually run courses for head teachers on how to deal with the media so I think that could be having a positive effect. You can't win everyone over because a lot of them just want to get on with the job of teaching and see dealing with us as something they can be doing without, which is fair enough. But I think there has been, in recent years. You get press releases from them, which never used to happen, or it did but not as often, you get emails, they have their own websites. […] not just from the LEAs about the schools, so there is a change. I think eventually every school will be more like that. Some of them send me their newsletters, so I can see what they've been up to. […] I think it's quite nice that they feel confident enough to do that now. And often, because we are the ones who decide what's newsworthy, you can have a really good story in there, nestling underneath we had an open day and an awards evening. I think it's good, I think as a nation we're becoming more media savvy. (21-DR)

Some of the longer-serving and more experienced journalists pointed to interesting changes, although there was not necessarily complete agreement on the direction of such changes. The government was seen as taking a much more active approach to news management, as having become more 'spin'-oriented and 'control-freaky' (in the words of one, Popular newspaper, journalist), but this was not seen as necessarily always equally successful. There was a general acceptance amongst the journalists that active news management on the part of sources was merely a natural and expected part of the news-game, not something to be deplored or to be incensed by: 'it's something that journalists ought to learn to deal with' as one leading Quality newspaper Education Editor (05-DQ) expressed it. If sources had become more astute at news management and at influencing the media then so too, it was argued, had the media 'become much better at recognising when it is being manipulated' (05-DQ).

The teacher unions, by contrast, were seen as having become generally both less influential and less effective than they were some ten years ago.

Government sources have become more adept at it, because the whole government machinery has become more spin friendly. (02-SP)

Everyone tries to do that [i.e. influence or manipulate the media agenda], more or less. Well, the government is much more active in putting its case (…). The unions are not particularly effective. (04-SQ)

I think the influence of the unions is much less than it was ten years ago. I just think that the media sees the views of the unions as much less interesting, important than it was ten years ago. I think that is the case. I suppose as always with trade union relations, it's the threat of strikes and industrial action generally that focus attention on what the union thinks. (05-DQ)

The sense amongst journalists of increasing professionalisation in sources' attempts at managing and influencing the news process was articulated with reference to what was seen as an increasing use of press offices and press officers – both within larger organisations and, for smaller institutions or organisations, through the use of professional PR agencies – and in the use of commissioned 'research' or opinion polls:

> There has been a huge growth recently in the commissioning of so called opinion polls by a range of commercial organisations. All of which are entirely self serving. It supports the interest of whichever outfit's commissioned the poll. […] I suppose that's an example of the world outside becoming more skilled at manipulating the media. (05-DQ)

Journalists' perceptions of the readers/target audience for education news

All the journalists have a fairly clear – if not always readily articulated - picture of who the readers for their particular newspaper are. Associated with this, they also indicate a sense of general differences between their readership and the readerships of their main competitor newspapers. The readership is often defined in relatively general terms as being for example 'highly literate', 'ABC1s', the 'informed general reader' (as opposed to someone specifically from the education establishment) or 'middle class parents'.

> I guess we're writing for an informed general reader. We have to remember we're not writing for a member of the educational establishment, we have to be careful that we don't get too used to the jargon and assume that people know things that the general reader wouldn't. But I think we're writing for someone who is quite well informed and interested in education. (11-DQ)

Several of the journalists see either themselves or a close family member as a good exponent or barometer of what their readers will be interested in, i.e. along the lines that 'if I find it interesting/relevant, then so too will my readers'

> Generally speaking you write to the [name of newspaper] readership. That's very ill-defined but that's all you've got, really. I see myself as an actual [name of newspaper] reader. I've got a pretty good idea of what I think is an interesting story so I use that as a touchstone. I'm very pleased if politicians read the stuff I write as well (…). I'd be happy if academics read my stories. (12-SQ)

> Well it's got to interest me. Remember it's a personal interested tempered by 20 years of reporting, so I reckon I know what's important and I reckon I know what general readers will find interesting. And I reckon I know what they ought to know about, even if they might not find it interesting. (05-DQ)

Within these general parameters there is then often a more specific sense of who – within the general readership – they are principally addressing or writing for, e.g. a newspaper may be aimed at and read by principally professional people, including teachers. While there are recognised differences of emphasis regarding the readership across the different newspapers, the readership most often mentioned by the journalists interviewed here are 'parents', also now and again referred to as the 'consumers' (indeed, one national Quality

newspaper Education Editor saw the defining characteristic as writing 'from a consumer point of view' 15-DQ). Most of the journalists on both national and Regional newspapers see parents as their principal audience, but the focus on parents is particularly pronounced among the Regional newspapers.

> Always aimed at the parents. It's really easy to write stories that teachers would find interesting, but you've always got to do it for the parents because they are the people that buy the paper. (21-DR)

> Parents. I mean, they - the bottom line is that they're the readers. (19-DR)

Journalists see themselves as being at a vantage point from which they have a good overview – not available to most parents – of what is going on, and they see it as their principal objective to offer a simplified and intelligible overview to parents of the developments taking place in education. They are keen to stress that 'simplifying' things is not a matter of patronising or dumbing down, but rather a matter of translating the often highly complex jargon of education-speak into a language understandable to the majority of interested readers who are not education experts. While 'parents' are seen as the primary audience, the journalists also wish to maintain the interest and respect of both specialist education colleagues on other newspapers and of those – teachers, researchers, policy-makers – with a professional interest in education. As one Quality daily newspaper education correspondent put it, 'you want to inform the parents, you want to be discussing (…) with the teachers, and you want to be challenging the politicians' (16-DQ)

> (…) you want to be as accurate as possible. If it was just parents, you are bound to know more about what goes on than a parent did. But the issues are often very complex and while you want to present it in the simplest form for a reader, you don't want to simplify it to the extent where a colleague who is reading it, or someone in the education establishment is reading it, thinks that you don't understand the issues and the fact that things are complex. (03-SQ)

Journalists see it as a key part of their professional skill to sense or judge what it is that the particular readership for their newspaper needs to know or is interested in. Regional newspaper journalists in particular, but also national Popular newspaper journalists, focus fairly clearly on 'parents' as their main readership. Several of the national Quality newspaper journalists, while referring to the importance of parents as readers, also argue that they make a conscious effort to engage politicians, teachers and other professionals in education.

National/Regional focus and orientation of newspapers

As indicated above, journalists on national and Regional newspapers, not surprisingly, see their primary readerships as being different, although in both cases principally focused around 'parents'. There are, however, very clear differences – related to the way in which the readership is perceived or imagined – between the news-criteria used on national and Regional newspapers. The national versus Regional division is quite simple, according to the journalists, at the general level of news-criteria: as a national newspaper journalist the focus must be on issues and stories with national relevance or significance:

What you wouldn't do on a national paper is cover something that is just of local interest. One of the things that we get lots of calls about, 'our school is closing can you write an article about it?' The answer most times would be no, because it's purely a local thing that if a school in Hampshire is closing, the national readership wouldn't necessarily be interested in it. (10-DQ)

As a Regional newspaper journalist, on the other hand, the emphasis must always be on issues which are of interest and relevance to the particular region. Where Regional newspapers cover national stories, these must therefore, according to the Regional journalists, be anchored or 'localized' with the help of a local/regional slant or example. A rather more acute sense of their readership, of who they are aiming at and writing for, is also characteristic of the Regional journalists when compared with the national journalists. The Regional 'anchoring' of stories is not merely a matter of relating national issues to regional concerns or offering regional examples; it also has implications for the general news perspective or principal news value governing the writing of Regional newspaper stories. Thus, a 'human interest' angle is seen as of paramount importance to any regional education story, and this in turn means quotes, not just from heads and teachers, but from pupils and parents:

You've got to get people in the paper. If you just had lots of stories about what the council's proposing, or this that and the other. All photographs have to have a person in them, very rarely will you just get a picture of something on its own. We work really hard to get human interest stories in the paper, which is why if we're doing a story about the school, we wont just talk to the teachers, we'll talk to the kids as well about what they like about it, what they think about it, parents too, if that's applicable. (21-DR)

We'd only cover it if it had a link to the region, if we could regionalise it. (20-DR)

Quite often I pick a subject that's hot nationally, and then localise it, go into schools and talk about what they're doing (…) doesn't necessarily have to be new, can be a bit more in depth, really. (19-DR)

The national/Regional difference is a matter both of news-criteria and, as indicated earlier, of the particular – deliberate – mode of reader-address:

One of the big differences is that Regional newspapers write success stories. National newspapers rarely do, because you're writing on a national level and you very rarely have a national success story. But on a Regional newspaper it's often an editorial policy to try and boost the area where you're living and writing about. Obviously that doesn't happen at a national level. Also, the other big difference is there is a more direct line between you and your readers at a Regional level, in a way that isn't as obvious at a national level. (03-SQ)

The status of education news

The journalists interviewed see education news, education journalism and the education beat within their newspaper as one of the top specialist areas of reporting, describing it as 'important' and worthy, if not necessarily either – in their words - 'trendy' or 'sexy'.

> […] it is prestigious. As I said earlier, we have a very strong and loyal readership amongst public services, teachers and academics. It may not be seen as a particularly sexy subject, but it is a very important one. (08-DQ)

Education news is seen as comparable in importance, but not necessarily in overall prominence, to other key areas such as health reporting, crime reporting and business/finance reporting. Several journalists talk about education coverage being roughly 'on a par with health reporting', but below politics and crime reporting. When assessing the prestige of education journalism, journalists do so with reference both to editorial policy within their newspaper and to the actual or perceived readership of the newspaper.

> Less important than politics, unless it is political. […] On a par with health and transport, welfare. It depends what's happening. […] It's no more or less prestigious than health, home affairs, transport, that's my view, anyway. (06-DQ)

> Nothing ranks higher than crime reporting. […] A lot of papers do just go for crime, crime, crime but [this newspaper] works really hard to get a balance between light-hearted stories and the serious stuff. Probably I'd say social affairs is probably top, which is the crime umbrella, politics is very important. The other specialisms are health, education. (…) I'd say health and education are on an equal footing. (21-DR)

Several journalists noted, when talking about the relative status of education reporting within their newspaper, that having a designated Education Correspondent/Editor and a designated Education beat were in themselves important 'markers' of the editorial significance and status given to this area of news reporting, as well as being an important professional and career incentive to the journalists themselves.

Both on the national dailies and in the Regional newspapers, the education beat is seen as having become a more central and important beat within the last 10-20 years, with the 1988 Education Reform Act and Labour's election win in 1997 as two turning points propelling education news up the ladder of public and media visibility and importance. One Popular newspaper journalist indicated that education news, having achieved prominence with the election of the Labour Government in 1997, had then declined in importance and prominence in his newspaper since 2002. Likewise, one of the Quality paper journalists noted a deliberate change of editorial policy in her newspaper, which had meant a change from broad-based coverage of general education issues to a much narrower focus on issues specifically felt to be of relevance and interest to this particular newspaper's readership.

> I think it ranks higher than it did 20 years ago. I think ever since the teachers' disputes of the late 1980s education journalism has gone up the field in terms of the amount of column inches that it gets. […] I think, health [is] getting quite a bigger

share of coverage actually because of the life or death impact of the health service. And crime comes and goes when it happens. (10-DQ)

I've been a specialist education reporter for approaching five years. And in that time it's always been very high profile. It's always been a very politically active patch. I'm told, and I don't really know this from personal experience, I wouldn't advance this as a cast iron view, but I'm told that a generation ago there wasn't the focus that there's been really since the 1988 Education Reform Act. And it's just carried on getting bigger and bigger since then. And probably there was a step change boost round about 1997 when New Labour made education a key part of its manifesto. So I think as education journalists we are now expected to, in straight journalistic terms, the way journalists measure the profile of their patch might be how many front pages they are getting. I think education journalists as a group are expected to generate a higher proportion of front pages in a newspaper's yearly coverage of national life. (18-DR)

We regard all these issues as very important, but in terms of space given, to compare it, compare it with showbiz, you don't see anything like, you don't see anything like the same coverage, so, yes it's important and the editor and the proprietor take it very, very seriously, but you know, we just don't get the same space as, as celebrity, showbiz and crime. (14-DP)

Key issues on the education news agenda – and journalists' perceptions of change over time in the education news agenda

There was a relatively uniform overall consensus amongst the interviewed journalists about what the key issues on the education news agenda were seen as being, although some differences did emerge between Regional and national newspapers, differences which were in general consistent with the national/regional divide. For the Regional newspapers, there was a greater emphasis on pressing and immediate 'crisis' issues, often associated with the particular cluster of issues associated with inner city areas: socio-economic deprivation, ethnic-religious-cultural heterogeneity and alienation, under-achievement, behaviour (including 'bullying') and discipline, special needs, etc.

The national newspaper journalists mentioned as key issues
- standards of (primary school) literacy and numeracy,
- the crisis in particular subject areas (maths, science),
- standards in education (including questions about rising/falling test performance),
- pupil attendance/absence and school discipline,
- the 14-19 education curriculum/ secondary school reforms (and the White Paper on this),
- parental choice
- city academies/faith schools/specialist schools – and associated funding issues,
- special educational needs (this was pointed to by amongst others a Regional journalist, who argued that reductions in the provision for special needs pupils made parents particularly irate and therefore received a considerable amount of coverage, not least in Regional papers which see themselves as responding to or communicating more directly with parents, than the national newspapers)
- tuition fees and student finance in Higher Education,

- vocational education and training,
- value for money in education.

> The 14-19 education, the White Paper is the most important one. I mean higher education, tuition fees, cost of university education, whether you're getting enough participation in higher education from deprived areas, whether pupils from underperforming schools are encouraged to go on to higher education, that's another major issue. Those are the two main ones. And the different types of secondary schooling that are now being created, city academies, specialist schools, is it an end to the comprehensive system? Is it worth spending £30 million on a city academy when the specialist schools seem to be doing reasonably well with much less money? (10-DQ)

> What to do about the secondary curriculum, obviously. Whether we are going to have a good vocational alternative, or whether it's going to turn out to be too expensive. And the change to GCSE and 'A' Levels, that's going to be quite interesting. (06-DQ)

Interestingly and surprisingly, there was (with one Regional exception) relatively little reference specifically to teachers or teacher qualifications/training. One journalist mentioned the pensions crisis and its implications for school teachers, but otherwise there was little or no reference to teacher recruitment and retention, or to teachers' status, pay or conditions of work.

While some of the journalists felt that they had not been in the job long enough to be aware of any particular changes in the extent or nature of education coverage, others voiced a clear sense of significant, even radical, change from the 1980s to the present in terms of what and how education was covered by the newspapers. While several noted the change in the political agenda, and the inevitable associated change in the media news-agenda, on education with Labour's election in 1997, others pointed to changes going further back, particularly to the 1980s, where education news was thought to revolve closely around teacher unions and pay-disputes. While there seemed to be general consensus that education shot to the top of the political and the news agenda with Labour's election in 1997, there were different views of how long it remained there, or indeed whether education was still as prominent and important on the news agenda as in the first few years from 1997.

> From about 1995 until probably about 1999, education was very high on the agenda, because of the government's avowed mission to make education, education, education to be a priority of their administration. Since then, it has fallen pretty much off the agenda. (…) Every now and gain it kind of pops up again, but the stories are very predictable and… it's not, it's not high up the journalistic agenda. (12-SQ)

> The government has lost interest in, in education, though it would claim otherwise. And… large numbers of education reforms have been pushed through, and… there's - in a sense the debate is over, and I think that's reflected in, in, in the coverage of newspapers. It's cyclical, I mean it's, people have just lost interest for a while. They'll, they'll get interested again. (12-SQ)

As noted above, there was little reference to teachers in the journalists' listing of current top-issues on the education news agenda, and, as several Quality newspaper education editors put it, the last twenty years had witnessed a visible shift of emphasis away from teachers/pay-disputes/strikes/battles with government to government policy, league tables, schools and parents, and to what one Quality newspaper journalist described as the move toward a more 'consumerist' orientation in education journalism.

> I would say that twenty years ago the education correspondent's job was very similar to that of a labour correspondent. It was strikes, pay disputes, battles with the government. And now it still is about the government but these days it's often more about league tables and what's going on in schools. (09-DQ)

> I think it ranks higher than it did 20 years ago. I think ever since the teachers' disputes of the late 1980s, education journalism has gone up the field in terms of the amount of column inches that it gets. (10-DQ)

> It's no longer a fringe subject. When I went into education reporting in 1986 it was a fringe subject. It came to prominence with the teachers' strike and the walk-out. Margaret Thatcher banging her handbag on the dispatch box, and saying, you know, decent people wouldn't walk out on their children. And then, in '86, it was picked up as a political issue because of failing schools…and the war against the trendy '60s, and the child-centred learning. It put it right at the centre of newspapers, that's how I see it. And that was a very exciting time, could easily get the front page for that. Sort of gone backwards a bit since then, news editor seems to think that the government's got everything under control (…). 06-DQ)

The change in format of the Quality newspapers, from the larger 'broadsheet' format to the more compact tabloid format, is also mentioned by several of the Quality newspaper journalists as having had repercussions on both the number of education news stories and particularly on the length and nature of education stories.

The role of education coverage – and its perceived impact on the status of teachers

The journalists hold a relatively modest view of their public role. They do not generally think of education journalism and education news in the grand terms of a public obligation or responsibility, or in terms of performing a significant public role

> I wouldn't consider it as noble as that. I just see it as attracting the interest of readers and informing them. (02-SP)

> I'm not gonna get too high and mighty about it. (14-DP)

They do nevertheless clearly see an important role and function for education coverage. This role is generally defined in relation to 'the readers' in the sense that journalists see it as their principal duty to inform the readers – principally parents – about what is going on in the education world, and particularly to critically scrutinise and question the government's (and the opposition's) agenda and policies on education. The journalists on Regional newspapers put more emphasis than those on the national newspapers on the duty to inform parents about what goes on in their children's school, while, for the

national newspaper journalists the emphasis is more on critically examining the political agenda and policies on education. They do not see this role as being any different on the Education beat than on other specialist beats (the ones which are often mentioned for comparison are the Health beat and the Politics/Parliament beat), but it is acknowledged that there is greater pressure on specialist correspondents than on general reporters to perform a critical public role.

> One's primary obligation is to report to the public what is new, interesting and err, yes reporting what the powers that be are doing that they don't want us to know they're doing. That may be interpreted as a public duty but you don't think of it as a public duty, you just try and get stories. (12-SQ)

> I think we're here to scrutinise the education system, to question the government's claims on education, the opposition parties' claims on what they would do. So I think we're here to ask questions all the time, and not just accept statements at face value. (08-DQ)

> I'm telling people what's going on in their kids' schools, basically. I think, you know, that's the bottom line. (…) we're just kind of the middle man really, we're passing information over to everybody else, you know, trying to make schools accountable and open. (19-DR)

There is general consensus amongst the journalists interviewed here that the way in which they cover teacher and education issues is important to teachers as well as to public perceptions of teachers. The sense amongst the journalists is that the state of affairs has improved considerably in recent years, that teachers' status and conditions have improved, that they are now better paid, that the recruitment and retention crisis has passed and that teachers themselves – for the very same reasons - make much less noise and create much less adverse publicity than they may have done in the past. The journalists distance themselves from the hammering and 'haranguing' of teachers, which may – they believe – have been a feature of media coverage in earlier times, particularly in the 1980s. Instead, they see themselves on the whole as being, albeit within the normal standards of journalistic impartiality and critical distance, 'friends' of teachers by putting across their side of the story and by critically examining the issues, conditions and policies affecting teachers. There is a firm belief amongst the journalists that they are not in the business of campaigning for or against teachers, or for or against government policies, but simply in the business of providing 'fair' coverage, fair to all sides in education. The notion of fairness is mentioned repeatedly and is clearly a central value in the journalistic professional outlook.

> I think the standing of teachers in society has actually gone up during the last three or four years. Certainly their pay has. Not necessarily for all teachers, but there is a structure to the pay scale now so you can get higher rewards for remaining a classroom teacher. Recruitment has actually taken off within the last few years. Whereas, I think, the late 1990s were probably the worst period for the perceptions of teachers in society. And the 80s … there was a constant, probably under the Conservative government, haranguing them for not adopting traditional teaching methods which has been repeated by Labour I suppose as well. They were feeling beleaguered because cuts in education spending meant they didn't have the resources, they were teaching in shoddy classrooms, the lot actually and therefore

they themselves probably had a lower esteem of what they were achieving than possibly some of them do now. (10-DQ)

It is the general view of these journalists that the media representation of teachers now is relatively much better than 'it used to be', even if – as several journalists put it – teachers themselves seem to underestimate the amount of positive coverage they receive and instead tend to home in on the negative stories.

> They largely get quite a good press and are seen by the public in a very good light. But my understanding of what they think is they don't see it that way, that they feel very pushed around by the government and misrepresented in the press and despised by the parents that they sometimes come up against. I honestly don't think that's a reflection of what I see in the papers, in that teachers are normally represented in quite a good light. (11-DQ)

Journalists refer back to 'the Woodhead era of abuse' (09-DQ) and to the 1980s where the public image of teachers was seen to be damaged as much by the strike action and the conduct of teacher unions as by what was perceived to be a hostile government. Journalists argue that the coverage of teachers is now much more likely to be, and to be seen as, sympathetic; that the 'Chris Woodhead days [of] teacher bashing' (03-SQ) have long since given way to coverage which shows the difficulties and challenges facing teachers and which generates public sympathy rather than criticism.

> And I think there is a certain sympathy with the school teacher in front of the unruly class. Because most people wouldn't want to do it. So I think there is a certain amount of sympathy there that might not have been there in the past. During the Chris Woodhead days there was a lot of teacher bashing, and I think there is less of that now. (03-SQ)

> It's swings and roundabouts really. I think they're less likely to be portrayed as loony left, sandal-wearing, minister-baiting people. There is a bit of that in the *Daily Mail*, but by and large I think they don't get that much any more. (03-SQ)

> I think it's helpful, I think on the whole teachers get a better press than they think they do. I think they get more exposure than many other public servants, for good reason but I think that the cliché that media represents teachers in a bad light I think is a bit anachronistic now. Even the *Daily Mail* is more tolerant of teachers. The Woodhead era of abuse has gone. Teaching has changed too. But I do think there is a danger. David Bell alluded to this in a really good piece he did for *Media Guardian* where he said there is danger that the drip drip drip of problem stories creates an impression that everything's going wrong all the time when it isn't. And I think that is something you have to watch out for. My bosses tell me that actually we're pretty good at avoiding that, that we do celebrate the good as well as condemn the bad. A problem with news generally is that it may paint society in a more negative light than it warrants. And that plays out with education particularly. There's no doubt, I think, education is in a better shape than it was ten years ago. I think that the coverage has changed accordingly (…). (09-DQ)

It is a cornerstone of the professional beliefs of these journalists that teachers – like any other group in society – 'get the news coverage they deserve'. Consequently, as the

journalists indicate, if news coverage in the past has been much more negative and is now much more positive, it is in large measure to do with – not just an objective change in status and conditions – but an associated change in teachers' own actions and communication behaviour. As one Quality daily newspaper journalist put it 'they're getting better coverage because they're not threatening to go out on strike, moaning about their long hours all the time' (06-DQ).

The teacher unions, and particularly the annual teacher union conferences (which, it is generally acknowledged, receive a great deal of media coverage), are seen as the key forum for voicing teachers' concerns and complaints. They are, however, also regarded – implicitly if not explicitly – with a generally resigned attitude, i.e. it is implied by the journalists that the teacher union conferences will per definition be mainly about moaning – whether justifiably or not – about the working conditions, pay and status of teachers. There was an element of 'anti-union' sentiment – sometimes quite explicit as in the quote below - in the journalists' accounts of the teacher unions, particularly the NUT, and the journalists generally tended to argue that most of the adverse press that teachers might receive was caused directly by 'unreasonable' union claims and calls for action.

> It depends on what kind of view they're giving at their conferences (…) an NUT conference with lots of barmy teachers in scruffy t-shirts saying barmy things, which doesn't actually project a very good image of the profession. (04-SQ)

> The coverage of teachers is blighted by the annual teachers conferences, in particular the National Union of Teachers, which because it occurs over the Easter weekend receives disproportionate amounts of publicity both in the newspapers and most importantly on television. The people who go to conferences are a tiny minority and completely unrepresentative of the teachers and the teaching profession, but lay fixed in the minds of the public, an image of ranting irrational illiterate loonies; which is terribly bad for the image of the teaching profession. (05-DQ)

> The union conferences are really important, and the union leaders are really important. But they don't represent the bulk of the members, and so you get this impression, there's militant teachers that really care more about themselves and think that schools are run for themselves rather than for the kids, and its comes out that the union has done in the past, and that puts the public against the teachers. But that has changed a lot, because, politically, the government is working with the unions and the unions, the teachers have had, and really they've had a lot from this government. And they're moaning less, so they're getting a better press. (06-DQ)

Two Regional newspaper journalists took a slightly different view: while most of the journalists seemed to think that the status of teachers had been restored, or at least had significantly improved in the last five years or so, these journalists argued that teachers were not seen as a well-respected profession. Unlike many of the colleagues at both national and Regional newspapers, who tended to believe that 'teachers get the press they deserve' (and by extension, the press that they get is very much down to the behaviour and communication of teacher unions), these two Regional journalists felt that the poor status of teachers was partly to do with the way in which 'the DfES is constantly throwing directives at them' (21-DR) and partly reflecting a much more general decline

within society in the last twenty years in the status and respect accorded key professions such as doctors and teachers.

CHAPTER 4: INDIVIDUAL TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR STATUS AND THE STATUS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

OVERVIEW

This chapter presents evidence from large-scale national cross-sectional questionnaire surveys of teachers in England, which were conducted in 2003 and 2006, to answer the research question: what were teachers' perceptions of their status in 2003, and how did these change, if at all by 2006? Essentially the same questionnaire was used in both administrations to answer research questions such as:

Has the status of teachers changed over time, since 1967?
How does the teaching profession compare with a high status profession?
How do teachers compare in terms of status with other occupations?
What factors do teachers think would have an impact on their status?
How do teachers conceptualise their professionalism?
And how have these perceptions changed, if at all, since 2003?

Main findings

- The steep and rapid decline in the perceived status of teachers between 1967 and 2003 has been arrested, and was less steep and less severe according to the 2006 sample, as judged by all participants as well as those who were teaching in 1967.

- In 2003 and 2006, teachers defined a high status profession in the same way, as highly characterised by *reward and respect* and, with less certainty, as subject to some external *control and regulation*. In contrast, the teaching profession was seen as characterised highly by external *control and regulation* in 2003 and 2006, while there was uncertainty as to whether reward and respect were true of the teaching profession. By 2006, however, this uncertainty had crept up very slightly from the just negative to just positive side of 'not sure'. Women, primary teachers, younger teachers and recently qualified teachers, were more positive about *reward and respect* for the teaching profession than were men, secondary teachers, older and the longest serving teachers.

- Teachers' ratings of their status compared with other occupations, including surgeon, accountant, police officer, social worker, vet, improved significantly between 2003 and 2006.

- Teachers felt that the most positive impact on their status would be greater public awareness of the intellectual demands, and the responsibility of their jobs, together with more opportunities to exercise their professional judgement, in 2003, and maintained this view in 2006. Workload reduction, *time for collaboration with colleagues*, and an *expanded community role* were deemed likely to have a very positive impact on status.

- Teachers' views on their professionalism remained stable across the two cross-sectional administrations of the survey. The two most strongly and commonly agreed views concerned the importance of being trusted by government and the public, and having expertise in doing a complicated job. Recent policies did not appear to have been incorporated into teachers' thinking about their professionalism.

- A longitudinal survey produced very similar findings and increases confidence in the findings above.

Introduction

The Teacher Status project set out to identify a baseline and monitor changes in teachers' perceptions of their status and the status of the teaching profession during the life of the project. This chapter reports the surveys of teachers conducted in 2003, 2004 and 2006 to fulfil this aim. Questionnaire surveys were conducted on a large national sample of teachers in 2003 and 2006. It responds to the general research question: What were teachers' perceptions of their status and that of their profession in 2003, and how, if at all, have these perceptions changed by 2006? The results of the 2003 survey provide baseline evidence and these were published in detail in the Interim Report of the Teacher Status Project (Hargreaves et al., 2006). The 2006 survey results, to be presented here, indicate the extent of change in the teachers' perceptions of their status and that of their profession. This is a long chapter which is divided into five sections. Section I deals with the survey administration and sample. In Section II, the findings of the 2006 survey concerning the status of teachers and the teaching profession are presented. Section III presents our findings on the teachers' views of how various factors might influence their status. In Section IV we present the results of part of the survey which focused on teacher professionalism, a phenomenon which is intimately linked to status, and was addressed specifically in 'Professionalism and Trust: the future of the teaching profession', Estelle Morris's speech to the Social Market Foundation in November 2001 (DfES, 2001), which set out the ways in which the government aimed to improve teacher status. Finally, Part V, reports the longitudinal survey of teachers who completed the teachers questionnaire in Spring 2003, Autumn 2004 and Spring 2006. It provides a longitudinal view of how the same teachers' perceptions might have changed over the course of these three years. Each section begins with a brief overview.

SECTION I: Survey administration, questionnaire structure and sample

In 2003 and 2006, postal questionnaire surveys of teachers' views on teacher status were conducted to provide 'baseline' data from the 2003 survey on teachers' perceptions of their status, and to see how this might have changed by 2006. Within this overall research aim, the surveys sought answers to the following questions.

In 2003 and 2006,

- What were individual teachers' perceptions of their status and the status of their profession?
- How did teachers define a high status profession?
- How did teachers judge the teaching profession in terms of this definition?
- How did teachers rank the status of teachers and headteachers compared with other occupations?
- What levels of responsibility to, and respect from, various groups in and out of school did teachers feel?
- In what ways, if any, did these perceptions change between 2003 and 2006?
- What factors do teachers think would change their occupational status?

The 2006 survey was conducted between February and May 2006, and almost all of the questionnaire items were identical to those used in the 2003 survey. Item changes, and some additional items, are reported in the appropriate section. The results of the 2003 survey were reported in more detail in the Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006).

Sample and administration of the 2006 survey

A sample of 12,000 teachers was drawn from the GTC database (with Crown permission) in the proportion 1000 early years' teachers, 5,064 primary teachers and 5,936 secondary teachers. A further 1,192 participants were included who had taken part in the teacher or trainee teacher surveys conducted in 2003 and had agreed to participate in a longitudinal study. The new sample of teachers was stratified by school phase, school size, and government office region. Questionnaires were sent by post to teachers' home addresses and a reminder letter and questionnaire were sent to non-responders 8 weeks after the original delivery date. The reminders achieved an additional 31 per cent of the total number of responses

Reactions and return rates

An overall response rate of 45.5 per cent was achieved (5,988 returns out of 13,192 questionnaires sent out). This response to this survey is in contrast to the low and slow response rate experienced in the 2003 survey. Five per cent of the returns were incomplete, or were returned for various reasons such as retirement, changed address, or because the respondent had removed details needed for analysis. 113 people asked to have their names removed from the sample, concerned that GTC had released their details. The analysis was conducted on 5,340 respondents or 40.5 per cent of the original sample.

It is important to record that 109 people telephoned, emailed or wrote to us because they felt that the questionnaire items did not give them sufficient opportunity to express the lack of respect that they perceived for teachers from various sources but notably government. Some told us distressing stories of stress-induced illness. Others were angry that the DfES, perceived as a source of their problems, was funding the project, one felt that, the funds would have been better spent funding teachers' salaries. Several noted misprints in the questionnaire but amongst these contacts there was a minority who were pleased to take part and felt that the issue of teacher status was important. One of these was worried that her move to the private sector and from a very low sense of status to a very positive one might skew the results[10].

Structure of questionnaire

The questionnaire included the following sections:

- The status of teachers over the years
- Definitive status: characteristics of a high status profession compared with the teaching profession
- The comparative status of teachers and other occupations
- Respect and responsibility
- Factors that might change the status of teachers
- Characteristics of teacher professionalism

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[10] We are indebted to our project secretary who became adept at counselling irate teachers, and acknowledging these communications.

A section entitled 'Becoming a teacher and being a teacher' concerning participants' motivation to teach and to stay in teaching was omitted from the 2006 survey.

Characteristics of the respondents

The main differences between the 2003 and 2006 samples, as achieved, are the higher percentage of primary teachers, and the lower percentage of special school teachers, in 2006 (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Respondents' school phases and corresponding national proportions

School phase	2006 %	2003 %	National figures Jan 2006
Primary	51.4	41.7	45.3
Secondary	40.2	41.8	49.9 (including 0.4 Academies)
Special	0.9	7.8	3.3
Middle, mixed, peripatetic	3.5	3.0	1.5 (PRUs and education elsewhere)
Unknown phase	3.9	5.6	-
Total	100	100.0	100.0
N	**5340**	**2383**	**437, 300**

Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 and 2006

In 2003, the questionnaires had been distributed to schools drawn from the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) schools database. This enabled us to ensure a representative proportion of special schools. It was not possible to apply this level of specification of school type in a sample of individual teachers, however. In many respects the achieved samples were surprisingly similar, with most sample variations in 2006 being within 1 percent of the 2003 values. The main differences in 2006 were that fewer teachers described their schools as rural (17% in 2006; 22% in 2003), more teachers were from very small primary schools (16% in 2006; 6% in 2003), but fewer were from primary schools in the 100-199 size band (24% in 2006; 30% in 2003).

Many more teachers omitted their age in 2006 than in 2003 (33% compared with 3% respectively) and 20 per cent left out their gender from the 2006 surveys (4% in 2003). The 2006 sample was very slightly older than the 2003 sample (mean age 43.2 ± 10.9 years compared with 41.9 ± 10.4years). The 2006 age distribution shows 11 teachers over 65 and slightly higher frequencies in the 48 to 57 year old range. Within the 2006 sample 20 per cent omitted their gender, 63 per cent were women and 17 per cent men, compared with 70 per cent women, 27 per cent men and just 4 per cent not responding in 2003. As in 2003, older respondents were more likely to be men. The sample, like the teaching population, was heavily dominated by white British teachers in both surveys (92% in 2006; 91% in 2003).

In both surveys, 43 per cent of the participants qualified to teach through a degree followed by Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), but in 2006 more had

qualified with degree plus Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) (30% in 2006; 20% in 2003). In 2003 28 per cent had a Certificate of Education (Cert.Ed.), compared with 21 per cent in 2006 [11] (Table 4.2). The median year for entering teaching was 1989 in 2006 (1988 in 2003) and the range stretches from 1959[12] to 2006 to 2006, with slightly higher yearly frequencies in the 1970s, 1990s and notably 2000 – 2004. In 2006, a slightly higher proportion of teachers had come from previous occupations classified as 'semi skilled (15% compared with 10% in 2003), but fewer came from a skilled-technical background (6% compared with 11% in 2003). Teachers' subject specialisms matched the 2003 sample closely, as shown in Table 4.3. The largest single subject group was teachers of English (language, literature and literacy) and the second group being teachers of science, (including 5% who were chemistry, biology and physics specialists).

Table 4.2: Participants' qualifying routes

Qualifying route	2006 %	2003 %
Cert. Ed	21.0	27.7
Degree & PGCE	43.6	43.1
Degree plus QTS	20.3	20.3
Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP)	3.1	3.6
Fast track	0.3	0.0
School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT)	0.3	0.5
Other	2.9	0.3
Missing	1.1	3.3
Total *	92.7	98.8
Combinations of above	7.2	1.4
Total participants	**5340**	**2383**

Table 4.3: Major subject specialisms in 2006 compared with 2003

Teachers' subject specialisms*	2006 %	2003 %
English (Language, Literature, literacy)	16.6	17.9
Science (Chemistry, Biology, Physics, Science)	14.9	16.3
Mathematics and numeracy	10.7	11.9
Art, art design, and design technology	8.8	11.8
Geography	7.2	5.7
History	6.6	7.7
ICT	6.1	6.9
PE	5.8	7.8
Music	4.8	4.9
RE	4.4	5.2
French	3.2	3.4
PSHE	1.6	2.2
Not stated	15.2	-
Total Participants	**5340**	**2350**

* Teachers were asked to give up to two specialisms. Percentages are for combined total.

Finally in this section we asked teachers whether they were planning to stay in teaching or not in the next five years. In 2003, 74 per cent said that they would stay in teaching

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[11] A further 5% had a Cert. Ed. plus another qualification, notably a B. Ed.
[12] Apart from two far outlying dates of 1923 and 1940

but in 2006 this had dropped to 65 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion planning to take a career break rose from 1 per cent to 9 per cent, but is likely to include teachers about to retire. Seventy people wrote in *retire(d)* but others have probably placed themselves in the *pursue a career outside teaching* groups, since the latter rose from 14 per cent to 17 per cent in 2006 and teachers in the older age bracket (above the 75th percentile i.e. aged 49 plus) were over-represented in this group. Amongst those planning to leave teaching within the next five years there were significantly more secondary (22%) than primary teachers (14%) (chi-sq; $p < 0.01$; small effect size)

To sum up, the 2003 and 2006 samples were very similar. The main variations were the relatively high proportion shy of mentioning their age or gender. The 2006 sample was very slightly older. Women still outnumbered men considerably, and over 9 out of 10 teachers described their ethnicity as White British.   More of the primary teachers were working in smaller primary schools than in 2003, but fewer rural schools were represented. In terms of qualifications to teach, the proportion with degree with QTS had increased but there were fewer with Cert. Ed. alone in 2006. The teachers' roles in schools and subject specialisms matched the 2003 sample closely. The number planning to leave teaching in the next five years had increased and these were more likely to be secondary teachers. Having described the sample, we turn to consider the findings.

SECTION II: The Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession: Teacher status over the years

In 2003, we found that teachers' ratings of the status of teachers on a five point scale from 'very high status' to 'very low status' had declined steeply and significantly between 1967 and 2003 although the decline between 1997 and 2003 was much smaller, than in the earlier intervals. In 2006, once again there was a steady and significant decline, which slowed down after 1997. The 2006 mean ratings were marginally (non-significantly) higher (Figure 4.1a) and the year 2006 was given the lowest rating of all.

Figure 4.1a: Teacher status over the years: all respondents' rating
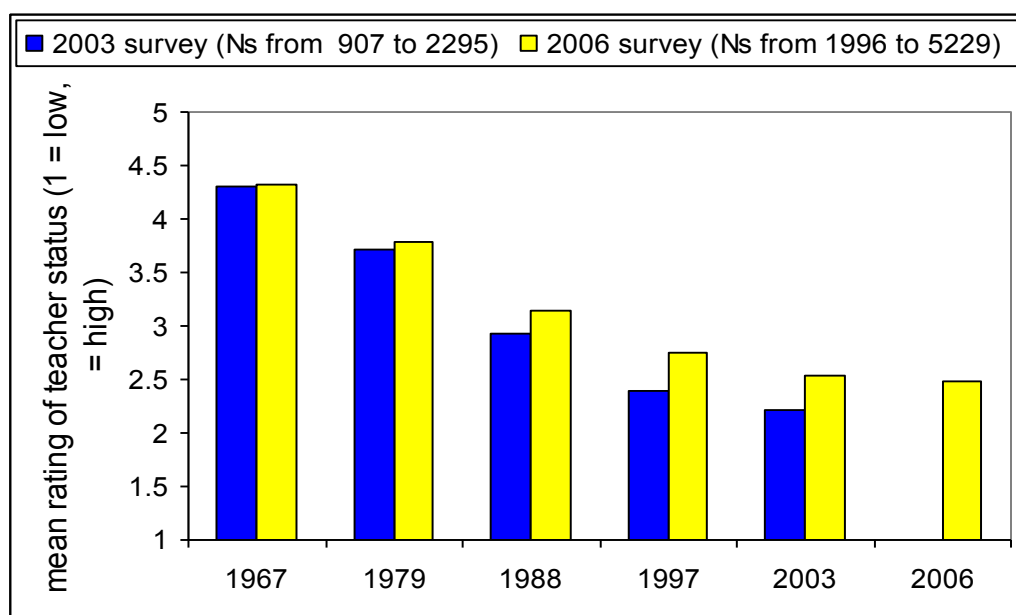
Clearly not everyone in the sample was alive in 1967 and so we asked respondents to give a rating for dates in their personal experience, but not to comment on earlier dates. Of the group who could comment on 1967 we found a similar pattern of responses, with slightly lower ratings for 1997, 2003 and 2006. Overall,124 teachers in the sample were teaching in 1967. These 2006 respondents gave significantly higher ratings for more recent times suggesting that the changing population of teachers do not see the loss of status in such stark terms. From 1967 to 2003, the 2003 sample saw a deterioration of 2.4 standard deviations of rating while the 2006 sample saw a fall of just 1.8 standard deviations (4.1b). Further analysis showed that primary teachers' ratings followed the same pattern as those of secondary teachers, but were significantly higher in 2006.

Figure 4.1b: Decline in ratings of teacher status by all teachers compared with those who were teaching in 1967
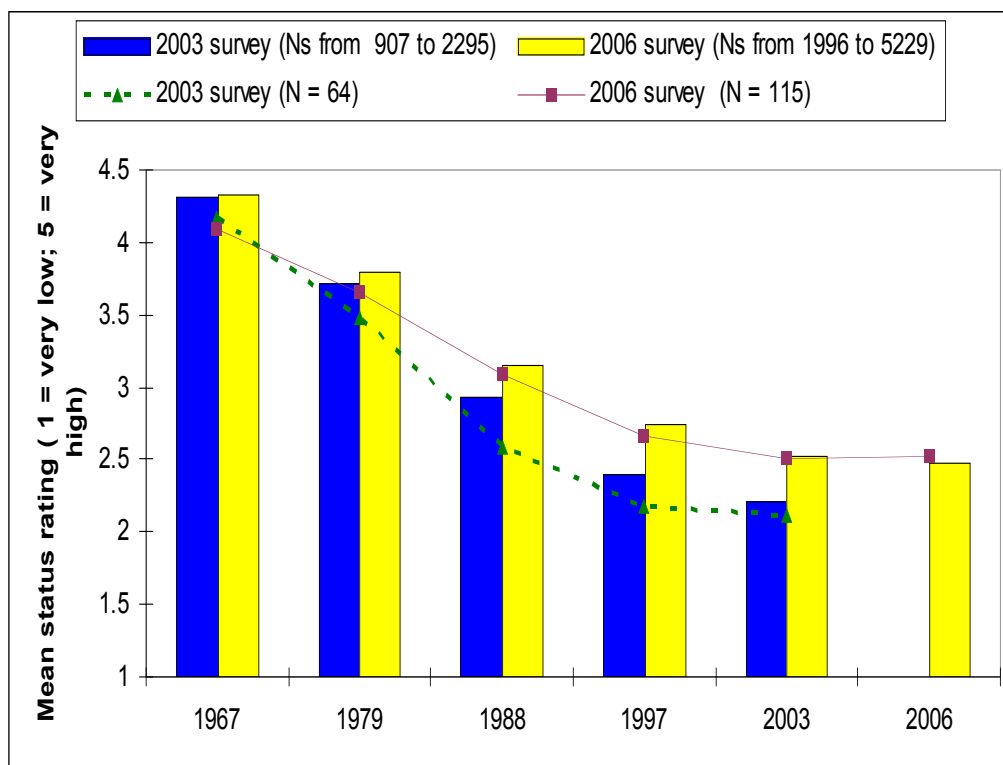
These findings show that the teachers continued to detect a steady decline in their status over the years since the 1960s and 70s. The 2006 findings, however, suggest that they now felt more positive about their status than in 2003, a mere three years earlier. This applied in particular to primary teachers, teachers who have been in post since the 1960s, and to new entrants to teaching.

To what extent do teachers perceive the teaching profession to be a high status profession?

To answer this question we must first find out how teachers define a high status profession. Following the same procedure as in 2003, we did not provide a definition of status for the participants but asked them to consider a list of 19 statements drawn from the literature about 'professions'. They were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed, disagreed or were 'not sure' that each statement was 'characteristic of a high status profession'. In so doing they were in effect providing their own definitions, based on our statements, of a high status profession. The full list of statements appears in the survey of Teachers questionnaire in Appendix 1 and some examples of these statements are below:

- Offers an attractive lifelong career
- Enjoys high financial remuneration
- Is valued by government
- Is subject to strong external controls
- Is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them
- Demonstrably maintains high levels of performance
- Has members who have the autonomy to exercise their professional judgement in the best interests of their clientele.

First, the ratings for 'a high status profession' were factor analysed, and a correlated factor solution of two main factors[13], virtually identical to those found in 2003, emerged. The two factors were labelled respectively, namely:

     I. Status through reward and respect
    II. Status through control and regulation

The *reward and respect* factor was again a strong highly reliable factor with a mean value of 4.2 ± 0.5 (N = 4757) and contributions from 16 of the 19 items. In 2003 the mean was 4.1 ± 0.5 (N = 3273). The *Control and Regulation* factor also replicated the 2003 result, with a mean value of 3.5 ± 0.9 (N = 5147). This was built on the two items concerned with external *control and regulation*. The very close similarity of these findings with the 2003 solution demonstrates teachers' consistent and strongly held views that *reward and respect* are definitive characteristics of a high status profession, and their just positive view, with some dissent and uncertainty, that external control and regulation also characterise a high status profession.

The teachers were then asked to test the status characteristics of the teaching profession against this definition. Figure 4.2 (Tables on which figures are based appear in the Appendix to Chapter 4) shows that teachers consider the teaching profession to differ considerably from a high status profession, in terms of both *reward and respect*, and external control and regulation ($p< 0.01$; large effect size). In 2006, teachers still strongly agreed that *control and regulation* were true of the teaching profession. Status though reward and respect however had moved fractionally but significantly from the negative side of 'not sure' (mean 2.88 ± 0.46) in 2003 to the weakly positive mean of 3.05 ± 0.48) ($p< 0.01$, small effect size)

These ratings varied when the results were analysed according to different teacher groups, although the overall perceptions did not differ and the directions of the differences within groups remained the same. Therefore, just as in 2003,

- primary teachers were more positive about the *reward and respect* status of the teaching profession than were secondary teachers, ($p < 0.01$: small effect size) (Figure 4.3)
- women teachers were more positive about the *reward and respect* status of the teaching profession than were men teachers ($p < 0.01$: small effect size)

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[13] The remaining item, 'Has high status clientele', formed a separate very weak factor.

- and younger teachers were more positive about the *reward and respect* status of the teaching profession than were older teachers ($p < 01$: large effect size) (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.2: Teachers' views of the status characteristics of the teaching profession in 2003 and 2006
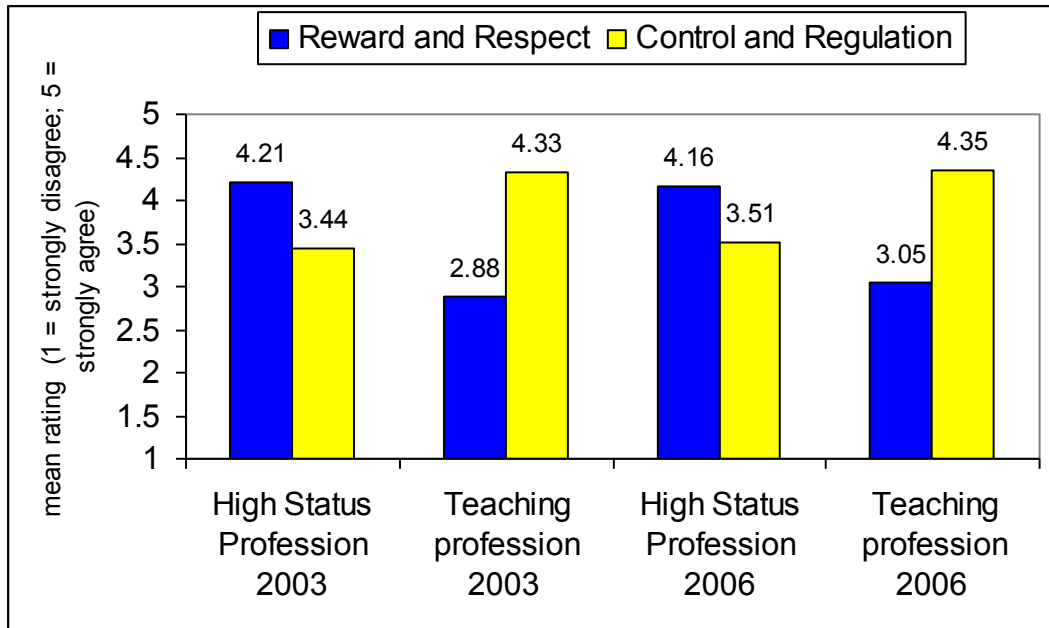
Figure 4.3: Primary and secondary teachers' ratings of the status characteristics of the teaching profession
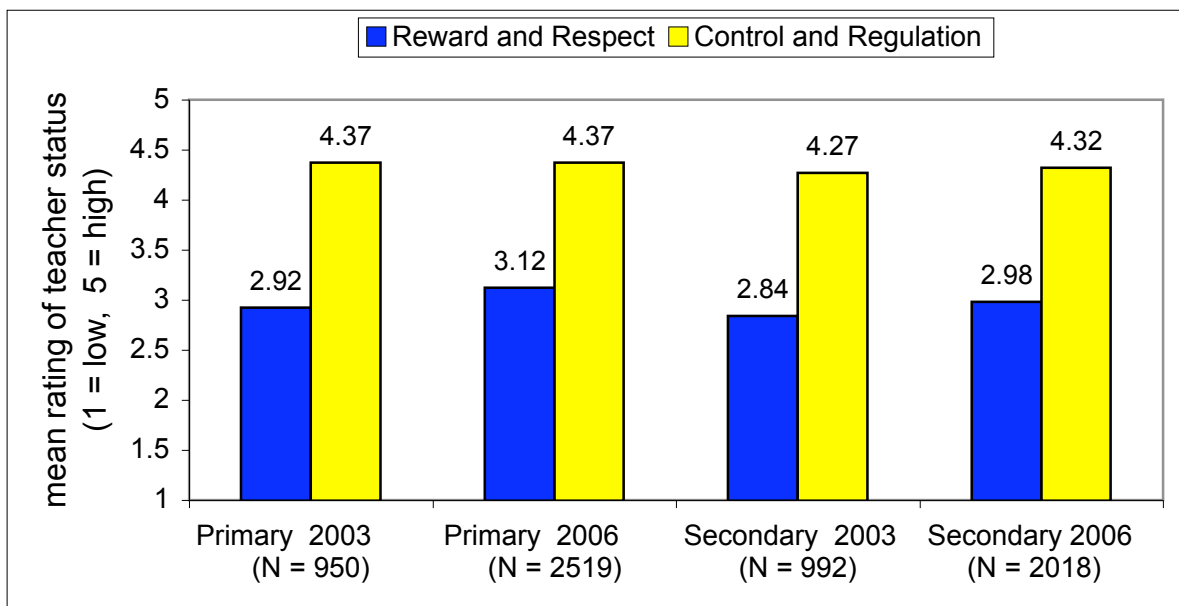
Figure 4.4: Comparison of younger and older teachers' views of reward and respect in a high status profession and the teaching profession
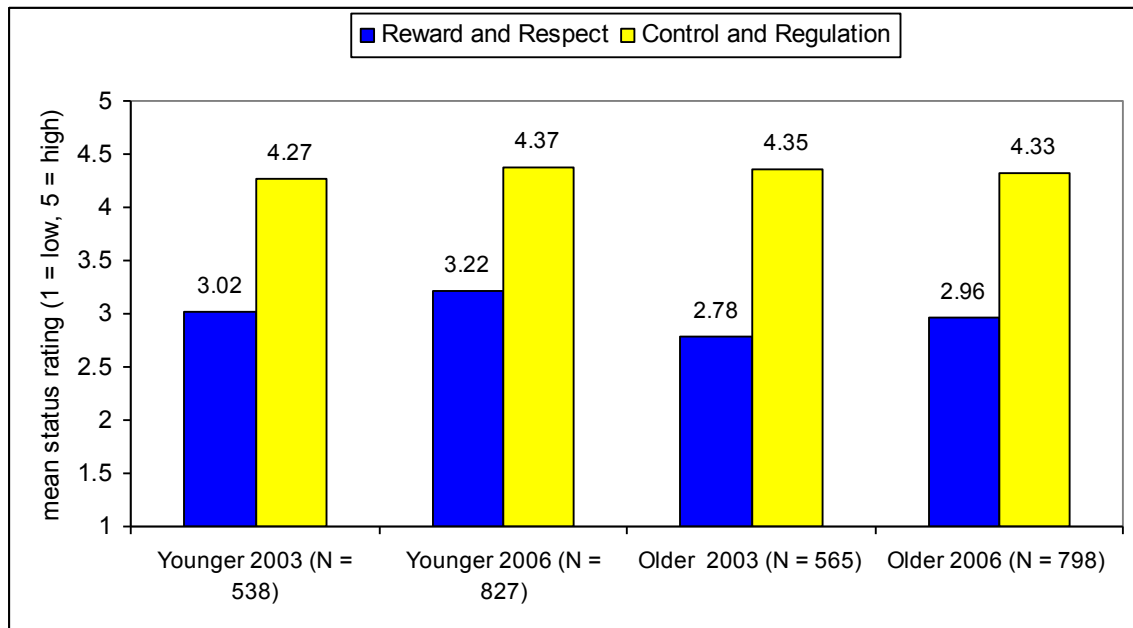
Figure 4.5 shows a clear pattern which reinforces the finding that younger teachers and those entering the profession more recently saw a smaller, though still large, gap between teaching and a high status profession in terms of *reward and respect*. The gap between a high status profession and the teaching profession as regards *control and regulation*, on the other hand, was felt most strongly by teachers who entered the profession between 1989 and 2003.

Figure 4.5: Differences between a high status profession and the teaching profession according to year of entry to the profession

We also analysed the data according to teachers' posts in school. These were placed in three categories according to the way in which respondents described their jobs in schools; (1) classroom teachers with no other stated responsibility; (2) intermediate positions such as class teachers who also held posts of responsibility such as head of year, subject leader or Key Stage coordinator, for example, and (3) head or deputy head with no other stated responsibility. Whilst there was an upward progression corresponding with this hierarchy in agreement that *reward and respect* were definitive of high status, there were no differences between the opinions of these three 'ranks' in relation to the teaching profession or *control and regulation* in a high status profession. Finally we considered the 'stayers' and 'leavers'. Those intending to leave in five years time gave the lowest value of all groups to the *reward and respect* aspect of the teaching profession and the highest value of all groups, to the *control and regulation* aspect. Whilst this result might be expected it suggests that this group of teachers felt greater discontent than those intending to remain.

In 2003, as reported in Hargreaves et al., (2006) we combined data from the teachers, teaching assistants, parents, governors and trainees and this opened up the *reward and respect* factor into three closely related components labelled:
1   status through being a respected and valued authority
2   status through the working environment
3   status through responsible high level performance
In 2003, the greatest difference between a high status profession and the teaching profession existed in relation to status through the working environment, and the closest match was in relation to status through responsible high level performance.

A similar analysis of the 2006 teacher data showed a strengthening of the first factor, concerning teaching's status as a respected and valued authority. It increased in reliability (Cronbach's alpha, from 0.76 up to 0.80) and mean value, from 2.54 to 2.74, indicating a lessening of negative opinion. It attracted three new items, all three showing a slight shift towards a less negative or more positive rating; these were:

- enjoys high quality working conditions (2006 mean 2.12 ± 0.89 ; 2003 mean 1.92 ± 0.84)
- is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them (2006 mean 3.27 ± 0.98; 2003 mean 3.05 ± 1.01)
- has members who have the autonomy to exercise their professional judgement in the interests of their clientele. (2006 mean 2.66 ± 1.13; 2003 mean 2.49 ± 1.12)

The movement of this highly negative item from the second factor above, and two items from the factor labelled *Status through responsible high level performance*, weakened the other two factors, rendering only the first viable. Hence the presentation provided in this report in terms of the stronger two factor solution.

In summary, in 2006 teachers defined a high status profession exactly as they did in 2003, most of them agreeing that a high status profession was characterised by *reward and respect*, and that it was also subject to external *regulation and control*. In comparison with this, teachers still strongly agreed that the teaching profession is characterised by external *control*, just as they did in 2003. However, whilst still perceiving a very large difference between a high status profession and the teaching profession as regards *reward and respect,* by 2006 their view of *reward and respect* as a characteristic of the teaching profession has moved, significantly, from just negative to a low positive position since 2003. In other words, whilst a high proportion of teachers remain negative or 'not sure' about whether *reward and respect* is true for the teaching profession, the balance of opinion has tipped marginally to the positive. Further analyses have shown that younger teachers, women teachers, primary teachers, recently qualified teachers and teacher intending to stay in teaching at least five years from now were more likely to rate the *reward and respect* aspect true of the teaching profession.

Teachers' perceptions of their status compared with the status of other occupations

In 2003, and again in 2006, we asked survey participants to rate the status of members of each occupation on the list below on a seven point scale for 'the status they have' where 7 meant high status. The occupations, in alphabetical order, were:

accountants, barristers, doctors, librarians, management consultants, nurses,
police officers, primary headteachers, primary teachers, secondary headteachers,
secondary teachers, social workers, solicitors, surgeons, vets, web designers

The 2006 survey showed that teachers' ratings of all four teacher categories had risen significantly since 2003 ($p < 0.01$, small effect size) along with the ratings of doctors, police officers, nurses and social workers. On the other hand, the status ratings accorded by teachers to barristers, solicitors, vets, accountants, management consultants and web designers had fallen significantly. Furthermore, the rank order of these ratings has shown upward movement for primary and secondary headteachers, and secondary teachers, but the rank order of primary teachers remained the same (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Teachers' ratings of the status of members of various occupations in 2003 and 2006

Rank	Occupation (2006)	Mean rating	Occupation (2003)	Mean rating
1	Surgeons	6.6	Surgeons	6.6
2	Barristers	6.4	Barristers	6.6
3	Doctors	6.3	Doctors	6.2
4	Solicitors	5.6	Solicitors	5.8
5	Vets	5.6	Vets	5.8
6	Secondary headteachers	5.0	Accountants	5.3
7	Accountants	5.0	Management consultants	5.1
8	Primary headteachers	4.6	Secondary headteachers	4.9
9	Management consultants	4.5	Web designers	4.7
10	Police officers	4.5	Primary headteachers	4.5
11	Secondary teachers	4.0	Police officers	4.2
12	Nurses	3.9	Secondary teachers	3.8
13	Web designers	3.8	Nurses	3.8
14	Primary teachers	3.7	Primary teachers	3.5
15	Social workers	3.3	Social workers	3.1
16	Librarians	3.1	Librarians	3.0

When the teaching occupations ratings were pooled and compared with those for all the other occupations together the mean rating of teaching remained significantly below that of the other occupations. The difference between them had reduced however. The overall status rating of the other occupations fell significantly from 5.02 ± 0.61 to 4.93 ± 0.66), whilst the teachers' mean rating rose significantly (from 4.16 ± 0.93 to 4.39 ± 1.05). This difference, which had a large effect size in 2003, now had a medium effect size. Analyses[14] designed to find out whether particular groups of teachers gave more or less extreme ratings revealed no differences by gender, school phase, school location or region, but the younger teachers were more likely to give higher ratings than older

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[14] Using residual gain scores

teachers, and those planning to leave teaching within five years gave significantly lower rating than those staying in teaching, or planning to take a career break.

The findings of this section are important because they suggest that teachers themselves are rating the status of their own profession more highly than they did just three years earlier. Furthermore the resultant rank order shows positive gains for headteachers in particular, but also for secondary teachers. In our Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006), we showed that teachers gave teaching lower status ratings in a variety of status contexts than the other groups in our surveys. There is a view that teacher status is unlikely to improve until teachers themselves have a more positive view of the status of their profession. These results suggest a slight move in that direction. On the other hand, whilst the rating of primary teachers' status increased significantly, their rank position did not alter. This is partly anomalous, because primary teachers were more likely than secondary teachers to agree that reward and respect were true of the teaching profession. Furthermore, primary teachers were more likely to be accorded a lower status rating by secondary teachers, whilst primary teachers gave secondary teachers a relatively higher rating than they awarded themselves, just as they did in the 1960s (CACE, 1967). On this note we now consider teachers' sense of responsibility and perceived respect, since these may impinge on teachers' sense of the esteem in which they are held by various groups. If one's sense of status is derived partly from the respect one perceives from various sources, then the degree of responsibility one feels towards those groups might enhance or diminish the personal; value of that perceived respect. In other words the greater sense of responsibility one feels towards a group, the more that group's respect might enhance one's sense of status. Further if one perceives respect from a particular group, perhaps one feels more responsibility towards them. Thus, it could be argued that both respect perceived and responsibility to a group are likely to affect the individual's sense of status. We turn now, therefore, to consider our findings on teachers' sense of responsibility and perceptions of respect.

Responsibility and respect in teaching

Teachers' sense of responsibility to others

We asked whether teachers felt 'none', 'a little' or 'a lot' of responsibility to, or respect from, their pupils, colleagues, school governors, local community, government, people in other professions and the media, for example. We shall consider first their expression of responsibility to various groups. Table 4.5 shows the mean values in descending order. The highest by far, with barely any variation, was responsibility to 'my pupils'. The lowest was responsibility to the media. In 2003, we asked only about pupils, school, parents, governors, general public and government and the rank order was the same as in 2006.

Table 4.5: Degree of responsibility to various groups (3 point scale)

Extent of responsibility to	Mean responsibility rating on three-point scale	Std. Dev	N
1 My pupils	2.99	0.08	5287
2 My school	2.93	0.27	5274
13 My own family	2.93	0.29	5264
3 Teachers at my school	2.80	0.42	5265
6 The parents of my pupils	2.78	0.44	5261
5 Support staff at my school	2.74	0.48	5255
4 Senior managers at my school	2.71	0.51	5244
10 The teaching profession	2.60	0.55	5247
14 Non-teaching friends	2.43	0.66	5234
7 My school governors	2.39	0.63	5251
8 The local community	2.33	0.58	5254
11 The Local Authority	2.18	0.64	5244
9 The general public	2.07	0.62	5241
15 People in other professions (in general)	1.91	0.64	5222
12 The Government	1.89	0.68	5232
16 The media	1.42	0.60	5255

Significant variation between groups, p<0.1%, Friedman, very large effect size

The responsibility ratings formed three factors of which the first two were conceptually coherent and reliable[15] (Table 4.6) The first and most reliable factor referred to external bodies notably the government, the local authority and the general public. The second reliable factor referred to within-school groups especially teaching colleagues, and senior managers. The group 'My pupils' was excluded because it showed so little variation. These two factors were highly correlated (r = 0.54, N = 5015, p < 0.01) but teachers' sense of responsibility to their within school groups was significantly higher than that towards external bodies (p<0.01, Wilcoxon pairs, very large effect sizes).

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[15] The third consisted of three items my own family, my non teaching friends, and people in other professions. It extracted 9% of the variance but had a low reliability ($\alpha = 0.56$).

Table 4.6: Factors in teachers' sense of their responsibility to others

Extent of responsibility to	Correlation between item score and (total less item score)		
	External bodies (N=5093)	Within school groups (N=5177)	Other individuals (N=5182)
1 My pupils			
2 My school		0.42	
3 Teachers at my school		0.54	
4 Senior managers at my school		0.52	
5 Support staff at my school		0.44	
6 The parents of my pupils		0.43	
7 My school governors	0.54		
8 The local community	0.55		
9 The general public	0.59		
10 The teaching profession	0.48		
11 The Local Authority	0.65		
12 The Government	0.63		
13 My own family			0.27
14 Non-teaching friends			0.51
15 People in other professions (in general)			0.43
16 The media	0.43		
Variance	**29.4%**	**9.9%**	**9.1%**
Alpha reliability	**0.82**	**0.70**	**0.56**

There were some differences between different groups of teachers. Men teachers, secondary teachers and older teachers rated their responsibility levels lower than did women teachers, primary teachers[16] and younger teachers respectively to both in-school and to external bodies ($p < 0.01$, Mann-Whitney, small effect size). Those intending to leave teaching gave lower responsibility ratings than those intending to stay, but surprisingly the leavers' ratings were marginally higher than those of secondary teachers. Not surprising, on the other hand, was the finding that levels of expressed responsibility, when analysed by school post (grouped into three categories: headteachers/deputy headteachers, intermediate managers/co-ordinators, and class teachers who state no other responsibility), correlated positively with rank. The heads and deputies expressed significantly higher in-school and external responsibility ratings ($p < 0.01$, chi-sq, small effect size) than the other two groups, with heads' and deputies' mean ratings the highest of all groups' ratings.

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[16] There was no gender-phase interaction for within-school responsibility, ($p < 0.01$, analysis of variance, medium effect size), this was a primary teacher effect, but phase and gender were significant ($p<0.01$; small effect) for responsibility to external groups.

When compared with the 2003 responsibility ratings on the six items common to both surveys, there were significant increases in responsibility ratings on five of the six sources, with medium effect sizes in relation to *my school*, *my school governors* and *the general public*. Responsibility to *the government* remained unchanged, however, at the lowest level, as shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Teachers' responsibility ratings in 2003 and 2006

Extent of responsibility to	2006 Survey			2003 survey		
	N	Mean on three-point scale	Std. Dev	N	Mean on three-point scale	Std. Dev
1 My pupils	5287	2.99 **	0.08	2312	2.96 **	0.20
2 My school	5274	2.93 **	0.27	2312	2.72 **	0.45
6 The parents of my pupils	5261	2.78 **	0.44	2312	2.45 **	0.51
7 My school governors	5251	2.39 **	0.63	2309	2.10 **	0.44
9 The general public	5241	2.07 **	0.62	2311	2.01 **	0.41
12 The Government	5232	1.89	0.68	2310	1.85	0.45

**p<1%, Mann-Whitney, items 1 and 6 small effect sizes, others medium

In other words, on this very coarse scale, teachers in general appear to have an increased sense of responsibility to groups both inside and outside school compared with 2003. Senior leaders appear to express the highest ratings, whilst secondary teachers and those intending to leave the profession expressed the lowest responsibility ratings. We appear to have an anomalous situation as regards status, respect and responsibility. Headteachers and primary teachers expressed the higher levels of responsibility to both in-school and external groups than did secondary teachers. Primary teachers consider that the teaching profession has a higher level of reward and respect than do secondary teachers. Yet, in terms of status in an occupational hierarchy primary teachers appear to be accorded less status than secondary teachers or headteachers. With that in mind we turn to teachers' ratings of perceived respect for the same groups of people considered in relation to responsibility.

Teachers' views of the respect they receive

Teachers rated the respect that they perceive they are accorded by various groups such as *my pupils*, *my school*, *the parents of my pupils*, just as they did for their sense of responsibility. The scale was a very coarse three point scale consisting of *none, a little, a lot,* used in order to enable participants to respond quite quickly and easily to these relatively sensitive issues within a long questionnaire. The results were very similar to those obtained in 2003. In 2006 there were three new items (*my school, the local authority* and *the government*) which strengthened the 2003 factor solution. The two strongest and conceptually coherent factors almost matched the in-school and external

factors found for the responsibility levels, but ratings for *my pupils*, *my pupils' parents* and *the local community* formed a third weaker factor. The groups contributing to each factor and their mean ratings are shown in Table 4.8. In the light of recent reforms in the workforce, it is interesting to note that *support staff at my school* which contributed in 2003 to a scale derived from the *school* factor no longer correlated strongly enough with this scale to be included.

Table 4.8: Sources of perceived respect in 2006

| *Perceived respect from* | *2006 Survey* | | |
	Mean on three-point scale	**Std. Dev**	**N**
1 My pupils	2.65	0.51	5215
2 My school	2.56	0.56	5200
3 Teachers at my school	2.74	0.46	5217
4 Senior managers at my school	2.49	0.62	5217
5 Support staff at my school	2.74	0.47	5236
6 The parents of my pupils	2.40	0.56	5182
7 My school governors	2.29	0.68	5195
8 The local community	1.95	0.58	5202
9 The general public	1.71	0.53	5218
10 The teaching profession	2.23	0.59	5189
11 The Local Authority	1.87	0.61	5206
12 The Government	1.52	0.55	5211
13 My own family	2.92	0.29	5249
14 Non-teaching friends	2.64	0.53	5228
15 People in other professions (in general)	1.98	0.55	5213
16 The media	1.34	0.49	5224

Table 4.9: Ratings of perceived respect from composite sources

Source of perceived respect	Rotated factor			
	School	Outside bodies	Personal	Pupil community
2 My school	.810	.		
3 Teachers at my school	.736	.		
4 Senior managers at my school	.824	.		
5 Support staff at my school	.587	.		
7 My school governors	.672	.407		
9 The general public	.	.686		-.477
10 The teaching profession	.400	.595		
11 The Local Authority	.421	.704		
12 The Government		.776		
16 The media		.656		
13 My own family			.710	
14 Non-teaching friends			.811	
15 People in other professions (in general)		.506	.525	
1 My pupils				-.722
6 The parents of my pupils				-.803
8 The local community		.546		-.636
Unrotated factor variance	30.2%	11.4%	8.5%	6.9%
Alpha reliability for scale of marked items	0.80 * (N=5074)	0.75 (N=5041)	0.50 (N=5156)	0.65 (N=5080)

As in the case of the responsibility ratings, women teachers, primary teachers and older teachers were more likely to believe that they were respected by in-school groups and from people within the pupils' home environment (pupils, parents and community). Once again the source of the primary-secondary difference was phase rather than gender based, with primary teachers giving a significantly higher rating. The phase and age effects repeat those found in 2003, but the gender difference for school-based respect is new in 2006. Men and women teachers did not differ however, as regards respect from outside bodies. As expected, those intending to leave teaching rated their perceived respect lower than did those who intended to stay in teaching, whilst headteachers and deputies were significantly more likely to perceive more respect from all sources than either middle managers/co-ordinators or class teachers (all differences p< 0.01, chi-sq, small effect sizes), although perceived respect by heads and deputies from pupils (in particular) and parents and community, was greater (large effect size) than that perceived by class teachers. Teachers of shortage subjects, defined as maths, physics, chemistry and general science, also felt significantly less respect from outside groups and from the pupils, parents and community than did other teachers (p < 0.01, Mann Whitney, small effect size). Finally, when a comparison of the 2003 and 2006 mean respect ratings was carried out for items common to both surveys, there was a mixed pattern of changes. There was no change in perceived respect from support staff, parents, and the general public, but notable reductions in respect perceived from fellow teachers and senior managers. The biggest increases were from personal sources including teachers' families, their non-teaching friends (small effect

sizes) and people in other professions (very small effect). When composite sources were compared using the 2003 scales, there was a very small decrease in respect from school sources, and very small increase from external bodies.

To sum up this section on teachers' ratings of the responsibility they feel and perceptions of the respect they receive, there appeared to have been a net increase in the responsibility teachers expressed to almost all groups except the government. As regards respect perceived, the changes suggest a slight drop in respect perceived from school groups, notably senior managers, and an increase in respect from family, friends and people in other professions.

SECTION III: The potential of events and strategies to raise the status of teachers: Comparative analyses of responses in 2003 and 2006

The survey of teachers, conducted in 2003, presented respondents with 36 current and potential policy initiatives and asked them to indicate the extent to which they felt increases in each item might affect their status. For the 2006 follow-up survey, however, a further 14 items were added to the list of issues that teachers were asked to rate. The application of factor analysis to the 36 items, which were included in both the 2003 and 2006 surveys, resulted in the construction of four key factors (see Table 4.10). The factors and a few of their associated items include:

I.   **Job awareness**
   a.   Improvements to school resources and facilities
   b.   Public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society
   c.   Public awareness of the intellectual demands of the job
II. **Pupil focus**
   a.   The relevance of the curriculum to pupils' lives
   b.   Pupil choice of ways to represent their learning
   c.   Pupil involvement with school policy-making
III. **Release of imposed constraints**
   a.   Strategies to reduce levels of teacher workload
   b.   Strategies to reduce time spent on administrative tasks
   c.   Reduction in the amount of national testing
IV. **Teacher involvement**
   a.   Teacher input into policy reform
   b.   Opportunities for leadership experience
   c.   Parental support for the school

Taken together, these factors accounted for 40.7 per cent of the overall variance in 2003 and 42.1 per cent in 2006.

Table 4.10: Factors formed from 36 items rated by teachers in the 2003 and 2006 surveys

Factor	Variance %		Reliability	
	2003	2006	2003	2006
Job Awareness	23.5 %	25.8 %	0.87	0.86
Release of Imposed Constraints	7.0 %	5.9 %	0.69	0.65
Pupil Focus	5.6 %	6.3 %	0.65	0.71
Teacher Involvement	4.6 %	4.1 %	0.80	0.78

The grouping of a number of items, via factor analysis, which are similar in nature allowed the creation of a highly reliable factor identified as *job awareness*. Teachers' responses to the 36 items included in both years 2003 and 2006, were treated in this way and accounted for 23.5 per cent of the variance in 2003 and 25.8 per cent in 2006. Central to this factor are items (see Table 4.11) which are concerned with generating greater internal and external involvement in schools and knowledge of teachers' roles. The mean rating for all 10 of these items, making up the *job awareness* factor, taken together showed that teachers were consistent in their view that greater awareness of their roles, by people inside and outside of the profession, would have a very positive (with mean ratings of 4.42 ±0.43 in 2003 and 4.46 ±0.40 in 2006) effect on their status.

Table 4.11: Items contributing to the 'job awareness' factor

Item	*Correlation with (total-item)*	
	2003 (N=2279)	**2006 (N=5201)**
Public awareness of the intellectual demands of the job	0.67	0.62
Opportunities for teachers to exercise professional judgement	0.66	0.63
Public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society	0.65	0.57
Public understanding of teachers' responsibility	0.64	0.65
Understanding by policy makers of the practicalities of classroom life	0.58	0.50
Recognition of teachers' pastoral and social work for pupils	0.58	0.55
Entitlement to high quality Continuing Professional Development	0.56	0.57
Time for planning and training to implement new initiatives	0.56	0.57
Teachers driving the reform agenda	0.51	0.51
Improvements to school resources and facilities	0.50	0.45
Salary levels closer to those of comparable professions	0.48	0.45
Alpha reliability	**0.87**	**0.86**
Mean score/item	4.42 (0.43)	4.46 (0.40)

This factor accounted for 24 and 25.8 per cent.of the variation in the sample in the years 2003 and 2006 respectively.

The remaining three factors accounted for relatively small proportions of the variance (17.2% in 2003 and 16.3% in 2006) with the strongest of these being labelled as *pupil*

focus (5.6% in 2003 and 6.3% in 2006), which increased in reliability during the period investigated, suggesting an increase in the strength of teachers' feelings in this area. The six items forming this factor include issues such as *the relevance of the curriculum*, *pupils' choice of ways to represent their learning* and *use of ICT in teaching*. This factor has attracted similar ratings for both 2003 and 2006, where mean scores (3.77 ±0.46 and 3.80 ±0.48 respectively) indicated teachers' neutral, but verging towards a positive, view of the effect of increased attention on pupil focussed issues on their own status.

Further analyses to investigate the impact of other variables such as respondent characteristics on the factors revealed a few interesting findings. For instance, the introduction of teachers' ages to the analysis showed statistically significant differences in the *pupil focus* factor but not in the reduction of *imposed constraints* factor. Whilst both the younger and older age groups indicated attitudes which were on the positive side of 'neutral' (3.88 ±0.45 and 3.70 ±0.49 respectively), with regard to *pupil focus*, those teachers who fell into the younger age group were significantly ($p<0.01$, small effect size) more positive, in both years 2003 and 2006, about the effects of pupil focussed changes. On the other hand, although both the younger and older age groups were positive (4.34 ±0.61 and 4.33 ±0.59 respectively) in their views about the likely impact of the reduction of *imposed constraints*, the significant difference of opinion which existed between the groups in 2003, where the older age group (1.92 ±0.92) was more negative than the younger age group (2.07 ±0.95), no longer exists in the analysis for 2006. When considering the gender of respondents, whilst women were significantly more positive on all four factors in 2006, their attitudes three years earlier were not so striking. In fact, in 2003, women were significantly more positive than men on just two of the factors, *job awareness* and *pupil focus*.

Current attitudes of teachers – 2006 survey

Respondents to the 2006 follow-up survey were asked to respond to an additional 14 items which were added to the list of 36 items that teachers were asked to rate in 2003. The five most highly rated items, in 2006, are included in 4.12 below. Teachers felt that the prospect of salary levels approximating those received by people in similar professions would have a positive, but almost 'very positive' (4.63 ±0.60), effect on their status. Even though teachers felt that attention to their salaries would have the most positive effect, almost as important to them (4.62 ±0.60) was the idea that those responsible for education policy should have an awareness of the realities of the classroom environment.

Table 4.12: Items rated in 2006 to have the most positive effect on teachers' status

Issues stimulating change	*Rating*	*Std dev*
Salary levels closer to those of comparable professions	4.63	0.60
Understanding by policy makers of the practicalities of classroom life	4.62	0.60
Improvements to school resources and facilities	4.56	0.59
Public understanding of teachers' responsibility	4.52	0.59
Public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society	4.51	0.60

Factor analysis of all 50 items used in the 2006 survey, created seven factors (accounting for almost half, 45.7% of the total variance) worthy of further discussion and included in

Table 4.13. *Workload reduction*, alone, represented almost a quarter (23.9%) of the total variance and proved to be a strongly reliable factor, constructed using items such as *time for professional collaboration with colleagues* and *availability of classroom support.* These are items which are crucial to the fundamental tenets of the government's Workforce Reform initiative, which place an obligation on schools to make provisions in such areas. The seven factors along with a couple of the contributing items are listed below.

I.   **Workload reduction**
    a. Time for professional collaboration with colleagues
    b. Strategies to reduce levels of teacher workload
II.   **Pupil Partnership**
    a. The relevance of the curriculum to pupils' lives
    b. Pupil choice of ways to represent their learning
III. **Teachers as active reformers**
    a. Teacher input into policy reform
    b. Teacher input into curriculum content
IV.   **Re-orientation as leaders**
    a. Opportunities for leadership experience
    b. Scope for teachers to engage in critical thinking
V.   **Expanded community role**
    a. Public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society
    b. Local community access to school facilities
VI.   **Public appreciation**
    a. Expansion of the Extended Schools scheme
    b. Public understanding of teachers' responsibility
VII. **Teachers as workers**
    a. Working with a range of professionals outside education
    b. The management and direction of other adults in the classroom

Three of the seven factors, '*expanded community role*' (4.48 ±0.51), *workload reduction* (4.44 ±0.46) and 'teachers as active reformers' (4.24 ±0.46) proved to be reliable factors and achieved mean ratings which fell between 'positive' and 'very positive' and were therefore considered most likely to generate positive change in the status of teachers. The inclusion of '*expanded community role*' (which includes 'public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society', 'local community access to school facilities' and 'opportunities to develop partnerships with parents') as one of the three most positive factors, perhaps demonstrates acceptance by teachers of current government strategies.

Table 4.13: Factors formed from 50 items rated in the 2006 survey

Factors	Variance %	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.	N
Work-load reduction	23.9	4.44	0.46	5221
Public appreciation	6.6	3.48	0.58	5176
Expanded community role	4.7	4.48	0.51	5290
Re-orientation as leaders	3.3	3.99	0.48	5193
Teachers as workers	2.6	3.91	0.52	5257
Pupil Partnership	2.4	3.72	0.53	5205
Teachers as active reformers	2.2	4.24	0.46	5206

Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2006

Subjecting these factors to further analysis, in order to establish the extent to which the length of service, age and gender of respondents influenced their decisions, revealed significant results. Comparison of two groups of teachers, those who started their teaching careers during or before 1967 and those relatively new to the profession, having started later than 2003, showed that the latter group were significantly more positive about the potential effects of *workload reduction* ($p<0.05$, small effect size), *expanded community role* ($p<0.05$, small effect size), and *pupil partnership* ($p<0.01$, small effect size), on their status (see Figure 4.6). Clearly related to respondents' length of service is their age, analysis of which revealed similar findings, where younger teachers were more positive on most of the factors. Specifically, with respect to the groups of items making up *public appreciation* and *pupil partnership*, younger teachers were significantly ($p<0.01$, small effect size) more positive than older teachers (see Figure 4.7). These younger teachers appeared to suggest that greater attention to public participation, coupled with more pupil focussed initiatives would contribute to improved teacher status. Notable, however, is the fact that older teachers (4.28 ± 0.45) have demonstrated more enthusiasm than younger teachers (4.16 ± 0.46), to see *teachers as active reformers* of their profession. Thus older teachers were more concerned that teachers should be more autonomous and at the forefront of education policy-making.

Figure 4.6: The impact of length of service on factors
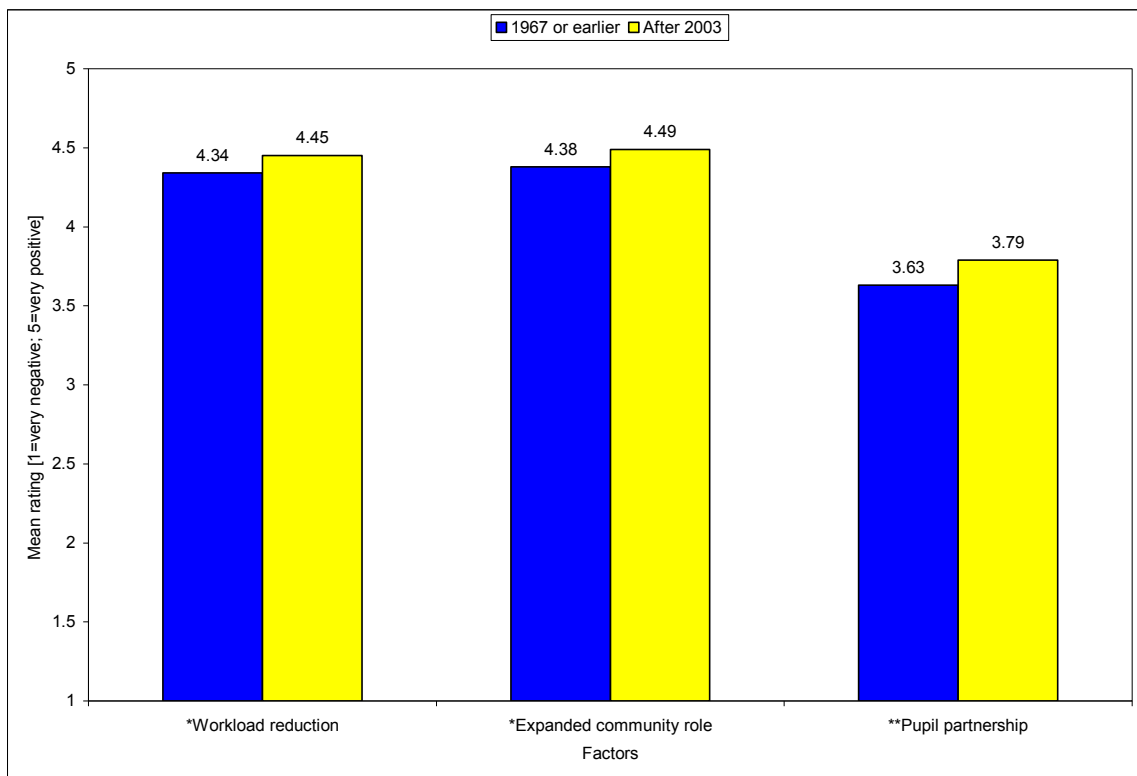
Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2006
*p<5%, **p<1%, Mann-Whitney, small effect size

Figure 4.7 The impact of teachers' age on factors
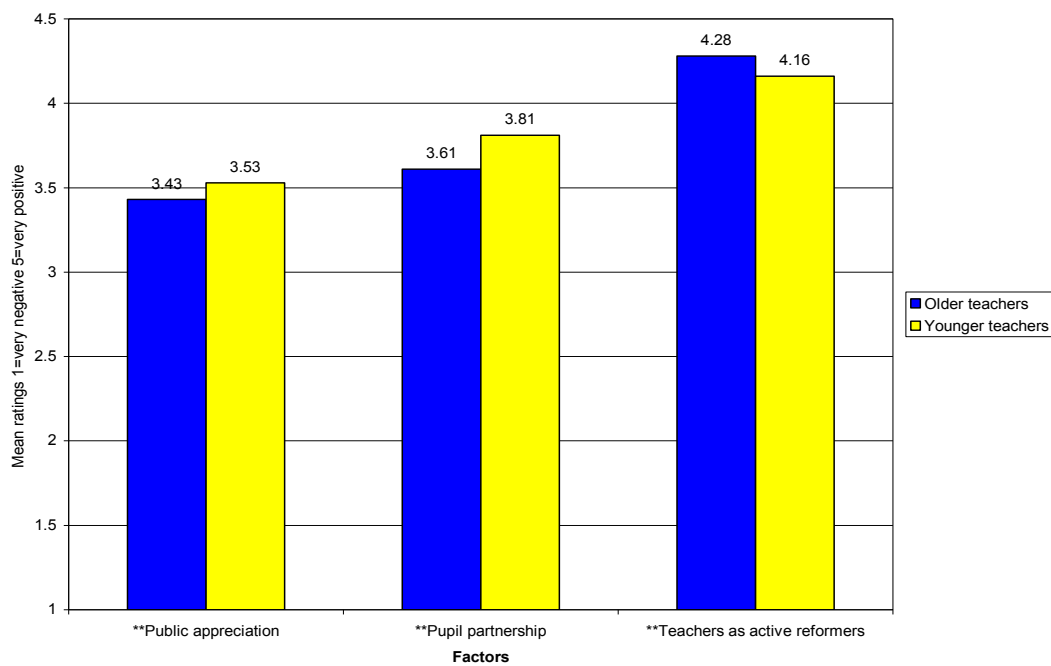
Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2006
**p<1%, Mann-Whitney, small effect size

Women teachers are shown to have responded more positively than men teachers on each of the factors developed, with the exception of the factor labelled *teachers as active reformers*, where there was no significant gender difference. Two of the factors on which women teachers are shown to have rated more positively was in their concerns about increases in the items contributing to the *pupil partnership* (e.g. *pupil choice of ways to represent their learning* and pupil involvement in school policy making) and those items related to *re-orientation as leaders* (e.g. *time for headteachers to focus on leadership responsibilities* and *participation in NCSL activities*).

When comparing the 2006 ratings by school phase, primary school teachers emerged as being more positive (p<0.01, small effect size) than secondary school teachers on six of the seven factors (both secondary and primary school teachers gave *public appreciation* a neutral rating and there was no significant difference between these ratings). Although the primary phase was more positive, most prominent for both phases were teachers' views that an expanded role for schools in the community would improve the status of teachers (primary teachers 4.51 ±0.50; secondary 4.46 ±0.51). This factor (*expanded community role*) was closely followed by the idea that reductions in workloads, which also achieved a rating between *positive* and *very positive*, might improve the status of teachers. Interesting also, but not a significant finding, is the view of headteachers and deputy headteachers who were less positive than classroom teachers about the potential of reductions in workloads to improve teacher status. The more significant findings here, however, show that on all but one (*workload reduction*) of the factors, headteachers and deputy headteachers were more positive than class teachers. This finding may reflect a greater awareness or belief among school managers of central, local government or school efforts to address some of the items contained within these factors.

A question included in the survey asked teachers to state their plans for the next five years. The respondents were divided into two groups representing those who intended to remain and those who planned to leave (this category includes teachers planning to retire) the profession. Analysis of the results in terms of the seven factors, showed a mixed picture, presented in Figure 4.8, with 'leavers' rating some factors more positively and 'stayers' rating others more positively. Respondents planning to leave the profession were more positive with respect to *workload reduction*, *expanded community role* and *teachers as active reformers* and *teachers as workers* (there was no significant difference for this factor); teachers planning to stay in the profession were more positive about the remaining factors. Whilst differences between the *stayers* and *leavers* were significant, the very small effect sizes suggest that these differences in the population would be quite weak.

Figure 4.8 The impact of teachers' decisions to remain in or leave the profession
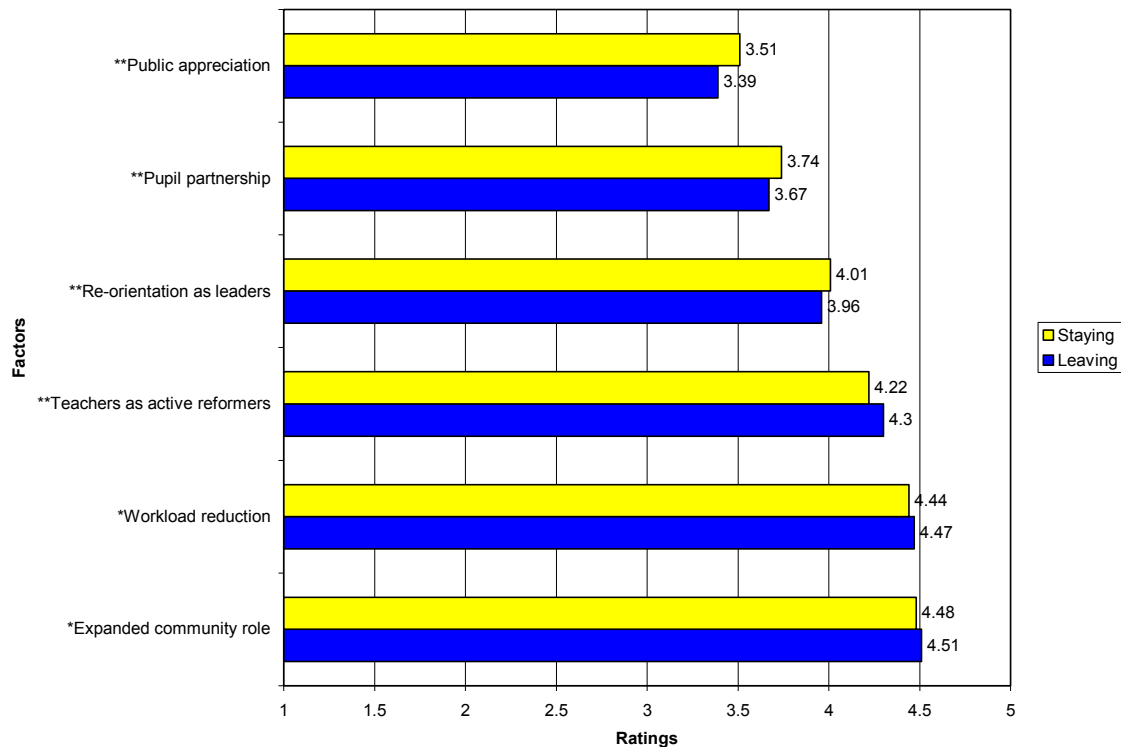
Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2006
**p<1%, *p<5% Mann-Whitney, small effect size

Further analysis was carried out in order to investigate differences in the attitudes of teachers' based on subject specialism and geographical location. The results showed that teachers of non-shortage subjects (shortage subjects included in 2003 were maths, physics, chemistry, science, biology, and ICT; the latter two were omitted in the 2006 analysis) and teachers based in schools situated in inner city areas, held more positive attitudes in relation to the potential of each of the seven factors to improve their status.

In summary, our most recent assessment of teachers' views, on a list of 50 items, revealed that they considered increases in salary levels akin to those enjoyed by professionals in other similar occupations and the notion that education policy-makers should have an increased awareness of the realities of the classroom environment, would raise the status of teachers. Of the seven factors established through factor analysis, the three key areas considered likely to generate positive changes in the status of teachers were *expanded community role*, *workload reduction* and *teachers as active reformers*. It would appear, therefore, that whilst a significant proportion of the teachers recognised the value of increased external and pupil-centred initiatives, others were keen that teachers themselves played a part in shaping policy initiatives. The more positive thinking proponents of these seven factors were the younger teachers, those who had more recently started their teaching careers and women teachers.

Teachers' spontaneous comments indicating factors that they consider influence the status of teachers and teaching

Before leaving the issue of status change, we must refer to the spontaneous comments that teachers wrote on their questionnaires referring to factors that they felt influenced their status, because such a significant proportion did so. Almost 20 per cent of the 2006 participants (1032 of 5340) took advantage of the invitation to add spontaneous open-ended comments on teachers' status. The motivation to do so appears to have come from strongly held negative and often irate attitudes. An analysis of the key words in these comments was carried out. The most common word by far was 'status' (22 % of comments), followed by 'government (10%). Comments about status were nearly always negative comment, and were most frequently (13% of 'status' comments) linked with government, referring to government interventions and what they saw as failings. Parents and media were mentioned in 7 per cent of the comments respectively, and again these were almost invariably negative. Media and government were linked by 38 per cent of those referring to the media, as having negative influences, some specifying the need for positive media coverage. Of those who mentioned government 28 per cent suggested that government undermined their status. Pay, mentioned in 6 per cent of the comments was considered too low by all but one respondent, and 29 per cent of those who mentioned pay linked it with low status. Four per cent of the comments referred to targets, testing, SATs or OfSTED and frequently associating these with low status. Other comments expressed by 2 to 3 per cent of the sample included a perceived lack of trust in teachers, and a feeling of being 'undervalued' especially by the government in both cases; comments on pupils' poor behaviour and parents not taking responsibility for this; 3 per cent mentioned excessive paper work. On a positive note, just over 2 per cent said that they enjoyed the job, but several of these disliked the paperwork. Some typical comments to illustrate these themes appear below:

> *The continuous reform since the 80's has undermined teachers and the status of the profession. The constant pressure to 'do better' has made both teachers and the public perceive teaching as a failing profession'*

> *Status is continually undermined by a government that produces new initiatives daily and leaves leadership group staff feeling inadequate and worried about how to introduce them to an over stressed workforce. Work/life balance is a joke.*

> *It is a hugely rewarding profession in the classroom, but successive governments and the media have reduced the status of the profession by refusing to trust in teachers' integrity and knowledge.*

> *Having just had OfSTED in today and seeing perfectly brilliant teachers with decades of pupil attainment behind them turn into manic depressives, it's about time our career was given some status and headteachers were given more authority for their schools.*

> *Teachers appear to have some status currently as 'lion tamers' rather than professionals. One way to improve professionalism is to allow teachers time for reading, research and implementation of new initiatives - of which there are too many at the moment.*

I feel that the combination of political interference and obsession with league tables, 'teacher bashing' reduces our status in the eyes of the public. The GTC does very little apart from 'disciplining teachers who have already lost their jobs ...

In my experience the status of teachers has improved considerably, but as with all things it is largely dependent upon expectations and personal attitude.

SATs especially KS1 KS2 contribute unnecessary teacher workload and pressure which leads to less status in long term

Status is being undermined by fast tracking of lower qualified teachers; use of classroom assistants and above all by poor pay and conditions. Pay peanuts and struggle to attract quality staff. Quick fix strategies to shove up shortages of quality staff.

I feel status has been raised but with huge costs to trust/morale within schools. A competitive cut throat ethos may suit business but I don't believe it suits the staffroom.

The selection above includes some positive comments but it must be emphasised that these were a very small minority of the comments made.

SECTION IV: Teacher professionalism

Introduction

At the core of this project has been a concern with the relationship between teacher status and teacher professionalism. In her pamphlet 'Professionalism and Trust – the future of teachers and teaching' (DfES, 2001), the Secretary of State for Education and Skills explained that the status (and quality) of the teaching profession was of central importance to the government's reform agenda. Furthermore, a new understanding of teacher professionalism would need to be put into practice for the success of that reform agenda and, in particular, for the status of the teaching profession to be improved. As she explained:

> *Gone are the days when doctors and teachers could say, with a straight face, "trust me, I'm a professional". So we need to be clear about what does constitute professionalism for the modern world.*

She went on to articulate six necessary characteristics of the necessary new professionalism:

A. *high standards at key levels of the profession, including entry and leadership, set nationally and regulated by a strong professional body*

B. *a body of knowledge about what works best and why, with regular training and development opportunities so that members of the profession are always up to date*

C. *efficient organization and management of complementary staff to support best professional practice*

D. *effective use of leading edge technology to support best professional practice*

E. *incentives and rewards for excellence, including through pay structures, and*

F. *a relentless focus on what is in the best interests of those who use the service – in education, pupils and parents – backed by clear and effective arrangements for accountability and for measuring performance and outcomes. (Morris, 2002, p.19)*

Such a conception of teacher professionalism is of course very different from traditional ideas, which emphasised instead the need for a large measure of teacher autonomy and for public trust of teachers, on the basis of both teachers' professional expertise and also the *vocation* that was assumed to underlie their professional dedication and commitment to values of service. As the Secretary of State recognised, the credibility of such traditional ideas has been significantly undermined in recent decades, and not only in relation to teaching. That did not mean, however, that there was a vacuum waiting to be filled by her suggestions. Teachers have been exposed to active and increasingly wide-ranging debates about the nature of their professionalism for many years. Two of the longest standing debates have been about whether it is helpful to view teaching as a profession at all – Etzioni (1969), for example, called it a semi-profession - and about Hoyle's (1970) suggestion, supported influentially by Stenhouse (1975), that the *core*

professionalism of teachers is not enough, and that there was a need for an *extended professionalism* that goes beyond doing the basic job of classroom teaching. More recent commentators have offered teachers other value-laden versions of professionalism that is *democratic* and *activist* (Sachs, 2003) or sees teachers as *genuine agents of change* (Johnson and Hallgarten, 2002), while Breslin (2002), for example, suggests that the *baggage* of professional identity *may be too cumbersome to carry* (p.203). So it was clear to us from the start that it would be foolish to assume that we knew how teachers construed *professionalism* or to what kind of professionalism, if any, they were committed.

Given this background, we set out to answer the following questions about teacher professionalism:

1. What do English teachers see as the key elements of professionalism in teaching? How much, and in what ways, do they vary in their commitment to such ideas? Do they, for example, show varying degrees of commitment to, on one hand, a traditional idea of teacher professionalism and, on the other, the new professionalism articulated by the Secretary of State?

2. How, if at all, will English teachers change, between 2003 and 2006, in their understandings of, and commitments to, different ideas associated with 'professionalism'?

3. How do teachers' understandings and commitments in relation to professionalism, and changes in these understandings and commitments, relate to their perceptions of the status of the teaching profession?

This section is concerned with the first two of these questions.

Investigating professionalism

Included in the questionnaire that was sent to a national sample of teachers in 2003 and 2006 was a list of 33 statements each of which made an assertion about a suggested characteristic of professional teaching. Items were derived partly from the relevant literature and partly from the responses of teacher focus groups to questions such as 'Teachers are described as professionals – what does that mean to you?'. The aim was to cover a range of views of professionalism, including that articulated by the Secretary of State. So far as possible, the statements used the words of focus group participants.

For each of the statements, respondents were presented with a five point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree (1)' to 'strongly agree (5)'. They were asked to

> Tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to your own sense of teaching as a profession.

Pilot studies were conducted, as has been described in the Interim report, first using a national sample of 200 teachers and then, trialling the final version, with teachers from four local schools.

Since the 33 statements had been included to represent diverse ideas of professionalism, nothing could be assumed about how responses to these different statements would relate to each other. Responses to the different statements might be sufficiently correlated to form a single scale, possibly contrasting traditional and new versions of professionalism, but neither this nor any other pattern could be assumed. Analysis of the responses had to start, therefore, with an exploration of what kind of structures or patterns the responses fell into, with the nature of any further analyses necessarily depending on what this exploration revealed. The first steps, therefore, in 2003 and again in 2006, was to conduct a factor analysis, and more specifically a principal components analysis, followed by a rotation to find a satisfactory oblique factor solution, which permits factors to be intercorrelated.

How are Teachers' Conceptions of Professionalism Structured?

In 2003, the strongest factor that emerged accounted for 17 per cent of the total variance, and a total of eight factors accounted for 49 per cent. Both a 'scree' plot of factor sizes and careful inspection of the eight factors suggested that only the largest five of them, accounting in total for 38 per cent of the variance, were meaningfully interpretable. Thus, with as much as 62 per cent of the variance not being associated with any meaningful dimensions, and the other 38 per cent being distributed across five different dimensions, teachers' views of professionalism seemed to vary in ways that were not at all highly structured. This might have suggested that this factor solution was not very reliable, so it was reassuring that the independent analysis of the 2006 data generated an almost identical solution. Again, eight factors, this time accounting for 50 per cent of the total variance, emerged from the analysis; and again a 'scree' plot and careful inspection both suggested that only the largest five of these factors were meaningful. Furthermore, it was obvious that the five 2006 factors matched closely, although of course not perfectly, the five 2003 factors.

The five meaningful factors that were common to both the 2003 and the 2006 surveys are presented below. For purposes of comparability, we highlight the items which loaded highly (i.e. loadings of more than 0.3) on the factors on both occasions.

Table 4.14: Professionalism Factor 1: 'Teaching as Constructive Learning'

	Item	Correlation with Total minus item	
		2003 Survey N=2309	2006 Survey N=5295
p5	Teachers must always be ready to learn new classroom methods	0.43	0.45
p6	It is important for teachers to be creative	0.44	0.48
p7	Continuing professional development is essential	0.59	0.57
p8	Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good learning	0.49	0.54
p19	Being involved in research is an important activity for teachers	0.38	0.40
p20	Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools	0.40	0.42
Reliability		*0.71*	*0.73*

The central concern of this factor is clearly with professional development, while collaboration with other teachers, creativity and engagement in research are seen as closely related ideas. Other items which loaded highly on this factor in 2006, but not in 2003, were *teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies, teachers must be able to manage a complex learning environment, good teachers evaluate their practice and learn from this*, and *teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them'*. There are strong elements in this factor of the contrast made by Hoyle (1970) between *extended* and *core* professionalism. The government would certainly endorse the extended professionalism ideas that might be seen as the positive pole of this dimension. On the other hand, the emphases on teacher creativity and, increasingly, on teacher judgement, are facets of teaching the importance of which, in many teachers' eyes, has not been adequately recognised by government and may indeed be seen as in sharp contrast to the idea of *a body of knowledge about what works best* (Morris, 2002).

Table 4.15: Professionalism Factor 2: 'Autonomy in Teaching'

	Item	Correlation with Total minus item	
		2003 Survey N=2315	2006 Survey N=5227
p21	Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism	0.56	0.32
p9	Central control of assessment undermines professionalism	0.56	0.32
Reliability		*0.72*	*0.49*

The small Factor 2, *Autonomy in Teaching* relates directly to government policy in that it is simply concerned with whether or not the strong government control over curriculum and assessment undermines teacher professionalism. It is worthy of note that this factor does not incorporate concerns about the need for teachers to have autonomy in their classroom practice. Also noteworthy perhaps is the drop in the salience of this dimension between 2003 and 2006.

Table 4.16: Professionalism Factor 3: 'Teaching as Collaboration with Others'

Item		Correlation with Total minus item	
		2003 Survey N=2299	2006 Survey N=5220
p2	More emphasis should be placed on the process of learning	0.35	0.40
p3	Effective teaching involves collaborating with teachers as equal partners	0.47	0.54
p4	It is important for teachers to address individual learning needs	0.42	0.52
p13	Teachers should develop working relationships with the local community	0.48	0.54
p15	High quality teaching involves collaborating effectively with members of other professions	0.40	0.46
p23	The teaching profession should take into account the views of the pupils	0.37	0.45
Reliability		*0.68*	*0.74*

Factor 3, *teaching as collaboration with others*, which is virtually identical for 2003 and 2006, is intriguing in that it groups together collaboration with pupils, their parents, the local community, and members of other professions, but is *not* concerned with collaboration with other members of the teaching profession. The only slight change is that the items loading on this factor are more tightly grouped in 2006. This factor reflects another aspect of 'extended' versus 'core' professionalism. It predates, but clearly reflects teachers' varying attitudes to, the government's agenda for widening participation in the work of schools.

Table 4.17: Professionalism Factor 4: 'Teaching as Expertise in dealing with a complicated job'

Item		*Correlation with Total minus item*	
		2003 Survey N=2298	**2006 Survey N=5191**
p10	Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies	0.45	0.46
p12	Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them	0.41	0.43
p14	Teachers must be able to manage a complex learning environment	0.41	0.46
p18	There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment	0.32	0.31
p25	Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher	0.39	0.45
p27	Teachers should be responsible for directing and supervising support staff in the classroom	0.31	0.41
p32	Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions	0.38	0.42
p33	Good teachers evaluate their own practice and learn from this	0.44	0.46
Reliability		*0.69*	*0.73*

Most of the loadings on this factor are relatively small on both occasions. In 2006, indeed, four items (10, 12, 14 and 33) load more highly on Factor 1, while continuing to have moderate loadings on this factor. This factor may be seen as reflecting many of the ideas of 'core' or traditional professionalism, in that it asserts that it is the teacher's task to manage the many complex aspects and purposes of classroom activity, but does not extend beyond the classroom. It may be anticipated that few teachers would dissent from any of the items in this scale.

Table 4.18: Professionalism Factor 5: 'Teaching as a Trusted Profession'

Item		*Correlation with Total minus item*	
		2003 Survey N=2313	**2006 Survey N=5265**
P29	Being trusted by the public is important for teachers	0.46	0.48
P31	Being trusted by the government is important for teachers	0.46	0.48
Reliability		*0.62*	*0.63*

Like Factor 2, Factor 5 is a small narrowly-focussed two-item factor which is correspondingly easy to interpret. The issue of being trusted by the public and by the government is clearly a distinct issue for teachers, the importance of which varies among them. Unlike Factor 2, its salience has remained unchanged from 2002 to 2006.

These then are the five scales which emerged from the analyses in 2003 and 2006. There is a remarkable stability across the two occasions and the two different samples of teachers, a stability which allows us to have considerable confidence in the significance of these scales. The relative size of the scales and ultimately their nature reflects of course the nature of the items which we selected for inclusion. It reflects too the decision to use an oblique factor rotation, which is designed to give factors with maximum internal coherence and sensitivity, but with the complication that the factors themselves are inter-correlated. The correlations between the factors are therefore of some significance for our understanding of how teachers' views are structured. Intercorrelations between the three highly correlated factors are shown in Table 4.19. The intercorrelations between *autonomy in teaching*, *teaching as doing a complicated job*, and *teaching as a trusted profession* were not high enough for further combination to be justified.

In the light of these correlations, it is possible to combine the three factors that are reasonably highly correlated, which are also the three most substantial factors, to create an overall 'Professionalism' scale. Doing so undermines, however, all the benefits gained from the oblique factor rotation of achieving a sensitive understanding of the ways in which teachers' views are structured, so we shall not pursue that option here.

Table 4.19: Correlations between Factors in 2003/2006 for the five factors in 2006 (above diagonal) and 2003 (below diagonal)

Professionalism Factor as defined in 2003	Factors				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
1. Teaching as constructive learning		0.09 (N=5202)	**0.59 **** **(N=5198)**	**0.52 **** **(N=5170)**	0.29 (N=5238)
2. Teaching as autonomous	0.06 (N=2298)		0.11 (N=5167)	0.22 (N=5146)	0.17 (N=5207)
3. Teaching as collaboration with others	**0.53** **(N=2283)**	0.10 (N=2288)		**0.43** **(N=5134)**	0.25 (N=5205)
4. Teaching as expertise in dealing with a complicated job	**0.44** **(N=2282)**	0.22 (N=2287)	**0.39** **(N=2276)**		**0.45 **** **(N=5179)**
5. Teaching as a trusted profession	0.26 (N=2295)	0.15 (N=2301)	0.21 (N=2289)	**0.41** **(N=2289)**	

Large effect size
Small effect size

Teachers' Commitments to Different Aspects of Professionalism

Of the 33 statements concerned with possible elements of professionalism to which we asked teachers to respond, 24 contribute to one another of the five factors that we have described. The most robust and reliable way in which we can report teachers' varied commitments in relation to these 24 items is therefore in terms of the means and standard deviations for the five scales corresponding to the five factors. These are shown in Table 4.21

Table 4.20: Means and standard deviations for the five factors in 2003 and 2006

Professionalism Factor	*2003 Survey*			*2006 Survey*		
	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
1. Teaching as Constr. Learning	2309	4.09	0.46	5295	4.13	0.48
2. Autonomy in Teaching	2315	3.76	0.87	5227	3.64	0.84
3. Teaching as Collbn.w.Others	2299	3.83	0.48	5220	3.84	0.53
4. Teaching as Complicated Job	2298	4.37	0.35	5191	4.42	0.37
5. Teaching as a Trusted Prof.	2313	4.41	0.57	5265	4.35	0.58

Examination of Table 4.20 shows first that, with a modest increase in the mean for Scale 4 from 4.37 to 4.42 and with very low standard deviations on both occasions, there is a high degree of sustained unanimity among teachers in their commitment to the idea that professional teachers require a high level of expertise to deal with all the complex tasks and purposes of classroom teaching. This is the positive side of core or traditional professionalism and, it seems, most teachers agree with it. Inspection of the means for the eight specific items included in this scale shows that all of them were above 4.00 on both occasions. It is interesting that the lowest mean for any of these items in 2003 was 4.06 for item 27, *teachers should be responsible for directing and supervising support in the classroom*, but that this mean rose substantially to 4.22 in 2006.

There is too a similarly high and sustained level of belief in the importance of teaching being a profession that is trusted by the public and by the government (Scale 5). The relatively high standard deviations for this scale indicate, however, that there is not quite the same degree of unanimity on this.

Scale 2, the other very short scale, is the one on which teachers showed greatest disagreement, as reflected in the high standard deviations on both occasions. It is also the scale on which there was the greatest mean change from 2003 to 2006, with a drop from 3.76 to 3.64. The majority of teachers therefore considered that central control over curriculum and assessment undermined teacher professionalism, but support for this view appears to be weakening. It will also be remembered that the salience of this scale was much reduced.

The two remaining scales, Scale 1 and Scale 3, both robust and both concerned with different aspects of extended professionalism, show very little change from 2003 to 2006. With scale means around 4.13 and 3.84 respectively, there is a substantial tendency for teachers to take a positive view both of *teaching as constructive learning* and of *teaching as collaboration with others*. On Scale 1, there was a high level of stability on all items, and all item means were above 4.00 except for item 19, *Being involved in research is an important activity for teachers,* for which the mean remained around 3.35. On Scale 3, all four items specifically concerned with collaboration had means between 3.00 and 4.00, with very little change between 2003 and 2006 except on item 23, *The teaching profession should take into account the views of pupils*, the mean for which rose from 3.69 to 3.78.

For the nine items that did not load significantly on any of the meaningful factors, we have no option except that of reporting on the items individually. The mean responses, the changes and the standard deviations for these items are reported in Table 4.21. Interesting and well worth reporting as these findings are, it is important to be cautious in interpreting them, since the precise wording or even the positioning of an isolated statement may significantly affect responses.

Table 4.21: Means and standard deviations for individual items not included in the factor scales, for 2003 and 2006

Item		2003 Survey			2006 Survey		
		N	Mean	Std Dev	N	Mean	Std Dev
1	Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum	2324	4.26**	0.66	5314	4.36**	0.64
11	The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment	2315	3.38**	1.06	5295	3.50**	1.05
16	Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance	2324	1.87	0.87	5312	1.80	0.89
17	It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	2314	3.84	0.87	5307	3.82	0.89
22	A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice	2323	2.44**	0.98	5262	2.62**	0.98
24	External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession	2315	3.28**	0.96	5253	3.38**	0.91
26	An influential and independent professional organisation for all teachers is desirable	2316	3.90	0.83	5261	3.86	0.91
28	Teachers should have a shared specialist language for talking about teaching and learning	2312	2.97**	0.95	5239	3.05**	0.96
30	Managing administrative staff is part of the teacher's role	2318	2.43**	1.04	5266	2.65**	1.0

** Difference between 2003 and 2006 means significant at 1% level, Mann-Whitney test

Examining this set of findings, it is first worth noting that at least six of the nine statements are closely related to government policies (11, 17, 22, 24, 26 and 30). The fact that these issues seem to be considered independently, and have not been assimilated to a broader way of thinking about professionalism, is in itself of some significance. In addition, the findings show a common pattern for four of these items (11, 22, 24 and 30): on both occasions these are among the statements that received the lowest levels of agreement and on which respondents diverged most widely in their responses; but in all four cases there was a significantly positive change from 2003 to 2006 in the mean responses.

Among other interesting findings is the puzzling response to Item 1. We should have expected that this item would be integrated into Scale 2 (Table 4.20), concerned with teachers' autonomy in relation to curriculum and assessment. Not only is this not so, but also the very strong and increasing endorsement of this statement seems to contrast sharply with the contentiousness and the weak and weakening endorsement of the two statements that define Scale 2. Considerable caution is clearly needed in interpreting the results not only for this item but also for Scale 2.

Variations in ideas of professionalism across groups of teachers

In both 2003 and 2006, a number of statistically significant differences were apparent between different groups of teachers on the professionalism scales. However, most of these differences are small and of negligible practical importance. They are therefore presented here very summarily.

Teacher variables

Gender

In both 2003 and 2006, the mean scores for women teachers were higher than for men on both the *teaching as constructive learning* and the *teaching as collaboration with others* scales.

Age

In both 2003 and 2006, the mean scores for older teachers were higher than those for younger teachers on the *autonomy in teaching scale* and lower on the *teaching as constructive learning* scale. In 2006, older teachers also had a higher mean score on the *teaching as expertise in a complicated job* scale

Career aspirations

In both 2003 and 2006, the mean scores for teachers intending to leave teaching for another career were higher than those for teachers intending to stay on the *autonomy in teaching* scale and lower on the *teaching as constructive learning'* scale.

School Variables

School Phase

In 2003, the mean scores of primary school teachers were higher than those of secondary school teachers on the *autonomy in teaching, teaching as collaboration with others* and *teaching as expertise in a complicated job* scales. In 2006, the means for primary school teachers were significantly higher on all five scales, the difference on *teaching as collaboration with others* being quite substantial.

School Location

In 2003, there were no differences according to school location, but in 2006 teachers from inner city schools scored significantly higher on all the scales. The differences were however small.

School Posts

When teaching posts are classified into senior management, middle management and exclusively class teaching posts, significant differences are apparent between those in senior management and those in exclusively class teaching posts. In 2003, the mean scores for senior managers were higher on the *autonomy in teaching, teaching as collaboration with others* and *teaching as expertise in a complicated job* scales. In 2006, the means for senior managers were significantly higher on all scales, the difference on *teaching as collaboration with others* being quite substantial.

Conclusions concerning teacher professionalism

Our repeated survey of teachers' views of professionalism appears to have revealed a highly stable but quite complex picture. Teachers clearly did not have a single integrated view of 'professionalism'. Nor do they feel themselves to be engaged in a single grand debate in which a conventional idea of professionalism is opposed by a new idea of professionalism. On the contrary, there are a considerable number of different issues about their professionalism that concern teachers, issues that may be closely or loosely inter-connected, but which are certainly distinct issues for them.

Our findings suggest that English teachers' thinking about their professionalism may perhaps be construed in terms of an inner core, an intermediate stratum and an outer layer. The inner core is represented mainly by the strong factor that asserts and celebrates the expertise needed to do the complicated job of classroom teaching, and on which most teachers agreed wholeheartedly in all respects. A distinct and more specific second element of this inner core seems to be the very widely felt need for the profession to be trusted by the government and the general public. Both elements of this core seem to reflect facets of traditional teacher professionalism, but facets of that traditional professionalism that might in large measure be endorsed by government. The teaching profession certainly seems to remain very strongly committed to both these elements.

In the intermediate stratum are potential elements of teacher professionalism that were broadly conceived and which are widely but far from universally accepted by teachers.

One of these elements, which generally attracted a high level of agreement, focused on teachers' continuing professional learning. A second, which attracted more modest levels of agreement, focused on collaboration with people outside the profession. In relation to a third probable element of this intermediate stratum, concerned with teacher autonomy, we have to be cautious, since our findings on this are both complex and puzzling.

In the outer layer of teachers thinking about their professionalism, there is probably a wide range of specific issues which are important to teachers but which have not generally as yet been integrated into their wider ways of thinking about their professionalism. Among these would seem to be many of the questions with which the profession has been faced by the present government. It is certainly notable that several items reflecting government policies did not tend to be integrated into any of the dimensions that we have identified to describe how teachers think about their professionalism. Several of these items were characterised not only by a lack of

integration into broader patterns of teacher thinking, but also by low levels of agreement, widely varying opinions and significant movement to greater agreement between 2003 and 2006.

SECTION V: The Longitudinal survey 2003-2006

Introduction

The longitudinal study was an important part of the design for exploring the nature and extent of changes in teachers' thinking about status between 2003 and 2006. Whereas the cross-sectional study compared the thinking in 2003 and 2006 of two different large national samples of teachers, the longitudinal study compared the thinking at these two times of a moderately large national sample of the same individuals on these two occasions, and also at an intermediate time half way in between. Whereas in the cross-sectional study, the samples of teachers were comparable in terms of their age, positions and experience, in the longitudinal study the teachers were of course three years older on the second occasion, three years more experienced and likely to be in more senior positions. Subtly different conclusions can in principle be learned from the two studies, but their primary strength comes from the possibilities they offer of comparing one set of results with the other in order to check, and possibly refine, our interpretation of the findings.

Of the original sample who responded in Spring 2003, 1,008 agreed to complete further questionnaires which represents 41.6 per cent. Of these, 675 responded in Autumn 2004, and 559 of these responded again in Spring 2006.

Status scales

Table 4.22 compares the ratings made by the same teachers on the three successive occasions. Significance is checked by multiple analysis of variance in a repeated measures design.

Table 4.22: Longitudinal Study: Teachers' Views of the Status Characteristics of the Teaching Profession in 2003, 2004 and 2006

	Spring 2003			Autumn 2004			Spring 2006		
	N	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.	N	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.	N	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.
Defined status									
Respect and reward	513	4.22	0.55	513	4.27	0.55	513	4.25	0.50
Control	549	3.46 **	0.85	549	3.99 **	0.67	549	3.47 **	0.84
Teaching status									
Respect and reward	494	2.90 **	0.44	494	2.98 **	0.46	494	3.02 **	0.48
Control	559	4.30	0.63	559	4.33	0.62	559	4.35	0.66

** p<1%, significant rise, paired t-test, medium effect size
**p<1%, significant fall, paired t-test, medium effect size
**p<1%, significant improvement, MANOVA

There is no significant variation over time in the *respect and reward* dimension defining a high status profession and, while there was a significant peak in the *control* defining dimension in 2004, there is no significant difference between 2003 and 2006. Thus, between 2003 and 2006 there have been no lasting changes in the teachers' understanding of what a high status profession is. Between 2003 and 2006, on the other hand, there is a sustained small but significant gain in the *respect and reward* status rating for teaching, but no significant change for the *control* status rating for teaching. Table 4.23 shows that, in so far as the gain for *respect and reward* has been sustained throughout the three years, this gain has been due to a significant improvement in primary teachers' perceptions of their *respect and reward*, an improvement not matched for secondary teachers. For teachers of both primary and secondary stages, however, the gap between the means on the *respect and reward* dimension for teachers (3.02) and for a high status profession (4.25) remains enormous.

Table 4.23: Longitudinal Study: primary/secondary differences in 'respect and reward' aspect of teaching status in 2003, 2004 and 2006

Respondents	Spring 2003			Autumn 2004			Spring 2006		
	N	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.	N	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.	N	Mean score/item	Std. Dev.
Primary	254	**2.92 ****	0.47	254	**2.97 ****	0.47	254	**3.10 ****	0.46
Secondary	175	**2.88 ****	0.38	175	**3.00 ****	0.41	175	2.95	0.50

** p<1%, significant rise, paired t-test, medium effect size
**p<1%, significant improvement, MANOVA

There is no significant time effect between primary and secondary teacher ratings of 'teacher control status'.

How do these results compare with those of the cross-sectional study? There too, a significant gain was found on the *respect and reward* dimension for teaching, but with a small effect size, and no significant change on the *control* dimension for teaching. In the cross-sectional study too, primary teachers were significantly more positive than secondary teachers in 2006 in their *respect and reward* ratings for teaching, but again the difference is small. There is then a high degree of consistency between the two studies, in showing that teachers felt themselves to be just as much over-controlled in 2006 as they did in 2003, but that primary teachers' sense of the respect and reward that they receive significantly improved - if only very modestly and from a very low baseline.

Status change

This part of the questionnaire was changed in 2004 and again in 2006, mainly by introducing new items for additional possible policy initiatives. However, it is possible to make direct comparisons between 2003 and 2006 for a core set of 36 items which were unchanged.

Factor analysis revealed the same factor structure for 2003 and 2006, with one dominant factor, *job awareness*, concerned primarily with public awareness and appreciation of the work done by teachers, together with improvements to facilities, and three minor but meaningful factors, *release of imposed constraints*, *pupil focus* and *teacher involvement.*

Results for the longitudinal study show a sustained very high rating for *job awareness*, with means on the five-point scale of 4.42 in 2003 and 4.46 in 2006. These findings replicate those of the cross-sectional study, the salience of this factor, the very high mean ratings, and the consistency over three years and over the two types of study combine to demonstrate very clearly the importance placed by teachers on this as a crucial way of enhancing their status.

The longitudinal study showed significant shifts in teacher opinion on two of the minor factors. By 2006, teachers had become substantially more concerned about the need to reduce current imposed constraints, with their mean rating changing from 3.97 in 2003 to 4.31 in 2006. There was a less substantial change in means on the need for greater teacher involvement in decision-making, from 4.09 to 4.22. Neither of these changes was found, however, in the cross-sectional study. Similarly, while each study indicated significantly different patterns for different categories of teachers, none of these differences were replicated across both studies.

Status over the years

When teachers were asked to rate the status of the profession at various times since 1967, their responses in 2006 were like those in 2003 in that their ratings fell steeply on each successive occasion from 1967 to 1997, with a further but more gentle decline from 1997 to 2003. The ratings in 2006 differed, however, in that they were significantly higher – or less low – than those of 2003 for each year from 1988 to 2003. The 2006 ratings, furthermore, showed a small insignificant increase from 2003 to 2006. When the analysis was restricted to those teachers whose experience extends back to 1967, the same changes were apparent, and the status rating for 2006 was identical to that in 2003. These findings are very similar indeed to those from the cross-sectional study and enable us to conclude with confidence that the historical fall in teacher status, as perceived by teachers, has been arrested between 2003 and 2006, but not yet put into reverse.

Teacher professionalism

In 2006, teachers in the longitudinal cohort were asked to respond to the same 33 items about teaching as a profession as in 2003. Table 4.24 shows their mean scores in 2003 and 2005 on the factors identified for the full 2003 sample and again with the full cross-sectional sample in 2006.

Table 4.24: Longitudinal Study: Mean scores on the Professionalism factors in 2003 and 2006

Professionalism Factor		2003 Survey			2006 Survey		
		N	Mean	Std Dev	N	Mean	Std Dev
1	Teaching as constructive learning	363	4.06	0.48	363	4.06	0.49
2	Teaching as autonomous	361	**3.79****	0.86	361	**3.63****	0.84
3	Teaching as collaboration with others	359	3.81	0.44	359	3.78	0.49
4	Teaching as expertise in dealing with a complicated job	360	4.40	0.35	360	4.41	0.40
5	Teaching as a trusted profession	364	**4.42****	0.53	364	**4.30****	0.59

**p<1%, Wilcoxon and t-test, small effect size

Table 4.25 shows that there were no significant changes in the mean scores on any of the three strongest factors, *teaching as constructive learning*, *teaching as collaboration with others* and *teaching as expertise in dealing with a complicated job*. This replicates the findings of the cross-sectional study. On the mean scores for the two other factors - the two least reliable factors, each defined by only two items - there were however significant falls in the mean scores. The significant decrease in the mean score for the *autonomy in teaching* factor again replicates the finding for the cross-sectional study, and seems to support the suggestion that teachers are gradually giving up as a lost cause their autonomy in relation to curriculum and assessment, although they have not yet done so. The significant decrease in the mean score for *teaching as a trusted profession* may similarly signal some erosion of teachers' reliance on public trust; but the facts that the mean score remains very high and that this finding was not echoed by any reduction in the mean score in the cross-sectional study should cause us to question any such inference.

Table 4.25: Longitudinal study: means and standard deviations for individual items not included in the factor scales, for 2003 and 2006

Professionalism Factor		2003 Survey			2006 Survey		
		N	Mean	Std Dev	N	Mean	Std Dev
1	Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum	367	4.25**	0.59	367	4.34**	0.62
11	The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment	368	3.37	1.05	368	3.48	1.06
16	Pastoral care is of less importance then pupil performance	367	1.89*	0.85	367	1.78*	0.84
17	It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	364	3.78	0.86	364	3.74	0.84
22	A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice	365	2.35**	0.89	365	2.55**	0.91
24	External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession	363	3.23	0.93	363	3.28	0.94
26	An influential and independent professional organisation for all teachers is desirable	363	3.88**	0.85	363	3.768	0.95
28	teachers should have shared specialist language for talking about teaching and learning	362	2.94	0.97	362	3.04	0.99
30	Managing administrative staff is part of the teacher's role	364	2.38**	1.06	364	2.57**	1.04

** p<1%, * p<5%

Nine items did not load significantly on any of the five factors. Table 4.25 shows the mean scores for each of these nine items for the longitudinal cohort in 2003 and 2006. These results broadly echo those of the cross-sectional study. Four of the items that were closely related to government policy (11, 22, 24 and 30) received among the lowest levels of agreement from teachers, but on the other hand received greater agreement – in two cases significantly greater agreement – in 2006 than they did in 2003. As in the cross-sectional study, however, the strongly asserted need for teacher authority (as opposed to autonomy) in curriculum matters is asserted even more strongly in 2006, as is dissent from the suggestion that pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance.

To sum up, there are some subtle differences between the findings of the longitudinal study and those of the cross-sectional study, differences which might with great caution be interpreted as showing differences between the changing views of the profession as a whole and the changing views of individual teachers as they get older and more experienced. In all important respects, however, the findings of the two studies are very similar, thus allowing us to have increased confidence in their robustness.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of two very large scale cross-sectional surveys, and a longitudinal survey of teachers' views of their status and that of the teaching profession. It has referred to baseline data on teachers' perceptions of their status in 2003, and presented teachers' views on precisely the same issues in 2006. The main findings, summarised at the beginning of this chapter, and set against a decidedly low baseline, suggest a profession that sensed an arrested decline in its status, felt better about its status relative to other occupations and, amid considerable uncertainty, perceived a slight increase in its status through the reward and respect it received. Nevertheless, the profession continued to perceive a large gulf between itself and a high status profession, expressing a large deficit in terms of *reward and respect*, and an excess of external *control and regulation*. Although some teachers, such as younger and more recently qualified teachers, primary teachers and women, revealed slightly more optimistic views, all possessed the same overall perceptions. Dimensions of teacher professionalism reported tentatively in 2003, were confirmed in 2006 and indicated a stability and integrity that has not incorporated aspects of recent reform. Finally, the findings of our longitudinal survey reinforce, in general, the conclusions above.

CHAPTER 5: PROXIMAL PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHER STATUS: THE VIEWS OF TRAINEE TEACHERS, TEACHING ASSISTANTS, PARENTS AND GOVERNORS

Overview

This chapter presents the views of people who have privileged knowledge of the work that teachers do by virtue of their close contact with teachers in their day-to-day lives. It contributes to the answer to our first over-arching research question, namely, what were the baseline perceptions of teacher status and how do these change over time?

- The findings are based on cross-sectional surveys of teaching assistants', parents' and governors' views of teacher status in 2003 and 2006, and trainee teachers' views in 2003, 2004 and 2005, together with a longitudinal survey of trainee teachers who qualified in 2003. All groups responded to several sections of the Teacher Questionnaire concerning the teaching profession and a high status profession, the comparative status of teachers, teacher status over the years and factors that might have an impact on teacher status.

- The first half of the chapter presents the teaching assistants', parents' and governors' views. The second half presents the trainee teachers' views.

- The surveys of trainee teachers' perceptions of the status of the teaching profession were conducted on an opportunity sample of geographically widespread initial teacher training institutions, including a large contingent of trainees from the Faculty of Education at Cambridge University. The overall aim of the trainee teachers' surveys was to find out how and whether trainee teachers construed the status of the profession and how well their views matched those of practising teachers.

***Main findings of the teaching assistants', parents' and governors' ('associated groups')
surveys***

- The associated groups' defined a high status profession in the same way as they did in 2003, and as did the teachers, namely in terms of *reward and respect* and *control and regulation*. They were positive but less convinced than teachers of the reward and respect element of a high status profession, however. As in 2003, they agreed, just, that reward and respect were true of the teaching profession, and this increased in 2006. They continued to see *control and regulation* element as highly characteristic of the teaching profession.
- The associated groups' perceptions of a steep decline in teachers' status since 1967 had become less severe and had stabilised since 1997. This corresponded with teachers' perceptions. Teaching assistants rated teacher status more highly than did governors in 1967 to 1989, but these positions reversed after 1997. In 2006, the parents' ratings for 2003 and 2006 were higher than either governors or teaching assistants.
- The associated groups rated secondary and primary headteachers and teachers' status significantly more highly in 2006 than in 2003. Relative to other occupations all four groups improved their rankings by at least two positions.
- As in 2003, the associated groups continued to conceptualise teacher professionalism most consistently and positively as teachers being *creative skilled practitioners*, and as having their professionalism undermined by central control of assessment and the curriculum.
- The associated groups felt that reduction in teachers' workload, more time for planning and preparation, and improved facilities and resources would have a positive effect on teacher status, but were less convinced of this than were teachers.

The trainee teachers' surveys

- All three trainee teacher cohorts construed a high status profession in terms of three components, namely *trust and respect, reward* and *control and regulation*. A high status profession was deemed consistently to be characterised by *trust and respect, reward* and, to a lesser extent, external *control and regulation* by all three cohorts.
- The trainee teachers considered external *control and regulation* to be true of the teaching profession, as was *trust and respect* though there was less certainty about this. *Reward,* however, was not considered to be true of the teaching profession, although between 2003 and 2006 perceptions of the status aspect of *reward* for teaching became less negative.
- The trainee teachers' views on the control and regulation aspect of the status of teaching also shifted between 2003 and 2005, such that external regulation appeared to be accepted as part of seeing teaching as a *regulated service*.
- The trainee teachers' reasons for becoming teachers matched those of practising and more experienced teachers. The most strongly endorsed reasons were vocational and altruistic, namely to work with children and give them *the best possible start in life*. The status, image and financial rewards of teaching were least likely to be motives to teach, but professional goals (e.g. challenge, team

membership and being creative) accounted for more of the variation in the sample in 2004 and 2005.

Introduction and methods

This chapter reports the surveys of the views of people who worked alongside teachers, or came into close contact with teachers. They include teachers in training, teaching assistants (TAs), as well as school governors and parents who kept in close touch with their children's school. These people have a privileged 'sideline' view of teachers' lives and work, and might be expected to be more knowledgeable about teachers and teaching than the general public. We shall refer to these groups collectively as teachers' associated groups'. The trainee teachers, of course, have a vivid and highly knowledgeable view of teaching, and greater insight than most into teachers' lives and work, but until they take up their first teaching posts their views on teacher status remain proximal: they have neither the full insider view as teachers, nor the general public's view since they have committed themselves to joining the teaching profession. Thus their particular relationship with teachers and teaching sets them apart from the parents, governors and the majority of teaching assistants, and so their responses will be treated separately in the second half of this chapter.

The perspectives provided by these groups are critical to our appraisal of the occupational *esteem* accorded to teachers, because these groups see at first hand the qualities, such as the competence, commitment and care, which practitioners bring to their work. Hoyle (2001) suggested this is the only aspect of status that teachers themselves can influence. The views of the associated groups, that is, those who come into contact with teachers, are therefore the best measure we have of teachers' occupational esteem, and any change that may have taken place between 2003 and 2006, as new policies have been introduced.

Associated groups' survey: sample and procedure

The associated groups (TAs, parents and governors) were surveyed in Spring 2003 and again in Spring 2006. Trainee teachers' views on teacher status were surveyed in June 2003, 2004 and 2005. Both sets of surveys contribute to the answer to the first research question, namely:

> *What were the 'baseline' perceptions of the status of teachers in 2003, and how did these perceptions change, if at all, between 2003 and 2006?*

The associated groups' and trainees' 'baseline' perceptions were reported in more detail in the Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006).

All groups responded to the same items that were included in the teachers' questionnaire concerning:
- the characteristics of a high status profession and the teaching profession
- the status of teachers over the years
- the status of teachers compared with other occupations, and
- teacher professionalism.

In addition, the parents, governors and teaching assistants were asked to respond to a subset of the items that teachers had responded to on factors that might have an impact on the status of teachers. These items were those most likely to affect the associated groups directly such as those on the reform of the workforce and increased school-community interaction. Finally, the trainee teachers were asked about their reasons for 'becoming a teacher'.

Sampling and sample characteristics

Samples of 1100 and 1300 schools were drawn from the National Foundation for Educational Research's (NFER) database of schools in 2003 and 2006 respectively. The samples were stratified by school type, government office region, urban/rural, school size and achievement levels. Specifically, the sampling procedure took into consideration school phase (infant, first, junior, middle, high and secondary schools etc), school governance (e.g. voluntary aided, foundation etc), government office region (e.g. South-east, North-west etc), school size and assessment (National Curriculum) achievement levels.

The associated groups' surveys were conducted between March and June in 2003 and 2006. Bundles of questionnaires were sent to headteachers for distribution to teaching assistants, parents and governors in pre-specified even proportions where possible in 2003. In 2006, the same procedure was followed but the proportion for teaching assistants was increased to ensure a reasonable return from this group following the implementation of workforce reform, a reform deemed likely to have implications for perceptions of teacher status. Questionnaires were sent to headteachers of 800 primary schools and 500 secondary schools, in bundles of six and ten respectively. Headteachers were requested to distribute them to three TAs, two governors and one parents in primary schools and four TAs, four governors and two parents in secondary schools. The governors and parents were to be people who visited the school regularly and would be familiar with teachers' work. Forty per cent of the primary schools and 45 per cent of the secondary schools returned questionnaires.

Before presenting the findings, the next section describes the sample of participants in terms of school phase, type, size, geographical location, and personal characteristics.

Sample characteristics

The 2006 survey of teaching assistants, parents and governors attracted 1851 responses from people with various responsibilities, as shown in Table 5.1. As in 2003 (898 responses), many people held more than one role, and as expected from the revised distribution proportions, smaller proportions of parents and governors responded in 2006 than did in 2003.

Table 5.1 Respondents to the 2003 and 2006 surveys

Respondents	2006		2003	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Parents	589	31.8	319	35.5
All governors	719	39.7	428	47.7
Parent governor	226	12.2	141	15.7
Staff (teacher) governor	96	5.2	58	6.5
Community	111	6.0		
Co-opted governor	31	1.7	69	7.6
Foundation	91	4.9		
LEA governor	100	5.4	96	10.7
Non-staff governor	25	1.4	21	2.3
Governors - miscellaneous	39	2.1	43	4.8
Teaching Assistants	795	42.9	317	35.3
Others	16	0.9	8	0.9
Total	**1851**		**898**	

Source: 2003 survey of associated groups & 2006 survey of associated groups
Percentages do not add up to 100 as some respondents held more than one role

Primary and secondary phases had almost equal representation (primary, 47.4%; secondary, 52.6%) in 2006, compared with a two-thirds (63.3%) and one-third (36.7%) split, respectively, in the 2003 survey, and fewer people associated with early years schooling replied in 2006 (14.4% compared with 20.2% in 2003). A quarter of the respondents in 2006 and almost one-third in 2003 were from smaller primary schools with up to 199 pupils on roll. In the secondary phase, the largest group of respondents were from schools with 600 to 999 pupils (15.5% in 2006 and 11.6% in 2003). The two samples were very similar in terms of geographical locations represented: 23.2 per cent described their school's location as 'predominantly rural' in 2006 (25.9% were 'rural' in 2003), and 7.2 per cent as 'inner city' in 2006 (10% in 2003).

The samples were very similar in terms of gender, age and ethnicity characteristics. The vast majority were White British (92% in 2006; 92.7% in 2003), three quarters were women (75.4 in 2006[17]; 72.8 % in 2003), and half were in their forties with almost identical age distributions in the two surveys (25.5% under 40; 50% 40 – 51, and 24.5% 52 plus in 2006; 23.6% under 40, 50% 40 – 51; 26.4% 52 plus in 2003). Interestingly, women were the majority in all age groups but the two lower age bands were well over 80 per cent women, whereas the balance was better (49% men in 2003; 42% in 2006)among those aged 52 or more. The older age group were also, more likely to represent secondary schools, in 2006 than they were in 2003, where two thirds (68.1%) of this group in 2006 and half (50.6%) in 2003 were based in secondary schools.

Respondents were also asked to provide details of their academic qualifications. Whilst similar proportions of respondents for both years declared post-graduate degrees (8.6% in 2006; 8.9% in 2003) and first degrees (25.7% in 2006; 27.4% in 2003), the proportions of respondents with professional qualifications (17.8% in 2006; 28% in 2003), and A' levels (20.7% in 2006; 35.3% in 2003) decreased. Less than a fifth (14.4%) of

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[17] In 2006, more people omitted their age (5.1% in 2006, 2.7% in 2003) and gender (4.5% in 2006, 2.6% in 2003) details. Figures above refer to the remainder.

respondents in 2006 classified their occupations as 'Technical (including nurses), unspecified directors, craftsmen or teaching assistants', compared with almost half (47%) of the respondents who were categorised in this way in 2003. Nearly half of the 2006 sample omitted their occupation, perhaps seeing this as self-evident if they were teaching assistants. Of the 974 who answered, 27.4% were classed as technical including teaching assistants, 31.9% semi or unskilled and 27.5% managerial or professional.

Finally, the composition of the sample reflected changes in the deployment of teaching assistants in schools. There was dramatic fall in those who described their roles as 'general learning support assistant' (28.8%, 2006; 62.6% in 2003), a reduction of staff dealing with literacy (8.5% in 2006; 23.6% in 2003) and numeracy (5.1% in 2006; 19% in 2003) and 2006 saw 8.3 per cent in the new role of Higher Level Teaching Assistant.

The remainder of this chapter presents the questionnaire findings from the parents, governors and TAs, and is followed by a report on the surveys of trainee teachers.

Evidence

Associated groups' perceptions of the characteristics of a high status profession

As in the project's surveys of teachers, it was important to know how respondents from associated groups would define a high status profession. Exactly as in the teacher questionnaire, respondents were asked to rate 19 statements (see Chapter 4 and questionnaire in Appendix) on two scales which asked (1) whether the statements were 'characteristic of a high status profession' and (2) whether the statements were 'true of the teaching profession'. Examples were:

- enjoys high financial remuneration
- is valued by government
- is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them

Through factor analysis of respondents' ratings, the two factors *reward and respect* and *control*, which were found in 2003 data, reappeared with improved reliabilities in 2006, thus revealing their unswerving view that, on the basis of the 19 statements, a high status profession was defined in terms of *reward and respect* (means of 3.96 ±0.48 in 2006 and 3.97 ±0.47 in 2003), and the extent to which it experienced external *control and regulation* (means of 3.55 ±0.80 in 2006 and 3.46 ±0.81 in 2003). This 'structure' of high status corresponded with that of the teachers themselves, as it did in 2003, but associated groups appear distinctly less impressed by the *reward and respect* accorded a high status profession, than do teachers. The associated groups 'agreed', but teachers 'strongly agreed' that *reward and respect* are characteristics of a high status profession. Having identified and measured the two key categories against which respondents defined a high status profession, the respondents were asked whether they felt these characteristics were true of the teaching profession. Table 5.2 and Figure 6.1 below compare the combined ratings of the associated groups for a high status profession and the teaching profession. The fundamental observation here is that in 2003 were slightly on the positive side of 'not sure' (3.25 ±0.47) with regard to *respect and reward* as a characteristic of the teaching profession. In 2006, this view had moved a little further into the positive area, almost to the mid-point between 'not sure' and 'agree' with a mean of 3.42 (± 0.48). This represents a statistically significant increase (p<1%) with a large effect size. In other

words, the associated groups, considered reward *and respect* more true of the teaching profession in 2006 than they did three years earlier.

Table 5.2 High status professions and the teaching profession compared

	High status profession			Teaching profession		
	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
2006						
Reward and respect	3.95	0.47	1621	3.42	0.48	1621
Control	3.54	0.79	1787	4.17	0.64	1787
2003						
Reward and respect	3.98	0.47	764	3.25	0.47	764
Control	3.48	0.81	848	4.16	0.67	848

Figure 5.1 Teaching Assistants', parents' and governors' rating of the characteristics of a high status profession and the teaching profession
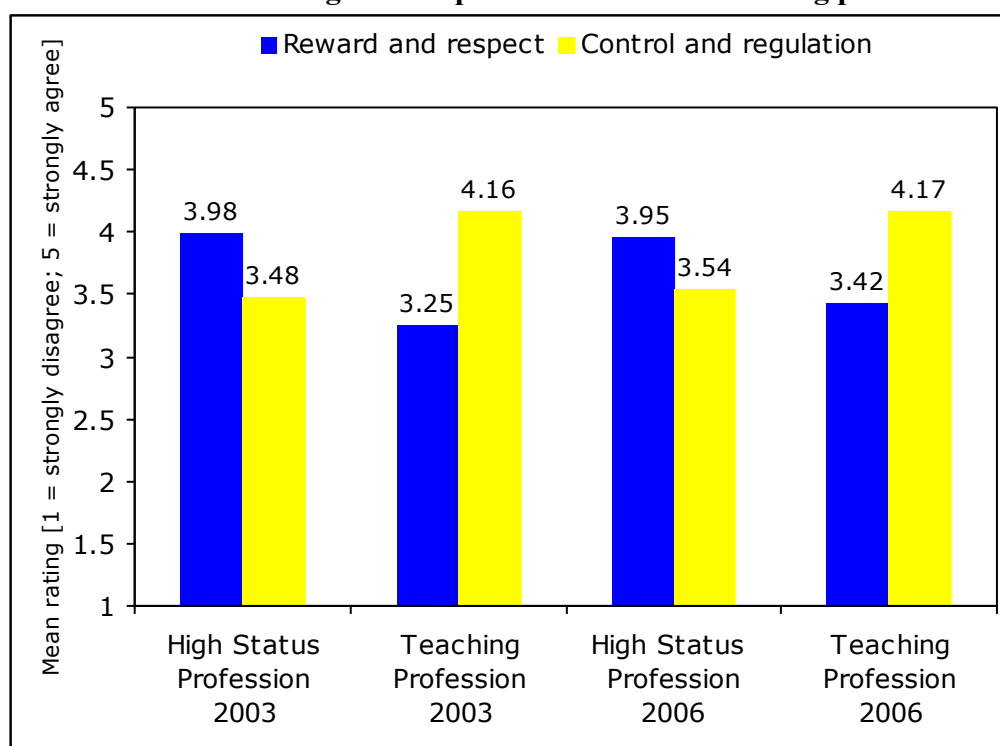
Significant differences in respondents' ratings were observed when examining the effect of school phase on the two factors. The higher ratings of *reward and respect* which secondary school respondents gave to a high status profession in 2003 (secondary respondents 4.03 ±0.46; primary respondents 3.95 ±0.47) disappeared in 2006 (secondary 3.96 ±0.46, primary 3.95 ±0.47). On the other hand, primary phase respondents were now significantly more likely to say that *reward and respect* was 'true' of the teaching profession than were those from the secondary phase (primary mean, 3.48 ±0.46; secondary, 3.37 ±0.49).

Further interesting comparisons were observed when analysing the data in terms of respondents' personal characteristics and circumstances. There was no difference in the ratings by men and women between the two surveys, in relation to the *reward and respect* afforded teachers, but men were consistently more likely to rate the *reward and respect* aspects of a high status profession more highly than did women (men in 2006, 4.03 ±0.49; women in 2006, 3.93 ±0.48). Older respondents (52 plus) were significantly more positive in their agreement that the teaching profession was subject to *control* than those aged under 40 (older 4.22% in 2006; younger 4.14%), but were relatively less positive about the idea of teaching being a respected and rewarded profession (older 3.38% in 2006; younger 3.52%). Respondents' qualifications appeared to influence their ratings, as graduates were more positive (4.10 ±0.50), than those whose highest qualification was O'level/GCSE (3.85 ±0.41) that high status professions were defined by *respect and reward*. Graduates, however, were more negative about the suggestion that *respect and reward* might be associated with the teaching profession and more positive that teaching experienced *control* than their non graduate counterparts. An examination of occupational differences showed that respondents with professional qualifications (4.13 ±0.52) and the retired teachers/educators (4.24 ±0.40) felt more positively than others that high status professions could be defined through *reward and respect*. 'Unskilled' respondents, however, rated teaching more positively (3.56 ±0.47), for *reward and respect* than other occupational categories, but respondents who managed people (3.99 ±0.83) and those with professional qualifications (3.31 ±0.47) rated the teaching profession lower on both *reward and respect* and *control and regulation* than did other occupational groups.

In summary, the more positive views of members of associated groups that *reward and respect* were characteristics of the teaching profession has closed, slightly, the status gap between a high status profession and the teaching profession. Key proponents of this position were those based in primary schools, men and respondents fitting into the 'unskilled' category. On the other hand, graduates and the over fifties (aged 52 plus) were less positive about the teaching profession having *reward and respect*. Graduates and older respondents were also more concerned about the levels of control experienced by the teaching profession, feeling that high status professions did not experience such controls.

Associated groups' perceptions of the status of teachers over the years

An investigation of respondents' views about the relative status of the teaching profession over the past few decades provides a greater understanding of the extent to which they may or may not feel that the status of teachers is a matter for concern. Indeed, the Interim Report to this project (Hargreaves et al, 2006) recorded perceptions of teaching assistants, governors and parents in 2003 which highlighted their view that the status of teachers had seen a severe decline from 1967 through to 2003, with the most acute fall occurring between 1979 and 1988. When asked to respond to the same question, in 2006, by rating the status of the teaching profession on a five-point scale (from 'very high status' to 'very low status') for the years 1967, 1979, 1988, 1997, 2003 and 2006, a similar pattern emerged to that obtained in 2003. Figure 5.2 illustrates the extent to which respondents to both surveys considered the status of the teaching profession to have declined over the years, however, it is clear from the higher ratings

and steadier decline, that the 2006 sample of teaching assistants, governors and parents were more positive about the status of the profession than the 2003 sample.

The period noted for the introduction of the national curriculum, and local management of schools during the Conservative administration remained the period during which the teaching profession was considered to experience the steepest decline in status. Although still declining in status, respondents felt, during both surveys, that the decline had been curtailed since 1997 and the election of a Labour government. Indeed the 2006 respondents considered the status of teachers to have fallen by less that a tenth of a rating (from 2.99 ±0.99 to 2.93 ±1.10) during the past three years, representing the smallest decline in status for four decades.

Figure 5.2 The status of teachers over the years - the views of all respondents
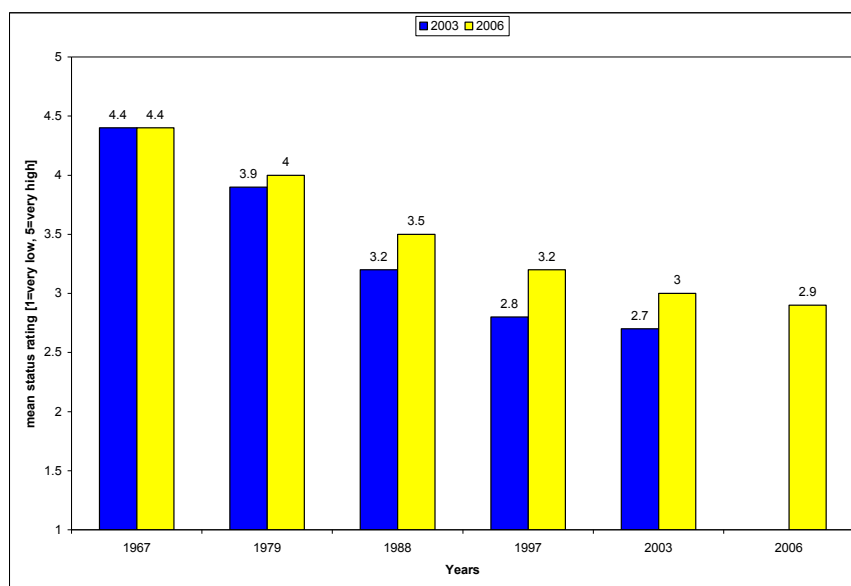
Analysis of the views of respondents who felt able to comment about the status of teaching during the years presented, by virtue of the fact that they had personal experience, drew on a smaller sample of respondents for each year, however, produced similar findings (see Fig. 5.3) to those reported above. Respondents to both surveys, who declared experience of the teaching profession in 1967 (2003, N=519; 2006, N = 928), were consistent in their view that teaching was considered to have 'high' to 'very high' status during that year. The following years however, saw the same rapid decline reported above, with the 2006 sample being more positive in their assessments. The key difference is that, although the same general pattern existed, this group of respondents were more severe in their ratings of the teaching profession in recent years, more notably, from 1988 to 2006. There was no significant difference between the ratings of men and women for the most recent years (2003 and 2006), however, women perceived the rapid decline in status between 1988 and 1997 to be more severe (men 3.21 ±0.89 to 3.02 ±0.79; women 3.63 ±0.96 to 3.24 ±0.91).

Figure 5.3 The status of teachers of the years: the views of experienced respondents
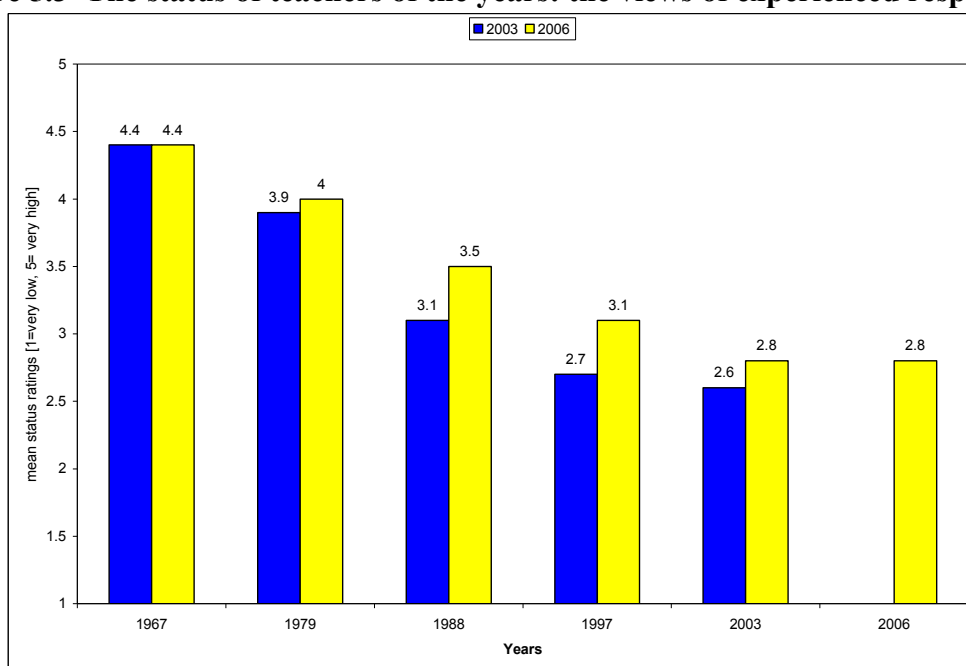
Primary school respondents in 2006 saw teacher status as falling less sharply and as having stabilised since 2003, whereas secondary phase respondents felt that teacher status had continued to fall over the past three years (1997, 2003 and 2006) (p<1%, small effect size).

When parents', TAs' and governors' views were separated there were considerable differences of opinion (Figure 5.4). All groups perceived a decline in the status of teachers, however, the significant difference (p<1%, Wilcoxon, small effect size) in ratings by teaching assistants compared to the ratings of others in the sample, showed that teaching assistants felt the decline in status to be more rapid and continuing to decline in recent years. Governors, in contrast, perceived the loss in the status of teachers over the years to be less severe and were in agreement with the others in the sample that status had levelled off in recent years. Parents' ratings fell less steeply than those of the other groups in 2006, and are the most positive of the three groups in 2003 and 2006. It is important to note that these parents were people who were closely associated with their schools and so their views cannot be taken to represent the views of parents as a whole. Nevertheless, as parents, their views may be closer to those of the general public than either of the other groups.

Figure 5.4 Teaching assistants' and governors' perceptions of the status of teachers over the years
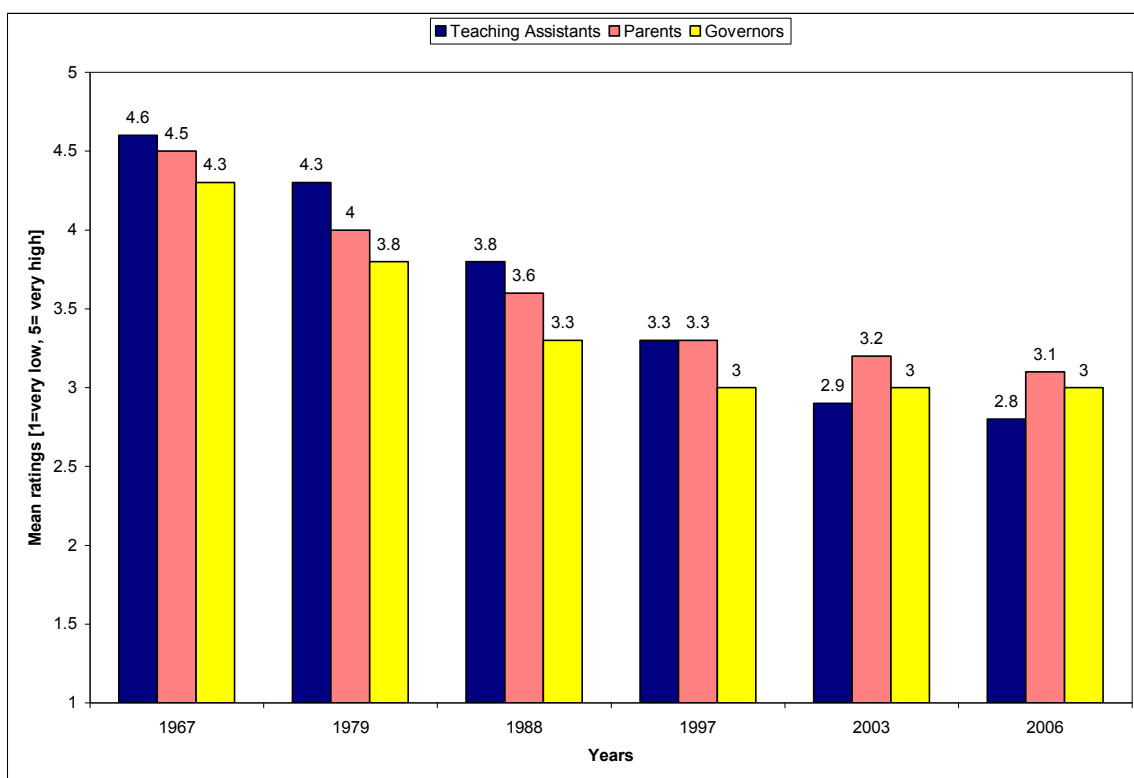
p<1%, Mann-Whitney, small effect size.

In summary, members of associated groups identify with a teaching profession which has declined in status over the past four decades but, the most recent evidence suggested that, as a group, they were generally more positive about the status of the profession than in previous years. According to both surveys of associated groups, but in particular the 2006 survey, their perceptions that the status of teachers has experienced a dramatic decline in the past few decades shows signs of recovery in recent years. A continuing decline in teacher status over the past decade, however, is perceived by teaching assistants, although a view not shared by other respondents, and is worthy of attention given the proximity of these respondents to the profession. The various responsibilities taken from teachers and given to teaching assistants since 2003 must be taken into account here.

Associated groups' perceptions of the comparative status of teachers

The associated groups, were asked to rate a list of 16 occupations on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 = very low status, 7 = very high status), to indicate the status they felt each occupation held. The list included (in alphabetical order):

accountants, barristers, doctors, librarians, management consultants, nurses, police officers, primary headteachers, primary teachers, secondary headteachers, secondary teachers, social workers, solicitors, surgeons, vets, web designers.

The results reveal changes in the ratings of most of the occupations. The mean ratings for all, except Barrister, Solicitors and Librarians, of the occupations show (Table 5.3) that respondents rated the occupations significantly higher in 2006 than they did in 2003. Surgeons maintained their place at the top of the rankings with their 'very high status' in 2003 being afforded further endorsement in 2006. Doctors overtook Barristers in 2006 with an increase in mean rating (from 6.06 ±1.03 in 2003 to 6.54 ±0.88 in 2006) that edged them closer to the 'very high status' end of the scale. Of the four teaching roles, secondary headteachers were rated highest (5.56 ±1.08) with a rating that indicated that respondents considered this occupation to have relatively high status. Although placed two positions below secondary headteachers, primary headteachers' mean rating of 5.29 ±1.09, was just a quarter (0.27) of a rating lower. Both occupations received an increase from their 2003 ratings of over half a rating. Secondary and primary school teachers feature further down the rankings when compared with other occupations, however, their 2006 ratings are on the positive side of the scale and were considered to have moderate to fairly high status. This is a significant improvement on their 2003 ratings where they hovered around the moderate range with their mean ratings of 4.13 ±1.17 (secondary teachers) and 3.95 ±1.23 (primary teachers).

Table 5.3 The comparative status of teachers and headteachers

Rank	Occupation in 2006	Mean rating	Occupation in 2003	Mean rating
1	Surgeons	6.73	Surgeons	6.52
2	Doctors	6.45	Barristers	6.48
3	Barristers	6.43	Doctors	6.06
4	**Secondary headteachers**	5.56	Solicitors	5.56
5	Vets	5.55	Vets	5.42
6	Solicitors	5.50	Accountants	5.15
7	**Primary headteachers**	5.29	**Secondary headteachers**	4.97
8	Police officers	4.91	Management consultants	4.92
9	Accountants	4.97	**Primary headteachers**	4.73
10	**Secondary teachers**	4.69	Web designers	4.32
11	Nurses	4.63	Police officers	4.32
12	**Primary teachers**	4.53	**Secondary teachers**	4.13
13	Management consultants	4.22	Nurses	3.99
14	Social workers	3.87	**Primary teachers**	3.95
15	Web designers	3.70	Social workers	3.33
16	Librarians	3.22	Librarians	3.16
	All teachers/headteachers	5.04	All teachers/headteachers	4.82

In terms of relative positions, secondary headteachers improved their position by three ranks, whilst primary teachers also moved up two places. It is worth noting that when rated by people other than other teachers, primary teachers also improved their rank position (see Chapter 4). Taken together, the teacher and headteacher occupations have received an increase in means over the two years from 4.82 ±0.65 to 5.04 ±0.66, indicating a moderate to fairly high status for the profession. When considering various respondent characteristics, it is possible to see the extent to which they elevate or depress the teachers' rankings, thus indicating the extent to which certain groups allocate more or less extreme ratings. Analysis of their residual mean effects revealed that while 'younger' respondents and 'managers' elevated the rankings for all teachers, 'graduates' and 'retired educators' depressed the teacher rankings.

Associated groups' perceptions of teacher professionalism

A set of 33 statements were extracted from comments made by teachers about the teaching profession and presented to participants from the associated groups in both years 2003 and 2006. Each statement was deemed, by teachers, to have some bearing on the recognition of teaching as a professional occupation. Examples of the statements include:
- teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum
- more emphasis should be placed on the process of learning
- effective teaching involves collaborating with parents as equal partners
- it is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise
- a competitive ethos strengthens professional practice

Interpretation of the findings was conducted through the creation of five factor scales, into which the relevant statements have been grouped. The factors are listed in Table 5.4 and it is important to point out at this stage that the factor 'central control' relates to items from the list of 33 statements which are intrinsically negative, such as:

- central control of assessment undermines professionalism
- central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism

Table 5.4 Five factors of professionalism according to the associated groups

Factor	*2006*		*2003*	
	Alpha reliability	**N**	**Alpha reliability**	**N**
Creative, skilled practitioners	0.75	1676	0.78	817
Central control (a negative factor)	0.73	1676	0.78	817
Trust/integrity	0.64	1676	0.70	817
Research and collaboration	0.59	1676	0.65	817
Pupil-focused learning	0.58	1676	0.64	817
Overall professionalism	0.80	1676	0.83	817

The Alpha values illustrate the reliability of the factor scales, and reveal the continued judgement of respondents that the *creative, skilled practitioners* factor is a highly reliable representation of teacher professionalism. Indeed, taken together, but with the exception of *central control*, the four factors were highly correlated and are proven to be very reliable over the two years (Cronbach's alpha, from 0.83 in 2003 to 0.80 in 2006).

The extent to which respondents considered *creative skilled practitioners* relevant to teacher professionalism is emphasised through their ratings, where respondents have said, consistently, that they 'agreed', but almost 'strongly agreed', that teacher professionalism is defined by items contributing to this factor. Furthermore, the statistically significant (Mann-Whitney, p<0.1% very small effect size) increased rating (from 4.24 ±0.46 in 2003 to 4.31 ±0.43 in 2006) between the surveys has shown that respondents were more positive about the effects of this factor on teacher professionalism. Just one other factor, 'research and collaboration', gained a significantly increased rating.

The effects of respondents' personal and occupational characteristics such as sex, age and employment provide interesting dimensions to the findings. As with the 2003 survey women respondents rated, in 2006, three of the scales (*central control*, *research and collaboration*, and *pupil focus*), plus the *overall professionalism* scale more highly than did men. Although both sexes concurred, rating *creative, skilled practitioners* most highly, with no significant difference between their ratings, their views diverged thereafter. Women were particularly positive (2006 mean ratings for women 4.29 ±0.42; men 4.11 ±0.45) in their agreement that teacher professionalism should be defined through items related to *pupil-focused learning*. Men, on the other hand, were more positive, in 2006, that *trust and integrity* should be representative of teacher professionalism (2006 mean ratings for men, 4.20 ±0.35; women, 4.13 ±0.37), whereas, in 2003 there was no significant difference between the views of men and women. There was no change, over the years, in the attitudes of older (aged over 52 years) and younger (aged under 40 years) respondents with respect to two of the scales, *trust and integrity* and *pupil focused learning*. As in 2003, older respondents rated *trust and integrity* more highly than did younger respondents, conversely, younger respondents were more positive about *pupil focused learning*. Significant differences emerged, however, in 2006 on the remaining scales where younger respondents rated *creative, skilled practitioners* and *overall professionalism* more highly but older respondents were more concerned about *central control*.

Analysis also revealed differences when accounting for school phase, where respondents associated with primary schools expressed, in both years, significantly (Mann-Whitney, p<0.1% very small effect size) greater concern about 'central control' than did secondary school respondents. The timing of the surveys coincided with the launch of the government's primary national strategy, '*Excellence and Enjoyment - A Strategy for Primary Schools*', in 2003 which extended the support previously reserved for the literacy and numeracy strategies to other subject areas. By 2006, however, the level of concern for *central control* had slightly decreased (from 3.47 ±0.88 in 2003 to 3.39 ±0.80 in 2006). Also, in 2003, primary school respondents were significantly more positive than secondary school respondents about the importance of *pupil focused learning*; the reverse was the case in 2006, albeit with no significant difference.

This next part of the analysis isolated the three groups of respondents (teaching assistants, governors and parents) in order to investigate their attitudes towards teacher professionalism, in comparison to the remainder of the sample. Figures 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate the findings. In 2006, teaching assistants, with a mean rating between 'not sure' and 'agree' (3.42 ±0.76) showed more concern, than the other groups for items related to *central control*. This was also the case in 2003 but the higher rating recorded at that stage (3.55 ±0.81) would indicate that *central control* may be becoming less of a concern for teaching assistants. On another scale, whilst teaching assistants were in agreement about *trust and integrity*, they were less positive, than they were in 2003, than the rest of the sample, that it signified teacher professionalism. Further, where there was no significant difference between teaching assistants and the rest of the sample in 2003 with respect to *pupil-focused learning* a significant difference occurred in 2006, where teaching assistants agreed more positively that this scale was important to teacher professionalism.

Figure 5.5 Teaching assistants' perceptions of teacher professionalism
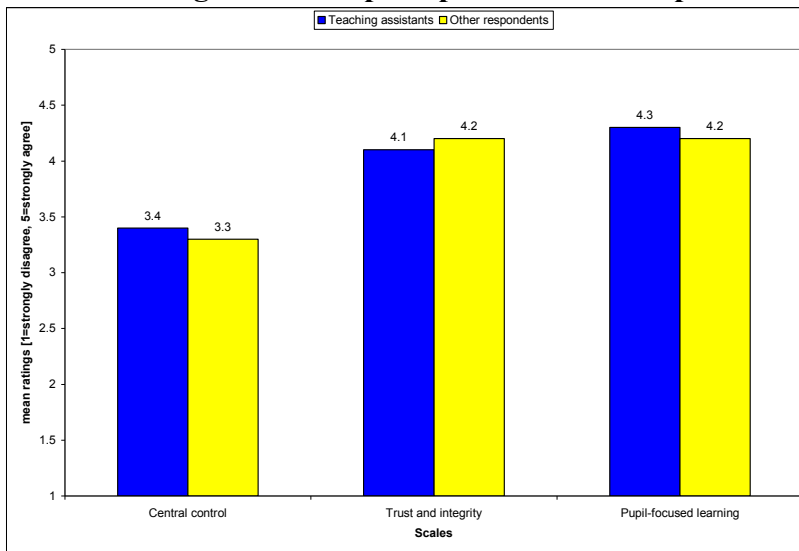
Figure 5.6 Governors' perceptions of teacher professionalism
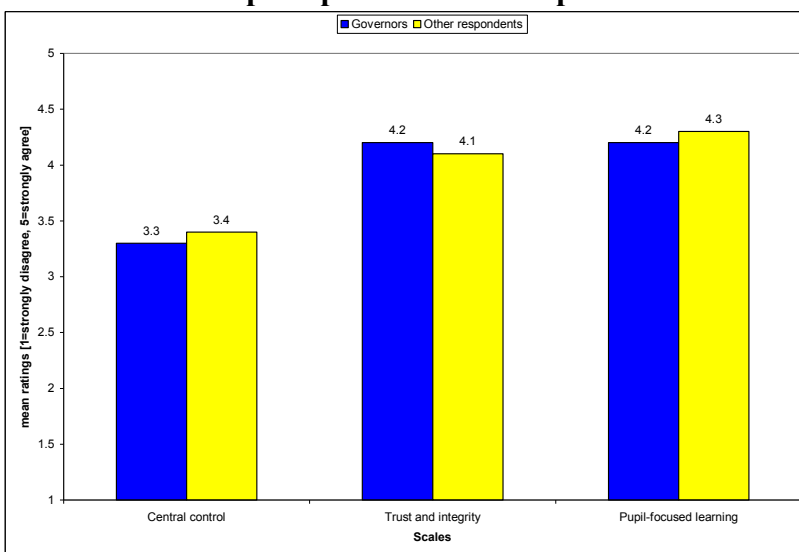
p<1%, Mann-Whitney, small effect size.

Both governors and parents were less concerned about the effects of *central control* with their ratings on the positive side of 'not sure'. Governors were also more positive about the effects of *trust and integrity* on teacher professionalism. There were significant (Mann-Whitney, p<0.1% small effect size) differences on each of the four scales, when attention was turned to respondents' qualifications. The 2006 survey found that, as in 2003, those participants who were most qualified (beyond GCSE and O'level) gave higher ratings to *creative, skilled practitioners* and *trust and integrity*. Where there was no significant difference between the two groups in 2003 on *research and collaboration* and *pupil-focused learning* a gap opened in 2006, and respondents educated to GCSEs and O'level standard rated these two factors more positively. Other significant findings revealed that those classified as professionals and the retired teachers were more positive about matters of *trust and integrity* in relation to teacher professionalism, where both groups gave ratings between 'agree' and 'strongly agree'.

Where skilled/technical workers scored more highly on the *research and collaboration* and *overall professionalism* scales (3.59 ±0.47 and 4.12 ±0.37 respectively), agreeing that these items were important to teacher professionalism, semi-skilled workers scored lower on *creative, skilled practitioners*, *trust and integrity* and *overall professionalism* and were also less concerned about *central control*. Unskilled workers showed more importance to *pupil-focused learning* giving this scale a mean rating (4.36 ±0.42) close to the mid-point between 'agree' and 'strongly agree'.

This section has shown that respondents, as a whole, clearly endorsed the notion of a profession composed of *creative skilled practitioners* and the increased concern for teachers to be involved in *research and collaboration* may indicate a positive attitude towards teachers gaining more non-contact time thus promoting professional development. Divergence in perceptions between the sexes is evident, with women participants emphasising the need for teacher professionalism to be identified through issues related to *pupil-focused learning* and men giving more emphasis to matters of *trust and integrity*. The unease expressed by primary schools respondents and teaching assistants' at the levels of *central control* is perhaps tempered with the knowledge that the degree of their concern appears to be declining with time.

Status Change: Improving the status of teachers

The survey of teachers included, in its questionnaire, a section designed to obtain teachers views about the likely effect of certain changes on the status of teachers. In 2006, 10 of the 50 items presented to teachers were also included in the survey of associated groups[18]. Some of these items presented to the teaching assistants, governors and parents included:

- strategies to reduce levels of teacher workload
- availability of classroom support
- improvements in school resources and facilities.

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[18] The 2003 survey of associated groups did not include this question.

Respondents were asked to indicate how they felt increases in each of the items might affect the status of the profession. Figure 5.7 shows the items on which associated groups' and teachers' opinions differed most. On each of these three items teachers were more positive in their ratings than members of the associated groups and gave up to half a rating more than the associated groups. While associated groups were in mild agreement, teachers were 'positive', but approaching 'very positive', that reduction in teacher workloads (item 1) and increased time for planning, preparation and assessment (item 2) would improve the status of teachers.

Figure 5.7 Differing views of teachers and associated groups on three items
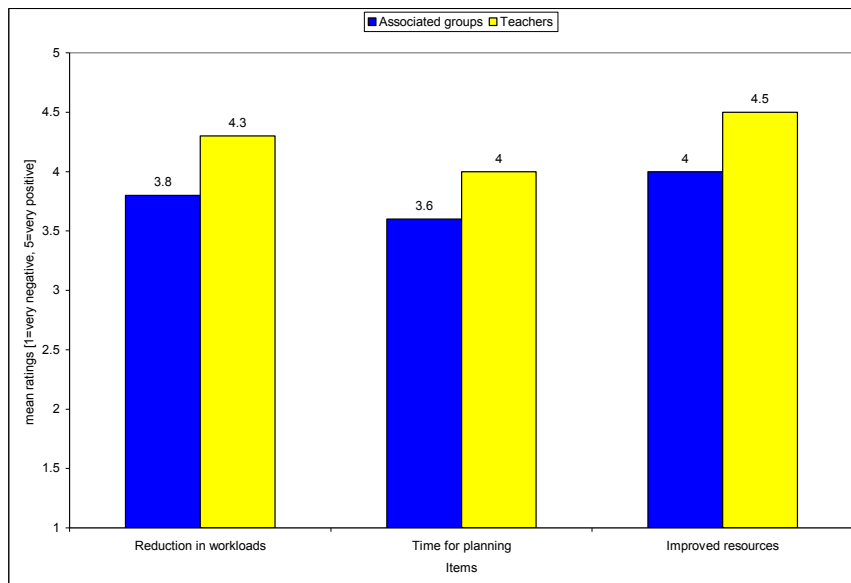
p<1%, Mann-Whitney, small effect size.

This finding was particularly relevant as it came at a time when the government's Workforce Reform, which required schools to enforce new working patterns to afford teachers non-contact time, enabled teachers to commit some of their energies to non-teaching tasks. These results suggest, therefore, that teachers were more confident than others that the changes would have a positive impact on their status.

Further analysis of the ten items through factor analysis provided two factors *workload reduction* and *extended professional role*. The reliable factor *workload reduction* accounted for a third (33%) of the variance and the *extended professional role* factor, with slightly weaker reliability, explained less than a fifth (17%) of the variance. The distribution of items to the factors is shown in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 below.

Table 5.5 Items contributing to the 'workload reduction' factor

Items	Factor reliabilities
Strategies to reduce time spent on administrative tasks	.77
Strategies to reduce levels of teacher workload	.77
Availability of classroom support (e.g. teaching assistants, technicians)	.75
Availability of planning, preparation and assessment time through the workforce agreement	.73
Improvements to school resources and facilities	.62
Alpha reliability for scale of items	**0.78** (N=1816)

Table 5.6 Items contributing to the 'extended professional role' factor

Items	Factor reliabilities
Local community access to school facilities	.753
Expansion of the Extended Schools scheme	.730
Working with a range of professionals outside education	.698
Opportunities to engage with educational research	.565
Alpha reliability for scale of items	**0.65** (N=1777)

Another item, 'time for headteachers to focus on leadership responsibilities', provided sufficient reliability to be included in the following analyses. The need for headteachers to be afforded room to dedicate a portion of their time to tasks associated with the strategic management of their schools is recognised in the government's Workforce Reform initiative. The policy places an obligation on schools, particularly their governing bodies, to ensure time is factored into headteachers' contractual arrangements, allowing them designated time to focus on strategic leadership activities rather than day-to-day school management. Schools were required to have appropriate measures in place by September 2005[19]. Some of the activities that the government envisaged headteachers might use this time for include school improvement, raising standards, school development, improved monitoring and evaluation and improved well-being of staff and pupils[20].

Subjecting the factors to further analysis, in order to establish the extent to which respondents' characteristics influenced their decisions when rating the items, revealed significant results. Both men and women were positive (3.94 ±0.55 and 4.13 ±0.53 respectively) in their judgement about the importance of increased reductions in the items contributing to *workload reduction*, however, women proved to be significantly (Mann-Whitney, p<0.1% medium effect size) more positive about the benefits of this item. Similarly, men and women reacted positively to the suggestion that there should be an increase in the *time for headteachers to focus on leadership responsibilities*, however, on this item men were more positive than women. Also showing concern for headteachers, were graduates (4.12 ±0.72) and

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[19] See Section 4, Guidance on changes to the document resulting from the national agreement http://www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/n/na_guidance_s4_pay_cond.pdf
[20] see http://www.tda.gov.uk/remodelling/nationalagreement/headshiptime.aspx

respondents falling into the 'older' (4.21 ±0.69) category but even more positive, with a mean rating (4.39) higher than all of the other sub-groups on this scale were respondents who had retired. Another area of significant difference emerged when examining the effects of school phase, where respondents associated with inner city schools felt more positively than those from predominantly rural areas.

Finally, the three member groups, teaching assistants, governors and parents were subjected to further scrutiny in order to identify their positions with respect to the scales. The ratings for each group were compared with those of the remainder of the associated group. The first observation revealed that there was no significant difference between the ratings of parents and the rest of the associated groups. Figure 5.8 shows the differences of opinion between teaching assistants and governors. With respect to *workload reduction*, teaching assistants, with their mean rating of 4.14 ±0.52, showed more support, for such strategies, than the rest of the group, whereas governors, whilst positive, gave the items contributing to this factor a lower rating (4.04 ±0.56) than the remainder of the groups. On the other hand, 'time for headteachers to focus on leadership responsibilities', proved to be less important teaching assistants but more important to governors, when compared to the rest of the groups. This finding might reflect a greater insight, by governors of the school management demands experienced by headteachers, an understanding perhaps gained through closer working relations with headteachers at meetings and in their support of schools on other levels.

Figure 5.8 The views of teaching assistants and governors on the status change scales
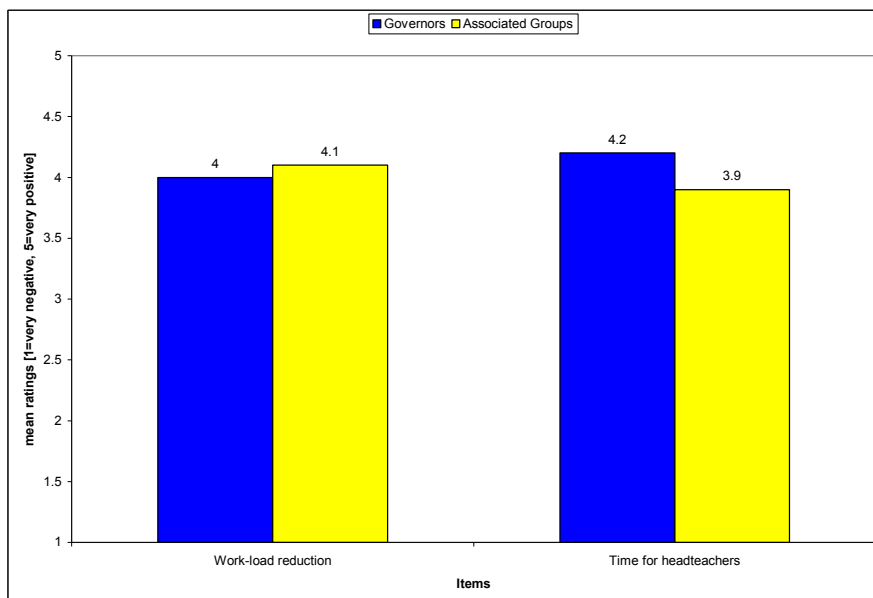
p<1%, Mann-Whitney, small effect size.

In this section which asked associated groups to indicate the likely impact of various strategies on the status of teachers, it has been possible to compare their views with those of teachers themselves. Although the teachers were enthusiastic about the government strategies to reduce teacher workloads and provide non-contact time for teachers, associated groups may require further evidence that these strategies will

serve to raise the status of teachers. It would appear that those people most affected by these strategies are more inclined to see them in a positive light as, of the associated groups, teaching assistants are situated closest to classroom activities and yet they provided the most optimistic attitudes towards the Workforce Reform strategies. With respect to the impact of the Workforce Reform initiative on headteachers' activities, men, graduates, older respondents and respondents who had retired were all more supportive of the suggestion that the more time for headteachers to concentrate on leadership responsibilities would have a positive impact on the status of the teaching profession.

Conclusion

These findings suggest that much of the doubts held by members of the associated groups, collectively, regarding the potential of government strategies to raise the status of teachers has been overcome during the past few years. It is clear, from the ratings of teacher status over the years since 1969, that the general attitudes of the 2006 sample of participants were more positive than those of the 2003 sample, with respect to the status of teachers. Indeed, rated against various factors the status of teachers has seen significant increases such as is evident through the closing of the gap between the status of teachers and other high status professions. While respondents' definitions of a high status profession, based on the *reward and respect* factor for example, remained static, their views of the status of teachers became increasingly positive. Graduates and older respondents, however, drew attention to the extent to which central control of the teaching profession might serve to counteract or at least diminish the effect of any perceived increased teacher status.

Arguably, the depths to which respondents felt the status of the teaching profession had plunged during the 1979 to 1988 period may have been attributable to a Conservative administration culture of *control*. Such levels of control, according to both cohorts of respondents, are not experienced by high status professions. Yet the new lease of life that the teaching profession has received under the guardianship of a Labour government would appear to be at the cost of continued central control, a price which respondents may consider worth paying. There are signs that the government's major initiative to reform the teaching workforce has received acceptance by the associated groups. The survey respondents' desire to see teachers who have sufficient time to become *creative skilled practitioners* and to be involved in *research and collaboration* matches the principles of the government's latest reforms. Even the views of primary school respondents and teaching assistants, who were among the more hostile opponents to the levels of government interventions, showed evidence of softening as new school systems are bedded down.

The surveys of trainee teachers

Background Context
The Green Paper 'Teachers meeting the challenge of change (DfEE, 1998) announced the forthcoming construction of statutory standards for the achievement of Qualified

Teacher Status (QTS). The first set of standards was published in a DfEE Circular (4/98) entitled 'Teaching: High Status, High Standards' (DfEE, 1998). New standards were published in 2002 by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), and a third set of standards is currently out for consultation from the Teacher Development Agency (TDA) for those who begin training in 2007. The trainee teachers in the present study were subject to the 2002 standards for QTS. These consisted of a list of competencies divided into six aspects of teachers' work, and achievement of QTS depended on demonstration of competence in relation to every standard. Several routes into teaching were available during the period of the project. According to the TDA website, there existed a *greater variety of routes into teaching than ever before*[21] (www.tda.gov.uk: Home page). Since well over 90 per cent of our sample were completing PGCE courses in Higher education institutions (HEIs) institutions, our findings relate most closely to this group.

One reason for the inclusion of trainee teachers in our study is their particular relationship to the profession as a whole. One would expect them to have positive, optimistic views on many aspects of teaching, but also that they might be acute observers of the attitudes expressed their school mentors who, at the time of the surveys, were in the throes of implementing several major initiatives, such as performance management and workforce reform, into their work. Given their personal investment in joining the teaching profession, the trainees' views represent not only a proximal perspective, but in many cases, that of committed, positively motivated people on the status of teachers and teaching.

The trainee teacher surveys: samples and procedure

The Teacher Status Project included a set of surveys of trainee teachers who completed their training in 2003, 2004 and 2005 in order to find out:

- how trainee teachers perceive the status of teachers and the teaching profession
- how, or whether, trainee teachers' opinions on teacher status differed from those of practising teachers
- how, or whether, successive cohorts of new teachers changed their opinions on the status of teachers and the teaching profession
- how or whether trainee teachers' views on teacher status changed in their first years of teaching.

The sample employed was opportunistic. It included ten training institutions in 2003, eight in 2004 and seven in 2005, enlisted through professional contacts, and achieved a good geographical spread of institutions taking in at least six of the nine Government Office regions in each administration. Over the three years, there was a geographical shift away from London and the South, areas which were strongly represented in the 2003 sample, but virtually absent from the 2005 survey, whereas the East, the Midlands and the North were more strongly represented in 2004 and 2005. It incorporates a further bias towards trainees from the Cambridge University Faculty of Education who comprised about a third of the sample in 2003, and a half in 2004 and 2005. It is important to keep in mind, therefore, that differences between the baseline year of 2003 and the 2004 or 2005 surveys could be the result of regional differences, time

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[21] These comprise B. Ed., B.A/B.Sc. with QTS, PGCE, School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT), Teach First, Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP), Registered Teacher programme (RTP), QTS only, and the Overseas Teachers Training Programme (OTTP).

differences, or both or neither in sample composition. The main differences are nevertheless of interest. They correspond well with the findings of the teacher surveys, and are corroborated by the results of the longitudinal sample of trainees who participated in 2003, 2004 and 2005, to give us some confidence in them, but at the same time offering some interesting variations. We report the main findings here, focusing largely on the 2003 and 2005 cohorts.

The results are based on samples of 270, 167 and 166 trainees in 2003, 2004 and 2005 respectively. Of these, 11 per cent, 6 per cent and 0 per cent were members of a School-based Initial Teacher Training centre (SCITT), and 84 per cent, 94 per cent and 99 per cent respectively were based in Higher Education institutions. With minor variations, the sample each year was 85 per cent women, 15 per cent men, 95 per cent white British, Irish or European, and 70 per cent in their early or mid-twenties.

The surveys were conducted in June/ July of each year when most of the participants had just achieved Qualified Teacher Status. Seventy per cent of the 2003 cohort, and 75 per cent in 2005, had accepted teaching posts. In this sense the cross-sectional samples are of 'brand new teachers'. In addition, we conducted a longitudinal survey of trainees (N = 62) who agreed to take part in subsequent years as they entered the profession. Space precludes reporting the longitudinal survey results in detail. They corresponded closely with those of the cross-sectional surveys, and so increase our confidence in the findings presented here. This report focuses on the just qualified teachers' responses to items concerned with the status of the teaching profession.

The questionnaire for the trainee teachers was a shortened version of the teacher questionnaire. It was administered in most institutions by a tutor during the last week of the training courses, typically in June or July. Overall return rates were in the region of 70 per cent. Tables 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 show the geographical distribution, training courses/routes and phase specialisms of the participants. The variation between the samples was pointed out above.

Table 5.7 Trainee teachers' sample size and composition

Region	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %
North East	0	6.6	11.4
North West	13.7	9.6	9.6
Yorkshire and the Humber	4.8	4.2	3.6
East Midlands	10.4	15.0	18.1
East of England*	38.1	52.1	54.8
London	11.9	0	1.2
South East	21.1	4.8	0
South West	0	7.8	0
N	270	167	166

Table 5.8 The age phases which participants are training to teach

Training to teach ..	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %
Early Years (EY)	14.8	15.0	14.5
Primary (& EY with primary)	43.3	56.9	48.8
Secondary (& all age)	33.0	28.1	36.1
Missing	8.9	0	0.6
N	*270*	*167*	*166*

Table 5.9 Participants' training courses

Training course	*2003* %	*2004* %	*2005* %
PGCE	81.1	91.6	96.4
PGCE fast track	2.2	1.8	3.0
PGCE + SCITT	11.4	6.0	0*
Graduate Teacher Programme	1.1	0.6	0*
Degree with QTS	3.7	0	0
Other/missing	0.4	0	0.6
N	*270*	*167*	*166*

*   Questionnaires were not distributed to these groups in 2005

The questionnaire included the 'anchor' status scales concerning a high status profession and the teaching profession, the 'comparative status' scales and 'reasons for being a teacher'. The 'status change' section was included in 2004 to facilitate comparison with practising teachers' opinions, but this lengthened the questionnaire and was not repeated.

To what extent is teaching a high status profession? Trainee teachers' views

Each cohort of trainees completed the 'status scales' section of the teacher questionnaire, which consisted of 19 statements each rated on a five point scale as being 'characteristic of a high status profession', or 'true of the teaching profession', as described in Chapter 4. The ratings for a high status profession are deemed to provide the trainee group's definition of a high status profession, and provide a reference scale against which to measure the status characteristics of the teaching profession. In contrast to the teachers' two factor solution (of *reward and respect* and *control and regulation*), the factor analysis of the trainees' responses resulted in a more subtle three factor solution, which was consistent across the three years. The trainees' dimensions of high professional status were:

    I   Trust and Respect - from government, community and between members
    II Reward - through salaries, pensions, and good working conditions
    III Control - being subject to external control and regulation.

The trainees, whilst recognising the *control and regulation* aspect of a high status profession, distinguished between items concerning *trust and respect* and those concerned with *reward*. The items defining these three factors are shown in Table 5.10. The correlations given are for the 2003 cohort that is, the baseline data for the trainee surveys.

Table 5.10 Three status sub-scales from the 2003 trainee teachers' cohort

Item	Correlation with (scale total less item)		
	Status: trust and respect	Status through control	Status: reward
Is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them.	0.59		
Demonstrably maintains high levels of performance.	0.59		
Has members who have the autonomy in exercising their professional judgement in the best interests of their clientele.	0.57		
Has the respect of clients (in the case of teaching, pupils)	0.56		
Has responsibility for an important service.	0.56		
Has members who are the recognised authority in their area of expertise.	0.55		
Is valued by government.	0.54		
Has mutual respect between colleagues.	0.53		
Offers an attractive life-long career.	0.51		
Enjoys positive media images.	0.45		
Has a powerful and independent professional body.	0.44		
Has members who have lengthy professional training.	0.39		
Enjoys substantial non-financial rewards.	0.46		
Is subject to external regulation.		0.50	
Is subject to strong external controls.		0.50	
Enjoys high financial remuneration.			0.50
Enjoys high quality working conditions.			0.47
Is one for which there is strong competition to join.			0.38
Has high status clientele.			0.37
Alpha reliability	**0.85**	**0.67**	**0.64**

Figure 5.9 shows the mean values of each of the three factors in 2003 and 2005, using the 2003 figures as baseline for the new teachers. There were significant differences (medium and large effect sizes) between teaching and a high status profession on each factor. There were no significant changes across the three years and the mean ratings

were almost identical (the 2004 figures have been omitted for clarity). The figure shows that trainee teachers perceived large differences between a high status profession and the teaching profession, most particularly in relation to *reward* which was seen positively in relation to a high status profession, but was not considered true of teaching. The greatest perceived similarity, or least difference, between a high status profession and the teaching profession was in terms of *trust and respect*. This included items concerned with having the trust of the wider community to perform a service for them, having the respect of clients, mutual respect between colleagues and being valued by government. Like their more experienced counterparts, the trainee teachers saw external control and regulation as highly characteristic of teaching, and characteristic but less so, of a high status profession.

Within this overall pattern, though, different groups of trainees had differing opinions. In 2003, primary trainees were significantly more positive than secondary trainees about *trust and respect* for the teaching profession (Figure 5.10) but their views did not differ as regards *reward*. In 2005, their views had converged on *trust and respect* for teaching but widened as regards *reward* for teaching. Primary trainee teachers were now less negative, or indeed, 'not sure' about this aspect of the teaching profession, whilst secondary trainee teachers' more negative view was sustained. The youngest trainees (under 23) in 2005 were significantly more positive about *status through trust and respect* in the teaching profession than those aged 23 or more. Previous experience made a difference to the status ratings. Trainees with more than six years previous employment, and those previously in professional occupations, were less likely than the rest to say that status through *trust and respect* was true of teaching. Furthermore, those who had been in professional occupations before training as teachers were significantly less likely than the others to rate status as *reward*, as true of teaching.

Figure 5.9 Trainee teachers' comparisons between a high status profession and the teaching profession in 2003 and 2005
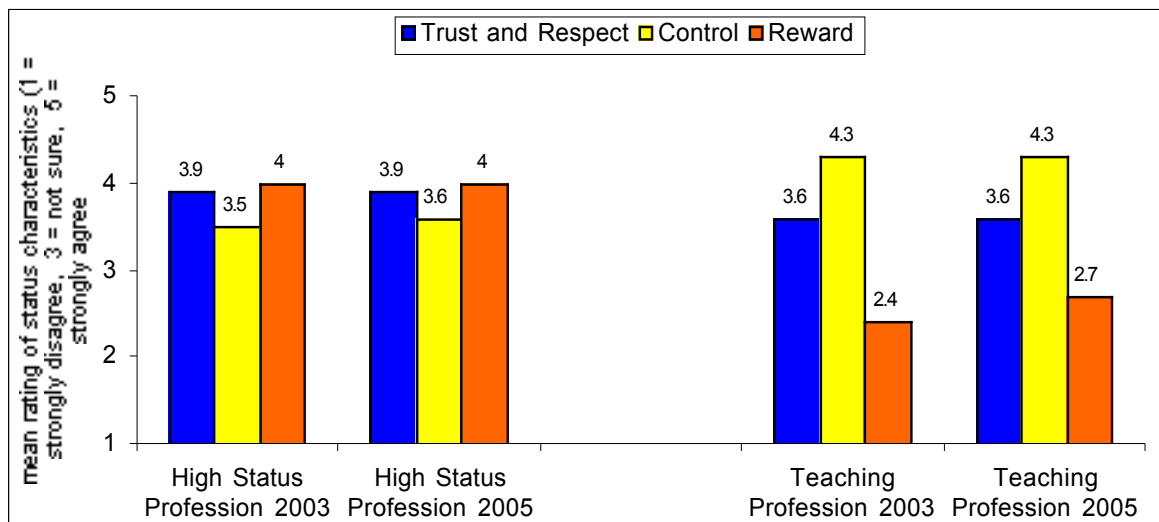
Figure 5.10 Primary and Secondary trainees' rating of the status of the teaching profession
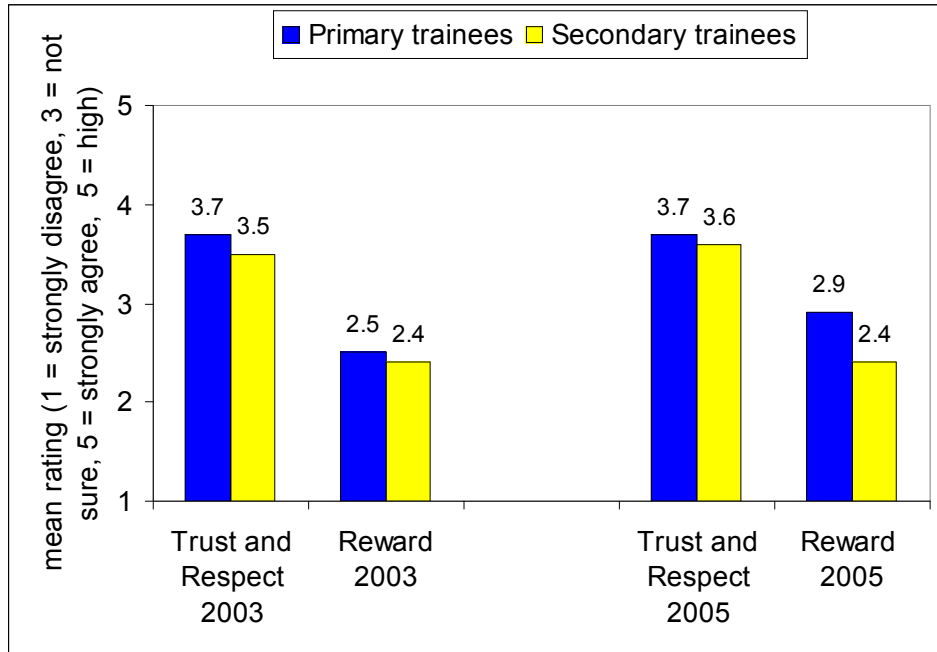
Given the trainees' more complex definitive construction of a high status profession, we carried out further analysis of the trainees' item ratings for the teaching profession itself. This produced one strong factor, very similar to the high status *trust and respect* factor, and three weaker ones in 2003.   These three other, less reliable, factors are listed below:

Factor II   the *'control and regulation'* factor comprised of the two items concerning external control and external regulation contributing equally, to this factor;

Factor III: *reward,* including having high status clientele, positive media images, high financial remuneration and strong competition to join, and

Factor IV: '*authority'* comprised of members as the 'recognised authority in their area of expertise' and 'having a powerful and independent professional body'.

As shown in Table 5.10, in 2003, *reward* was not seen as true of the teaching profession, whilst the strongest agreement was that '*control and regulation'* were true of teaching. By 2005, however, a two factor solution emerged in which the *control and regulation* items were joined by more items which appeared to represent status through *regulated service.* The 2005 trainees appeared to differentiate between *external regulation* and *external control* but these items' association with the others on this factor could indicate a shift towards acceptance of external *control and regulation* as part of a regulated service by the 2005 cohort of new teachers.

Table 5.10 Factors underlying trainee teachers' ratings of the status characteristics of the teaching profession

	2003	*2005*
I	Trust and respect (mean 3.9 ± 0.66; α = 0.74)	Professional autonomy (mean 2.92 ± 0.64; α = 0.67)
II	Control and regulation (mean 4.29 ± 0.65; α = 0.66)	Regulated service (mean 4.15 ± 0.53; α = 0.73)
III	Reward (mean 2.40 ± 0.63; α = 0.57)	
IV	Authority (mean 3.69 ± 0.60; α = 0.60)	

The items making up the two 2005 factors were as follows:

I   Professional autonomy

- members having autonomy to exercise their professional judgement,
- enjoying high quality working conditions,
- having high status clientele
- has the respect of clients
- has a powerful and independent professional body

The mean of 2.9 shows that the trainees were 'not sure', with a very slight leaning to the view that 'professional autonomy' is not true of teaching.

II   Regulated service

- being subject to external regulation,
- having responsibility for an important service,
- being subject to strong external controls,
- lengthy professional training
- demonstrably maintains high levels of performance.

The participants strongly agreed that this new dimension with a mean of 4.2, with a reliability of (α = 0.73) was true of the teaching profession.

In these analyses, each year represented a new cohort of trainees, and as noted earlier the sample composition varied geographically. However, our longitudinal trainee survey included 62 trainees who trained in 2003, and completed questionnaires in their first two years after training. This shift in views on control and regulation was confirmed in the longitudinal sample, and suggests that this was not simply a regional artefact.

Reasons for becoming a teacher

The trainee surveys included the same 'Becoming a teacher' items as did the teacher questionnaire. Participants were asked to rate a list of reasons for becoming teachers, on a three point scale from 1 'not true' to 3 'very true' for them. They were also asked to say which were their most important reasons. Our Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006: 69) recorded five factors from the 2003 cohort underlying the decision to become a teacher but these were found in the combined data from the experienced teachers and the

trainees in 2003. The findings reported here are derived from the data from trainees only.

The most commonly chosen *most important reason* was wanting *to give children the best possible start in life* whilst the next four most popular most important reasons varied slightly in rank order across the three years as shown in Table 5.11. With the exception of *wanting to share love of my subject* these items' mean ratings were consistently over 2.6, that is close to 'very true'. *Wanting to share love of my subject* achieved means of 2.4 and 2.2 in 2003 and 2005 respectively. Its low frequency (11%) in 2004 probably results from the higher proportion of primary and early years students in that year.

Table 5.11 Top five 'most important' reasons for becoming a teacher

Reason for becoming a teacher	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*
	% frequency	*% frequency*	*% frequency*
To give children the best possible start in life	35	43	45
Working with children	27	32	31
Because I enjoy teaching	28	29	32
Wanting to do something meaningful with my life	24	29	20
Wanting to share love of my subject	21	11 [a]	22

[a]   Note relatively higher proportion of primary and early years students in this cohort.

Six items achieved ratings suggesting that these were considered 'not true' of a sizeable proportion of the sample. The lowest rated items (followed by the 2003 and 2005 means) for all three administrations were:

- the earning potential of the job (1.4, 1.4)
- attractive image of the job (1.4, 1.3)
- having a high status occupation (1.5, 1.4)
- to be respected by the general public (1.7, 1.6)
- having a good pension package (1.7, 1.4 chi sq. $p < 0.5$)
- being able to use managerial skills (1.9, 1.5 ; chi sq. $p < 0.1$)

Comparison of the most frequent and highest rated items and the lowest rated items suggests that these trainees decided to become teachers for socially conscientious and personal fulfilment reasons rather than for the external image or rewards of the job.

Study of the individual items however is of limited value since decisions such as whether to be a teacher probably drew on a number of reasons. We therefore factor analysed the responses to find the underlying structure of the trainees' reasons for becoming teachers. The three reliable factors for the trainees' reasons for becoming teachers in all three administrations are shown in Table 5.12.   This solution closely parallels the experienced teachers' reasons for becoming teachers recorded in our Interim Report (Hargreaves et al., 2006: 69).

Table 5.12 Trainees' composite reasons for becoming teachers in 2003 and 2004

Reasons 2003	Alpha	Mean ± s.d.	Variance %
I To give children a good start	0.81	2.4 ± 0.3	23
II Comfortable status	0.74	1.6 ± 0.4	9
III Professional goals	0.79	1.9 ± 0.3	6
N	267		
Reasons 2004			
I Professional goals	0.83	2.5 ± 0.4	25
II Comfortable status	0.77	1.5 ± 0.4	11
III To give children a good start	0.81	2.5 ± 0.4	6
N	161		
Reasons 2005			
I Professional goals	0.83	2.2 ± 0.4	25
II Comfortable status	0.75	1.5 ± 0.4	10
III To give children a good start	0.84	2.5 ± 0.4	7
N	161		

The defining items were:

I Giving children a good start

- to give children the best possible start in life
- to help children become members of society
- wanting to make a contribution to society
- having the opportunity to promote understanding

II Comfortable Status

- having a high status profession
- attractive image of the job
- to be respected by the general public
- the earning potential of the job

III Professional Goals

- being part of a professional learning community
- having opportunities for life long learning
- having a challenging job
- being able to work as part of a team
- opportunities to exercise creativity

Whilst the trainees' reasons for becoming teachers closely resembled those of the practising teachers in all three administrations, it is interesting that *professional goals* became the strongest factor in 2004 and 2005, whereas in 2003, the more altruistic *giving children a good start in life* explained the highest proportion of the variance. This suggests that the more recent trainees were more consistent in saying that being part of a learning community, working as part of a team and having a challenging job were strong motives for them to join the teaching profession. There was some variation within the sample, according to degree subjects, however. *Professional goals* motivation was

particularly true of the business graduates, but significantly less likely to be true of humanities and social science graduates.

Status change: improving the status of teachers

Finally, we asked the 2004 cohort of trainees to predict the potential effect of various recent and current policies on their status. The questionnaire asked "If this *increases*, what would be the likely effect on *your* status?' and the likely effect was rated on a five point scale from very negative (1) through neutral (3) to very positive (5) for each of 36 items. These 36 items were included in the 2003 and 2005[22] teacher surveys and examples of the items are:

- public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society
- time for planning and training to implement new initiatives
- understanding by policy makers of the practicalities of classroom life
- opportunities for leadership training.

Five factors were found underlying the ratings as shown in Table 5.13. Factors I, II, IV and V inter-correlate sufficiently to be combined into a single composite factor which includes 28 of the 36 items and achieved a reliability of 0.92. It expresses optimism for the improvement of teacher status, and so is labelled *optimism for teacher status.*

Table 5.13 Changing status for the better: trainee teachers' survey 2004

Factor	Mean ± s.d. score/item	Reliability (α)	N
I. Job awareness	4.29±0.48	0.90	160
II. Expansive role for teachers	3.83±0.55	0.74	164
III. Imposed constraints	2.24±0.86	0.65	165
IV. Pupil focus	3.99±0.51	0.77	165
V. Teachers as professional partners	4.07±0.47	0.74	164
Optimism for teacher status (I, II, IV and V)	4.10±0.41	0.92	158

Four of the five factors closely resemble those in the 2003 and 2006 teacher surveys. Their principal items were reported in Chapter 4 and will not be repeated here. The strongest factor, *job awareness*; achieved even higher reliability among the trainee teachers. The *pupil focus* factor was stronger in explaining the trainee data and included all the pupil and parent items. The *teachers as professional partner* factor closely resembled the teachers' *teacher involvement* factor but amongst the trainees was conceptually clearer seeing teachers contributing to change, and having time to reflect and collaborate with colleagues. Its main items were:

Trainees Status Change Factor V: Teachers as professional partners

- scope for teachers to engage in critical thinking
- teacher input into policy reform
- teacher input into curriculum content
- time for professional collaboration with colleagues
- availability of classroom support (e.g. teaching assistants, technicians)

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[22] The 2006 Teacher Survey included 14 additional items but Chapter 4 includes analysis of the original 36 items)

The second factor in the trainees' solution, however, was unique to this group. Entitled *expansive role for teachers*, it accounted for 7.3 per cent of the variance and its mean of 3.8 ($\pm$ 0.6) represents the trainees' views that the following items were likely to have a positive effect on their status.

Trainees Status Change Factor II : Expansive role for teachers
- the variety of recognised career paths
- opportunities to engage in educational research
- deployment into a wider range of roles
- opportunities for leadership training

This factor is unique to the Trainee 2004 survey. It is much weaker (7.3% variance) than the job *awareness* factor but has a reasonable reliability (0.74)

Five items did not load on any factor. These items were: (mean rating)

- The use of ICT in teaching (4.1)
- Initial professional training based in schools (3.8)
- Differential pay and conditions (3.6)
- The visibility and impact of the General Teaching Council (3.5)
- The national level of pupil attainment (3.6)

Some teachers were more positive than others on certain dimensions. Secondary trainee teachers and older trainees, those aged 27 or more, were significantly more positive about the effects of *teachers as professional partners* on their status, than their primary or younger counterparts. Women were more positive than men about the effects of greater pupil focus.

The mean ratings of those who had accepted a teaching post were significantly more positive than those who had not on *job awareness*, *pupil focus* and *teachers as professional partners*. They were more negative about the effects of *imposed constraints* on their status, but there was no difference on the *expansive role for teachers*. Not surprisingly perhaps those who had been offered a job were significantly more optimistic on the optimism scale than those still waiting for a post.

In summary this *status change* section revealed both similarities and differences between the trainee cohort of 2003/4 and the teachers who completed the survey in 2003. Both groups considered that greater public awareness of their expertise and work, and more opportunity for input into policy and time to collaborate and reflect would have a positive impact on their status. The trainee teachers' new factor concerned with an *expansive role for teachers* which envisaged a range of opportunities to do research, train for leadership and a wider range of career paths, suggests that despite being at the beginning of their careers, they are looking ahead. Their positive responses suggested that they were optimistic about the status of teaching being given greater public and policy maker understanding, input into policy, opportunities for partnership with parents and greater pupil ownership of their tasks.

The longitudinal study: how do newly qualified teachers' views on status change in their first two years as teachers

In the 2003 trainee survey, participants were asked if they would be willing to take part again at the end of their first and second years in teaching and 149 agreed to do so in 2003, but by summer 2005, 62 people actually returned questionnaires thus forming the longitudinal sample. The longitudinal questionnaires included the sections on a high status profession and the teaching profession, status change ('if this increases what will be the effect on your status?') and reasons for being a teacher. The findings of the longitudinal survey were very similar to those of the cross–sectional surveys, and the teacher surveys, and so will not be reported separately. That said, their definitions of a high status profession and the teaching profession showed a change that paralleled that in the cross-sectional surveys.

We looked first at how the longitudinal survey participants defined a high status profession across the three surveys. After a year in the teaching profession there was no change in the new teachers' ratings. As shown in Table 5.12, their definitions changed little between 2003 and 2004, and the reliabilities of the three defining factors, t*rust and respect, reward, and control* remained unchanged. In terms of individual items the sole changes from 2003 to 2004, were shifts in a positive direction, though still a net negative position, that the teaching profession *enjoys positive media images* (from a 2003 mean 2.2 ± 0.8 to 2004 mean 2.5 ± 0.9, N = 81, Wilcoxon matched pairs, p< 0.05) and that it *enjoys high financial remuneration* (2003 mean 2.0 ± 0.8 to 2004 mean 2.2 ± 0.9, N = 83, p < 0.05, Wilcoxon matched pairs).

By 2005, however, after two years as practising teachers, there was a more fundamental change. Without going into detail we found that, just as in the cross-sectional surveys, two years in the profession, appears to have been accompanied by a distinction in the teachers' minds of *control* from *regulation*. They appeared to see a high status profession as subject to external regulation, but not external control. A more satisfactory factor solution in 2004 and 2005 left the item *is subject to strong external controls* unallocated on any factor, along with the items concerning *enjoys substantial non-financial rewards* and *has high status clientele*. Instead, three factors better describe the data:

Factor I: *Image and client respect*, including positive media image, high financial remuneration, respect of clients, being valued by government and having the respect of clients

Factor II: *Collegiate professionalism*, including life-long learning, mutual respect between colleagues, having a powerful and independent professional body, enjoying high quality working conditions, and demonstrating high levels of performance

Factor III: *Responsibility through regulation*, including being subject to external regulation, being trusted to perform, and having responsibility for, an important service, and having lengthy training

Thus defined in 2005, the teaching profession was seen as deficient in *image and client respect,* compared with a high status profession, as possessing some *collegiate professionalism* although the mean of 3.4 suggests that many were 'not sure', and surprisingly similar to a high status profession in terms of *responsibility through regulation.*

In other respects the longitudinal survey reflected the stability and consistency in the cross-sectional surveys. The 2003 new teachers' reasons for becoming teachers were typical of the trainee and teachers surveys, but also reflected the trainee surveys as *professional goals* became a stronger factor. The longitudinal study showed this to be a shift as participants gained experience in the teaching profession as well as being a year on year effect in the cross-sectional trainee surveys. Perhaps this suggests that such professional goals were being stressed in training courses as well as amongst practitioners, whilst vocational and socially conscientious motives such as giving children a good start in life remained stable and the most 'true' set of reasons for becoming a teacher, in both types of survey.

Summary and conclusions

The findings of surveys of trainee teachers on achieving Qualified Teacher Status, in 2003, 2004 and 2005, and the continuation of the survey of the trainees who qualified in 2003, and through their first two years in the profession have revealed considerable similarity with each other and with the views of practicing and experienced teachers. Of greatest interest is the trainees' more complex, or perhaps idealistic, characterization of a high status profession, compared with that of teachers', and added to this the way in which their view of external control and regulation in teaching appeared to shift to an acceptance of external regulation as part of their service to the community. It may be worth noting that the vast majority of these twenty-something trainee teachers are the first generation to live their school lives within a framework of a national curriculum and national assessment. For them, externally regulated schooling has been a fact of life.

PART TWO: SCHOOL-BASED CASE STUDIES I: THE STATUS OF TEACHERS IN ORDINARY/TYPICAL SCHOOLS

CHAPTER 6: INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND SCHOOLS IN PART II

Overview

The remainder of the report presents the case study research of the project, which was specifically focused on the second aim of the project. It aimed to understand the factors that influence teacher status by exploring the multiple dimensions of teacher status as seen by teachers themselves, and to develop insights into the third research question as to how status can be improved. This part of the report looks at status as seen by teachers in general, working in ordinary or typical schools. Data from this research is reported in the following four chapters. The remainder of the report, in Parts III and IV presents specific case studies of teachers working in a variety of settings and roles. These include: teachers in classified schools (in Part III); minority ethnic teachers; early years teachers; teachers working in special educational needs; teachers working within pupil referral units; supply teachers and teachers engaged in CPD and research (in Part IV). These more specific case-studies enable an exploration of how these settings and roles might influence specific teachers' subjective understandings of their status.

In Part II, which comprises the following four chapters, the research examines the status of teachers as perceived by teachers in ordinary/typical schools (classified as 'Type I' schools for the purposes of the report). The main aims of this case study research in these schools were:

- To identify how teacher status is understood in general by teachers themselves and to understand the sources of esteem, changes in, and variations in their status.

- To explore the effects of recent initiatives on teacher status, including developments around:

  a) Work-life balance
  b) Teaching and learning practices
  c) Widening participation and extended schools
  ..

The research was based on qualitative data and extensive case studies, involving semi-structured interviews in twenty-two schools, visited between 2004 and 2005. The main findings are reported in the overviews of Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Introduction

When conducting the research exploring how teachers feel about and understand their status, teachers rarely talked about 'status' using the word itself (unless prompted). This intimates how explorations of status must encompass teachers' own views about status through engaging with their own related discourses about 'value', 'self-esteem' and 'rewards'. The research in Part II therefore first explores teachers' more abstract conceptualisations of status (in Chapter 8). It also charts the way that government initiatives that directly or indirectly seek to address teacher status are received in practice (Chapters 9, 10 and 11). The wide ranging and deep qualitative research also gives insight into the way that contextual factors, including individual teachers' interpretation

and schools' reception of the policies, have real implications for teachers' status (see MacLure, 1993).

Teachers often stressed the practical effects of new initiatives as factors influencing their status. In particular, Chapter 8 explores how moves towards improving work-life balance have influenced teachers' sense of status. The radical overhaul of teaching responsibilities in *Raising Standards and Tackling Workload: A National Agreement* (DfES, 2003) has seen an increase in the numbers of teaching assistants and higher level teaching assistants expected to take over administrative, secretarial and some teaching tasks. By refining the teacher's role and reducing their workloads, it is hoped that the job will become more attractive and improve teachers' 'work-life balance'. Nevertheless it could also potentially undermine teacher status by disturbing comfortable norms of status and solidarity (Brown, 1965). The data in Chapter 8 explores how far these factors influence teacher status.

Chapter 9 explores how changes directed towards improving standards of teaching and learning are perceived by teachers to influence their status. The increasing transparency and accountability, opportunities for self-monitoring and feedback, introduction of performance related pay, advanced skills teaching, and the requirement for teachers to apply for progression through a pay threshold after their first few years in teaching allow teachers to remain focused on pedagogy but have their expertise recognised and rewarded by financial remuneration. Some of these new measures help create a 'stepped' career with duties linked to pay levels, which potentially help to increase the status of the profession in the public eye. However moves towards evaluating technical expertise achieved through tangible outputs is associated with deprofessionalisation, a loss of trust and autonomy, whilst stratification may provoke feelings of 'relative deprivation' (Hoyle, 1969) which may disrupt other aims towards increased collaboration. Again, the chapter assesses how relevant teaching and learning factors are in influencing teacher status.

Finally, Chapter 10 explores the influence of collaboration with other stakeholders and interested members of local communities through the Extended School initiative and the (DfES, 2004) 'Every Child Matters: Change for Children' initiative. According to the government's White Paper, 'Higher Standards: Better schools for all' (DfES, 2005) it is the government's intention to commit £680m to the extended schools' initiative by 2008 in order to develop a core offer of extended services through schools. These include health and social care, adult learning, study support (after school clubs and supplementary schools) for children and adults, child care from 8am to 6pm, parenting support, ICT access, and various community activities. The White Paper sets the key targets for extended schools stating '*By 2008, we want half of all primary schools and a third of all secondary schools to be providing access to these extended services, with all schools doing so by 2010*'.

The extended schools provision aims to improve outcomes for all children, improve educational outcomes and enrich their lives for the future. Yet in providing access to services through schools, these initiatives also recast the role of the teacher as one of a number of professionals working in a team. They also encourage teachers' engagement with parents as partners in children's learning. According to Hoyle (2001), this has the potential to raise teachers' status by overcoming their association with children and increasing the esteem in which they are held by the community. On the other hand,

Hoyle also suggests that by expanding the role of the teacher further, the process may have less favourable impacts. The breadth of the teacher role is a factor in UK teachers' low status, in comparison to teachers elsewhere on the continent who enjoy higher status and whose job is more specialised, and focuses on teaching and learning (Santiago). Chapter 10 discusses the extent to which the case study schools have advanced towards meeting the government's idea for extended school environments and the impact of these arrangements on the status of teachers.

Methodology

The research data for this strand of the research is drawn from twenty-two case studies of ordinary/typical schools, which are classed here as 'Type I' schools. Of these, eight[23] core schools were selected for second visits on the basis of internal and external school features that were interesting to probe further, including management style, pupil behaviour, resources, achievement levels and socio-economic location. All case studies were undertaken to heighten understanding of perceptions and opinions of teachers and as a result of the qualitative approach, are not intended to be a representative sample of teachers. However, much care has been taken to ensure that the schools are chosen from a wide range of parameters to ensure contextual location of where the opinions derive from, and this ensures validity and relevance (Silverman 2001).Thus the selection of the 22 Type 1 case study sites took into account national, local and school–based criteria. The case study sample was drawn on the basis of analyses of the 2003 survey data, and schools were selected from those showing:

- a good response rate with at least five secondary or three primary questionnaires returned by teachers and at least one 'adult other than a teacher' (adjusted for small schools.)
- high or low achievement levels for the local area, taking into account local deprivation indices and information about catchments from OfSTED reports.

In addition the phase, size, and overall achievement level were considered. The table below lists the selection criteria.

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[23] Originally ten of the 22 Type 1 schools were selected as 'core schools'. This was reduced to eight when second visits had to be suspended during the period of purdah prior to the General Election, on the grounds that new issues did not appear to be emerging from the return visits already completed.

Table 6.1: Type I Case study site selection criteria

Regional guides	
Regional variables	High /low relative proportion of teachers in government office region
	Significantly high/med/low response to survey items on responsibility
Location (rural/ urban/ inner city)	Range of inner city/ urban/suburban/ rural covered across sample

School selection guides	
Level of response to the survey of teachers in the *Initial Teacher Questionnaire*	Good response rate per school in that region
School type	Range of governance types, and age-ranges, including schools with special units, nurseries, 6th forms etc. where applicable
School size	Range including large and small schools
School performance level*	Range including high or low relative to district

Based on NFER performance bands which are quintiles of a performance variable composed of a school's average total score for each individual curriculum area and an overall average, weighted by the number of pupils in a school to reduce the effect of small schools.

Case study interviews and analysis

Ideal case study programmes were sent to each school in advance but the actual programme was negotiated with each school. The case studies aimed to include four or six individual or small group interviews (for primary and secondary schools respectively) with teaching staff, including middle and senior management. Interviews were also conducted with one or two representatives each of: support staff; governors and/or parent representatives. Discussions with small groups of pupils were supplemented by the collection of relevant documentation (brochures, newsletters, annual governors' reports, OfSTED reports) and general observations of the site and surroundings. The semi-structured interviews were based on a loose structure which explored the participant's personal career, perceptions of how teachers are seen by other people and finally the impact of government initiatives and any other factors they raised as influencing teacher status. Ethical consent was established in advance, whilst the participants' right to confidentiality, anonymity and to withdraw at any point were explained prior to each interview. Interviews were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed or 'semi-transcribed' with notes elaborated with extended quotes.

The transcripts from the eight core schools were subject to computer assisted analysis using the software package Atlas-ti. During the early stages of the project a conceptual framework of categories of factors likely to influence teacher status was theorised from relevant literature and the expert knowledge of the research team. Within each major

category, a number of codes were constructed based on the analysis of teachers open comments in the 2003 surveys, which were defined at first use. These *a priori* codes used for the analysis of the interview data were extended to include further inductive codes, in the tradition of exploratory qualitative research (Seale and Kelly 1998). The data were also organised according to a number of facesheet codes (e.g. school) which were exported and analysed by researchers on the project, some using Miles and Huberman's (1994) data display matrix method. These steps ensured validity in analysis. The remainder of the schools were subject to manual analysis, using the same codes.

The schools

The schools, listed in Table 6.2, have been allocated pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity. The eight core schools are identified with an asterisk (*)

Table 6.2: Characteristics of Type I case study schools

School Name	Government Office Region	Size	Characteristics
Flint Marsh Primary*	London	400 or more	Pupils are from mixed ethnic backgrounds, higher than average SEN pupils. 'Very good' OfSTED.
Asquith Primary*	East of England	400 or more	In area of high unemployment, social deprivation, high SEN and higher than average entitlement to free school meals.
Douglas House Primary*	West Midlands	300-399	In affluent area, mainly white pupils, below average free school meal entitlement, OfSTED 'very good'.
Crosland Primary*	Inner London	199 or less	Catholic school, half of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds. OfSTED 'good'.
Balfour Primary*	Outer London	300-399	High levels of pupil and staff mobility, above average entitlement to free school meals. Removed from special measures.
Gillan High*	North-East	599 or less	In affluent area, low unemployment rate. Oversubscribed, mainly white British pupils.
Sir Henry Hadow College*	East of England	1000-1299	In affluent area, 'satisfactory' OfSTED rating, average free school meals, 10% pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds.
Elton Community College*	South-West	1300 or more	In affluent urban area, with less affluent rural population. Oversubscribed school, over split sites. 'Good' OfSTED.
Ashley Cooper Primary	Yorkshire & Humber	300 - 399	'Good' OfSTED report, attracts more economically deprived families.
Trevelyan High	Yorkshire & Humber	599 or less	Community school in rural area, 'good' OfSTED but areas for improvement.
Ellen Wilkinson Primary	North-East	400 or more	Mixed catchment area, 'good' OfSTED, c.25% free school meals.

School Name	Government Office Region	Size	Characteristics
William Edward Infants	East of England	400 or more	Rural location serving pupils of mixed backgrounds, very good OfSTED report.
Fulmar Secondary	West Midlands	599 or less	In socially deprived area, almost 50% free school meals, low attainment.
Sir Alec Clegg Infants	East	199 or less	Suffered falling school numbers, good OfSTED, pupil behaviour good.
Whitbreads Junior	North-East	200 – 300	High achieving school, mainly middle class pupils, oversubscribed.
Underwood Primary	South-West	199 or less	In economically deprived area, over half pupils with free school meals, below average attainment, 'good' OfSTED.
Henry Brougham Secondary	East of England	1000 – 1300	Rural area, 'good' OfSTED, average attainment levels.
Dearing Primary	London	400 or more	Very large school with mixed abilities, 10% pupils have English as second language.
Gwyn Prins Secondary	London	600 – 999	Ethnically diverse population, high proportion with English as second language, good OfSTED.
Robert Lowe VI Secondary	West Midlands	600 – 999	Very economically deprived area, but selective admissions policy. 'Outstanding' OfSTED.
McKenna Primary	South-West	400 or more	Average free school meals and below average SEN, 'satisfactory' OfSTED.
Ruskin Infants	London	300 - 399	Economically deprived area, almost half pupils have free school meals and from minority ethnic backgrounds, including refugees and travellers.

CHAPTER 7: TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR OWN STATUS

Overview

This chapter responds to one of the overarching aims of the Teacher Status Project, '*to understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes*'. It does so by investigating factors such as how status is shaped and whose opinions are important in defining it. The chapter considers explanations of the sources of teachers' positive sense of status, or related concepts of identity and esteem, and aims to:

1. Understand how teachers feel about themselves and their profession and where teachers' personal sense of status comes from.

2. Understand teachers' thoughts on the public perception of their status, both now, in the past and in comparison with other professions

3. Understand how differentiation within the teaching body impacts on different teachers' perceptions of status and considers whether the type of school, age and/or length in the profession affects their status.

The main findings of the chapter are:

- Teachers' sense of status derived from their identity as teachers and the vocational nature of their occupation. The data demonstrated the extent to which they have embraced teaching as constituent of their own personal identities.

- Internal praise within the school and amongst parents was a particularly positive source of status, although external recognition through teacher awards was deemed divisive and counteracted the collegial environment sought by teachers. Teachers valued accolades from colleagues who were considered to have a greater awareness of their roles above the rarer recognition received from those outside of the profession.

- Teachers felt that teachers had once been venerated by the public as similar in stature to doctors, but the profession had been relegated to the ranks of service sector professionals in recent years. Explanations offered included the greater transparency demanded through national testing, performance tables and a more informed public, all of which helped to demystify the profession, as well as changes in the role of teaching to behaviour management and disciplining pupils.

- Teachers derived an enhanced sense of status when credited with additional responsibilities and/or promotion. Teachers securing AST positions, or who took on responsibilities for disseminating teaching and learning, behaviour management or general management experienced a greater status and self-esteem than others.

The Evidence

How do teachers feel about themselves and their profession and where does teachers' personal sense of status come from?

a) Teaching as a vocation

Research to date has shown that teachers' status and professional self-identities are predominantly oriented to psychic rewards (the subjective satisfaction achieved through work) rather than extrinsic or ancillary rewards such as money, prestige or power (Lortie 1975). This emerges out of historical association of teaching with 'service' and internal structural factors within the profession which favours emphasis on present-oriented job satisfaction. One of the clear findings of this strand of the teacher status research was that teachers in all schools - across a range of posts – continue to perceive teaching as a 'vocation'. Thus rather than discuss status *per se,* they explained their orientation to their job through reference to emotional terms, including being passionate, being prepared to sacrifice themselves for the good of their students and hoping to inspire change in others. At Crosland Primary School, for instance, teaching staff referred to how the job involved, *'a love of teaching, a vocational thing',* whilst the headteacher at Gillan High School described how his self-esteem came from *'doing the job properly'* and *'believing the life chances of children will be changed for the better in the way you create a school'.* The theme was echoed by governors and parents. A parent commented, *'Teachers teach because it is their vocation in spite of low status – it is intrinsic motivation that causes them to teach'.* This reference to innate characteristics was repeated by a teacher at Sir Henry Hadow College, who described her motivation to teach as, *'something inside'* whilst the deputy headteacher there commented, *'you can't make a teacher, they're actually born'.*

Teaching was portrayed as an integral part of interviewees' self-identities. The description of 'being a teacher' is therefore more than a descriptive label of a job and is linked to a much wider set of values or moral outcomes. These were invoked to explain some career decisions of teachers; one 27 year old NQT decided to work at Sir Henry Hadow College for instance, despite its reputation for poor behaviour because, *'If I can manage to work effectively with them, then what I'd bring them would be enormous, and what they'd bring me, they'd teach me a totally different philosophy of life'.* Some even went so far as to describe teaching as a service with a religious motivation. The headteacher of Asquith Primary School referred to how *'I do feel this is my ministry. It really is a vocation'* and a teaching assistant at the Catholic Crosland Primary School referred to how: *'you have to be a special person. I would say it comes from God, it is what path has been chosen from you'.* Other teachers stressed their commitment towards philosophical values and abstract ideals associated with the task of education, employing these in opposition to another world outside of schools that is associated with competition and profit. As the headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College said, *'there's passion for people and a belief in doing something for the sake of people, not for the sake of profit'.* These ideals were also used to offset some of the wider disadvantages perceived as part of the teaching profession. A teacher at Elton Community College explained, *'You are seen to have a vocation these days rather than a professional desire to do that kind of job, and vocation means an occupation that people put up with a lot of difficulties in their working life to do'.* However, the headteacher of Asquith Primary

School described the commitment as both a, *'strength and Achilles heel'*. Whilst impassioned involvement of the teachers helps the school, it may have detrimental personal consequences as the teacher may find it hard to leave work behind.

It is also clear that the main source of esteem for teachers continues to be the children they work with. The headteacher at Asquith Primary School referred for instance to how *'the bottom line is I care passionately about the children'*. At Flint Marsh Primary School, the deputy headteacher referred to how she feels valued, with, *'the children hugging me, smiling saying hello, telling me about what's going on.'* At Asquith, a teacher also explained the satisfaction she felt building relationships, gaining pupils' trust and providing a '*safe harbour for them*' outside of their sometimes stressful lives outside of school. She referred to the pleasure working with children at an age where *'you can see things click with them'*. Another teacher there confirmed, *'To me that's the most important thing, the relationships with the children'*.

In secondary schools, although teachers gain esteem also through imparting subject knowledge and keeping up to date with technical developments, their status is also gained through relationships forged with pupils. A teacher at Elton Community College referred to the pastoral work she did with older students and mentioned that when they thank her, *'that's priceless really'*. Also particularly important was behaviour management/discipline; a teaching assistant at Elton Community College mentioned, *'those with skills in managing pupil behaviour gain prestige within the school'*, and an NQT there felt those teachers with good classroom skills in managing pupil behaviour were '*seen as more professional, higher status'*. In Sir Henry Hadow College, a male NQT teacher suggested that technical expertise will only become relevant once the respect of students is 'won':

> *I'd say behaviour has the most impact on student perception of teachers than anything else ... the first thing you have to get before they care about your technical knowledge, is your behavioural management.*

b) Appreciation in internal relationships

Although teachers' esteem is significantly influenced by their relationships with pupils, it also emerged from the data that the appreciation that teachers receive for the work from those within the school they work shapes their status. This is particularly important because the difficult aspects of the job are to some extent weighed up against the appreciation that they receive from significant others within the school environment. Expressions of 'thanks', commentaries on what teachers have done or indications of respect from pupils, parents or colleagues, were identified as powerful motivators. A school where staff felt particularly valued is Flint Marsh Primary School, which was run with clear and fair leadership by the headteacher. As the deputy headteacher expressed, *'And we say, 'thank you, you're doing a really good job'*. Discussing her experiences, the deputy headteacher described:

> *What else makes me feel valued? People coming into the school and saying 'Oh, it's really nice here, there's a really nice atmosphere'. That makes me feel that I'm a person of value: that I've done something of value ...When I've made a comment, somebody coming back to me and saying 'I've thought about what you*

> *had to say and I really think ...' and then having a professional discussion about it. ... Parents coming back and saying 'Thank you for giving me the time'.*

Positive relationships within the school environment function as internal 'social glue' that bonds the school together. This opinion helps explain also teachers' negative evaluations of schemes such as Teaching Awards, which are a *public* and *external* acknowledgement of certain individuals' achievements. Of many people mentioning teaching awards, only one comment - by a parent - was positive, as negative feedback stressed the problem that whilst they singled out some teachers, many other deserving teachers were left unrewarded.

Teachers feel less status when they perceive their work to be unnoticed and unappreciated. The assistant headteacher at Crosland Primary School, left her former school and explained, '*One of the reasons why I left was because I felt that my hard work wasn't being valued'*. Teachers in schools in socially deprived areas or those with negative OfSTED evaluations, such as Asquith and Balfour Primaries, were particularly prone to feelings of low status. A teacher at Balfour pointed out, '*the dissatisfaction comes from a lack of recognition from the establishment in a school like this where all the staff work very hard, but because you don't meet targets, you're not condemned but you're not recognised'*. However, the views of external actors are not considered as important as teachers' own feeling and the internal valuations of those who truly *understand* the job. A teacher at Elton Community College for example commented, '*my own views of me are the most important. I have enough experience not to give a damn – I know I'm doing a good job'*.

How do teachers feel they are publicly perceived, both now, in the past, and in comparison to other professions?

The majority of teachers felt the public perception was based on unfair myths about what teaching involves. The headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow felt a '*major frustration*' was the image '*that teachers get these long holidays'*. This public perception was particularly grating given the increased workloads and restrictions on holiday time as he explained, '*they talk about work-life balance but I take the time when I'm told I can have the time. In the past twenty years, I've never had the flexibility to take a holiday when I actually want one.'*

Teachers also felt that the status of teaching had been eroded in recent years, with a commonplace belief that teaching was, in the past, on par with doctors and lawyers, but was now level with other service professions, such as nursing and social work. The headteacher at Trevelyan High, said teachers were regarded, '*not in the same light as doctors and people like that, we don't get the same respect from the public and the media as they do'*. Some explained this as a result of a process of demystification of the profession in that, '*the public are more informed, they question things more now'*. The provision of information through league tables meant, according to an administrator working at Elton Community College that '*they are not sat up on a pedestal as they once were'*. The passing of a 'golden age' was related to a shift towards a more cynical or 'blame' culture and wider societal problems that teachers had to deal with.

In particular, the sense of an eroded status was explained with reference to discipline issues, and perceived changes in the teaching role. It was believed that teachers no longer command the same authority and respect because they have *'to constantly maintain discipline ... Parents look to schools to discipline children, there's less stay-at-home Mums than in the past, less good parenting, and discipline is harder'* (NQT Elton Community College). Yet whilst discipline increasingly is felt to be the remit of teachers, they feel '*disempowered,*' as a teacher at Sir Henry Hadow College described that teaching is, *'tough, really tough, because teachers have no real discipline measures available to you anymore'*. One NQT believed *'too many rights have been given to the children,'* and that *'children have more power than they should have'*. A TA at Crosland confirmed, *'if they [pupils] don't want to do something they don't do it, and have an attitude of 'what can you do to me? In the past, they never questioned you'*. One young female teacher at Sir Henry Hadow referred to how she was regularly reduced to tears because of the *'behaviour of the students and the things they said'* which meant, *'I felt powerless and personally attacked'*.

The headteacher at Gillan High School pointed out how their external status is linked more to *'behaviour than academic issues'* whilst a number of teachers across a range of schools felt that *'we are the butt of society's ills'* (deputy headteacher, Elton community College). Teachers felt *'that everything that goes wrong in society is entirely our fault'* (deputy headteacher, Flint Marsh) including drugtaking and obesity. The headteacher at Trevelyan High continued to explain his feeling that schools are blamed, unfairly, for poor pupil behaviour, *'... people do think they can do their* [teachers'] *jobs, Joe Bloggs thinks "what are these teachers playing at?" ... It takes on a dynamic of its own and the status of the teaching profession isn't where it should be'*. The fact that parents had been through the education system themselves was itself cited as problematic for teachers' status, as the deputy at Flint Marsh explained, *'everybody feels they have an ownership of education'* (see Chapter 10 for more consideration of parental relationships). On the other hand, the behavioural issues also prompted some admiration as people tell them, *'it's a job I couldn't do'* and *'I don't know how you manage'*. Another teacher at Gillan High School echoed these sentiments and suggested, *'but if it* [behaviour] *does start to improve and I think the public can see that that is happening, then I think that can only go a way to improving teacher status I think'*.

One factor that was particularly identified as negatively shaping the public perception of teacher status was the media. The deputy Headteacher at Crosland Primary School referred to a *'Daily Mail syndrome'* as he bemoaned the diminishing status of teachers. It was generally felt that the media cause teachers to be *'less trusted now than they used to be'* (AST, Douglas House Primary). Primary school teachers were aggrieved by reports which they felt suggested that teachers were responsible for *'things that go wrong in society ...'* They felt that dealing with issues such as pupil obesity, drug-taking and poor attendance is not the sole responsibility of schools and *'... that's why it's even more maddening when they kind of blame us for everything ...'* (deputy Headteacher, Flint Marsh Primary School). The feelings of our interviewees was that the tendency of the media to focus on the more negative aspects of schooling in relation to issues such as, teacher/pupil relations, examination results, scandals involving teachers, for example, might adversely affect their professional status. The Assistant Headteacher at Gillan High School explained:

> *Generally, in terms of teacher status, I think an awful lot of it depends on the media and media coverage. I really do. I think for any individual school if they're going through a hard time or they're having problems or something happens with a particular pupil, I think the way that it's handled in the press can have a big impact upon that school and the teachers in that school.*

Most staff were disappointed that television and newspapers alike were presenting distorted images of school life, teachers and their responsibilities. A teacher at Sir Henry Hadow College agreed, '*The problem with teacher status is media coverage that deems fit to slate teachers' efforts every time there is a round of results ... this has an impact of parental perceptions*'. A teacher at Elton Community College exclaimed:

> *It would be nice for someone to give us a break, give something positive about teachers. It would be nice to have a programme on television to show how hard teachers work, without looking at a school where children are running amok.*

It should be noted however, that local newspapers were considered by teaching staff to present more accurately the experiences of teachers and their schools. A teacher at Gillan high school compared national and regional newspapers and concluded that '*the local news is a little bit better because they have been telling us, recently, about schools that have improved and I think that helps to raise the status of teachers*'.

Another factor that helped shaped a perceived negative perception and reduction in teacher status was the difficulty of measuring the 'outputs' of teachers' work. The deputy headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College explained, '*I've always felt that education is onto a loser because we haven't got an immediate identifiable product*'. In Flint Marsh Primary School, a teacher expressed the difficulty of ranking professions, '*we don't save lives, we don't have evident profits and attempts to measure in targets is double-edged ... it's never an opportunity for praise*'. Another stated, '*financial experts in the city, that sort of thing, they earn millions of pounds. We don't have anything that says we've made this amount of profit at the end of the year do we?*' And another confirmed, '*how do you measure what a child's done? You can't measure it*'.

Although the eroded status of teaching was mentioned, in some schools, such as Asquith Primary School, it was rationalised with recourse to the explanations given in question 1. A teacher there said:

> *everybody's under pressure ... in the NHS, and its difficult to compare as I have always been in teaching ... You're in your own world really and it's very different to the world that's out there and I can't compare to other people. Yes, other people in other jobs might have a better staffroom where they can meet each other but that sort of thing doesn't bother me. I enjoy working with the children and the day I don't is the day I leave. To me, that's the most important thing, the relationship with the children.*

In Flint Cross, the deputy headteacher also felt that teachers had become *more* professional in the public eye:

> *I think that Primary School teachers 10 years ago, were seen more as... the woman with Jesus boots, and the old mac, and probably a fag hanging out of their mouth.*

Over the last 10 years I do think that we've become more professional, and we have sold ourselves better. And I guess the GTC as it were, does a little bit more of that.

How does differentiation within the teaching body impact on different teachers' status?

a) Role Differentiation

Given the importance of internal sources of esteem, teachers particularly expressed how they felt higher status a result of adopting particular positions, mainly because this meant that they were sought out by peers for advice. Two primary schools in particular stand out as workplaces where members of staff feel valued: Douglas House Primary School and Flint Marsh Primary School. In both schools, 'extra' responsibilities were allocated to teachers at various levels across the school hierarchy. In Douglas House Primary School, for example, one teacher in the senior management team led a 'behaviour day' for fifty people and explained that it, *'very much enhanced my professional expertise'*. In the same school, an AST had been involved in a 'Big Writing' initiative which *'has had an effect on the way colleagues view me. Everyone has thought it was a brilliant idea and has come to me for advice and to watch some of my lessons'*. Although it took her *'out of her comfort zone'* she said, *'I suppose everyone else had respected me more for doing that'.* The consultancy responsibilities that accompany the AST role had done much for the self-esteem of a teacher at Ashley Cooper who said, *'I think I'm respected, I don't think there's anybody who doesn't respect me as a teacher ... They know that you don't get to become a consultant or AST if you haven't got a good level of teaching skills and ideas'*. A female teacher in senior management also explained:

> *This is a new role. I'm Team Leader for TAs. The new role has given extra work but it's also given me a clearly defined role within the SMT - that's good in terms of status amongst colleagues - they know who to come to.*

In Flint Marsh Primary School, the school similarly gives lots of people differential responsibilities, through devolved leadership, which gives enhanced status. For instance, whilst the deputy headteacher was on maternity leave, the task was divided between six teachers to give them the opportunity to experience some of the responsibilities associated with the role. This has positive ramifications for teachers' status, as the Assessment co-ordinator there explained, *'You're seen in school as a good leader, as a good practitioner as well. So I think that does lift up your own self-esteem'.* Teachers there refer to how there is a sharing of responsibility and good practice, which means they feel *'depended upon',* or *'viewed as being trusted'* rather than being 'purely responsive to the headteacher's vision' (Mahoney and Hextall 2000: 87).

Of course, the degree of role differentiation is contingent on the scale of the school. Particularly for smaller primary schools, the roles are divided between fewer staff. In Crosland Primary School, however the smaller scale was perceived by a teacher as an advantage, in that she was given opportunities to do tasks that would normally go to more experienced staff in a larger school. Again, this was expressed in terms of relationships with peers: *'I feel as though I'm being heard, I feel as though I'm making a positive impact on people, I'm actually able to support them'.*

b) Type of School

Although this is investigated in more detail in Part III, it emerged from the research that the branding of schools through the specialist school initiative had some effect on the status of teachers within the school. Sir Henry Hadow College was rebranded as a specialist college, and the exercise was positively evaluated, because it created a common motivation for staff. According to an NQT there, its impacts have been 'enormous'. The headteacher comments, *'the staff have embraced the concept and recognized it as an opportunity for all to aspire to something different and be seen differently'.* Another headteacher (Trevelyan High) confirmed the positive impact that such changes have on a school, explaining, *'Specialist schools has had an impact on the status and prestige, that is partly why they go for specialist status, so that raises the profile of a school'.* However, this is by no means always the case. For Elton Community College their specialist status as a technology college is somewhat 'a standing joke' due to their out of date ICT equipment.

These issues relate not only to the general branding of the school but the effect of the physical environment, buildings and resources on staff satisfaction. At Flint Marsh Primary School, a number of comments reflected the pride teachers had in the school buildings, as one described, *'It's brilliant and lovely in there. Our sports hall is lovely and we've got new buildings coming up as well'.* However, interviews at the other three schools, Elton Community College, Asquith Primary School and Balfour Primary School reflected concerns about fund allocation. One teacher at Elton community College complained that most of her teaching was in mobile classrooms with limited facilities. In particular, Balfour Primary School was a school that has suffered cuts to their resources. A teacher even mentioned, *'Last year we ran out of pencils and one of the governors had to go to IKEA and get all the stubby little pencils for the children to use for SATs. It drives you mad'.*

The pressure on resources leads to feelings of demoralisation; the headteacher at the school felt undervalued, citing an instance when she was refused permission to decorate her room by governors. She said, *'...and somebody said 'well isn't getting the toilets done more important?' and it was dropped. At the time nobody knew I was thinking about leaving and I was actually quite hurt, so that says something about status doesn't it?'* She also commented how the lack of funds meant that she was unable to pay for a headteacher's secretary and had funding for a bursar only one day a month. Her role had expanded significantly, and she commented, *'I resent it. I'm trained to teach, I'm not a trained accountant'.*

A number of staff in schools commented that there was an interesting link between resources, children's behaviour/performance and staff satisfaction. In Sir Henry Hadow College, a teacher suggested that the funding as a specialist college and new school uniform has *'definitely made a difference on behaviour'.* At Gillan High School, a teacher commented on how he gained satisfaction from improving the IT room, and that *'everyone who taught it said to me, 'the children have come in with a definite positive attitude because they've got new computers'.* Conversely, pressures on resources are thus felt to have important knock-on effects; a teacher at Elton Community College referred

to how it *'is depressing to give out tatty textbooks'* whilst at the other extreme, a newly qualified teacher at Sir Henry Hadow College commented,

> *For me it's very exciting, Arts status aside, as I'm learning loads myself and that raises my status. Because of interactive whiteboards, it's now in my interest to know how to design websites for students, to create a webpage for their homework etc. all those software programmes I can use, and that raises my status as I need more skills to do my job effectively.*

The phase of the schools is also influential for teacher status. A teacher at Asquith Primary School felt the difference in non-contact time means that primary school teachers have to juggle too many jobs. At Douglas House Primary School a governor felt that primary schools were a *'Cinderella'* and that secondary schools were able to embrace new developments more easily because they had more funding. In addition to differences in funding, primary school teaching was seen externally as less demanding. At Douglas House Primary School a teacher mentioned that *'especially in the primary sector – we can be seen more as childcare'*, a point of view echoed by another who felt secondary school teachers got more respect. However, within secondary schools themselves, primary school teaching was seen as enabling staff to benefit from positive perceptions by parents. The deputy headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College explained,

> [parents are] *less tolerant of secondary. Primary school teachers are seen as mostly women in a 'nice mothering role'. They see secondary teachers though eyes that perhaps relate to their own experiences of school.*

c) Age

Interviews in some larger secondary schools indicated that there was potentially a cleavage in attitudes between younger and older teachers. The *'older'* teacher workforce at Sir Alec Clegg Infants felt they benefited from mutual support through living through life events over many years. And the deputy headteacher at Ellen Wilkinson saw a clear difference between younger teachers conforming to government expectations and more independent thinking older teachers. He explained,

> *What they're looking for in younger teachers is flexible people, who follow instructions, aren't quite as professional as they used to be and good operatives who will operate the very carefully detailed manuals that they're given without too much bother… Younger teachers are extremely committed and obedient to the government approaches. They seem very well trained but don't have independence of spirit there perhaps needs to be ... The young ones are a very different breed.*

At Douglas House, the Chair of governors felt that the calibre of NQTs is superior as they are knowledgeable and confident, and take being inspected in their stride. In Elton Community College, the younger members of staff were also seen by a TA as more tolerant and broadminded, whilst older teachers were viewed as less flexible, and as the headteacher described, were deemed to find it harder to adapt to prescription. One younger female teacher felt that this was perhaps explained by the older teachers' feelings of physical exhaustion from dealing with students' behaviour, as well as the fact that more established staff had more managerial roles. This reduced their contact with

students, whilst they were also perhaps, *'less interested in the problems of fifteen year olds'*. A male NQT in the school also commented on the demoralisation and cynicism of older staff and expressed hopes that he himself could avoid becoming *'jaded'* in the future. Whilst he described himself as idealistic however, he does not see teaching as a vocation for life and suggested that he might leave because of the long hours.

In Sir Henry Hadow College, a newly qualified teacher suggested that the motivations for younger staff, such as himself, are financial. However, this same teacher chose to come to a 'difficult' school because of the challenges it presented, thus this orientation does not replace vocational commitment:

> *And offering money for training, it's made a massive difference. Look at all the people who are coming in - I'm the youngest NQT, almost 27; five years ago, would that have been the case? I was shocked that I was one of the youngest, that means a lot of people are coming in from other jobs, and that's directly because it's more attractive financially....People need, if they're coming from business, to see 10-20 years down the line, that they can earn the sort of salary that they think would be interesting. Before there were only headships and deputy headships, now there's ASTs, all sorts of liaison posts, Academies, lots more avenues for earning more because you've got more responsibility. It's finance, it's the bottom line.*

d) The Status of Subjects

It was expected that secondary school teachers would attribute derive status from their role as subject teachers, so the research explored whether there was a relationship between subject identity and status. No strong consensus about this was apparent. There were some suggestions that teachers of core subjects were of higher status than others, but rather more suggestions that subject did not influence status at all.

Summary

> *The culture of teachers and the structure of rewards do not emphasize the acquisition of extrinsic rewards. The traditions of teaching make people who seek money, prestige, or power somewhat suspect; the characteristic style in public education is to mute personal ambition. The service ideal has extolled the virtue of giving more than one receives; the model teacher has been 'dedicated'* (Lortie, 1975: 102).

The evidence presented here on teachers perceptions of their status, and their explanations of the sources and variability in teacher status suggests that despite a number of external interventions, Lortie's (1975) research findings continue to be salient in the present climate. Teachers sense of their own status is strongly linked to 'psychic rewards'; the vocational satisfactions from teaching and longer-term moral outcomes anticipated through their work. Second, although personal satisfaction remains paramount, there is considerable evidence that esteem in derived mainly from other staff,

particularly when there is clear role differentiation. This inward-looking orientation however can mean some teachers are vulnerable to lower status when working within the particular school environments. There is also a risk that different orientations to teaching may cause friction particularly between older and younger staff, although on the whole, systems in which role differentiation is used within a democratic environment of collegial support, feedback and shared leadership is where teachers appear the happiest.

CHAPTER 8: INTERNAL SCHOOL RELATIONS AND TEACHER STATUS

Overview

This chapter is guided by the project's second aim and focuses particularly on how one important factor: working relationships and conditions influence teacher status. In particular, the research coincided with the implementation of the (2003) *Raising Standards and Tackling Workload: A National Agreement* policy initiative which provides for teaching assistants and Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTA) to take over a wide range of administrative and secretarial tasks from teachers. When fully implemented, it provides for cover to allow teachers to spend 10 per cent of their time to carry out planning, preparation and assessment (PPA). By reducing teachers' workloads and improving their work-life balance, this potentially affects the status of teachers. The Chapter examines teachers' reactions towards the strategies that different schools have adopted in response to school workforce reform, and exposes the ability of the policy interventions to enhance or decrease teachers' self-esteem and professional ability. The chapter is structured around three main questions, which ask:

1. How have case study schools moved towards improving teachers' workloads and what impacts has this had on their status?

2. Do teachers feel that teachers' pay and performance management will enhance their status?

3. What influence do participants think the implementation of such reforms might have on teacher status?

The main findings of the chapter are as follows:

- Many teachers valued the relief from mundane administrative responsibilities offered through the workforce reform agenda and most teachers welcomed the immediate benefits to their work-life balance.

- Whilst teachers welcomed the opportunity to focus more of their time on teaching and learning activities most felt that the remodelling agenda and requirement for schools to provide PPA time for their teachers relied upon a financially unsustainable strategy, which might not enhance their status in the long run.

- The reality of PPA, particularly in schools which have been underperforming, proved frustrating for some teachers, who simply received new duties and responsibilities.

- Teachers expressed dissatisfaction with their salaries, feeling that they were not commensurate with the work they do. Pay initiatives based on teachers' performance caused confusion among teachers, who also considered such policies to be divisive and demoralising.

The Evidence

How have case study schools moved towards improving teachers' workloads and what impacts has this had on their status?

Among the primary schools, Flint Marsh Primary School and Douglas House Primary School were the most positive about improvements in work-life balance. At Douglas House Primary School an AST felt that teaching was, '*Good fun. Everyone pulls together, we work well as a team,* [with] *different strengths. Hard work but I enjoy coming to school – it is a happy school'*. Remodelling was greeted positively; the headteacher thought that the '*use of TAs [is] brilliant ... a great idea'*. However, this was qualified with a concern expressed also by a TA, that, '*the general public may not like it – they already think teachers have it soft. But school will make it work'*. Another suggested that it had caused confusion, and was concerned that TAs may be '*used for supply cover in some schools'*.

Teaching assistants at other primary schools, including Crosland, were upbeat about the new working arrangements. A TA at Underwood also thought that the strategy was '*brilliant for teaching'* and although she felt TAs were underpaid, she felt the money was '*neither here nor there, it's pence'*, because she did the work as she enjoyed it. A teacher at William Edward was grateful for the relief from what she saw as more mundane tasks, although again had reservations about the initiative's sustainability. She said of the reforms, '*wonderful, haven't touched a photocopier in months, brilliant, I love it. But the government haven't thought it through, they're not going to be able to finance it next year'*.

In Flint Marsh Primary, a larger than average primary school, PPA time and the use of LSA[24] support were already well established. Each teacher had 10 per cent non-contact time per week and participants spoke of 'work-life balance' with pride, just as they might talk about an achievement, or a long desired acquisition: '*This school is fantastic. I mean we've got a thing called 'work-life balance' here'* (TA, Flint Marsh Primary School). The deputy elucidated how this had been achieved,

> *From the point of view of the work-life balance we've looked specifically at that, and we're one of the lead schools in the borough at that because we've got lots of things in place that will be statutory, like [in] three years , we've been doing it for the last ten ! ... we've really focused on what we're doing. We've looked at our meetings and meeting times, which are training and development, but if there's nothing firm on the agenda, what's the point of having a meeting?*

Our second visit almost a year later showed similar attitudes: '*I think we've put a lot of effort this past year into the work-life balance and that's made a huge difference'* (SENCO and literacy coordinator). The 'work' on work-life balance included a 'work-life committee' which took a pro-active role by arranging social events for all staff, such as yoga, bowling, a netball team, theatre trips, even a trip to France, as well as providing help with domestic chores such as ironing, car cleaning and car maintenance. Generally, this helped raise the status of staff, as they felt valued. As shown in Chapter 7, much of

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[24] LSA, Learning Support Assistant was the job title used by the school

this could be explained by the internal acknowledgement of their achievements, as the deputy headteacher pointed out:

> *I think we celebrate people's achievements as a school. And I think we do praise. We're not kind of American in the sense of putting the best teacher of the month in our newsletter sort of thing … it's not the British way![25] So we don't do anything like that but we are very supportive*

However, although work-life balance was acclaimed, there were mixed views about roles and responsibilities. Teachers appreciated not having to do the mundane administrative tasks, but at the same time, TAs were beginning to experience work overload. One expressed:

> *And obviously we've started taking on more of the teacher's tasks as well in the way of paperwork: photocopying. So we're sort of getting no extra money for that so it's a bit … obviously the teachers work 24-plus [but] …I think the LSAs are feeling quite pressured … when we seem to be getting so much more work for not more money… my workload has doubled since I started … I think that's where we lose a lot – A lot of us are not recognised and … feel that we are not being looked at as professional people.*

This view was repeated at another secondary school, where, according to a TA, the teachers were happy, but the administrators, having had some assertiveness training, felt that '*teachers are being paid money for old rope and more and more is being loaded on to them for no salary increase.*' Teachers referred to the '*friendly atmosphere … no lack of will to do things … with a range of people prepared to lead with confidence in an environment of no threat. There is no blame culture*'. But a TA warned '*there are cracks in the plaster*' because the SMT did not listen to administrators.

Doubts from other teachers were raised about the negative impact of the remodelling proposals on their status,

> *This idea that learning support assistants can take a class I think is doing a huge disservice to the teaching profession. A learning support assistant cannot take a class. A LSA has their own role and … when they see a teacher teaching … they don't see what goes on behind … all the hours of preparations, all the planning, all the knowledge that goes into why you are doing something …I find it insulting that a government can think that … I've spent all those years training and somebody who hasn't can come in and do just as well as I can do. I find it a huge insult' (T Literacy/SENCO visit 2)*

This view was also shared by a teacher with school governor responsibilities at Whitbreads. Discussing government initiatives, she felt the reforms '*affect[s] your self-esteem and how you are perceived … You've trained for all those years, and it seems they can put somebody…who amounts to a parent helper in our place*'.

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[25] This teacher had been on a US exchange and observed 'great practice like that!'

Much concern rested on the practicability of the reforms. Even in the progressive, and indeed entrepreneurial, Flint Marsh school, the reforms were not seen as ideal. According to the deputy headteacher, 'It's *a little bit difficult to put in place like they want it to be put in place',* but she conceded that, *'The principle is right.'* Further doubts about the reforms were aired by the headteacher and deputy headteacher at Sir Alec Clegg, where concern was raised about having sufficient resources to train and remunerate teaching assistants to cover classes. The headteacher asked:

> *Who's going to give cover? Are we going to be able to pay our CSAs enough to do a class responsibility? Are we going to train them effectively? And who's going to pay for it? Do they want it? Because some don't do they? If they did they'd go and be teachers ... and get paid for it'.*

Similarly at Crosland, a small primary school where the reforms were well received, the Government's scheme was considered *'unworkable'* by the assistant headteacher. Here most of the TAs were also lunch-time supervisors who *'only get a half–hour break a day'.* In contrast to the previous school, TAs frequently supervised classes and were doing so before the government reforms. One TA had been put in charge of the TA team and commented that this had raised her sense of status, and that *'you really notice it when you go on courses or you meet TAs from other schools, that really our status in the school is quite high'.*

At the other end of the scale, staff at Balfour Primary School, a school facing recent difficulties, with extremely challenging children, seemed unable to envisage a satisfactory work-life balance. All referred to a sense of workload increasing, and one teacher could not see how this could be reduced as long as there were SATs. Experienced teachers and NQT alike felt *'bogged down by paperwork'* and some teachers even felt that TA support apparently created extra pressure to prepare for the TAs. The NQT described the effects, as she said: *'It affects your personal life but it's like an addiction ... You can't live with it and you can't give it up'* (NQT).

An experienced teacher at Balfour also expressed the view that TAs *'... are great! At the most they could keep order, but they're not going to give a good lesson. It's a joke*!' Lack of money seemed to be the underlying obstacle to improvements of all kinds. The headteacher had no secretary and, as she put it, having trained to teach, resented having to be an accountant. She likened her work-life 'balance' to feeling 'like a bit of elastic', under tension from both ends. A parent described how a previous teacher had left on the verge of a nervous breakdown; a governor went home after a morning in school feeling *'completely frazzled'* and such views contributed to an overwhelming sense of overwork.

Among the secondary schools, generally positive attitudes to the reforms emerged but there were again strong evident concerns about funding and very different approaches to implementation. In an enterprising, successful beacon middle school, Gillan High, the threat of disruption posed by the proposed reforms was perceived at all levels. A teacher said,

> *The idea of putting classroom assistants into classroom – I have serious doubts about that. It would be lovely to have more time to do things, but again it gives the impression out that anyone can come in and teach.*

She continued:

> *... the idea is teachers go away and plan it, but to my mind my favourite bit of the job is teaching the lesson. We have spent four years at university learning to do this job.*

A head of year similarly said:

> *They're up for it certainly, they want to do it and I'd be quite happy to let them do it. I would be concerned that there are times with behaviour issues and there are those people the children know of as classroom assistants and in the children's eyes they have a different status from a teacher's, and they do... Children respond differently to them.*

Another prevalent view here was that although the shift of many administrative tasks to TAs and 'the office' had been a major improvement, new DfES requirements had instantly moved in to fill the space. An associate headteacher, for example, listed the stream of new '*audits and memos*' relating to health and safety, CRB checks and training for adults other than teachers. Despite the benefits of workforce reform, he felt that these were '*conspiring against us to make us busier and do more things*'. As a PE teacher, he pointed to his unpaid, altruistically motivated, extra-curricular responsibilities: '*people have done it over time because they were interested in sport when they were young and people did it for them*'. Reluctantly, he was now beginning to question whether it was worth the increased paperwork involved.

A parent who was a member of the school support staff also expressed some of the doubts she held about TAs teaching:

> *As a parent I would be somewhat concerned because I think I'm sending my child to school to receive the best education, the best teaching, the best service that I can possibly obtain ... I think well ... if it's not going to be a teacher with all this training, experience and qualifications then why would I send him to school? I could do it myself.*

Similar pictures emerged from two more secondary schools. At Sir Henry Hadow College, the reforms were seen as positive in principle and the headteacher felt that the school was '*a long way down the line*'. However, they raised concerns that jobs, such as putting up displays which reflected their professionalism would be lost, and that second, '*we can't afford it ... when it gets to September 2005 where everybody is going to have that 10% time ... we're not going to get that money*'. It was the matter of professionalism that worried the headteacher at Fulmar, as they explained:

> *I actually feel that a lot of the workforce reform measures have a deprofessionalising* [effect for] *the profession ...What they* [the unions] *want is for teachers not to do any kind of cover over the next few years. Bringing in supply teachers to do that would cause so much more hassle for our staff because the kids would not accept them and it is much easier for us to cover ourselves. We are going to find creative ways around it. The government are not putting enough*

> *money into the initiative to support it, and it will work badly, although I like the concept.'*

By our second visit, the school had achieved specialist school status and changed its name. Then, a TA was working as an unqualified 'inclusion coordinator' and found that she was treated very professionally by teachers and heads of year. The headteacher attributed the different skills to teachers and TAs:

> *a TA may have tremendous skills working with young people on the pastoral and welfare side but the salary may be £10,000+ less than a teacher who might have plotted that route. … [but] … there are many teachers who do not have the development skills to work with children in the same way a TA does.*

The overriding impression from the data from all schools is that they welcome the principle but question the means. There was particularly concern that TAs workloads had increased, that their pay was inadequate and that some of the gains in work-life balance for teachers were soon being lost in more paperwork or administration. This is reflected in some comments by a teacher that '*Some people work very hard for very little money - the Classroom Support Assistants (CSA)'*, whilst another commented, '*A CSA is like another teacher* [but it's] *a pittance that she's earning*'. Perhaps the concern for others' status is not surprising since any individual can discuss another person's status legitimately but can only speculate about the status or esteem in which s/he feels they are held. However, this mutual concern could be regarded as evidence of established, functioning status and solidarity norms, which might augur well for negotiated realignment of roles. However, where existing relations were dysfunctional or beginning to fracture, workforce reform presented greater difficulties.

Do teachers feel that teachers' pay and performance management will enhance their status?

Personal wealth is regarded by many as one indicator of social status, and in the past, low pay has been a recurrent theme associated with the teaching profession in the media (Cunningham, 1992). As Hoyle (2001) has pointed out, however, the sheer number of teachers as public servants has placed a limit on the pay levels teachers can achieve. The introduction of performance management (PM) for teachers in 1999, linked to pay and professional development represented a radical assault on the principle that teachers, once qualified, conformed to a common national pay scale. It introduced greater extrinsic motivation for teachers to develop their careers by linking a higher rate of pay to evidence to be provided by the teacher of performance against eight teaching 'standards'. In practice, however, progress to the upper pay scale is limited by the school's ability to pay. Mahoney et al.'s (2004) research on the emotional impact of the introduction of PM revealed its negative effects to be '*underestimated*'. They concluded that '*managed well and leaving pay aside, a developmentally oriented system of performance management linked with opportunities for further professional learning*' was welcomed by teachers. Unfortunately, '*failure to gauge how the policy would be interpreted by teachers, within a specific political and historical context, merely served to further disillusion, not 'motivate'* [teachers]'.

In our case studies, participants, whatever their role, were unanimous that teachers' salaries are not commensurate with their responsibilities. However, there was widespread confusion about performance management, which suggested that thus far, it had not had the desired effects on status. In one large primary school, performance management was greeted positively by the deputy headteacher and a governor said '*In terms of retention, initiatives like PRP and ASTs have helped us reward people and this has had an impact*'. However, the threshold arrangements were described by a primary headteacher (Asquith Primary School) as '*a fiasco*'. Rather than rewarding the commitment and work of teachers in school, they had '*caused unnecessary heartache to the majority of teachers.*' Nevertheless, after commenting on the heavy time commitment and divisiveness of the scheme, the headteacher went on to say that,

> *We will make the best of situations and we will turn things around, so as with performance management, we will make it a positive experience. So we will look at ways in which it could help to enhance the curriculum. We may be looking at such exciting things as bringing in modern foreign languages tutor, so we need the funding.*

In another primary the deputy headteacher again regarded performance related pay as '*Negative, confusing, we're still not sure if teachers' pay can be docked for classroom performance, based on results at the end of the year ... particularly in the SATs class*'. She continued, '*If done properly,* [however] *it can be used as a way of supporting poor teachers ... The theory of performance related pay is good because you get tired of carrying people ... but* [that is] *being used well ... [It can be]* *used as a means to beat teachers*'. This teacher noted also that teacher status in Ireland is much better than in England (an observation endorsed by the OECD survey (Santiago, 2005)), because of shorter hours and the fact that '*Teachers were paid to meet parents after school hours*'. This resonates with the view of a school governor, who suggested that '*... to regard teachers on a level of medicine, a huge pay rise would help – and attract high fliers*'. A parent had similar views, suggesting that '*maybe* [with] *higher wages, it would be seen as a good career to go in to*'.

In the secondary schools, pay was again considered too low. For the deputy headteacher at Ellen Wilkinson, teachers' salaries were not sufficiently high to support a sense of professionalism. Comparing his salary with that of a doctor, he explained that it was,

> *Quite a struggle bringing up three kids. I never felt like a professional from that point of view, definitely not a professional salary. I've got a brother who's a doctor, they have a very different lifestyle to me. I don't have comparable qualifications to my brother but I do to friends who have a very good lifestyle. It's always been second-hand cars and camping holidays ... so I don't feel it's a profession from that point of view*
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> .

In the secondary schools, views on performance management remained uncertain. In a large recovering school the deputy headteacher considered performance management to be '*poorly thought out*'. Although potentially motivating, they were concerned that colleagues reviewing teachers might be '*soft and pally and not prepared to be challenging*' so that '*I'm going to end up with a pay bill that goes up astronomically but I'm not going to change any performance*'. Other teachers were evidently concerned

about '*the performance criteria, how are you going to judge*?' Another raised this difficulty:

> *If a school [or] teachers have a class which hasn't achieved what it should, does that mean they're going to take a drop in wages? Rather than a bonus on top? That's realistic in industry, if you don't meet the targets set for you ... I don't think we need that in teaching. You've got checks anyway, with OfSTED, observation by peers, keeping records and assessments, it's all there anyway.*

The chair of governors at another highly successful school, where '*all 22 teachers got through but there was no money for them. Dreadful*', was highly critical:

> *The governing body! Most governors are not able to teach though they are willing to test teachers. They should never ever be asked to sit in judgement over teachers. Who are these governing bodies?*

At another academically successful school, one teacher, who having passed the threshold assessment, was positive about performance management, added, '*I am not sure many other professions have to jump through hoops for extra money*'. Her older male colleague took the view that performance pay had not raised teacher status, and would not: '*Pay and status are separate ...*' However they still felt that*, 'better pay would attract a higher calibre of people in. Entry to some courses are two Es*.' This school served an affluent area and the teachers' comments often included comparisons between themselves, others or other professions, indicating perhaps a degree of status anxiety absent in other regions. An NQT felt, for example, that,

> *there are those members of the public who are earning significantly more than teachers who tend to judge people, gauge people, on how much they are earning. And "as teachers earn less, they know less", and should be at the beck and call of the parent.*

Likewise, a teacher in her early 30s at Ellen Wilkinson who had had difficulty buying a house, said, '*work-life balance is not great, the money isn't fantastic if you compare comparable professions at the same level.*' She went on '*years ago teaching was on a par with doctors and lawyers but that has long gone on a financial basis'.* In common with many of the teachers we interviewed, she alluded to a lack of the psychic rewards of being appreciated, '*It is not about the money, the money isn't bad in teaching really but we are expected to deal with quite difficult stressful situations day in, day out, without people appreciating'.* In London schools, many of the financial initiatives are felt to be of little use in overcoming the difficulties of working comfortably on a teaching salary in the capital. One NQT at Balfour talked about '*the awful situation'* when she looked for accommodation and felt little support from the LA. This has implications for staffing, as at Crosland, where many of the staff were from overseas and did not wish to buy houses; however, the high costs of rent meant that there was a high turnover of a mobile staffing population.

***What influence do participants think the implementation of such reforms might have
on teacher status?***

It might be predicted that the reforms of workforce remodelling and performance
management would have positive effects on the status of teachers. On the basis of
Hoyle's analysis, the semantic status of teaching would be improved if teachers were
seen by the public to have delegated some responsibility for managing potentially unruly
children to other people, whilst intensifying their own teaching and learning roles. On the
other hand, as Lortie (1975) pointed out, some teachers tend to be dedicated to classroom
teaching, and see their *raisons d'être* as being taken over by people with lesser training
and qualification. The prevalent attitude is the second. Teachers' conceptualisation of
teaching seemed to remain holistic, with teachers concerned with classroom management
as well as pedagogy. An administrator, who recognised that students were beginning to
look for support from them rather than teachers, said:

> *we have to be careful with the workforce reforms that we don't take too much
> away from teachers so that they are making no connection with the students. I
> don't want it to be that they go into a classroom, teach the lesson and walk away.*

On the other hand, where teachers and TAs worked well together, in the schools where
working relationships were cohesive, most of the case studies indicated considerable
mutual respect, with teachers interested in the effects of the reforms on the status of TAs,
and with TAs and other stakeholders showing considerable occupational esteem for
teachers. This mutual respect is largely based on recognition of different areas of
expertise and different types of responsibility. Thus, in two schools, mutual respect was
based on very clear role demarcations, with teachers teaching, and TAs monitoring
behaviour, preparing resources, and being prepared to step in and help when needed. The
prospect of them actually taking classes was however seen as a threat to teacher status
and a devaluation of their expertise and training. In other schools, teachers greatly valued
TAs' assistance with teaching and learning, sharing planning or entrusting it to TAs
particularly where the TA was assigned to children with special educational needs. In one
school TAs also had non-contact time for planning and preparation. In such schools,
implementation of PPA time according to the DfES model, covered by TAs, would
potentially eliminate such shared planning. Ultimately, it might enhance teacher prestige
but at the expense of school solidarity.

As regards work-life balance, three case study schools seemed to be making positive
progress sometimes through organising activities to increase the 'life' element socially
and/or through physical recreation. Where PPA time was available, teachers appreciated
the extra planning time, but still took work home. Elsewhere gains were acknowledged
but often at a price, such as reduced efficiency, or consumed by new duties and
responsibilities. In schools recovering from difficult periods, work-life balance seemed
more difficult to attain. Critical to all of these cases, however, was the degree to which
teachers felt valued in their schools. The most positive examples enjoyed collegial
support as well as explicit senior management appreciation of their efforts. As one
teacher in a school with very good staff relationships, explained that a new member of
the senior management team, who had increased SMT accessibility, had '*had a beneficial
effect on morale of the staff*'. She felt that this had affected the staff's sense of their own
status, but '*without patronising you, knowing that you are valued and that your views are
respected, and that you've got a place in the school*'. She felt that this had to come '*from*

your SMT and colleagues … predominantly internally … it's got to be internal because this is your place of work'.

Finally, pay and performance management issues revealed views of greater similarity across these schools. Teachers' pay was universally considered inadequate, whilst an even worse situation was widely acknowledged for TAs given their increasing levels of workload and responsibility. There were mixed views on the effects of performance management, some seeing its potential to improve the quality of the profession and attract better qualified entrants, but coupled with uncertainty about how the outcome might be funded, its effects on good staff relations and how, in the first place, teachers' performance should be judged. In one school the teachers openly collaborated in completing their TAAFs[26] in order to protect their good relationships. The potential for positive effects of performance management on teacher status, through the creation of a stepped career path with continued incentives, was not widely recognised. Oddly, whilst recognising that new 'paperwork' tasks (even if electronically mediated) were filling their recently acquired non-contact time, teachers did not refer explicitly to the inherent paradox of government proposals intended to improve their work-life balance coinciding with demands for increased productivity and associated 'paper' (or online) work.

Summary

Our teachers are using effective approaches to teaching and learning, are working in teams with other teachers and support staff, are committed to their own development and confident in exercising their professional judgement; and have higher status, proper remuneration and incentives, more responsibility and autonomy, more support and a better work/life balance (DfES, 2002b p. 7)

This chapter has presented school-based views on major policy initiatives on workforce reform including workforce remodelling, reducing teachers' workloads and performance management. The Type I case study schools provide a range of positions in terms of implementation and opinion on these reforms. We found both positive and negative examples among both primary and secondary schools. A picture may be emerging that the better the staff relationships in the schools, the further advanced the sharing of roles and responsibilities. One noticeable issue is that where teachers and TAs were working well together, they were either both focusing on teaching and learning issues (see Flint Marsh Primary School, Douglas House Primary School and Sir Henry Hadow College) or their roles were very clearly differentiated (Gillan High School; Elton Community College) . Using Brown's (1965) thesis, in these settings where relationships are established and status and solidarity norms operate harmoniously, home-grown reform may have advanced smoothly through consultation. An imposed reform model, however, could create status conflicts. In particular however, the DfES model for reform tended to be spoken of as good in principle but 'unworkable in practice', or 'not feasible in this school'. Moreover, if anything, comments on the effects on status focused more often on the gains to TA status and the potential damage this could cause for teacher status.

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[26] Teacher Assessment Application Form

CHAPTER 9: TEACHING AND LEARNING

Overview

As a further response to this project's second main aim, 'to understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes', this chapter explores the ways in which teaching and learning issues, in recent years, had an influence on teachers' sense of their profession's status, their individual status or their self-esteem. In particular, the chapter explores how government initiatives relating to teaching and learning impacted on teachers' sense of their status. In our case studies, we found that the ways that teachers responded to our questions about teaching and learning developments and initiatives were best synthesised in answers to the three implicit sub-questions listed below:

1. How have different criteria or mechanisms for evaluating teaching and learning impacted on teacher status or self-esteem?

2. In what ways do teachers' autonomy and accountability in relation to their classroom practice impact on their sense of status?

3. Does CPD have an impact on teachers' sense of status?

The findings of the chapter are summarised as follows:

- The OfSTED inspection regime provoked mainly negative comments from teachers with concerns about a lack of dialogue between inspectors and those being inspected, the stress caused by the procedure and the effects of the process being used to sift out certain teachers.

- Teachers felt that government imposition of unrealistic targets and teaching strategies demonstrated distrust for teacher professionalism and their abilities to achieve desired results. They felt it undermined their autonomy to translate their expertise and skills to provide solutions for pupils according to their learning needs.

- The comparisons made between schools (particularly through performance tables) which share little in common in terms of pupil turnover, pupil cohort differences and other pupil characteristics, were felt to misrepresent local circumstances and demoralised teachers by undermining the work they do.

- Where schools were found to operate structured CPD programmes for their teachers, teachers felt that they were valued by school managers. They reported increased levels of self-confidence in their teaching skills which they felt contributed greatly to their sense of status.

The evidence

1) How have different criteria or mechanisms for evaluating teaching and learning impacted on teacher status or self-esteem?

Teachers tended to be keen to discuss this question in relation to three broad areas of government policy that we mentioned: testing, OfSTED and the National Curriculum and strategies. On each of these, there was a wide range of views.

a) Testing

It was on testing and on associated issues like league tables and targets that teachers were most keen to talk and also most pervasively negative. While there were complex differences among individual teachers, it was not possible to detect systematic differences between schools or between different stages or positions across schools. The following views about the negative impact of testing on teacher status were repeatedly expressed:

1. Teachers' reputation and morale was undermined by the quite unfair comparative judgements made between schools and between successive stages and cohorts in the same school. This demoralising distortion may be especially great in London, where pupil turnover can change any particular cohort in a school radically over two years. The 'value added' approach was considered less distorting than the previous even cruder approach, but was still a source of injustice and demoralisation.

2. The quality of teachers' professional work and therefore their professional self-esteem was undermined in a number of ways. Most commonly mentioned of these are the distorting effects of testing on the curriculum, with the majority of subjects - not tested through SATs - being neglected, and those aspects of English, mathematics and science that are not tested in SATs also being neglected. Concern was also expressed about the danger of children who were unlikely to meet targets being 'written off' because of the league table system.

3. Teachers' felt their professional status and self-esteem was unjustly undermined by the neglect of teacher assessment in favour of the less reliable and less valid use of one-off high-stakes external testing.

4. Teachers' self-confidence was undermined because of the pressure they were put under by an obsessive over-emphasis on targets.

Other more idiosyncratic comments on the impact of assessment included some that were more positive as well as additional complaints. Assessment For Learning[27] was highlighted as a good initiative. Teachers' overall view of the SATs regime was however summed up by one of them who commented that *'the government didn't think out properly what the impact of SATs on young children or teachers would be'*.

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[27] AFL – for information on AFL see http://www.qca.org.uk/7659.html [accessed Dec 2006]

b) OfSTED

Views on OfSTED were not generally so vigorously expressed, and not quite so predominantly negative. Teachers in several schools talked of the positive impact on one's self-esteem or on the school's public reputation and the practical usefulness of being thoughtfully observed and given feedback by inspectors. In general, however, there were rather more negative comments, about the lack of dialogue with teachers and even pupils as the TA at Sir Alec Clegg complained that the '*OfSTED inspector blanked the children, looked straight through them. I think that is wrong*'. Interviewees also spoke of the implausibility of verdicts based on single observations, and the artificiality arising from schools' extended preparation. A teacher at Whitbreads Junior School, with school governor responsibilities, said of OfSTED inspectors '*they don't understand what it's like, they see the shiny surface and have changed the goal posts*'. The changing priorities and approach of the inspection regime reduces people, according to a teacher at Asquith Primary School, '*to nervous wrecks*', and in the opinion of a teacher at Trevelyan High School, '*serves to sift out teachers who are under-performing*' . A teacher at Crosland Primary School described the '*devastation*' caused by poor results, the damaging impact of Chris Woodhead's pronouncements, and the variable quality of inspection teams. The headteacher at Balfour Primary School explained how she was leaving the profession because of her disapproval of an OfSTED system that was in her experience '*mechanical*', '*inflexible*' and not based on professional expertise. A Teaching Assistant at Elton Community College commented on the effect of OfSTED reports being made public, '*bringing teachers down off their pedestal*'. Positive comments were made about the new self-assessment regime, as a move towards respecting teachers' expertise, and about the move to shorter notice, causing less disruption and stress.

c) National Curriculum and Strategies

The views expressed on the impact of the National Curriculum and of the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies on teachers' lives and status were in many respects quite diverse and seemed to reflect, to a considerable degree, teachers' varying individual histories. There were however two recurrent themes. One was that, while the National Curriculum and Strategies may have varying strengths and weaknesses, their usefulness depends on them first evolving, being adapted and shaped for use by professional teachers in their own distinctive schools. The second theme was perhaps the other side of the same coin. It was that, whatever merits these national initiatives may have, they do limit the scope for creative professional teachers to use their expertise in the interests of the children. Together, the two themes suggest that, whatever qualities these national curriculum and pedagogical initiatives may have had, their educational value has been limited, in teachers' eyes, by insufficient attention being paid to teachers' own creative teaching skills. In other words, insufficient status has been given to the role of the teacher in curriculum delivery.

2) In what ways do teachers' autonomy and accountability in their classroom practice impact on their sense of status?

This was a theme on which our respondents had a great deal to say, with notable differences in some respects between schools.

We found no arguments among teachers about the need for them to be accountable. Older teachers were very ready to talk about the inadequacy of accountability arrangements twenty years ago; and all teachers were happy to be accountable for their work. But while the principle of accountability was not in dispute, questions were raised about some of its practical manifestations. For example, some senior management teams were ready to explain how they held teachers systematically and explicitly to account through their performance management procedures for the quality of their teaching; but others, such as the deputy headteacher at Flint Marsh Primary School, were equally ready to tell us that performance management, as presented to them, is impossible to do well, '*so it's just something else that you have to do rather than it having any impact*'. More generally, older teachers, tended to feel that there had been a shift '*from the sublime to the ridiculous - twenty years ago we did what we wanted, now we're far too restricted*', in that, they said, '*there are so many constraints and you're accountable to so many people*' (teacher, Asquith Primary School). A particular source of demoralisation was the amount of time-consuming paperwork, which was often understood as being primarily for accountability purposes. A teacher with responsibility for assessment coordination at Flint Marsh Primary School explained, '*I sometimes feel that you are not trusted because you've actually got to have it written down*'.

Several teachers explained to us that their pride in their professional expertise was closely related to their understanding of the task of teaching as requiring judgement about children's present educational needs, based especially on a knowledge of the children, but also on such things as a recognition of the importance of children's questions, of showing them things, of variety, of a balanced curriculum, and of fostering children's powers of expression and communication. Translating your understanding of children and of education into practice, they told us, is where the job is so rewarding, and that's what's necessary to do the job well. That is still possible, some of them told us, but it's very hard, because there are so many constraints, especially on time. There was a real danger, some teachers told us, of '*relying heavily on externally imposed plans and not making our lessons as interesting or creative as before*' (teacher, Flint Marsh Primary School).Some teachers seemed to feel they had little alternative but to adopt a technician role, complying with what was prescribed, as a teacher from Flint Marsh Primary School explained:

> *Ultimately, it's new initiatives upon new initiatives ... this is how they believe children should learn in schools ... and then we just have to comply with that and incorporate the new initiatives within our teaching.*

A teacher at Whitbreads was happy to embrace this approach adding:

> *the numeracy and literacy hour I've taken on board because for a long time teachers went on about autonomy but they were in some respects failing the children and I say give me prescription, tell me what to do and then you've got the delivery and you're not running around finding the resources ... I like prescription. I think it's a good thing.*

Others still subscribed to the belief that there was a need for teachers to have the time, space and authority to make professional judgements about what external ideas were working and on how they should be developed to be more effective; but they tended not to believe that they currently had the necessary conditions to fulfil such a role. These

kinds of complaints about a loss of professional autonomy in the classroom that undermined the quality of teaching came predominantly from primary school teachers, although there were differences even among primary schools in the extent to which this loss seemed to be felt. It was a Gillan High School teacher who summed up the perceived impact on teacher status most succinctly:

> *government initiatives don't do the status of being a professional any good at all because you get the idea that people are giving you lessons to teach - teaching is about far more than that. They've got less understanding of what the teaching profession is like.*

Indeed, a major source of frustration was felt to be a top-down approach in the development and implementation of policy, which many teachers felt showed a lack of appreciation of what their job entailed. The headteacher at Douglas House expressed, for example, that the government *'has a good understanding of some of the main issues in teaching but they are distant from the day to day work of schools, and they may not understand what it means to try to get every child up to the standards that have been set'.* There was felt to be an unrealistic understanding of what was going on in schools, whilst education was used as a *political football* (Sir Henry Hadow College, deputy headteacher) and teachers were tools for implementing policies. A teacher at Balfour Primary School felt, *'there really is a sense in which they* [government] *will not trust experts'*, whilst an NQT there complained,

> *you have to give them that ... I mean you've done a degree ... so just give that respect to us. It's like you'll have a degree for that work, and then they take it away from us because they've said you have to do this, this and this and you're not allowed the flexibility. I think teachers should be allowed to be a bit more flexible than they are being told, and I think the curriculum has to change.*

In some primary schools there was a sense that there had recently been a slight improvement, with less control, less futile paperwork, and a move towards a better balance between guidance, teacher judgement and accountability. But this was far from a universal view, there being a strong sense still in other primary schools, such as that expressed by a teacher at Asquith Primary School, that *'the last few years has seen a deskilling of teachers'* that had been very demoralising. We encountered too an alternative view, of how autonomy could be achieved within accountability, a teacher at Balfour Primary School said *'because I've managed to get the SATs results up, nobody tells me off for not doing things the proper way'.*

In secondary schools, many of the same kinds of complaints were forcibly expressed. But these complaints tended to be balanced by a view, shared by a teaching assistant at Elton Community College, that *'secondary teachers have more autonomy'.* In particular, as explained by the deputy headteacher at the same school, *'we still have autonomy in the classroom, which is very important'.* Some secondary teachers attributed this greater autonomy to their headteachers who, according to a teacher at Elton Community College, *'ensure autonomy by standing up to external authority'.* More commonly, however, it was attributed to a continuing valuable tradition of a high level of autonomy for subject departments.

3) Does CPD have an impact on teachers' sense of status?

CPD was discussed quite fully in the interviews and generally in very positive terms, although there seemed to be considerable variation among schools in the enthusiasm expressed.

There was some consensus that CPD can be quite important in affecting teachers' status, and in several different ways. Some teachers were very conscious that their headteachers were thoughtfully considering what courses would be valuable for moving them on as professionals; they felt this enhanced their status, the NQT from Sir Henry Hadow College explained, because '*it demonstrates that you are valued*'. Also, most teachers showed themselves highly committed to the value of education for their own development: '*if you are not confident in one area, there is always training, or talking to a colleague, to develop yourself*' (teacher, Crosland Primary School). CPD thus enhances teachers' status within the profession by making them more highly skilled teachers. Also, in social terms, teachers were conscious of CPD giving them confidence and in addition inspiring confidence in colleagues whom they had to advise, as a teacher and member of the senior management team at Douglas House Primary School said, '*it makes you feel trained to do the job and professional*'.

While personally valued by most individual teachers, CPD is quite markedly also seen very much as a school matter and the headteacher at Asquith Primary School makes the point that, '*It's about linking everyone's own personal development to the school's development*'. It is not only for the school, but is generally appreciated as a gift from the school, as suggested by a deputy headteacher at Crosland Primary School who said '*the progress I have made at this school has given me a lot of professional development*'. Furthermore, much of the most valued CPD is planned and provided for the school as a teacher from Asquith Primary School confirmed, '*the bulk of our training we do as a whole-school staff*' and in the school - '*external specialists have come into the school to train teachers, e.g. in art, which has led me to be more confident in my teaching*'. One might suggest that there may be an increased sense in recent years of identification between individual teachers and schools in their sense of their status and confidence in their efforts for self- improvement. CPD participants may also feel that their own status is enhanced by the quality of the provision made for them: '*the induction process at this school is good ... very rigorous, that raises the status of it*' (NQT, Sir Henry Hadow College).

One further notable aspect of the contribution that CPD makes to teachers' sense of their status is the crucial part played by LAs. At one important practical level, this is simply as the apparent dominant source of CPD courses. But LAs were mentioned less often as mere providers than as thoughtful planners and organisers of programmes, offering valued guidance about what was needed both to schools and to individual teachers (e.g. NQTs). And at a third level, LAs provided both a practical and symbolic way of widening teachers' horizons, helping them to develop their professional understanding, aspirations and sense of professional status beyond the narrow boundaries of their individual schools. However, it must be said that, while very similar things were said about CPD provision by primary and secondary schools, positive comments about LA provision were restricted to primary school teachers.

Some national initiatives were also praised as providing improved CPD provision. For example, the headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College explained, '*the creation of NCSL has been helpful - far more structure and focus and sharing good practice'*.

Summary

The evidence presented in this chapter from the Type I case study schools is about teachers' views on aspects of classroom teaching and learning. It seems to reflect a teaching profession that is very confident about its own idea of teacher professionalism, but aware that this idea of professionalism has been under attack in recent years. At the core of this idea of teacher professionalism is a conception of teachers who are able and dedicated to engage in the subtle, complex and highly demanding job of classroom teaching. Such professionalism includes a readiness to be accountable to employers and the wider society and a readiness also to be responsive to external initiatives for innovation. But it also takes for granted the ultimate dependence of high quality teaching on the judgement, intelligence and skill of the classroom teacher.

From that perspective, central government in recent years has been seen by these teachers to be too ready to impose its own ideas without consultation and especially without providing adequate space for teachers to adapt and develop these ideas and to evaluate them. The government's approach has been too bureaucratic, has been disrespectful and untrusting of teachers, and has shown an inadequate understanding of the nature of classroom teaching. This attack by the government on teacher professionalism has been perceived most strongly by primary school teachers; and there is some feeling in some primary schools that things may now be improving.

Among the government initiatives impinging on classroom teaching, the teachers talked most about testing, OfSTED and the National Curriculum and strategies. They were most negative about testing, its distorting effects upon the curriculum, and its demoralising effects upon themselves. OfSTED's work had not generally been based on a proper understanding of teaching, and had in many respects been damaging both to morale and status, but was potentially useful and the new regime seemed to be better. The National Curriculum and strategies were seen, at least by older teachers, as representing an over-correction from the different weaknesses of an early era, not as the move towards partnership between government and the profession that was needed.

The teachers generally talked very enthusiastically about their own continuing professional learning, which they saw as contributing significantly to their status. It thus reflected their view of their status as depending primarily on their own judgements about the quality of their work and secondly on the respect and appreciation they received from those with whom they worked.

CHAPTER 10: EXTERNAL SCHOOL RELATIONS

Overview

This final chapter on the Type I case studies again addresses the project's second main aim '*to understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes*', by investigating the extent to which widening the scope of schools' service provision affects teachers' status. It explores how far schools have implemented recent government policy initiatives which encourage schools to collaborate with external stakeholders and other professionals or create their own existing arrangements with local businesses, communities and individuals. This is an important factor to consider, particularly as the resultant relationships have implications for the esteem in which teachers feel they are held by external stakeholders. This chapter examines teachers' views of the impact of external school relations on their status by responding to three questions:

1. How far have schools advanced towards inclusiveness, in which stakeholders and communities are involved in school issues?

2. What are the impacts on teachers' working lives when they accommodate collaboration with other professionals and what implications are there for teacher status?

3. How do teaching and support staff perceive/predict stakeholder involvement has/might impact on their status and/or the status of the profession?

The main findings are:

- The positive teacher/parent relationships generated through collaborative working strategies helped teachers to feel trusted and respected by parents and other stakeholders. Most depressing for teachers, however, were the attitudes of less engaged but more informed parent communities. Teachers felt that the levels of respect from this group had declined over the years and even culminated in parental hostility towards the profession.

- Teachers felt that extending school services to provide greater collaborative working arrangements between professionals had the capacity to provide teachers with a more specialised role. However, a system which merges professionals, who may have competing priorities or conflicting agendas, requires locally derived solutions rather than nationally prescribed strategies.

- Whilst some school teachers (mainly secondary) emphasised the potential benefits of extended schools for teacher professionalism, others were concerned about what they viewed as the loss, financially and professionally, of certain responsibilities to other professionals.

- Teachers and support staff appreciated the general direction in which government initiatives aim to re-shape provisions for children, however, they struggle with

what they perceive as a torrent of national policies which tend to discount local concerns and place additional workloads on teachers.

The evidence

1) How far have schools advanced towards inclusiveness, in which stakeholders and communities are involved in school issues?

Schools have for some time, in their prospectuses and home-school contracts, insisted that pupils' success can be enhanced through positive three-way cooperation between the school, pupils and their parents/carers. Government education policies, such as those contained in the White Paper, *Schools Achieving Success* (DfES 2001b) also insist that opportunities for pupils to fulfil their potential in school are greatly maximised through wider community involvement. Given that most teachers gain their esteem within schools, this outreach has potentially interesting effects on teachers' status. In this section, we explore how the capacity and will of schools to encourage community involvement is demonstrated among our eight case study schools to varying degrees.

a) The Community

Teaching staff at Asquith Primary School spoke proudly of their school's commitment to allow community members to take assemblies, and appreciate the diverseness of the local population by honouring their various religious ceremonies. Parents of current and past pupils at Douglas House Primary School were encouraged to share in light-touch entertainment and enjoyed attending quiz evenings at the school. At Flint Marsh Primary School, on the other hand, pupils' learning opportunities were enhanced as they worked with contractors who were regenerating a local park. They transformed a waterlogged and neglected grassy area, by working with them to re-route the river and put in flowers and sculptures. This sort of community involvement had positive benefits for teachers' status, as the deputy head at Sir Alec Clegg Infant School spoke about the strength of generations of community involvement in the school, '*… we have continuity, children from the same families and they connect with you. You see people around town years after and they're always happy to see you*'.

However, whilst interviewees at one of the secondary (Elton Community College) and one of the primary schools (Crosland Primary School) spoke about the efforts of their schools to involve parents, there was little mention of any desire to invite wider community participation. The reason offered by both a governor and parent at Crosland Primary School was that the exclusiveness of their Catholic school discouraged the largely Muslim community, in which it is situated, from pursuing any form of interaction with the school. Consequently, most of their community involvement comes from generations of former pupils of the school. Outreach at Elton Community College was also unsuccessful as, the deputy headteacher explained, local residents were annoyed at the pupils' movements between the split school sites. Moreover, further plans to expand the school were considered an '*irritant*'. Explaining the challenge ahead for their school, the deputy headteacher said '*the concept of being a community college has not been*

embraced … unless you've got a child at the school, there is no reason for you to come here'.

b) Parental involvement

Some teaching staff were impressed with the devotion with which some parents have embraced opportunities to work with staff and pupils. Those at Gillan High School were impressed by the commitment of parents who fought for the existence of the school as it faced closure. However, parental involvement was certainly not guaranteed across all of the schools, particularly in the secondary schools where the majority of interviewees were frustrated with the negative attitudes of parents that over-shadowed any positive experiences of parental support that might make them feel valued. This feeling of despair is confirmed by the headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College who said that the '*majority of parents are pretty good and they let us get on with our work*' but he also acknowledged that other parents '*are almost impossible*'. This headteacher was concerned that they had little appreciation of the workings of the school and complained that:

> *the other things that are upsetting are the negatives that impact on you, and that's the parents, the members of the community, those people that don't understand education. And their only way of comparing or having a context for education is to think of their time at school.*

The picture is much the same at Elton Community College. One of their support staff, who also had child at the school, felt that the parent/teacher collaboration '*works very well*', and three other teachers spoke briefly about feeling respected and trusted by parents. However the majority of teachers' comments were dominated by disparaging attitudes towards parents. The same teacher who said she felt respected also said that she didn't '*feel the same level of support from parents that I did five years ago*'. A teaching assistant felt that teachers were feeling '*demoralised*' at the lack of support from parents, a sentiment echoed by a NQT who said that '*the majority of parents undervalue what we do*'. The gravity of the parent/teacher discontent is emphasised by the school's deputy headteacher who also felt that a growing number of parents worked against the school and said '*there are more parents who are less prepared to support the school and challenge the authority of the school*'.

Socio-economic disparity might account for much of the breakdown between teachers, pupils and their parents, described above. The teaching assistant at Asquith Primary School felt that the lack of cooperation by parents in her school was directly related to the fact that the school is situated in an area which is economically impoverished and that '*…if you lived in an area that was more affluent then there might be better respect for teachers*'. In its White Paper the government drew attention to the fact that '*Many, but not all, struggling schools are situated in the most deprived areas, or have a disproportionate number of pupils where social and family problems get in the way of effective learning*' (DfES 2001b). This is also a problem for teaching staff such as the NQT at Balfour Primary School, who felt that, '*parents of underachieving children are less cooperative*'. At her second interview the headteacher, also at Balfour Primary School, repeated her perception that, '*white working class and Caribbean parents are the least respectful to teachers*'. The financial mobility of parents of pupils at Gillan High School presents teachers with a situation which is almost a reversal of that experienced at

Asquith Primary School and Balfour Primary School, however, with similar outcomes. There, teachers were faced with what they saw as an affluent parent community a minority of which have little regard for the lower paid teaching profession. High earning parents' perceptions of teachers' salaries, short working hours and long holidays all contribute to the image of a teaching profession that is perhaps an easy option and '*therefore they don't give it the status that other parents would give it*'. Teachers at the school were concerned that although they had a more informed, professional parent community, the confidence with which these parents were prepared to challenge teachers' authority was potentially destructive. This echoes observations noted around perceptions of pay differentials in the largely middle class area which undermine teacher status, noted in Chapter 8.

c) Working with external agencies

An example of the types of joint working relations that the government is hoping for in the Extended Schools initiative is evident at Flint Marsh Primary School. There, the deputy headteacher said '*We have OTs* [occupational therapists]*, we have speech therapists, we have the EP* [education psychologist] *coming in … The EWO* [education welfare officer]*, Social Services, they all come in*'. Speaking directly about the desirability of collaborative working practices, an assistant headteacher from Gillan High School also reported that teachers enjoyed a good level of respect from professionals from other agencies, including the police or health services. The secondary schools appeared to have much less interaction with external agencies, although the deputy headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College explained that the school was attempting to be responsive to the governments call for widening participation. Although they had been providing extra curricular activities for some time, '*they're trying to get medical care on site and more ready access to things like Citizens' Advice Bureau, Connexions etc*'.

On the other hand, there appeared to be a greater proportion of dissenting voices about joint working. For instance, another teacher, also from Gillan High School, said that she felt local authority support was lacking. Similar sentiments were echoed by the deputy headteacher at Crosland Primary School who saw the local authority merely as the eyes of central government '*… by sending their inspectors to check that we're being* good'. And although social workers associated with Flint Marsh Primary School are actively involved with pupils and staff, the deputy headteacher did not appreciate their approach. He explained that the Social Services had suggested a meeting with a parent, to offer support, and had thought, '*Oh, that's a really good idea*'. However, the social worker suggested that the deputy headteacher should write an invitation letter to the parent and forward a copy to the social worker; a proposition which was not appreciated, '*… I'm not their secretary, and I don't like being treated like that, and I told her to write it herself*'.

2) What are the impacts on teachers' working lives when they accommodate collaboration with other professionals and what implications are there for teacher status?

The impact of stakeholder collaboration on the status of teachers is potentially very important, as schools come to terms with increased intervention by other professionals. Two primary school teachers who spoke positively about the perceived advantages of

closer working relations with agencies felt that teachers would benefit from a more focused teaching role, because other professionals would absorb some of the pastoral and social care activities that they are often engaged with. A NQT working at Balfour Primary School felt that teachers had responsibilities that were too diverse, she explained *'the teaching role is too general and teachers need support from specialists'*. The deputy headteacher at Flint Marsh Primary School also expressed how she stood to benefit from specialist support:

> *It would be marvellous; I'd love to have a social worker working on site. One person who knew ... that would be brilliant ... When I went to Atlanta, in their schools, they had loads of support agencies, and when I described my role, and what I do as a deputy they couldn't believe it. They couldn't believe it! They have two deputies, one that's curriculum, and one that does all the behaviour side of it. They didn't do any of the health issues, they didn't do any of the parents, they weren't involved with the parents at all. They didn't do the attendance that was all done admin-wise. They had social workers, they had EWOs* [Education Welfare Officers]. *They had health people, who were limited to aspects of health. You know, I'm trying to find jumpers and shoes for some children in our school. You know they had nurses, they had doctors who would link completely with the school, and they took on that whole side of it. They couldn't believe the range of things that I did.*

Indeed, positive images of the extended school initiative were shared by a deputy headteacher, a teacher and a SEN teaching assistant, each working at secondary schools. All appreciated the government's enthusiasm for shared school environments, where teachers' roles are not limited by traditional classroom boundaries. For the teacher at Elton Community College, *'the role is multi-faceted, you don't just walk into a classroom and walk out, your involvement in their lives is more significant these days ...'* Sir Henry Hadow College's deputy headteacher was keen that the initiative should not be relegated to an out-of-hours childcare provision. For the teaching assistant working at Sir Henry Hadow College and who was frustrated at legislative restrictions which she felt prevented teaching staff from advising students on issues such as birth control and sexual health, extended participation with other professionals was overdue, she said *'We're supposed to have social workers and a school nurse for the children to ask but it's not going to happen fast enough'*.

However, the coordination of various professional expertise to provide extended school facilities may create a considerable challenge for some schools. Staff at secondary schools pointed out that vague demarcation of duties between professionals may have a negative impact on all concerned. The deputy headteachers at both Elton Community College and Sir Henry Hadow College were particularly critical about this aspect of the extended schools policy and the prescriptive way in which they felt government had introduced it, arguing, *'it could be really, really negative. There's a whole range of ways in which the extended hours can be accessed and we've got concerns that it may be fragmented and quite difficult to control'* (deputy headteacher, Sir Henry Hadow College).

Similar concerns were expressed by teachers such as the deputy headteacher from Flint Marsh Primary School who said of the extended schools initiative, *'unless somebody's*

going to fund it, all that happens is that your job gets bigger'. Indeed, this concern was expressed by the headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow. Whilst he spoke generally in favour of the initiative he felt further clarification was needed to explain:

> *... if there's going to be payment expected from parents for this or do they expect their child to attend for free as extra-curricular is at the moment, or are they going to send them to something where an external provider is coming in and providing something else.*

However, the idea of paying external agencies to perform certain responsibilities which teachers have formerly conducted freely as an extension of their duties may be unsettling to the teaching profession. The headteacher for instance continued:

> *I think there's some tensions there about if you're a teacher who's providing something that's been free in the past, but somebody else is coming in and providing something else that they're getting paid for, there's some inequalities that need to be settled. I think this was always a problem with the funding for out of hours learning.*

3) How do teaching and support staff perceive/predict stakeholder involvement has/might impact on their status and/or the status of the profession?

a) Working with parents and the impact on status

Teachers were asked about the impact that collaborative working with parents and other stakeholders was having or might have on their own status. At Douglas House Primary School the AST felt that parents, *'respect teachers and teachers are generally more valued now than a few years ago'*. Both the Teaching Assistant and the NQT at Douglas House Primary School agreed with the AST's judgement, as the NQT pointed out *'We have an ever-increasing waiting list, so we must be doing something right'*. A member of the same school's senior management team, however, held strong views to the contrary and during her first interview spoke of the extent to which parents would challenge teachers' authority. She said, *'A lot of parents think that they know better than us, they think that they have the right to question us about everything'*. She goes on to explain the damaging effect that such dissenting attitudes can have on the status of the school and on pupils' respect for teachers after witnessing their parents' approach. A year later, this senior teacher remained resolute, feeling that:

> *more parents are interfering and questioning the school's judgement. This probably reflects changing attitudes in society – people feeling they have more right to dictate what happens – this does undermine us.*

Teachers at Crosland Primary School expressed similar feelings of hope and despair with regard to parental involvement. Speaking about her school's good reputation, a teacher felt reassured by positive reports from parents and other potential parents who had expressed the desire for their children to attend the school. A Teaching Assistant at the same school felt that most parents trusted the teaching staff. They explained that *'people*

put their children with them [teachers] *for 6 hours a day, so you have got to have a lot of trust'*. The same TA, however, also spoke about those parents who show little value for the role of teachers and *'think teachers are a different level of species who don't do what they should be doing, when they are'*. One of the teachers, also holding responsibilities on the school's governing body, echoed the comment made above by the senior teacher from Douglas House Primary School, when she said that *'In the past, parents had more respect for teachers'*.

Teachers at both secondary schools and the middle school, however, had both positive and negative experiences to share about the impact of parental and community attitudes towards themselves and the profession. Certainly, some parents had shown teachers due respect, such as the those described by the teacher at Gillan High School who said that *'there are some parents who recognise that teaching has changed quite a lot ... I think some parents will appreciate and respect the profession for that'*. They also felt that the respect once held by teachers had been eroded, over time, by the changing attitudes of parents. Nevertheless, a few of the secondary school teachers were optimistic about the impact that adoption of the principles of *Every Child Matters* might have on their status. The deputy headteacher at Elton Community College felt that although current collaborative working relations had not had a significant impact on the status of teachers, the initiative provided scope for a potential boost to the profession as *'it will enhance how teachers are seen, because parents will be able to see how much their own child has come forward, as a result of school support'*. Both a NQT and the deputy headteacher at Sir Henry Hadow College agreed that the initiative would have a positive impact on people's impression of the teaching profession. The NQT thought that the initiative was a *'fantastic idea'*, but was equally convinced that its success would need to be supported with sufficient levels of government funding. If this were to be the case, she said, then *'the fact that government throws so much money at teaching, raises the status straight away because it's being taken seriously'*. Slightly more cautiously, the deputy headteacher, felt that the initiative *'could be a good thing ...'* particularly where schools are able to accommodate a range of professionals and provide a more wholesome service, he thinks this would raise the profile of the college so that *'... it is seen, even more so, as a hub of the community'*.

b) The government impact on status

Teachers had difficulties identifying ways in which the government had any positive influence on their status, although an assistant headteacher at Gillan High School, made reference to recent government policies towards pupil behaviour. If successful, he felt these would, in the distant future, *'... go a long way to improving teacher status'*. This was one of a few positive comments about the likely impact of government initiatives on the status of teachers. However, the essence of the majority of teachers' views is expressed by the two primary school teachers. The deputy headteacher from Crosland Primary School felt that the *'government walk over teachers and foist initiatives on us'*. The headteacher at Balfour Primary School also said that the low status of the profession derived from government intervention, which has roots in earlier regimes. She explained *'it's a long time ago now but it was all attributable to Maggie Thatcher and the Daily Mail and the oil crisis in the seventies, that's why we have this much diminished status'*.

Summary

The data shows that where schools have succeeded in stimulating community involvement, teachers gained esteem from seeing pupils benefiting from the rich learning opportunities available only from external sources. Such collaborations have seen the development of school/community relations which have generated greater awareness and respect for teachers' roles. Both primary and secondary school teachers have welcomed community involvement on and off their premises and throughout and beyond the traditional school day, however, for some, local circumstances were deemed a hindrance to wider community participation. The chapter has also unveiled an image of primary schools as currently having similar levels of involvement with their local communities as secondary schools but a greater degree of interaction with stakeholders. Yet the same primary schools were less inclined to embrace the government's more formal extended schools arrangements with external partners, which teachers from secondary schools, more positively, anticipated might enhance the professional standing of teachers.

The negative consequences of parental and external agency intervention cannot be overlooked however. Teaching staff have emphasised the extent to which these interactions have had a destructive impact on their working lives and feelings of esteem and status. Both primary and secondary school teachers complained about parental attitudes which undermined teacher status and authority in an increasingly disrespectful society, particularly as they were more prepared to challenge the authority of the school. Analysis of both primary and secondary school teachers' views showed working class, less affluent parents as being reported as being less engaged with schools and uncooperative towards teachers. On the other hand, teachers also felt that some of the more affluent parents, with comparable or higher salaries than teachers, were inclined to disrespect teachers and hold them in low regard.

The generally optimistic mood of teachers from secondary schools who welcomed the advent of the extended schools initiative, and envisaged a resultant boost to the status of the teaching profession, are quelled by uncertainty of the accompanying financial implications. For both primary and secondary teaching staff, in junior and senior positions, as well as being concerned about the financial sustainability of the government's plans, they held concerns about what they felt was the government's approach to its implementation. These teachers' attitudes are perhaps fuelled by what interviewees argued has been a history of inappropriate government intervention and disregard for teachers' professional judgement.

PART THREE: SCHOOL-BASED CASE STUDIES II: THE STATUS OF TEACHERS IN CLASSIFIED CASE STUDY REPORTS

CHAPTER 11: INTRODUCTION

Overview

The strand of the case study research presented in Part III again explores the second question of the teacher status project, exploring the factors influencing teachers' status. However, they are based on case studies undertaken in schools with a particular status or classification of their own. This area of the research is designed to explore how the label of the school classification influences how teachers perceive their own status and the status of the teaching profession. The main aims of the case study research in such schools (classified as 'Type II') are:

- To explore the perceptions of teachers in training, specialist (subject) and beacon schools and academies, considering the impacts of a positive label for teachers' sense of status.

- To explore the perceptions of teachers in schools classified as poorly performing and consider the impacts of a negative label for teachers' sense of status

- To consider how perceptions of teachers about their status within a range of classified schools are similar or different.

The research was based on qualitative research, involving semi-structured interviews in sixteen schools between Autumn 2004 and Summer 2005. The main findings are reported in the overviews of Chapters 12 and 13.

Introduction

The following two chapters, based on extensive case study material, aim to assess the impact of a designated status of a school for individual teachers' status. The rationale for this was simply that teachers working in schools which are of very different status may also feel themselves to be very different in status. Certainly the history of teaching in England is one of teachers having a status largely determined by the status of the schools in which they worked - Elementary, Grammar or Independent, and later Secondary Modern, Technical or Grammar. It seemed feasible or at least interesting to consider that the new categorisation of schools introduced in recent years by the government may also have clear status connotations, with implications for the status of teachers working within them. These new categories mark out the distinguishing characteristics, specialisms or indeed weaknesses of schools. They include:

- **Training Schools:** Proposed in the 1998 Green Paper, *Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change,* training schools enable the development and sharing of good practice amongst networks of schools and training providers for training new teachers.

- **Specialist Schools:** Developed in 1994, this programme awards a specialist school classification and additional government funding to schools. It encourages collaboration with private sponsors for schools to develop specialist identities in certain subjects (arts, business and enterprise, engineering, humanities, language, mathematics and computing, music, science, sports and technology).

- **Beacon Schools:** These were phased out in August 2005. However, at the time of the research, these were in existence based on the programme which identified high achieving schools and aimed to build partnerships between these 'beacon' schools and other schools to share good practice.

- **Academies** (formerly City Academies)**:** These are established in areas of disadvantage, often replacing existing schools to improve standards in areas known for pupil under-attainment. They are funded by a combination of private funding and government funding, and are more autonomous than LEA schools, as they have freedom to set staff wages, decide on staff and pupil policy and choose their own suppliers (Tomlinson 2006).

- **Schools becoming a 'Cause for Concern':** Classified through LEA inspections, the classifications alert governors for the need for early intervention to prevent further failure. The LEA has powers to issue formal warnings, to which the school must respond adequately.

- **Schools with Serious Weaknesses:** Schools with Serious Weaknesses are warranted to have serious issues to be addressed, which must be addressed through an action plan. Schools have a year to address the weaknesses identified by OfSTED, and are aided by access to funding. Progress is monitored by the LA on a termly basis, and after two years, an OfSTED inspection will occur, at which the school will be judged to be free of serious weaknesses or requiring special measures.

- **Schools requiring Special Measures:** These represent the most serious problems as the schools are failing in their duty to provide an adequate standard of education to their pupils. An urgent action plan is agreed and monitoring visits are undertaken after six months and (usually) at termly intervals thereafter, following which, recommendations may be made for adaptations to the action plan by inspectors. If, after two years (or in certain circumstances, less time) the school is still judged to be failing with no imminent date for removal from special measures, the Secretary of State can direct the closure of the school.

As yet, there is little understanding of how these various new school statuses and classifications may influence how teachers working within them feel about themselves, their jobs and their status. The following two chapters shed some insights into these questions. Chapter 12 analyses case-study material from the specialist schools, including a consideration of a) schools with training, beacon and specialist (subject) status and b) academies. Chapter 13 presents data from the schools classified as poorly performing, including those designated as cause for concern, serious weakness and special measures.

Methodology

Interviews were conducted in case studies of sixteen schools variously classified, selected to reflect region and type of local authority. Data from ten 'core' schools, giving a fair representation of the statuses outlined previously were subjected to computer assisted qualitative data analysis (caqdas), and the remaining six schools were subjected to manual analysis based on the same themes. However, due to the difficulties facing schools in special measures, it was only possible to recruit schools that had recently come out of special measures. Interviews were held with between three and six members of teaching staff at each school, including senior management and teachers who were both directly involved in the initiatives and others that were not. Again, documentation was collected and the same ethical and practical procedures for the research observed for the former case studies research were applied (see Chapter 6).

The interviews aimed to establish details on how the school classification was achieved or designated, as well as individual's thoughts on the impacts of the school status and how it shaped the teachers' roles and responsibilities, professional development and links with others outside the school. Transcripts of recorded interviews were subjected to caqdas using Atlas-ti. The same coding framework as that for type I analysis was supplemented by a larger number of inductive codes which responded to the particularities of the data, as certain issues emerged in relation to school status. The analysis in the following two chapters explores issues facing the certain schools, type by type, rather than across the range of schools, as presented in the type I case study research. This was both because there were commonalities identified amongst school types, and the nature of the investigation into the influence of school classifications make this the most appropriate form of presenting the data.

The Schools

All schools involved in the case study phase of the research have been anonymised through the use of pseudonyms. Core schools are identified with an asterisk (*).

School Name	Classification	Region	Size	Characteristics
Cormorant Secondary*	Training, leading edge and specialist sports	East	1000-1299	Excellent OfSTED report; top of the range facilities. Excellent academic reputation, trains teachers with local university.
Kingfisher College*	Training	London	600 - 999	In a deprived area; high numbers of SEN, free school meals and pupils without English as first language, 'Very good' OfSTED.
Cranog College*	Specialist (Science) and leading edge	North East	Over 1300	School has partnerships with local industries, 'strikingly successful' OfSTED report.
Osprey Primary*	Beacon	London	300 - 399	A 'good' OfSTED, bid for beacon status on basis of its success in arts.

Wren Academy*	Academy	Midlands		Opened in 2003, replacing a failed community school. A new building, state of the art infrastructure.
Linnet Academy*	Academy	London	600 - 999	Previously a sports college, the academy was due to move into a newly designed building; some staffing instability.
Brambling Infant	Beacon	Midlands	200 - 299	Excellent OfSTED rating, in leafy suburbs.
Eider Grammar	Training	Midlands	1300 or more	Achieves excellent results, excellent local reputation.
Nightingale Secondary	Leading Edge/Technology College	Midlands	1300 or more	The school has 15 ASTs amongst its staff.
Kestrel College	Technology College	London	599 or less	A large multi-ethnic school; intake skewed to lower ability pupils.
Fieldfare College	Technology College	Yorks	600 - 999	OfSTED 'improving' in socially disadvantaged area.
Fulmar Secondary*	Serious weakness	Midlands	599 or less	Near a large estate on outskirts of city in deprived area. Undersubscribed and was in special measures in 1997.
Chough Primary*	Causing Concern	North-East	200 - 299	In a disadvantaged area; higher than average SEN and free school meals; deemed by OfSTED as making insufficient progress.
Corbin Comprehensive*	Recently out of Special Measures	East	1000 - 1299	Higher than average SEN and free school meals, earmarked for closure due to underachievement but reprieve through imminent federation with local school.
Harrier Secondary*	Recently out of Special Measures	Midlands	599 or less	Low capacity as failing to attract pupils; in area of socio-economic disadvantage; high staff turnover.
Asquith Primary	Poorly performing	Lincs	400 or more	In area of social deprivation, high SEN and higher than average entitlement to free school meals.

CHAPTER 12: SPECIALIST SCHOOLS: A) TRAINING, SPECIALIST (SUBJECT) AND BEACON SCHOOLS AND B) ACADEMIES

Overview

This chapter addresses the second aim of the teacher status project, by gaining an understanding into the factors that influence the perspectives of teachers on their status. However, in this strand, this was done through exploring the perspectives of teachers working in schools that have been accredited with a particular status. More specifically, the research was conducted to:

- understand how a positive label and associated benefits of the school classification influences how teachers perceive their own status and the status of the teaching profession

- explore the perceptions of teachers within a) training, specialist (subject) and beacon schools and b) academies and understand what particular factors related to the school status influence their perceptions of their high or low status

- consider how perceptions of teacher status in these classified schools are similar or different.

The research was conducted through qualitative case study research in eleven schools. The main analysis, using Atlas-ti was conducted on data from semi-structured interviews conducted at two training schools, two beacon or specialist subject schools and two academies, supplemented by analysis of interviews at a further training school, two beacon/leading edge schools and two schools with technology college status (see Chapter 11 for more information on the schools). The main findings of the chapter are that:

- The teachers working within the specially classified schools demonstrated a higher and more positive sense of status than was found more typically in the type I results from teachers in our survey schools. The positive achievements and evaluations of the schools appear to spill over to engender a sense of high status of teachers working within the schools, whilst the 'name' of the school was also useful for their career advancement. Modesty was nevertheless encouraged to avoid divisiveness between schools.

- The classifications were advantageous because they provided the means to access more resources, and working within well-resourced schools clearly has a positive effect for teachers' status. The resources allowed higher staffing levels, improved facilities, more opportunities for creative teaching and learning and promoted external respect. However, teachers experienced some negative reactions from other teachers working at other schools.

- High status was also enhanced by the internal working conditions developed within the school, with clearly defined line management systems, delegation of important tasks to teaching staff and commitment to staff training. These factors encouraged a sense of professionalism and development, particularly when teachers had time to reflect on the business of teaching.

- Staff members within the schools gained esteem through their external evaluations. Teachers enjoyed the fruits of well structured networking and AST (Advanced Skills Teacher) outreach with other schools and felt boosted by oversubscription. Although the general perception of media misrepresentation was still reported, the classifications of the schools and funding bids had given the schools a platform for media exposure.

Evidence

The analysis reports on the key issues emerging from the interviews under the following themes:

- personal/school status: impact of funding and resources on teacher status
- personal/school status: evaluations i) external
- personal/school status: evaluations ii) other teachers
- internal working relations: leadership, collaboration and trust
- internal work relations: recruitment and retention
- teaching and learning: training and CPD
- external relations: networks with other schools and universities
- external relations: parents, community and media perceptions

It first considers training schools, specialist (subject) and beacon schools, before considering the perspectives of teachers in some Academies.

Ai) TRAINING SCHOOLS and ii) SPECIALIST (SUBJECT) AND BEACON SCHOOLS

Personal/school status: impact of funding and resources on teacher status

Training schools

A crucial issue that emerged from interviews with teachers at Cormorant and Kingfisher training schools was the benefits they felt through achieving funding bids. Teachers at both schools reported how they had many different streams of funding, which they believed had a fundamental impact on the effectiveness of how they could do their work. At Cormorant for instance, the school had multiple statuses as not only a training school, but a leading edge and specialist sports school. The deputy was unequivocal on the importance of these statuses stating:

> *I can talk specifically about Leading Edge, or all these other statuses in general, but I think that it provides mechanisms, it provides funding, which, you know, should not be underestimated in any way, shape, or form.*

The school had an impressive history of successfully bidding for different streams of funding, and the statuses worked as a lever to access and generate other funding. Combined with the funding from the sports status, the school had been able to fund a

dance studio, construct tennis courts (achieved with the Lawn Tennis Association funding) and a full sized Astropitch (with Football Association funding). The school had also been able to invest money in levelling their playing fields with the specialist status funding. The deputy again summed up, *'in other words, via sports college funding, we've brought in huge amounts of resources you know, millions of pounds of resources that we wouldn't have been able to access so easily'*. This latter comment refers to the benefits of a *'combined status premium'*, through which success breeds success, as the deputy commented:

> *Obviously, having, I think, you know, there is a combined status premium, if you like, that, you know, if you have lots of different statuses, actually the benefits for the school outweigh the sum of the parts. Because actually, you know, you are working with other schools and it's counted towards Sports College and it's counted towards Leading Edge, it's, you know, all those different things. And actually, you know, I think it's advantageous for schools to pile them up, as it were.*

Kingfisher was another example of a training school successfully securing funding, as the Head said, *'from all over'*. She reported that the school was the recipient of fifteen streams of funding, securing money through the, *'Excellence in Cities'* Initiative and the Learning and Skills Council, whilst the school had also bid to receive money for training students from all across the borough in basic skills. However, Kingfisher whilst also a training school, had a less impressive infrastructure than Cormorant; the headteacher described the buildings as *'shambolic'* and *'dreadful'*, and explained how, *'we've no playing fields. Our sports facilities are disgraceful'*. Nevertheless, teachers expressed pride at the technological resources, and what this enabled them to achieve in teaching and learning:

> *It's* [the school's] *got horrible buildings and terrible facilities externally, but what we do inside particularly with technology, I think, is quite remarkable.... I mean interactive whiteboards are part of our culture. Video conferencing is part of our curriculum; we do it; the pupils are used to it.*

The funding has benefits for teaching and learning, and improving the staff:pupil ratio, as the deputy head at Cormorant expressed,

> *At times, you have to fulfil specific targets with some of the funding, but quite a lot of funding, and in fact most of it, goes to improve the staffing, teacher pupil ratio, and the quality of staffing that you can retain.*

The benefits for the funding for staffing were also evident at Cormorant, where funding from various sources was able to support many ASTs (some quoted 12, and others 14) as one teacher commented, *'Now obviously, if we're getting money in from all different sorts of sources, then you know, that can be quite beneficial for that purpose [having ASTs].* The high staffing levels had consequences for working conditions, and teachers compared their conditions favorably when they met up with other teachers working elsewhere. For instance the deputy explained how,

> *When we go to talk in the County forum, it's clear that the conditions that we're working in are better than the conditions that most people are working in. I*

> *mean, because we've just got…People say 'Well how do you get the time for that?' and 'How much time are you given?'*

These benefits were important as teachers' esteem is raised through seeing their pupils make progress (see Chapter 7). Favourable conditions for pupils teaching and learning contributes to teachers' feelings of wellbeing and status.

Specialist (subject) and beacon schools

As in the training schools, teachers at the specialist school also reported that the upgraded facilities afforded by their status had positive consequences for their teaching. At Cranog, the school's specialist science status meant they were able to put in '*state-of-the-art science labs*'. Previously, the school had tried to refurbish the labs themselves but as they were over 30 years old, the extra investment to get the new labs, ICT equipment, interactive whiteboards through the specialist status funding was positively reflected upon. At Brambling, the school benefited from landscaped surroundings, funded through grants for the outdoor environment. As in the training schools, these material investments had knock-on effects for both teachers' esteem especially through better conditions for teaching and learning.

The head at Nightingale referred to how the realisation that teachers there were well resourced made teachers feel fulfilled, as he said, '*people appreciate that, they appreciate the resources and training to use them, and feels it skills them and makes them a professional*'. A teacher at Cranog also expressed,

> *If you come to this school the amount of training you get, as a result of us becoming a science college, the facilities that you can use, without question result in you becoming a better teacher and delivering better lessons.*

Another also felt it enhanced teachers' esteem as they felt encouraged by parents' comments about their use of the upgraded facilities:

> *I think it raises their self-esteem because anybody that comes along and looks at what you're doing with the kids and says 'That's brilliant I didn't know kids could do that, we didn't do that at school, what a brilliant job, haven't you got fantastic facilities?*

However, the extra investment in one specialist area potentially created a dominance of that subject in the school. One teacher at Cranog explained that the specialist science status meant that the science department - with its eighteen teachers - dwarfs other departments such as Maths & English which have only seven or eight teachers. It was also associated with benefits, such as having smaller classes, and enabled teachers to be sent to do various courses, with impacts on results. However other teachers explained how there were also advantages for the remainder of the school; for example, at Cranog, the science staff shared their additional facilities with the PE department, who worked closely with the science teachers. They had written schemes of work together, developed online lesson planning and web design, and shared equipment such as human skeletons, heart rate machines and treadmills. This was also the case at Nightingale, where although the specialism was in ICT, the benefits pervaded the whole school, rather than being seen as a specialism within the technology department.

Unlike in the training schools, teachers at Cranog and Osprey raised some concern about their reliance and dependence on the specialist funding, whose loss would impact gravely on the 'extras' that the schools were able to do. At Cranog the deputy head pointed out more seriously that now the school was in its third year of specialist funding, *'If we can't get renewal in a years time we will really be snookered because we have employed a number of staff on the back of the science college funding'*.

At Cranog, although the science teachers' esteem was enhanced by the specialist classification, the dependence on funding through the initiative consequently also placed immense pressure on them to achieve targets (which was also reported by teachers at Fieldfare). Indeed, when the previous years' results were not as good as expected, the deputy had taken on the role of Curriculum Manager, with further impacts on individual teachers. A science teacher said,

> *I keep getting, 'the results have been good but you're in a science college now and your results have got to be up here, up here, up here'. The pressure that's coming as a result of that is magnified big style and that's a heavy burden to carry.*

Personal/school status: evaluations i) external

Training schools

For teachers working at both of the training schools, the level of achievement and the positive external evaluation of the school spilt over to them personally; school successes were a source of personal status. At Nightingale for instance, the head referred to how, *'teachers have a real pride in working here'* and the deputy head at Cormorant said:

> *So because we have so many sorts of status, so many tests with us all the time, the staff here know that they are working somewhere that is deemed successful by the outside world. So you're even, as soon as you join the school, you're in a successful school…So I think people do feel very proud of the fact that they work here.*

At Kingfisher, teachers also reiterated that working in a relatively rare training school provoked pride. The head felt the school was known because, *'we do a lot of things that are a little bit different'* and commented with pride, *'Nobody else has a refugee and asylum seeker unit like we do. Not in the country; not anywhere'*. She mentioned how the staff like the fact that others have heard about the school, and stated, *'you know if you're working in a pretty grotty building, but if people know about your school and they know it's doing good things, it raises their status'*. An NQT reported how:

> *just in the same way that you praise a student for being good at something, you praise the school for being good at something and hopefully the teachers are going to be enthused and more competent and proud about that too'.*

The deputy there also added,

> *Ann [the headteacher] I think is immensely proud particularly because there are*

so few in our area. You catch her saying of course we're a training school and there isn't one for miles around. You catch her saying it. So it does certainly, there's a sense of pride that you've done you've been brave yet again. I go sometimes to specialist school things and still there aren't many specialist schools like ours.

However, status was not gained purely as a result of the school's label but was felt as a reflection of the good practice and achievements that went on in such schools. At Cormorant, the deputy felt the label, '*obviously provides a bit of kudos and all those sorts of things to the school*' but felt it only provided, '*a channel for the school improvement efforts that the school would be undertaking anyway*'. He stated how Cormorant the statuses of the school did not reinforce his professional satisfaction but that, '*being in a school which I think is successful does hugely, enormously*'. He continued at length:

> *And so, in a sense, if I thought there was a mismatch between some of the external judgements and the reality, if I thought, 'got that status but actually it's pretty shoddy,' you know, or 'we're a Leading Edge school, but look what we're doing there.' If I felt that, I don't think it would give me any personal satisfaction at all, or professional satisfaction, that the statuses were there. The most important thing to me is that my feeling is that this is a successful, effective school…*

Modesty was rather encouraged in light of the success of the school, as the deputy explained:

> *I think there is a healthy ability of teaching staff here to step outside of their…And not get carried away with 'this must mean that we're fantastic', you know….At the same time, I think people realise that we're also quite effective at jumping through the hoops we need to jump through to get that… I don't think our staff are swanning around going 'Aren't we fantastic because X says so, we've got that on our letterhead', or whatever. I think people see them as mechanisms for sustaining effectiveness…*

Similar sentiments were reported at Kingfisher, where the deputy even reported that the granting of the status was not particularly significant in a school that was so often successful:

> *There's absolutely no question, because we never don't get anything. So to be honest with you people don't really think it's [the training school status] that big a deal. I went through a patch right at the beginning of thinking I've got to raise the status. People have got to know just how bloody good this is. Then I thought well I'm fighting a losing battle here because people are going to say 'oh yes training school status. Oh yes specialist school status. Oh yes this, oh yes that… oh we do this… oh we've got that'. Really the only one who was really surprised that we got the bid was me. Everybody else said 'yes' you know. And I wanted to crack open the champagne and everybody get really excited for me. They just said 'well done'. What can you do? You know. And that is a product of this school. It's not exceptional to do anything*

However, it was also clear that teachers were somewhat ambiguous in their modesty. At Cormorant, the deputy complained about the expansion in school statuses and said, *'But now people seem to be able to become a training school with a paragraph on the back of a postcard,* and continued, *'To be a specialist school is the norm now, rather than the exception, where there wasn't at the time…you get a certain sort of change in terms of that'*. At Kingfisher, the same sentiment was repeated, as an NQT commented on how the growth of the specialist school movement, *'serves to water down the prestige of those schools'* whereas the limited numbers of training schools means they enjoy a special sense of status.

Specialist (subject) and beacon schools

Positive esteem derived from the schools' special statuses and achievements were also observed in the specialist (subject) and beacon schools. At Fieldfare, the deputy reported how they felt *'special'* because it was the first in the area to get specialist status. At Osprey, the head suggested,

> *In some ways it [the beacon status] has [impacted on status] because whenever you skill up people, it makes them feel better about themselves. It's certainly impacted on the school because we've had people coming in because they know it's a good school. So inevitably, if you work in a school that has a good reputation it enhances you and makes you feel better about yourself.*

However, again, in both Osprey and Cranog, teachers stressed how the status allocation only served to illustrate the good practice that existed prior to the classification. The deputy at Cranog for instance explained that the school's status was not enhanced due to its Science status, rather:

> *I think it's what the school stands for and what the school does. It's our role in training, our Leading Edge status, it's the good practice that already existed here that gave us the leg-up into the Science College status.*

Those at Osprey also stressed modesty, as a teacher reported:

> *I think teachers are fairly modest people and they don't go around shouting from the roof tops saying 'I'm working in a beacon school'. People are very aware that there are teachers in other schools that are doing just as good a job. They don't perceive themselves to be better than anybody else at all.*

This sentiment was also reported at Nightingale, where the deputy felt, *'there is a certain prestige in being successful, people don't go around boasting about it, but we know we are doing a good job'*.

However, in the case studies, one clear exception emerged. Kestrel College was nationally renowned for its achievements in technology, particularly due to one teacher who had a good reputation for his work. However, the teacher felt low status and expressed frustration. He was annoyed at the lack of consistency caused by the high staff turnover and lack of well-trained teachers, which another teacher put down to the challenge of working there. Many of the children did not have English as their first language, as he stated, *'the children here take it out of you so much it would be*

impossible to do it long term'. The design technology teacher also felt that the school was not progressing and complained, *'other schools just get better and better – WE are always going back to zero, you take two steps forward and you go back three'*. His pride was marred by disillusionment at what government initiatives were doing in his London school, which *'makes me want to just give up'*. He particularly expressed jealousy of academies' resources. He commented,

> *I'm angry, I'm angry with all governments and what they do. I'm angry that they make it so difficult to work in difficult schools, I'm angry at them, they always want schools to fail so they can build their bloody stupid Academies. I've seen Academies. They should all be knocked down or they should be starkly changed.*

Personal/school status: evaluations ii) within the teaching profession

Training schools

The teachers reported how their status was influenced by the disquiet they felt from within the teaching profession. For example, the deputy at Cormorant reported that there were initially strong political reactions to the idea of labelled schools. The school suffered some stigma because as the Deputy explained there was '*such a hostile reaction to the whole idea in the beginning'*, and explained how, *'we were pariahs for a good year and a half'*. Consternation was particularly felt when the school originally applied to be an 'advanced school' (which then changed names to 'leading edge') She explained how other headteachers had,

> *basically said 'Uh-uh. You don't want to sort of start talking about Advanced schools, and less-advanced schools, and backward schools,' and therefore they slightly shifted the focus… And they came up with the new name of 'leading edge' schools.*

The head at Kingfisher also reported some uncomfortable reactions when the school became affiliated in the early 1990s. She recalled how, *'becoming grant maintained was becoming a pariah plus'*, and explained how '*it was quite a difficult thing to do'*. Even recently, in Kingfisher, the deputy also felt that when meeting with others from other non-training schools she felt somewhat uncomfortable. She felt rather embarrassed at meetings with teachers from other training schools because,

> *It makes you feel like a complete fraud….. Somebody came to me last Friday and they'd applied for training school status and didn't get it. They looked at our bid and the guy actually said 'well there's nothing here that we can't do and we aren't doing already'…But for me I have found it quite hard.*

Beacon and Specialist Schools

Much less was reported on this issue from beacon and specialist schools, although the head at Fieldfare reported how they were also subject to political opposition when they bid for specialist status. Teachers at Brambling also referred to embarrassment rather than high status sometimes when they go to courses. They mentioned that they do not refer to where they are from because other teachers pull faces and say, *'you have a flourishing PTA, parent helpers, leafy suburbs – of course it works there!'*

Internal working relations: leadership, collaboration and trust

Training schools

At both training schools, as in the type I research (see Chapter 7 and 8) positive internal working relationships and opportunities for development were integral to teachers' positive sense of status. At Cormorant, a teacher said,

> *So you actually have, in a school like ours, excellent conditions for development, which is an important thing for teachers to be proud of their professionalism, to develop…I mean what we have here is very strong collaborative culture, and people feeling confident about what they can do, but not complacent about it, wanting to learn themselves, and improve.*

At both schools, the headteachers were both particularly singled out as individuals who gained status through their approaches. At Kingfisher, the head described the school as *'quite entrepreneurial which some people call mad'* (a *'risk-taking'* character was also reported at Fieldfare school). This spilt over to encourage an entrepreneurial approach amongst teachers, as she said, *'we really have the concept in the college of if there's something going that has a pot of money attached to it, we can do it…'* And when teachers were successful at achieving their bids, this contributed to their positive feelings of status and esteem.

As in the type I research on teachers in schools drawn from the survey, teachers felt esteem through working according to a collaborative and flexible ethos. At Cormorant, one teacher expressed the positive consequences for how they felt about themselves and their work,

> *the teaching here is relatively unstressful. I mean obviously it's always slightly stressful, but because all the systems in school are so good, and the senior management are so supportive, and the relations with pupils are so good that actually gives you the space and time to be able to think and reflect.*

At Kingfisher, the head also explained how she was more flexible in allowing teachers occasional paid time off to deal with family emergencies, because *'you adapt the rules to make sure that your staff feel valued'*. Teachers at both schools expressed satisfaction at the level of trust invested by management in teachers to carry out senior tasks autonomously. The leadership profile changes as a result of the status of the school as the heads themselves were tied up with other associated responsibilities. For example, the deputy at Kingfisher reported on how she was given the inset day to run, for example, and was told by the head, *'right go build a day and come back and show me when you've done it'*. Although she initially struggled with the task she felt it contributed to improving status as she realised that *'I can do something even bigger and better than next time'*. She even had full responsibility for the application for the training school status:

> *You know it was a big thing. She [the head] basically said to me you go away and do it. You decide what's on it…So she's very trusting. Possibly too trusting sometimes. So really I had carte blanche to put what I wanted on it.*

And whilst the delegation is felt to be largely positive and a boost for teachers, there are

some negative consequences, as the deputy felt,

> *I thought it was a waste not to have me in the classroom but the head's view is that I need to make some more other people in the building really good teachers. And she's right. And I really miss the building up of relationships with students, really miss that. I know it's going to get worse.*

Specialist subject and beacon schools

Teachers at specialist and beacon status schools also benefited from opportunities to enhance their status through delegation of tasks. At Osprey, the head teacher encouraged teachers to take on responsibilities, *'because it gives teachers very good opportunities to develop their own leadership role'*. Her belief in empowering the staff around her had positive benefits as, *'the staff like that they are being skilled up so they can take responsibility'*. This was also reported at Cranog, where one senior teacher was responsible for an enormous increase in the departmental budget. He had delegated other areas of work to other staff who benefited from increased salaries and *'they certainly feel a lot more valued'*. However he felt that, *'my workload has doubled, as a result, my pay hasn't, it hasn't gone up at all'*. The impact on workload was reported at Eider too, where the deputy felt that schools were spending too much time writing plans for often quite small pots of money.

However, at Fieldfare, the bid had positive effects on school relations as, *'it gave us a sense of direction that the school hadn't got prior to that'* (see also the example of Henry Hadow and Trevelyan High in type I). At Nightingale, staff similarly referred to a shared vision and as an AST referred positively to how the school was more of *'a teaching community…there's definitely a willingness to share',* which he contrasted with his former school where people felt, *'this is my stuff, I'm going to keep hold of it'*.

Internal work relations: recruitment and retention

Training schools

Working at a training school was seen as a means for teachers to enhance their careers and status. The head teacher at Kingfisher explained,

> *if you've worked in schools like these you can work anywhere. And my teachers get snapped up…because people realise if you can cut it in a school like this…*

Not only was it beneficial to teachers' careers, but contributed to the schools' *'empire building',* as the deputy referred to humorously at Kingfisher, which was especially important given the high cost of housing and the undesirable school location. Teachers gained a positive identity through working with disadvantaged pupils and the results are a source of immense pride, as the deputy expressed, *'If you do everything that we've done in that context, it makes it even more incredible'*. Echoing the type I findings in Chapter 7, she said,

> *It's a remarkable experience working day in day out with these kids who you are their passport. It's the only way they're going to get out is through us…you've got to do it for a reason, haven't you? It's not for a bunch of white middle class*

kids whose parents take them to the Globe Theatre. It's not for those kids that you make that sacrifice.

Specialist status and beacon schools

Teachers at the specialist and beacon status schools also reported that the school status attracted teachers looking to enhance their careers. At Cranog, some science teachers were even prepared to make sideways moves to be able to work in the school, as the deputy head explained,

> *When you do advertise and you say you've got Science College status you can say you've got state-of-the-art labs, you can say that every room's got an interactive white board, you can say that the department's supported by a Web Designer, there are lots of opportunities for your professional development…we've just appointed a Head of Science, he wouldn't have come here if he didn't know those things about the school. You know what it's like, you can't get physicists and we managed to get two in one shot.*

The same story was reported at Osprey, where the head reported for instance how an NQT had applied because of the beacon status, and that, '*he was offered jobs at several other schools but he chose us because of the beacon status*'. As in the training schools, teachers working in the schools felt that their association with the schools was helpful for future career progression. At Nightingale, an AST said, '*it's nice to have it on my CV, it will help me in my future career*', whilst the deputy at Cranog summarised:

> *The school name is known and so when you apply for another job its 'Oh you're from Cranog, come in'. If you put Cranog on your CV you're in with a good chance because people want our staff because they have good training experience…*

Teaching and learning: inspections, systems and CPD

Training Schools

The status of teachers working in training schools was not unduly affected by inspections. At Kingfisher, inspections also were not presented as a source of worry, because as the head commented, the staff already had developed their own internal systems of checking, accountability and review of grades. However, at both training schools, staff reported positive status through the exemplary practices for staff training. The deputy head at Cormorant explained how being involved in the training process of new trainees had encouraged the school to develop high standards overall. She explained,

> *I think that we have had, you know, and continue to have, very strong commitment to training… You're encouraged, you have to have a very systematic operation to train pupils. And it has to be a lively, interesting, innovative environment for the faculty, who have such a good reputation in training to want to train their people with you. That helps standards within the department.*

These 'spill-over' benefits were also reported by teachers at Kingfisher. An NQT there for example pointed out how as a result of being given the opportunity to train others, he

felt that his own skills and career possibilities will be enhanced, for instance through gaining more ideas for his own teaching. Helping to train others boosted status, as teachers could read this as a sign of trust. The head commented how it was good for their professionalism as, *'they feel...that we trust them to train teachers...they know that we would only put beginner teachers in areas that we have faith in'*. This was confirmed by the NQT there, who felt greater confidence in his own skills as a result of his experiences in training others. Another commented that it was good for younger teachers who are seeking to enhance their CVs for future job opportunities.

It was clear that a related gain of working in a training school was the benefit to staff professionalism through needing to being familiar with up to date pedagogical recommendations. The deputy expressed the importance of training for all staff there and commented,

> *Well I just think that one of the ways of raising teacher status is to give them more training and to have more opportunity for teachers to talk about the business of what they're doing. You give status to the day to day activity of the teacher by finding time to consider it and to give it a kind of validity if you like. Lots of teachers go off into their classroom, do their thing, come into the staffroom and don't talk about it which almost makes it sound like some sort of incidental activity. So talking about training ... makes it the core business of what we do and it is. When you become a training school you do more of that.*

This echoes the ethos at Cormorant, where teachers working within the school were encouraged to develop their own career profile responding to their own personal skills and interests. At Cormorant, there was an overwhelming emphasis on reflective practice for all teachers that fed into their structured career progression, so the emphasis was, according to the deputy on *'not standing still'*, but on creating an environment in which *'people feel[ing] confident about what they can do, but not complacent about it, wanting to learn themselves, and improve'*. This was believed to help lessen potential problems of motivation and feelings of being, *'stuck in a rut'* and ultimately helped enhance staff status.

Encouraging independent thinking not only benefits the pupils and the school, but contributed to teachers' enhanced feelings of autonomy and professional satisfaction. The deputy at Cormorant expressed how training, *'breeds confidence'* whilst learning and developing a professional language to defend practice and describe what teachers do, *'adds to the professionalism of the person doing the job'*. Another teacher involved in research at Cormorant expressed the advantages of this confidence:

> *I think certainly the teacher's own perception of their status, and the fact that they have something which is kind of valid to say, and which can be shared with other professionals, is definitely a good thing. And I think also it's kind of against this idea of...being given schemes of work to teach, and being told what to do, which I think is something which lowers teachers' status. And this is something which really kind of gives people back their professionalism and allows them to kind of think kind of independently really.*

Teachers at training schools referred to a number of innovative outputs they were involved in through professional development, including the production of handbooks

and workshops at Cormorant. At Kingfisher, staff in the English department were trialling a new reading scheme based on computer quizzes, and the head teacher commented on how, *'they've [teachers] gone absolutely mad with some new technology with the interactive whiteboards…And its brilliant and the kids love it'*. Whilst benefiting students, the teachers also felt particularly enthused and stimulated, as she commented:

> *They've left me behind. There's a sort of excitement about it and there's a culture of people will go out and see something and they'll say 'I'd really like to try that, can we have a go?' and because I think that's brilliant, lets let them have a go. We'll find the funding from somewhere.*

At Cormorant, there was an awareness that the teachers were fortunate to have such possibilities, as a teacher involved in research commented how *'to make use of things like that [research] you already have to have some kind of status and be sort of treated in a particular way'*. She continued,

> *I can think of people I know who teach in London schools, and who would have been ideal candidates to do BPRS* [see Chapter 19]*, who just had no knowledge of it, really. So yeah, I think that's probably important. And possibly, in those places where teachers' status needs raising most, those opportunities aren't always obviously available for people who are just kind of so busy coping.*

Specialist (subject) and beacon schools

Teachers at specialist or beacon schools felt that inspections had more negative effects on their status. At Brambling, the deputy expressed wider dissatisfaction about OfSTED, SATs and particularly the use of external moderators, suggesting that they undermined teachers' confidence. She felt, *'there's been a detrimental effect on teachers' self esteem. They don't trust us, even us, at a well established school with experienced teachers, have had our confidence taken away'*. These opinions were also reported by teachers at Eider, where it was felt schools could run more effectively if left to their own devices. One stated, *'schools should be trusted more, given more freedoms – subject of course to inspection'*. Another complained that OfSTED was, *'a lottery'* and referred to how, it's *'six to eight weeks of worry which is transferred to the students too. Its upsetting, it's totally wrong, it's not what education is about. It's destructive'*. And the deputy at Brambling commented of SATs, *'Children aren't sausages, and what about those at the bottom? No matter how much effort you put in, its always wanting more.'*

However, teachers at many of the specialist schools referred to how the success of the school enabled them to feel more empowered to be flexible in responding to these systems. The teacher at Eider reported how the head takes an independent line, and stressed the importance of keeping external requirements in perspective. At Brambling, the deputy reported that the success of the school meant *'we feel we can take risks and even fail as the main building blocks are in place'* and this view was supported by another teacher there who felt the beacon school status made them feel more confident to *'do things YOU feel are right'…We have the confidence to say, 'you may disagree, but this is the way we are doing this'*. At Nightingale, the head reported to how the school also has a shared vision about what makes good teaching: *'autonomy within a shared vision'*.

This sense of empowerment was informed by the perceived associated benefits of the school status for improvement of teachers' professional skills. At Osprey, the beacon funding had enabled teachers to have many more professional development opportunities through school productions, art and drama activities, which was felt to be beneficial for their status. At Cranog, staff development was taken seriously, for instance, all staff at the school were offered the chance to do an M.Ed, with help towards the cost. In particular, the special science status meant that science teachers had to be involved in INSET sessions outside of the schools, and as a result they had become more competent at this. The deputy commented that as a result of the status,

> I would say that there's been a change in the professionalism of the staff in the science department, largely due to the new staff that have come in. Some of the older staff that have gone elsewhere were maybe not quite as focussed and as professional as some of the new staff who have come in. I would say that one factor in that has definitely been the science college status. We have a lot of very young staff in the science department now and I would say that they are very, very professional in their approach.

In particular, one added benefit of the science status for the rest of the school had been the development of online lesson plans, which adhered to a standard format. One teacher expressed how teachers did not find that this reduced their autonomy in lesson planning, as they had full responsibility for the quality of their planning. He said rather that the freedom offered to teachers under this '*unique*' system raises their perceptions of respect. He continued, 'c*ertainly you notice a change in their outward confidence and also the way that you see other people talking to them. You just get that feeling that these people are valued for what they do and the people feel valued as well*'. At Nightingale, the strict behaviour policy was also reported as a means of empowering teachers. The head summarised,

> you buy so much goodwill from teachers once you start saying a) we are going to properly equip you and b) we are going to support you so you do not have to individually take on every behaviour problem.

External relations: networks with other schools and universities

Training schools

Teachers at training schools gained some benefits for their status through working in networks with other schools. Teachers at Cormorant, as a result of their success, worked in partnership with another local school that was, at the time, in Special Measures. The teachers worked as 'buddies' to help teachers at the other school with ICT, Maths and Special Needs. The mentoring process was not simply a one-way process, but teachers from the other school also came into Cormorant. The ASTs who were mainly involved in this outreach work benefited from this dimension of the Leading Edge status, as the deputy head teachers said, '*it obviously gives us an opportunity to allow out very motivated teachers, particularly our ASTs to get experiences that they wouldn't have otherwise by working with other schools*'. The deputy explained how they gained esteem through being involved in the other school's turnaround,

> I would make no claim that we had any significant, you know, input into them

> *coming out of Special Measures, but obviously it's a factor amongst many factors that are there. And you know, it would be nice to think there was a little bit of that.*

Both schools were also involved with universities or higher education institutions. A teacher at Cormorant referred to how they had good links with a local university; for instance she had been involved in interviewing people at the university for the next year's PGCE course, which was positively reflected on.

Specialist (subject) and beacon schools

Again, teachers at both the specialist subject and beacon schools also worked with other schools in local networks. At Osprey, the head suggested that the beacon status gave them the opportunity to demonstrate their teaching expertise to the cluster of schools they work with and run events for other schools. Cranog was not only specialist status, but leading edge, and the deputy referred to how, *'we are a centre of excellence and our staff train staff in FE, in the GNVQ model'*. The school also hosted, 'learning to learn' sessions for pupils from other schools, and provided CD-ROMs for work schemes in other schools. A teacher reported that when he attended meetings with colleagues from other schools he escaped some of the pressure associated with the status. He said,

> *It's a good science college and when I go to meetings with other science colleges and tell them, 'I'm Head of Science at Cranog High School' people are really interested. It's only when I go outside the school that I stop feeling beleaguered and put down on and I actually feel quite special and really important.*

Another important aspect of the work of the science department was the teachers' work with four feeder schools; for example, teachers visited local feeder schools regularly, they held special science events and arranged visits to industries. Overall, this gave science teachers an advantage over other subject areas, because they supported the middle school teachers in preparing the pupils for Key Stage 3 exams. One teacher expressed, *'Certainly, it is giving science a bit of an edge because they can go and get a better understanding of how things are working across the middle schools'*.

External relations: parents, community and media perceptions

Training schools

Amongst teachers at the training schools, it did not appear that relationships with parents and the community were particularly significant in influencing their status. However, at Cormorant, the deputy reflected on how the school classifications were important for parents because the labels send out *'positive messages for…the community'* about the schools' effectiveness. There were evident ramifications for enrolment, as the deputy stated,

> *Obviously, you know, if you're looking at just figures, you know, we get more and more oversubscribed, and say our profile is higher and higher, you know, we're getting more and more applicants for all our years, etc, etc. But whether, to what extent parents care about badges and labels and things like that, I'm not so sure. I think if we were getting the exam results that we get and had the OfSTED*

reports that we've got, but we didn't have any of those badges or labels, I'm not sure you would see any diminution in the eagerness to come here…If you take the example of the specialism, nobody applies to Cormorant because it's a specialist sports college, would be my judgement.

At Kingfisher, parents were not influential in constructing teachers' positive status, because as the head expressed, *'communicating with our parents about what we do is really hard. A massive challenge'*. However, teachers were looking forward to the extended schools initiative, and working in established partnerships with other professionals. The school had no health and social services on site, and the head explained, *'and we don't have a particular relationship with the police which we'd like to have because it's quite helpful in this area, because it's a bit of a rough area really'.* She continued:

> *So we would like to have close links with those three agencies and that's what extended schools will bring to us. Yes we have massive provision in the holidays, after school, before school, weekends. But bringing the other agencies in because we're still at the beck and call of social services and the relationships are not that good. We feel they don't tell us anything and they feel we don't tell them anything. It's just not clever. We'd like to have designated people working with us.*

In terms of external media depictions, teachers at both training schools echoed the general conception reported in type 1 schools drawn from the surveys that they felt there was a negative media portrayal of teachers. This was also reported by one teacher at the specialist school, who felt, *'there's a certain amount of sympathy with the teaching profession because of the media projection of the idea of a mob-culture in school'.* At Kingfisher, an NQT for instance referred to *'the media depiction of every school being violent and dangerous'* as one teacher at Cormorant expressed, *'I certainly think in the media, the way teachers are kind of seen is more negative…I think there's a perception that sometimes people go into teaching because they can't do other things'.* However, interestingly, she then added *'I don't really think you get that in this particular place'.*

Teachers at both schools did refer however to the particular activities they were involved in to raise the school profile. At Cormorant, the deputy referred to the media attention they got, whilst at Kingfisher, when the school was getting funding term by term, *'we were having to get ourselves in the press….We had to make a lot of fuss to get funding'.* The schools also received a lot of visitors as a result of their status, and the deputy at Kingfisher reported how this made the teachers feel that, *'after a while I think they think, 'well actually, we must be something'.* The outward orientation offers a platform for teachers to begin to see themselves differently, as the deputy continued,

> *Eventually you can chip away at that kind of 'I'm only a teacher and I'm not doing this right', and you can do quite a lot by saying 'we've got this visitor and they would like to talk to you', and it's like Aisha's so unassuming and she's so good and she doesn't know it yet. So these kinds of things are so useful. Joe can say 'who can they speak to?' and there's a number of people but I chose Aisha because I thought that would be really good for her.*

Specialist (subject) and beacon schools

At other specialist schools, relationships with parents were quoted as more influential in shaping teacher status. At Osprey, a teacher felt that parents already had high expectations regardless of the school status, and that there were already supportive relations between teachers and staff. These supportive relations were remarked upon at other schools, for instance at Eider, the school was reported to have a high status in the community because of its high performance, and a teacher referred to how '*parents were grateful to have their sons here, and feel we are doing a good job'*. At Brambling, a teacher referred to how, through word of mouth, the school had developed a good reputation, which even attracted '*parents [to] move into the area just to get their children in'*. The school enjoyed supportive relations with parents, as the deputy reported that 98 per cent took up the opportunity to be involved in their 'Inspire' workshops to work alongside their children. And at Nightingale, being well resourced and gaining improved results through the technology status was felt by the head teacher to attract students and parents, as the school that year received 650 applications for 250 available places.

At Osprey, a teacher commented how, '*possibly initially [beacon status affected perceptions], when we had a launch and parents were really pleased about it. Now it's just accepted, the novelty wears off and it probably doesn't mean as much'*. And yet whilst the head felt that the school had a good reputation despite the beacon funding, it, '*has allowed us to do some very public, high profile things'*. For instance, the beacon funding paid for an artist to work in the school, and London Underground were so impressed by one piece of work completed under the artist's supervision that the made it into a poster. She added, '*having that very public profile, it's what we have to do in schools now, we have to tout our wares, which is a sad state of affairs but that's the way it is'*.

In Cranog, by contrast, the school received less publicity in external media, and the PE teacher reported how he did not feel that the school had made a big effort to promote itself. He pointed out that most specialist schools change the names of their schools to include their specialism, unlike at Cranog. He felt that*, 'the science department doesn't lead the school as well as they should because of the status that they have been given'*. When the school got specialist science status, the school however wrote letters to local pharmaceutical firms and have developed many partnerships with local chemical industries.

In the remainder of the chapter, we consider the perspectives of teachers in academies, to explore whether, and if so, how, similar issues were influencing their status.

B) ACADEMIES

Personal/school status: impact of funding and resources on teacher status

An overwhelming factor that emerged as influencing teacher status at the two academies studied was again the perceived importance of resources. Academies can receive around £2m sponsorship in addition to government funding and both academies in this research had benefited from investments in buildings. Teachers in Linnet Academy worked in a new building that cost over £15m, and teachers at Wren were due to move into a new

building costing over £30m. The academies also faced different contractual arrangements to LA controlled schools. Like LA schools, they had freedom over internal resource allocation, although they were not bound by the national teacher pay arrangements and could have more diverse staffing structures. Their spending of the General Annual Grant could be spent on a wider range of activities benefiting the community.

Although the Academies did not receive more resources from the state than maintained schools, the fact that the buildings and equipment were new gave the impression to teachers interviewed in this research that they had more resources than other schools. For example, a teacher commented, *'instead of having to photocopy pages twenty-four times because you've got one text book, we've got enough text books to go around, we've got computers'*. Another key benefit was their autonomy over staffing arrangements, which was important for getting *'more bodies into the school'*. The teachers reported having more teaching assistants, which positively altered the adult: pupil ratio. These factors had positive implications for how teachers feel about themselves and the ability to get on with their jobs as a teacher at Linnet Academy commented, *'I think it's very important. The more resources that are at your disposal, in theory, the better you can do your job'*. The investment was also perceived to have other knock-on benefits in terms of enhancing teachers' status; for instance, the music department at Wren Academy benefited from purchasing state of the art music equipment and a teacher commented,

> *I think this does give me a little more status, as a music teacher experimenting with new independent learning strategies. I definitely think it would give me a little more status, I think it would look good on my resumé.*

This experience was also anticipated at Linnet Academy, where staff members were particularly excited about the prospect of working in the new building. Teachers variously referred to this as *'a huge bonus'* and *'hugely seductive because it's just fantastic'*. Teachers were also particularly excited by having the opportunity to work with up to date ICT provision and better facilities. Some also reported benefits from a perceived increase in autonomy over how those resources are allocated, as the deputy revealed, as one teacher said, *'for me, the stimulating thing is the opportunity to work in this type of modern business managed environment, where we are responsible for our own budgets, staffing'*. At Linnet Academy, a teacher stated in response to questioning on whether the new building will affect his status,

> *It will make me feel better about going to work every morning I'm sure. I'm sure I'll wake up in September thinking oh, ok, let's go and see what this new building's about. It's more exciting for me. It's more of an opportunity to work within those facilities and the astroturf and flood lights and new sports hall and all this other stuff that's going to be in there. For me personally that's career wise is quite good as well, to be in charge of sport within those facilities and having that opportunity to do that. I think it will make me feel better about myself.*

Personal/school status: evaluations i) pride

For teachers at the academies, a key reason for their feelings of increased status emerged precisely as a result of their former experiences working in difficult circumstances at predecessor schools. A teacher at Linnet Academy stated, 'w*hen you're involved in the programme and you come from a situation where there was so much negativity, you can*

only see the positives…I see and feel a huge drive of positive things'. To be part of such a dramatic turnaround had clear implications for how teachers felt and were externally perceived, as the same teacher continued:

> *It impacts hugely on how I feel about myself. I actually feel like I matter now. I love it. I know that when I go and introduce myself to people they're going to be like 'oh!' It's different. I feel different and I feel that people react to me very differently. Not just because of the promotion but because of the name of the school. We had a very poor reputation before. Now that reputation hasn't gone, but there's a feeling of things are happening. That's lovely.*

Similarly, the deputy head said,

> *my peer group who aren't teachers thought it was very impressive that I was going to work in an academy. [Do] I think is it impressive? I think it's a good thing to do. I don't know if impressive is a word I would use necessarily. So that's the perceptions from outside and this is an amazing thing.*

However, as much as the teachers felt a boost in their reputations through working at the school, they downplayed the possibility that this made them better than others. One teacher even maintained, '*I don't really see myself as having a status, 'That's not the important thing to me, feeling that other people must think that I'm some sort of important person. What's important to me is that I'm doing what I like doing and I'm supported in what I want to do'*, reflecting findings in Chapter 7. Another commented on the ways in which their status rested on being able to instigate change for their pupils, explaining, '*...as a teacher, you're impacting on future generations. To me that is status'.* As in Cormorant, there was a desire to preserve a sense of egalitarianism across and between schools, as another teacher particularly pointed out:

> *I don't really like the word 'status' I'm not very keen on that and what it can suggest, that we're better than anybody else. I don't think we're better than any other teacher in any other school. If we start thinking like that then it's not going to help any other school or help the profession. It's all down to the management of the school, how it's structured and the ethos of the school.*

Personal/school status: evaluations ii) within the teaching profession

At both academies, although the teachers felt higher esteem working there, some teachers reported problems in relations with other local teachers. The deputy at Wren Academy compared the establishment of the Academies with his experience in setting up a CTC (City Technology College) nearby. He felt that it took time to break down barriers of opposition from parents, communities and teachers, as he recalled:

> *It was a painful experience in terms of friction, resentment etc. It took a long time to break down the barriers between the CTC and the local education authorities and the perception of teachers in other schools. And there's a little bit of that, based on envy, ignorance and prejudice, people making assumptions about things without knowing the true facts, and the jealousy because they weren't part of it.*

He recalled how other schools had refused to cooperate with the CTCs: *'ridiculous things, like other schools not playing against our football teams and not even holding the schools' FA meeting in our school. They wouldn't even set foot across our doors'*. It was important to note that the deputy believed that similar reactions were being shown against academies, although on not such an extreme scale. Certainly this perception is supported by another teacher at Wren Academy, who stated that whilst the outreach work involved the academy in the local community, he also felt that some teachers from other schools were envious when visiting the academy (see Chapter 12 for the point of view of a teacher working outside of an academy). He felt that these opinions arose out of conversations that may have occurred between teachers who did not move from the predecessor school to the Academy which may have generated some animosity towards the Academy. He also explained,

> *We did have some schools who came and I was very uncomfortable with their perception of the school, and I didn't know why they came, quite frankly, very negative, very envious. What I have to be careful of is that any decisions made do not impact on the students, and whilst I am not prepared to work with those that don't wish to work with us, we're still making arrangements to bring their students in via other means, for example in the summertime without that member of staff.*

At Linnet Academy the same attitudes were reported by another teacher, who explained, *'I think it's possibly creating some animosity amongst certain people… I know various teachers in [the inner city area] and they're kind of like 'what are you getting all this money for when our building is falling to pieces and this is happening.'* It is felt by teachers that resentment is expressed because of the new facilities at Linnet Academy and the good results achieved by the school. Another teacher explained the reactions she felt when dealing with teachers from other schools and commented,

> *we find it's resentment. If the tables were turned I'd feel the same because they feel that we've just been given more than our fair share...So there's a huge amount of resentment there.*

Internal working relations: leadership, collaboration and trust

When teachers joined these academies, they expressed that it required their adoption of different working practices. At Wren Academy, the deputy explained how teachers knew that by joining the academy, effectively they were signing up to a completely different way of working: *'It wasn't a continuum, it was very definitely one school closing and everyone choosing to adopt a new structure, a new ethos, new working practices, a new contract, so it wasn't more of the same'*. Thus teachers working there faced new line management structures and subject responsibilities. One teacher there felt that this clear structure meant, *'It's all worked out properly so you know who to go to...It's more organised and structured here than in other schools I've worked at'*. On the other hand, the new organisation meant that some staff lost former responsibilities, and although they did not suffer reduced salaries, they felt a loss of status through doing so. The deputy explained,

> *I can think of one member of staff who's a little frustrated by the fact that he's now not in charge of something. I said, you're in charge of teaching and learning*

in Key Stage 4. 'Yes, but I used to be in charge of ski trips, D of E [Duke of Edinburgh]'. He'd got everything under that umbrella but we don't have that type of structure here, so they've lost that and with it they lose a little bit of status.

At Wren Academy, the practices were different because each department was responsible for their own curriculum area. However, the flexibility of the self-determined internal systems also involved teachers having no staffroom, and much longer working hours. This was imagined by some teachers to put off others from working there, as one teacher explained how former colleagues, *'are at home mowing the lawn by 4 o'clock and I'm lucky to get home for 7'*. However, in common with the other teachers at the academy, he also felt that this work pattern enhanced teachers' professionalism and status they could command, especially when combined with other expectations around dress code. He explained,

> *The teaching staff as a whole are incredibly professional, I'm not saying they're less professional anywhere else but here it's enhanced it. All staff wear suits and all sixth formers wear suits as well, this raises the ethos of the business environment. The working hours are more akin to industry. I know this raises our level of status … that makes a difference to a parent who can get hold of us.*

Teachers at Wren Academy also regularly stressed the importance of the Academy's ethos for their sense of professionalism. One young teacher there described how, *'the school ethos here is achievement, stretching yourself and doing well. I'm proud to work in a place like this, I see it as an opportunity not to be missed and so do the children'*. He felt the school had a nurturing and friendly approach to the children and *'because of the ethos here, the children celebrate achievements and want to see each other do well, that's what made me stay, this is the way education should be'*. A teacher also expressed how, *'every system in the school, any little iota in the school has a policy and that policy is shared so there's a support mechanism'* whilst another teacher also felt that the rules and regulations were more strictly adhered to than in other LA schools.

As a result, there had been *'a massive change in attitude'*, which impacted on teacher status as teachers built better relationships with pupils, rather than having to deal with behaviour (for the relevance of behaviour to status, see Chapter 7). Teachers expressed how they felt privileged to work at the Academy, as one commented on the benefits, *'I didn't know what to expect when I first came, until I took my first lesson and the children thanked me for the lesson on their way out'*. Compared to students at other schools, the Academy's students saw teachers *'as a source of knowledge … they're very inquisitive, in other schools students see you as someone who's occupying their time'*. Another compared their experience to that imagined in maintained schools, and cited a colleague who had said, *''Oh the kids tell us to 'F-Off' 5 times a day'. That's a reality in many schools, I would never work in that type of organisation'*. A change in school discipline policy was also reported at Linnet Academy, and this had, *'completely changed the ethos of the school'* and promoted respect amongst pupils.

Internal work relations: recruitment and retention

When Linnet Academy was established, almost an entirely new cohort of teachers came in. Most of the new staff recruited at Linnet Academy were NQTs or 'first teach', and the high staff turnover gave the remaining staff the opportunity for more rapid promotion

and higher status. One teacher reported how, '*I was only teaching for two years when I came here as head of PE…which is pretty unheard of and I got trained up whilst I was doing the job'.* Although at Linnet Academy there is now more stability in staffing than in the past, there is still high staff turnover, particularly because the teachers get promoted elsewhere.

At Wren Academy, staff from the predecessor school on the site could also opt to remain at the academy after the takeover, although the deputy reported that prior to its opening, teachers felt some apprehension. Similar to the experience at Linnet Academy, according to the deputy head, just twelve of the teachers chose to remain, whilst three had since left. One teacher there also complained that, in contrast to the Linnet Academy experience, the flat management structures of the Academy meant there was little chance for promotion, so '*I don't expect the academy to have high staff retention'.* However, remaining staff were able to be involved in recruitment.

At Wren Academy it was believed that new staff members were attracted by the academy status, '*….because it is known that with academy status comes some special funding'.* They were also perceived to be lured by the higher wages '*…coming out of university with all those debts hanging over your head then that's what you're going to look for at the end of the day isn't it?'* although it was suggested that more recently, potential new staff were also attracted because of the innovative ways that academies worked.

Teaching and learning: training and CPD

Teachers reported that they felt positively about the opportunities for their teaching due to certain school practices within the two academies studied. For example, at Wren Academy the fact that there were no more than twenty-four pupils is every class meant teachers could be more flexible and responsive to student needs. One teacher also expressed how the academy encouraged more experimentation than would be possible at maintained schools. He said,

> *They want you to experiment and bring new ideas. I've started to develop a new assessment technique using hand-held PCs…hopefully it will be used all around the whole school. There are lots of opportunities like that and learning different teaching techniques, we all have to watch each other teach quite often, we're given a lot of opportunity to develop here. I think I've got a lot of freedom.*

A teacher at Wren Academy felt that teachers there had a higher interest in training and skills than those in LA schools. He suggested that teachers in other schools were unable to keep up with the latest technological advancements in teaching and learning because they did not invest time into reading current periodicals. Another explained,

> *One of the skills you need as an individual is to be an autonomous learner and as a teacher to be able to identify your own shortcomings in order to be able to provide yourself with the training. The teachers that I tend to find [in other schools], whilst they've got very capable teachers, they might not have been able to equip themselves with the training to teach some of the key things that we need to teach these days.*

Certainly in the Academies, it was clear there was a lot of team work within the

departments to develop new ideas. There was support for innovation; for example, the technology teacher at Wren Academy won several awards (including regional teacher of the year) and had published CD-ROMs demonstrating his work.

External relations: networks with other schools and universities

Both academies were also involved in outreach work with other schools, and again, as in the other schools (Chapter 10) they gained esteem through doing so. Staff at Linnet Academy held inset days for primary schools and went out to deliver PE training. Staff members at Wren Academy were also particularly engaged in delivering wider training in IT to teachers and students coming from other schools. The visitors used the academy's facilities, and teachers looked at the on-line curriculum and developed their own expertise at using the software. The deputy expressed how this meant that, *'they they go back to their schools trained and enthused',* and felt it went some way towards breaking down the barriers between the different types of institution. However, another teacher felt that when working with other teachers to share ideas they may have seen him as having a different status to themselves because he worked at the academy. Reiterating the ideas of the previous section, he said '*'I think that's because I've got opportunities that they haven't, it's not that they couldn't develop these ideas themselves but I've got the equipment to do it'.*

External relations: parents, community and media perceptions

Undoubtedly, the academy status had made an enormous difference to parental interest at Wren Academy. Teachers explained that parents were in favour of the change to an academy, and the community had benefited from associated increases in property prices. In both academies, there was a desire for a wider involvement of the academy in the local community than developed in the previous schools, and this was seen as a positive opportunity. A teacher at Linnet Academy explained the benefits of the academy were not just to students but were '*twofold'*, explaining, *'it's the community as a whole. So the actual community will have facilities like golf and it adds to the facilities within the community, I think is one way of looking at it'.*

In particular, the technology specialism and sponsorship link of Wren Academy with industry helped involve the local community in school life. One of the teachers at the Academy was *Director of Careers and Industrial Links,* and he had built on his previous career as a businessman in the area to make contact with local businesses and engage them to work with the school. He suggested that this had positive effects for teachers' status, reporting: *'It does raise teachers' status. The IT teacher is absolutely delighted by the response of the first that's joined his programme. I think he feels good about it'.* In Linnet Academy, there were also plans in place for when the school moved to its new accommodation in September. A teacher referred to how she was expected to bring in outside agencies to, *'more or less set up our own children's trust'*, whilst the PE teacher had innovative plans to, *'not just [offer] your regular, football, netball etc'.* but to exploit other sports facilities which involved the local community. He wanted to bring sports coaches into the academy in the morning, introduce yoga, take people golfing. Another teacher commented, *'he's looking to just use the facilities around us. And again because the money is probably there to do that, it's an area we can move into'.*

In terms of parental support, the popularity for Wren Academy was evident in the fact that the academy dealt with over 700 applications for 170 Year 7 places. And the nature of parental collaboration had changed in line with the new policies, as teachers were required to meet parents of all students in their tutor groups, to *'start what is expected to be the beginning of a successful relationship'*. Teachers were required to produce reports for parents every 4 weeks and see parents within 48 hours of a request, and this maintained an ongoing teacher/parents relationship. One teacher there felt the relationships provided her with more leverage over the pupil, although she felt surprised initially:

> *As soon as I started the job I was shocked because I had to meet every single parent within the first week, so that encouraged the teacher/parent link straight away... and now if I need to speak to any parent, they'll probably be behind me, I've had no problems, they're probably behind the academy more than the child.*

However, the same could not be reported for staff-parent relationships at Linnet Academy, where a teacher reported that, *'I think if you ask 90 per cent of the parents they wouldn't have a clue, to be perfectly honest with you [what an academy means]'*. Another felt that parental support,

> *is very lacking here...a lot of the parents of the students that come here have absolutely clear dividing lines between home and school. Once the student has walked out of the front door, whatever they do, whatever happens to them it is the school's responsibility. That's a very difficult barrier to break down.*

At Wren Academy, teachers felt undoubtedly that parents thought the academy provided special opportunities, and as a result, they had higher expectations, which placed more pressure on them. A teacher at the academy argued,

> *I think it puts pressure on us, I don't know if they think we're some sort of wonder teachers that's going to instantly change their child into a brain-box. Apparently the old school, L J Sampson, well people wouldn't send their children here but that changed as soon as they changed the name to Wren Academy but a lot of the teaching staff didn't change. There's something about the name, they might expect higher standards.*

The pressure for immediate success was also felt to be constructed through the media; whilst Wren Academy had a high profile (through coverage on television) a teacher referred to the bad press that generally came with academies. Teachers expressed how they felt they were part of an experiment, and whilst they felt some external esteem from working there, the ultimate credibility of the Academies depended on as yet unknown results, which made them feel they had to prove their worth. The deputy at Linnet Academy referred to how he felt in particular that other heads in schools across the borough were disparaging about the academy because, *'all week there's been something every morning in the newspaper about academies'*. One teacher at Linnet Academy felt the status of the school even resulted in a *lower* sense of prestige for him as a result of the particular challenges faced:

> *I: Is there any kind of prestige attached to working within the academy?*
> *T:The opposite I think personally. Because academies are supposed (and I say*

supposed)...they're classed as failing schools[28] if you like or schools where they have got very bad results. A lot of people just look at league tables and they [don't] realise the kind of kids you've got there and the kind of area you're teaching in and the kind of problems, the socio-economic problems within the area you're teaching in, I don't think they realise that when they actually make comments on it...plus all the press that gets these academies like the ones in Middlesbrough not doing particularly well. That's always in the press you know what I mean? So the bad press that comes with them as well.

There was, as a result, a sense of uncertainty about whether teachers could enjoy a more privileged status either now or in the future. As the deputy head at Linnet Academy expressed:

I think it's a huge grey area at the moment because no one really know where they're going to go. I think potentially there's room within the academy system for the inflation of the status of teachers. However if 17 flagship academies reveal that actually gains aren't being made and the whole thing gets pulled well we're going to be part of a very unusual experiment.

C) CONCLUSIONS: COMMON ISSUES FOR POSITIVELY ACHIEVING SCHOOLS

In conclusion, the in-depth case-studies of classified schools (training, beacon, specialist and academy) showed that:

- Teachers felt that the labels and statuses of the schools were associated with accruing resources. This had clear implications for the nature of teaching and learning possible, staffing levels and opportunities for CPD. It was overwhelmingly clear than better resources made teachers feel positively esteemed, although targeted investment in certain school subjects is associated with higher expectation too.

- The success of the school had direct impacts on how teachers perceived their own status. A successful school provoked pride and kudos, although modesty was also encouraged. This was also the case in the academies, where both the turnaround of the former schools had positive implications for how teachers felt. Nevertheless, teachers downplayed notions of being higher status than others.

- Some hostile reactions were observed within the teaching profession to staff in schools pursuing new statuses. This was particularly the case in the two Academies visited, where, despite receiving similar funding to maintained schools, the visibility of new resources was reported as provoking some local resentment.

- The duties of the senior management widened with the school status and therefore required delegation of management duties. However, opportunities for other

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[28] It should be noted that Academies are not classed as failing schools. However, it is clear that this teacher believes they are perceived as such, based on interpretations of league tables and socio-economic characteristics of pupils there.

teachers to be involved in leadership, high level administration and training were felt to reflect a level of trust in other teachers, and made them feel positively esteemed (see Chapter 7).

- In the two academies visited, the adoption of new school policies was reported as influential to status. The longer working hours, a firm discipline policy, clear internal staffing structures and smaller class sizes were felt to enhance staff professionalism.
- The school statuses were reported as enhancing teachers' possibilities for career progression. In Academies, high staff turnover had been a problem, although the academies were proving attractive to NQTs.

- Training and CPD were a high priority at these successful schools, particularly at the training schools, where the process has positive consequences. Staff within these schools report that they were encouraged to think independently and creatively, and this is seen was an indicator of high status and professionalism. Staff members were given lots of opportunities to develop, with resources found to support this if necessary.

- Outreach work with other schools was experienced positively by teachers, who enjoyed sharing good practice. This was a possible source of status.

- The schools' success was influential in pupil enrolment, and many schools (and particularly one of the academies) were oversubscribed. Most had good relations with parents, including at one of the academies where these were managed in a highly structured way. The school status was believed to raise parental expectations however, and placed more pressure on some teachers.

- Media exposure was apparent for these schools, although not unusually so. Teachers at the academies felt a sense of uncertainty over the future of the academies, which was worsened by media interest.

CHAPTER 13: POORLY PERFORMING SCHOOLS: CAUSE FOR CONCERN, SERIOUS WEAKNESS AND SPECIAL MEASURES

Overview

This chapter again aims to address the second aim of the teacher status project, by exploring in more depth some of the factors influencing teacher status through an exploration of the perspectives of teachers who work in schools that have been subject to LEA and/or government intervention. It considers how a label of being a school 'causing concern' and the associated improvement programmes in schools at various stages of emergence from Special Measures influence how teachers perceive their own status and the status of the teaching profession. More specifically, the research was conducted to:

- understand how the label of a poorly performing school and associated programmes related to the classification influences how teachers perceive their own status and the status of the teaching profession

- explore the perceptions of teachers working within schools variously classified as serious weakness and cause for concern, and understand what particular factors related to the school status influence their perceptions of their high or low status

- consider how perceptions of teacher status in these classified schools are similar or different.

The research was conducted through qualitative case study research in five schools, all of which had been in special measures, and which were variously categorised as 'serious weaknesses' or 'cause for concern' (see Chapter 11 for more details on the schools). The main findings of the chapter are that:

- The teachers working within the specially classified schools demonstrated a lower sense of status than was found more typically in the type I results on teachers from schools drawn form our survey, and in the positively labelled schools (Chapter 12). The reputation and poor evaluations of the schools, the low parental evaluations, low enrolment related to the poorly resourced working conditions impacted upon the regard within which teachers felt they were held. Many teachers felt embarrassment at their school's name and that they personally were seen as lesser teachers because of the poor school results.

- The process of Special Measures classification was associated with widespread demoralisation within the schools. Not only did it set in place disruption through high levels of staff turnover, but OfSTED inspections were experienced as promoting low morale amongst the remaining staff. Teachers felt particularly disempowered by not being given the opportunities to explain their teaching in context and the process was felt to be divisive for internal school relations.

- The changes in teaching and learning associated with moving out of Special Measures, often involved the imposition of rigid systems, which were felt by the majority of teachers to undermine their professional autonomy and lower their confidence and status.

- However, school improvement and coming out of special measures was reported to promote higher status and a boost in esteem. Staff reported how they benefited from funding which improved their teaching and learning opportunities and mobilised as a team to improve the school. It also attracted some new teachers and senior managers, who were attracted by the challenge of working in such schools, seeing it as an opportunity to enhance their career prospects.

Evidence

The analysis reports on the same key issues as reported in the previous chapter:

- personal/school status: impact of funding and resources on teacher status
- personal/school status: evaluations i) external
- personal/school status: evaluations ii) other teachers
- internal working relations: leadership, collaboration and trust
- internal work relations: recruitment and retention
- teaching and learning: training and CPD
- external relations: networks with other schools and universities
- external relations: parents, community and media perceptions

Personal/school status: impact of funding and resources on teacher status

Teachers at the poorly performing schools faced a different financial terrain to the former schools, and it was evident that teachers believed strongly that limited resources also had implications for their status and ability to do their jobs. Financial issues were referred to as a source of worry and problems; Corbin faced financial pressures when the small school allowance was stopped (due to county policy) at the same time as the school went into Special Measures, which meant the school lost £100,000 in three years. When the head took over the school, he felt the financial situation had consequences for addressing the school's difficulties:

> I had a quarter of a million pounds of debt to get rid of which meant I was cutting corners on appointments. I couldn't use money to bribe the best people to come and work here, all these things and I was just scratching around.

At Harrier, the deputy head reported that the school also had a financial deficit and had *'been underfunded for a long time'*. He explained,

> I can see that the actual fabric of the building has been neglected for a long period of time…In fact the school buildings, from what I can gather, are very much as they were when the school was built in the 1960s. So there's been very little investment. I think if the school has always been in a situation as though in a failing tag then the LEA are not going to be putting money into it. I think it's been a victim of its own failures really. We're hoping to reverse that trend.

At Corbin, a teacher felt the school's lack of resources partly explained the general low level of enrolment,

> *One of the reasons...why parents weren't choosing to send their children to us was because the environment wasn't...it's a warm friendly place but it was tatty. As a year five, six parent if you're going round to Neilton and Padley or the other schools that you've got choices of, they look shinier, newer, with obvious investment and we came off worse.*

Through being in Special Measures however, Corbin had seen investment which meant that, *'the school does look a lot sharper with new windows, carpets. All that sort of stuff does lift the environment'*. At Chough, according to the head, *'the computer provision was absolutely diabolical in the school'*, so in 2003, the school was networked, and every staff member has a networked computer in their classroom and the teachers were given laptops. According to the deputy, this meant, *'the pupils themselves then of course will be challenged more. They will be taught better'*. It is interesting to note that at Harrier, the deputy felt that investment was a reward or recognition of hard work, as he said:

> *I hope that at a time they will reward that improvement with some hard cash because that's what this school is crying out for. It's crying out for school improvement in terms of buildings, resources and that sort of thing.*

Although Fulmar had also received additional resources when it was put into Special Measures, a number of teachers there felt concern about the expiry of funding for *'Excellence in Cities'* in 2006, which meant that its city learning centre (which was shared by other local schools) would likely close. This centre was believed to improve the prestige and image of the school, having *'been a great improvement for this school'*. This was echoed at Asquith, where a teacher welcomed the *'Excellence in Cities'* initiative's funding for three years, but commented that after this time, she worried, *'and then what?'*

Personal/school status: evaluations i) external

It is unsurprising to find that the link between personal status and status or achievements of the school reflected in Chapter 12 is reflected also in a less positive way at poorly performing schools. At Corbin, teachers acknowledged the school had comparatively lesser status because of its place in the league tables, *'As you can see a school like Padley which is high up in the league tables has been seen as an excellent school and ours isn't. That's one sort of status'*. Yet, crucially, poor school results meant that teachers felt they were perceived by others as poorer teachers, as two teachers at Chough expressed,

> *T1: I think you take the results as a reflection of whether you've been successful or not. So if the results are poor then you feel like you've failed in some way.*

> *T2: Or that you're not getting it right. What's unfair is when you're judged alongside other schools that have totally different catchment areas and the level of achievement they're working with is totally different. It's value added but it doesn't really take into account differences. I know it's free school meals and all of that but that's in theory, the harsh reality is that it doesn't seem to take differences into account.*

Unsurprisingly at the less well achieving schools, much discussion was on the impacts of evaluations through OfSTED inspections. Across all four schools, teachers talked about the personal and sometimes devastating effects of the inspections when their school was in Special Measures, which they felt lowered their status. People complained about aspects of the procedures which were judged to be unfair or unhelpful, as a teacher at Chough commented that, *'it's almost like kicking you when you're down'*, whilst the head at Asquith resented the impact of OfSTED on people, and felt that the process was *'completely opposite to what I'm doing. I'm in the construction business; I'm not in the demolition business.'*

Similarly, when Fulmar was designated as Special Measures, the termly visits were described by the deputy head as both *'professionally rewarding'* but also *'with some aspects professionally appalling'*. This latter comment referred to how staff morale was destroyed when judgements were made on lessons even though the whole lesson had not been observed. At Harrier, the head also objected to the manner of the inspections, commenting, *'they hammered the staff here. I was absolutely appalled. I reported it because I said I just can't believe that you can do that. Because they were getting so into them'*. Moreover, at Chough, a teacher felt the inspections were unrepresentative and had little effect, as teachers were,

> *put under too much pressure and too much stress. When you're being observed, the stress kicks in and sometimes you don't work to your best because you're so stressed and you're panicking.*

At Chough teachers stated the inappropriateness of targets for some pupils, as one said, *'it's not for want of working, it's just that they're not capable'*. And at Asquith, a teacher complained about the *'strangling'* effects of the National Curriculum and targets, *'as it's not going to make any difference because you can only work with what you've got. If Joe hasn't got the ability to read to a level four, there's nothing you can do'*. She felt rather, they should, *'give teachers their professionalism back: to respect what we say'*. Another teacher at Chough echoed that the inspections did not allow for these contextual explanations and were therefore ultimately damaging to their professionalism,

> *People are making judgements about me and I feel like I want to defend myself. I want to say 'well I've chosen to do it this way because…' Because somebody might look at a book [to assess teacher's marking] and say 'well what does that mean?' and if it's not taken in context, if I'm not there to explain it I feel that people are making judgements about my quality of teaching.*

Another teacher at Corbin echoed this sentiment, expressing how the inspections limited the extent to which adaptive and contextual strategies developed by teachers in the school could be used,

> *I suppose I did [feel a loss of flair]. There are some lessons where you come in and [usually] if the kids are on a high you don't do the starter that you prepared to do because you change your mind half way through the lesson…You felt you couldn't do that…It was very stressful.*

Teachers did recognise some benefits of the process as two teachers at Chough commented: *'If the inspections didn't take place, the problems that were fundamental to*

our problems wouldn't have been discovered, wouldn't have been alleviated, so in a twisted way, OfSTED was a benefit'. More senior members of staff were more accepting of the process, because at Chough and Harrier, there was acknowledgement that, as the new headteacher at Chough stated, *'being classified as under-achieving was right, we were under-achieving'.* Similarly, at Harrier, a teacher in middle management was not surprised that the school was put in Special Measures. However, it was felt that there was much variability in the process, as a teacher at Corbin compared how, *'one of them [inspectors] was very nice and the other would just walk into the room. Not even walk in and say 'can I come in', he'd just walk in. He'd sit down, get up and walk out. And that's kind of like you don't matter'.* Another teacher there felt that,

> *Each time we have an HMI, this [aspect] was so much better but they were all looking at something else. It was just like you were standing there not having done your homework. You've done what they asked you to last time but they're not bothered with that anymore. They're looking at something else and that was demoralising.*

In particular, the process was seen as having little benefit to teachers, as a teacher at Clough felt, *'I think that rather than working against you, it should be something that works with you, something that gives you support and move you forward'.* In particular, the lack of feedback left teachers unaware of how to improve, as a teacher at Corbin points out,

> *I don't know say we got a satisfactory lesson and I would have liked to have said to him 'well why was it only satisfactory?' but you don't get that. So it's not helping you to improve....You know your lesson was ok because it wasn't one of the failing ones and it wasn't one of the excellent ones but where exactly in the middle you sat and why you sat there was a total mystery to you...*

However, despite the negative impact of the inspections, when improvements started occurring and the school was finally removed from Special Measures, teachers felt a sense of achievement. The Head at Harrier said, *'the biggest boom for us was that 94 per cent of our youngsters got five A to Gs with English and Maths. That to me tells a big story because it was 68 per cent. It just shows what you can do if you've got the right strategy'.* The process of improvement and moving out of classifications was also associated with improved status. A teacher at Corbin expressed:

> *It was like waaaay! We had to jump so high to get out of Special Measures, which I think is the other thing..... The bar was so much higher to get out that once we'd got out it was like 'yes we're probably better than them' [another school they are federating with]. It was a bit of a boost because you think, 'yeah we've done it, we've fitted the criteria, we can do it', but you were expected to really jump high to get out. Everybody was very relieved and very happy.*

At Chough, the head reported that people were euphoric when results improved, *'so staff know that what we've done helped make a difference, they can make a difference'.* At Corbin, the same process was reported by a teacher, who pointed out, *'we feel better really because we feel better in ourselves about how things are going',* and the headteacher said, *'teachers now feel good about themselves for being out of Special Measures. For being in Special Measures doesn't make them feel very good at all. They*

need to be a very resilient bunch'. This message was maintained by the senior staff following the process, as a teacher at Corbin commented,

> *But as the Head said it's every time that they come, they're raising the bar. To come out of Special Measures you've got to be really good. They don't want you to slip back when they've gone. So I'm sure we have kept that standard. There has been a bit of slippage since. But it's certainly a much more positive feeling.*

Personal/school status: evaluations ii) within the teaching profession

It was not only through evaluation in the inspection process that teachers felt lower status, but teachers across all of the schools referred to the negative reactions they felt subjected to from other teachers. At Chough, for example, two teachers discussed:

> *T2 Being classed as under-achieving you thought people were looking at you thinking 'Oh that school's underachieving, therefore the teaching isn't very good quality'. You feel like you've failed. You're thinking that it's going to be difficult to prove otherwise.*
>
> *T1: We went on courses where we were mixing with teachers from other schools; they'd ask, 'So which school are you from', and you sort of mutter it quietly, it's rather an embarrassment...when we were being introduced and he said we were from Chough you sensed everyone ask [negatively], 'Chough?' You are very aware of how other schools and their teachers perceive you and I think when we got the OfSTED it had a very negative effect on us.*

This was also reported at Harrier and Fulmar. At Harrier for example, a teacher reported that she felt there was a poor perception of the school from other colleagues in the city. She said, *'12 months, 18 months ago you wouldn't want to say where you were from because the first thing the whole of your colleagues would do from other schools was go '[draws in breath]'.* Similarly, at Fulmar, an AST referred to how when she came into contact with other teachers that, *'there is a reaction, a snobbery- of 'oh, you work in Fulmar, don't you?' and the implication that you are not as good a teacher'.* Another teacher there reflected how inside the profession, some teachers understood what it meant if the school was classed as poorly performing but complained of the general public's reaction,

> *Outside of that, I've found it quite difficult to explain to people why we'd been classed that way. And I think that if you're classed as Special Measures people tend to think, 'oh it's because the school's a load of rubbish', and they don't realise that it's particular areas that are cause for concern and it might have nothing to do with the teaching whatsoever.*

This was repeated at Kestrel College, the technology college where a teacher explained, *'some people are under the impression that if you work in an inner city school you must be rubbish because you can't get a job anywhere else'.*

Internal work relationships: leadership, collaboration and trust

Teachers at all four schools were common in blaming poor leadership for the schools' situations and suggested that this had had devastating wider impacts for their esteem. A teacher reported at Fulmar how when in Special Measures, the school had, *'some weak teachers, and poor management, causing good teachers to leave…the head and deputy didn't offer support at the time, possibly because they were under pressure themselves'.* The experience of problematic leadership was echoed at Chough, where the poor staff morale running up to (and compounded by) the OfSTED inspection was down to uncertainty about a difficult former head teacher:

> *It was 'Yes he was coming back no he wasn't, yes he was' and it kept on like this and nobody knew what was going on. The morale was low, teachers were exhausted, absolutely physically and mentally exhausted. It was awful; everybody was so unhappy.*

However, other staffing problems were felt to be caused subsequently by the classification as a failing school, which created internal frictions within the school. An evidently angry teacher at Fulmar pointed out,

> *It was very depressing, even when your own department was not seen as failing-you were all, 'tarred with that brush'. I don't think I'll ever recover, I used to be confident, I felt proud; the HMI knocked me.*

The deputy at Fulmar also confirmed how he felt that the failure of inspections could be divisive in a school. At Corbin, the head teacher also believed that the process of putting schools into Special Measures, *'has a negative effect on the teachers that are doing a good job in the school',* and another teacher there felt that the process was divisive to the egalitarian spirit. She complained,

> *Then it's kind of like if there are two failing lessons, whose are they? Then there's always the beating up, 'oh it must be mine, or it must have been his'. It does sort of put you down. Or we had two excellent lessons and you think well, 'bully for them'. You're like 'you caught them on a good day'. It put you in a hierarchy almost.*

Two other teachers at Chough referred to how the process created an atmosphere of paranoia and sensitivity to criticism in the school:

> *T2: I think everybody understands that it's necessary. I think things need to be made more positive than negative but seeing the positive side of it's not always easy if you're always criticised for doing something.*

> *T1: I think we're very sensitive, we take the slightest bit of criticism very personally and very much to Harrier and I think we're very over-sensitised. Most of us take the praise but if there's the least little thing we get very upset.*

However, the experience of improvement was again reported to have a positive impact on remaining staff relations. The deputy head explained how the team effort in making a

difference meant, *'you're making a contribution and you think you're turning things around and you work as part of a team, then I think you get a lot of satisfaction'*. At Chough, also the head reported how, '*When the chips were down we worked together, the staff pull together fantastically now'*. At Corbin, there was a similar emphasis on the close relationships of the staff, particularly after facing closure, which although demoralising, according to one teacher, *'brought us all together'*. Overcoming the recent experiences with OfSTED also meant, as a teacher described, *'that we're much closer because of what we've been through if you like',* and this was enabled by after-hours social contact.

Internal work relationships: recruitment and retention

Teachers at the schools also commonly reported how they had faced severe staffing problems, which had impacts on the performance and esteem of the rest of the staff body. At Fulmar for example, the deputy explained the reaction to the period of inspections in 1997, stating, *'teachers were despondent, we lost good teachers who did not want to be associated with the school, also it was difficult to recruit staff'*. Since then at Fulmar, there had been staff despondency and a high staff turnover during the period of Special Measures, including the loss of many teachers in 2004 when the head left (as the teachers no longer felt the responsibility to stay). The AST there reported how her department had formerly been run by a supply teacher for two years, with the teacher not following the syllabus or documenting what had been done.

This story is echoed in all the other schools. At Harrier, nine staff left when they were classified as Special Measures, as the head commented, '*I came in May and in the July nine staff left. Almost everyday someone said 'I've got another job, I've got another job'*. The deputy head also reported difficulty in recruiting staff, and an NQT recounted how her college lecturers reacted to her accepting a post there, as she said, *'they do think you shouldn't go there because that school is not right for an NQT' (*a theme repeated by a teacher at Fulmar, whose former colleagues advised her not to apply to Fulmar, *'as it would be a bad career move').* Chough also suffered enormous staffing disruptions linked to the classification as a teacher explained:

> *It certainly makes them feel a low self-esteem, the feeling of, 'shall we get out? shall we move?' Then the sickness rate goes up because the teachers are stressed. Then you have to have Supply Teachers, some of which are good but some are absolutely terrible.*

However, many teachers retained by the schools reported feelings of personal responsibility to remain as part of the team. For example, at Corbin, the maths teacher commented, *'but being in Special Measures there's a tiny bit of you that thinks blow it, why should I bother?...I'll go and be a maths teacher somewhere else. But the longer you stay in a place the more responsibility you feel to your students I suppose and your colleagues'.* That said, she confessed that she was still regularly *'keeping an eye on what jobs are around'.*

On the other hand, teachers at several of the schools suggested that the difficulties ultimately led to longer-term staffing benefits, as teachers wanted to make a name for themselves came to the schools. This contradictory story - of experiencing both difficulties recruiting with the label but attracting staff wanting to turn the school around

- was reported at Corbin and Harrier. Thus although a teacher at Harrier reported difficulties in recruitment and retention, he acknowledged,

> *It can work in two ways I think. Dynamic teachers who almost want to make a name for themselves, they can move into areas like that and certainly do very well and attempt to improve themselves as members of staff, to even get a reputation that they can work in a hard school.*

Many teachers who came to Harrier expressed how through teaching in a school in Special Measures they felt a greater job satisfaction than in other schools. They suggested they moved for the 'challenge', fulfilment, enjoyment and satisfaction of working there (see Chapter 7 for vocational aspects of teacher status) and referred to how they moved to overcome feeling stale elsewhere. Teachers articulated the in-built disadvantages that their students faced, and expressed the esteem gained through their role, as a teacher at Harrier stated,

> *What I would pride myself on is someone in the teaching profession is an educator….At the end of the day our product is examination results for our students. The only way that they can compete in the world outside our doors is that….So they can compete with the likes of the grammar school students if they happen to come across them in a job interview.*

The label was thus somewhat of a double-bind; a lure for new teachers looking for a challenge but negative for those who were in the school at the time, as the deputy at Harrier stated:

> *I guess if you've been a teacher and you're taking a school into Special Measures then yes I would think that would have a detrimental affect on them. If you're a teacher that's come into a school to help turn it around and you succeed then I think it could have a positive impact on a teacher's morale and career advancement.*

Indeed, the head at Corbin reported that when the school came out of Special Measures, '*a lot of the schools wanted my staff. A number have now moved…they've gone for jobs … and they're getting them because of the experience they've been through*'.

Teaching and learning: professionalism and CPD

An important issue raised by teachers was the impact of the inspections on their sense of professionalism and confidence in teaching and learning. At Harrier, a teacher acknowledged the need for accountability but a teacher at Corbin explained that the feeling of being '*checked*' in the process was damaging to her confidence and sense of professional judgement. She stated,

> *You have to write this and you have to give in the lesson plan so it feels like you have to do it and you feel like you're being watched and are you sticking to it rigidly? And did you do this and didn't you do that? And you do lose, I suppose, a bit of your own confidence. It's like you're being checked all the time.*

Teachers at other schools also reported felt that their level of control and autonomy had

been diminished. At Chough, a teacher commented, *'everything we did was very much under scrutiny: planning, observations, work scrutinies. Everything had to be polished and perfect.'* Although she felt that this ensured there was more coverage of the whole curriculum, she, and another teacher at the school discussed:

> *T1: I personally feel I lost a lot of confidence in the way I tackled things because if it didn't fit into the little niche that was being demonstrated.*

> *T2: You questioned everything and wondered if what you were doing was right, and with me one of my things was being able to plan and I thought 'if my planning's not up scratch, the people don't trust me to plan, in my way, then how do they expect me to teach?'*

> *T1: You're losing your professionalism*

Teachers at the school had spent a lot of time revising their lesson plans and making sure that concepts such as 'learning outcomes' were understood. However, the head justified this rigidity, and felt that autonomy and creative use of lesson plans could only be used where teaching was at a good enough level. She said, *'I do think you have to be rigid...I think where you are actually dealing with people whose lessons are at best satisfactory, there has to be a structure in place to sustain that. But you shouldn't allow the really creative teacher not to move on'.* At Corbin, a teacher similarly expressed how they had to learn a new mode of communicating their teaching practice, commenting,

> *in a way it's like learning the rules of the inspection so that you can talk more confidently to the inspectors when they come in. So you're speaking their speak and rehearsing, if you like, with friendly advisors the sort of things the inspectors are going to be asking you.*

Thus, despite the negative perceptions of the OfSTED inspections, teachers in all four poorly performing schools reported an improvement in teaching and learning as a result. At Fulmar, the school had introduced termly and half-termly reviews and an active discipline policy which enabled teachers to call the SMT on walkie talkies to remove disruptive pupils and an attendance initiative with a fast track to the court system, which had raised attendance. This had meant more consistency and a feeling of empowerment amongst teachers. However, at this school and at Corbin teachers still felt their authority was undermined when children challenged them, whilst at Harrier, there had also been a serious problem when classroom management issues got out of hand; parents got involved and staff and pupils received physical threats.

At Chough, termly lesson observations and online monitoring of results enabled clearer planning. However, the head reported that many staff struggled with these new initiatives at first, finding them pressurising, as they said, *'they really weren't happy...I think they thought it needed to be less, the pressure should be off them'.* At Corbin, similarly, certain types of lesson plans had to be followed, and a teacher reported, '*There was a lot of 'I'm not doing that' kind of thing'.* Another reported how they felt that the management at the school had become '*a bit hard'.* When introducing the set lesson plans, there had been a backlash over some of the ideas, and there was disagreement even amongst NQTs and the SMT about what starters and plenaries in the lessons were. She explained, *'It got a bit complicated. So you just had to tell everybody to do the same. It*

got to the point where it was, *''whether you like it or not, if you do this then we'll get out of Special Measures. If you don't do this, we won't'.* The expected styles of teaching were less of a problem for newly or recently qualified teachers, but a teacher at Corbin suggested that for older teachers, *'it was far more stressful and far more scary, and having people in the room was just not what they were used to'.* Another teacher felt this had implications for their professional autonomy,

> *and what it didn't do, I don't think it really allowed the individualness between lessons and between subjects. It should, and it will, once you get used to doing it, but when you're being forced into doing a starter and they kind of say, 'well these are starters', kids walk in and every lesson they're doing this and every lesson… or plenaries in every lesson they're doing this. I suppose it became a little repetitive to them. You lose that kind of flair kind of thing.*

Yet whilst the head thought that, *'there was less autonomy and control than I'd ever come across',* he believed, *'they will become better teachers as a result'.* Previously there had been a culture of questioning policies, whereas the classification meant, *'we could say everybody's going to do the same thing. So in that way…and people responded'.* Yet, he also expressed how,

> *I think it makes people less professional myself. My view now would be that people have lost some of their…they're less good at problem solving. They're less good at initiative. I think we've made them slightly too dependent.*

At Harrier, the management team also introduced staff performance reviews every six months and teachers were monitored on using three part lesson plans. This meant that heads of faculty and departments went to view what went on in particular classrooms. A teacher reported that some felt uncomfortable with this:

> *But I think staff, once they closed the door of their room, feel that that's their empire and as long as they can go out the door with their head held high, they're ok. I think a lot of staff felt very threatened by that. To be truthful it's maybe because they weren't doing the job that they should be doing*

It is noticeable that staff at all three of the less well achieving schools spoke less of CPD and training experiences, although there were signs of more training being offered. At Chough, a teacher referred to how she had become more confident using ICT after an OfSTED recommendation. And at Harrier, the head commented how they've been able to grant professional development requests by teachers, *'and these were things that weren't there before which were bread and butter for most schools'.* Asquith was also benefiting from successful involvement in the *'Excellence in Cities'* initiative, which was welcomed by staff, although one teacher was militant that the school should have been entitled to the money in any case, and argued, *'why have we got to jump through hoops to get what we really should be doing in schools?'*

External relations: networks with other schools and universities

In terms of networking, teachers at three of the poorly performing schools commented on links with other schools. At Fulmar, a teacher had felt observing lessons at a beacon school was inappropriate to the issues facing teachers at Fulmar. However, the head at

Chough reported positively on her experience being paired up with a consultant who was Head of a Beacon School, who had observed lessons and discussed ways of developing the subject areas. Another teacher at Chough responded positively to her experience when attending a writing workshop with teachers from other schools, especially in comparing how many things they had in common in teaching.

It was at Corbin that the most benefits were felt from partnerships. The school were part of a city network with five other schools, which as the head explained meant, *'more and more people were talking to others'*. Another local school had agreed to federate with Corbin to avoid its closure and the head expressed immense gratitude for the head and governors' work, stating, *'there's no doubt that without their energy and enthusiasm we'd have died. It's incredible what they did'*. Corbin also had positive links with another local training school, as teachers were paired up with other staff there. This helped the school not only in terms of sharing good teaching and learning practice, but also in terms of boosting both the school's reputation and teachers' status and esteem when improving. The head explained,

> *What that also did for my teachers and leaders of all levels was people suddenly discovered well Corbin is that place that nobody wants to go to and it's no good but actually it's not [like that. Rather] 'those teachers know a hell of a lot', ' they're very good', 'I've learned this from them'. Our good practice then started going out across the city. My special needs department just told me about another thing they've done today that everyone's talking about. So it goes both ways and my staff (although they're in Special Measures and were getting help and support) were also able to demonstrate that they could do things very effectively.*

Three teachers were also made ASTs within the school which had a wider benefit for the image of the school as a whole, as the head commented,

> *So you can twist it round to say OK you don't think we're good but actually it's three people that are brilliant. Actually, the others aren't that far behind….It also helps the teachers feel good about themselves.*

Their experiences in the network had noticeable impacts in staff confidence in the school. The head reported how six or seven of Corbin's teachers delivered a training day and:

> *everyone thought it was inspiring. It had all come from them [the teachers] so they had taken on leadership in terms of teaching and learning and were able to demonstrate it to the staff. So we've almost become self sufficient. We don't need anyone anymore.*

External relations: parents, community and media perceptions

Teachers at all four of the poorly performing schools felt low status deriving from parents low expectations formed on the basis of the schools' reputation. At Fulmar, an AST reported how the school suffers a bad perception, whilst many parents do not attend parents evenings and *'don't tend to rate us'*. At Harrier, the head explained how some of the less supportive parents responded to the school's classification with an, *'oh yes, I knew it was a rubbish school. It doesn't surprise me. I can't believe those things are*

going on'. At Chough, a TA also reported how the school suffered a poor reputation with parents, and parents had always been reluctant to send their children there, even prior to the OfSTED inspection. Other parents had told her that headteachers at feeder schools had advised the parents not to send their children to the school. At Corbin, a similar story was revealed as teacher also reflected on their reputation:

> *It's always been... I mean I grew up in Cambridge and I went to the school further up the road and it's always been 'oh not that school. That's where all the idiots go' for want of a better expression. I think it had and still is to a certain extent a bit of a dumping ground for the kids... here are some parents who choose to send their children here because it's a small school. But a large number are kind of default. So it is definitely skewed to the lower ability range.*

Perhaps as a result of these perceptions, teachers commonly reported sometimes strained relationships and little support from parents. At Harrier, the headteacher explained that, *'most of the parents were very negative, so was the community about the school. And that is an uphill struggle really'*. At Chough, a teacher expressed how despite the hard work of the staff, *'we have a group of children that come from a poor area. The parents aren't interested...it's sad, the children that are achieving here are the children of parents who are willing to put a little time in'*. At Fulmar, it was reported that the classifications made little difference to parents, and when the school was moved *'up a notch'* into 'Serious Weakness', this was ironically perceived to be of greater concern by parents. Parents generally were reported to have little contact with school, and little knowledge or interest, generally, in school issues.

Rather than being anything to do with their classification in Special Measures, the poor relationships were explained at three schools as a result of parental experiences of their own schooling. Teachers felt they were fighting a 'them and us' attitude, as a teacher at Harrier explained,

> *I also think that there is something about the establishment in a school, parents within an area like ours maybe didn't do particularly well themselves at school and didn't have particularly a good time of it at school and so project those ideas onto the school as it is now. Therefore any situation that their child gets into, it becomes a situation where it seems to be a large number of cases, them against us...I do feel that a lot of our parents feel that teachers are vindictive, spiteful, because their children get into trouble. Moving into Special Measures, I think, enhanced one or two of those prejudices really.*

However, she also reported how other parents gave the school a chance before moving their children, and the head commented, *'everything since we've been in Special Measures that I've heard from parents has been very very positive about the current situation of the school...parents realise the school wants to move forward'*. Attempts at positive partnerships were also being developed at Harrier, where the deputy reported that,

> *I think the parents here know that they're in a difficult community anyway. I think they know there are problems outside the school. There are problems of an evening....I think the parents understand that. I think what the parents value though is the fact that we're trying our best to do something to support them.*

Indeed, the important role the school could play in the community was often part of their improvement plan. The deputy at Harrier was planning a sports college bid with the idea that it would be influential in the wider community in driving up standards of health and self esteem, although felt that this was not supported by the more academic framework of specialist schools.

More positive relationships were also reported at Corbin, where teachers were aware of the problem of parental perceptions. A teacher there explained,

> *People are automatically defensive because of their own experiences. So you have to understand that really and work at being helpful. That's so much of what we do is trying to be helpful and talking to parents at parents' evenings and saying 'look we're all on the same side here. We all want the best for your child'. It isn't them and us.*

In fact, they were pleasantly surprised by the mobilisation of the parents and community to fight against the school closure. A teacher recounted how the school had been under threat of closure before, *'so even though when it said Special Measures and it might be closed, the parents were like, 'no we can get out of this again'.* The work-experience coordinator spent time in town and around the city and reported how, *'people say, 'it's awful what they want to do to Corbin isn't it?'* In this case, the fact that the school had been established for over 65 years and people remembered their own experiences there was an advantage and the community support helped the staff morale. A teacher said, *'everybody's with us you see; that sort of support…we feel better really because we feel better in ourselves about how things are going.* Another teacher explained,

> *Well we were already working together but it showed us how much support we'd got in the community, parents and other people were concerned for us. We had a petition of over 21,000 signatures. I think that beats what they did for the local motorway petition.*

However another teacher at Corbin also explained that at the threat of closure, *'a lot of parents did start to move their kids. They kind of jumped'.* At Harrier, when the school was classified as Special Measures, the school also lost some students and Fulmar was also undersubscribed and unable to attract pupils from beyond the boundary of the local estate. It had to fight against the threat of closure because of the low enrolment.

Some of the negative labelling was not helped by the media. At Harrier, a teacher felt the media, *'have done huge damage…I think pretty much all journalism at the moment about education is fairly negative'.* But it was at Corbin that the most damaging effect for teachers at the school was reported. When the school was going to close, the senior staff were told that the school would not be named in the press. Yet in reality, the head said, *'The following morning coming into school my staff said 'it's all over the radio Corbin is closed. The eight o'clock bulletin…Corbin will be closed. That's how the students found out. That's how my staff found out'.* The news was the first item on local radio and on the front page of the newspapers, echoing when, *'you go into Special Measures, they splash you on the front page, picture of the school, picture of me [head]'.* Yet four weeks later when, *'I was able to tell them we were out of Special Measures, they put it on page seven'.* However, the head also explained how they were able to utilise local press

interest to their advantage, thus the head had spoken on the radio. When the heads of the schools knew they were going to federate, they also called the education correspondent of the paper and invited them to the school to interview them. The head said, *'we deal with the press very positively'.* Indeed, the federating of the schools was felt by the headteacher as a positive opportunity to wipe the slate clean, and turn around their negative reputation. He reported,

> *For status I think it's probably a very positive move because there are very few of these federations in the country. For once instead of Corbin being one of the few schools in Special Measures, it could be one of the few schools in an innovative and innovated development. They're [teachers] in partnership with a leading edge school. They're doing something that the DfES is very interested in and it gives them a chance to feel a bit more special for a change.*

Conclusions: common issues for poorly achieving schools

In conclusion, the in-depth case-studies of classified poorly performing schools showed that:

- Teachers felt that their esteem and status was affected by the underfunding they perceived poorly performing schools had suffered. New investment was greatly required and when given had positive impacts for teaching and learning and teachers' esteem.

- The poor status of the school was believed to reflect on the teachers working there, in opinions from those both within and without the teaching profession. Staff professed to feel some embarrassment at their schools' names.

- The OfSTED inspections were unanimously experienced by teachers in these schools as having devastating effects on teachers' esteem. Although the process was recognised as necessary and ultimately having positive long-term effects, the nature of the process was felt as counterproductive and detrimental to the teachers involved. There was a lack of feedback and negative evaluations had terribly demotivating effects on staff. It also created hierarchies within schools, undoing the sense of teamwork that others reported contributed to high status (Chapters 7 and 9).

- The process of improvement and movement out of Special Measures had positive impacts on staff esteem.

- Teachers retrospectively constructed stories of weak leadership that impacted on staffing relations and teachers' esteem. The inspection process was also felt to have a divisive effect. Staff who had 'pulled through' in getting the school out of Special Measures enjoyed a strong team-spirit.

- The stigma of going into Special Measures was reported as creating difficulties for existing staff through problems attracting new staff. These factors compounded the schools' initial difficulties and worsened the problems there. However, it was also reported that schools in Special Measures were attractive to

staff who wished to make a name for themselves and wanted a challenge in working in such schools.

- Staff felt that the improvement process imposed rigidity on their teaching practice. This was felt by teachers to undermine their confidence. However, the new systems seemed to work in helping the schools get out of Special Measures, even if the process risked disrupting the flair of individual teachers.

- Some benefits were felt through partnerships with other schools, particularly when it was also used as an opportunity for teachers in the poorly performing schools to demonstrate their own skills.

- In external relations, teachers at these schools felt the schools were poorly perceived by parents, and reported unsupportive relations. There were some attempts to overcome a 'them and us' attitude.

PART FOUR: CASE STUDIES III: TEACHERS AND PUPILS: MINORITY ETHNIC TEACHERS, TEACHERS IN SPECIALISED ROLES OR SETTINGS, AND PUPILS' VIEWS

The major case study elements to this project have been designed to capture, firstly, the views of teachers, generally, with respect to their status and the status of their profession and secondly, teachers' perceptions of the impact of certain school statuses/classifications (e.g. Beacon, Leading Edge, Serious Weaknesses etc) on their status.

It is acknowledged, however, that certain groups within the teaching profession may share the same experiences as the general teacher population but might also have perspectives which are derived by virtue of the particular responsibility they have or the category/group within which they fall. The project has included, therefore, a third phase of case studies which have employed, mainly, focus group interviews with teachers from the following groups:

- Teachers involved in CPD and research
- Teachers responsible for Special Educational Needs
- Teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds
- Teachers working in Pupil Referral Units
- Teachers responsible for early years provision

Each of the above groups has been treated as unique projects, researched by groups or individuals within the research team, thus enabling the researchers the scope to conduct in-depth investigations. The varied approaches, described in each of the following studies were, therefore, tailored to the circumstances of the groups investigated and have added the rich contributions of various actors in each category with respect to the distinctive issues relating to status and professionalism.

In the remainder of Part IV, chapters 15 – 20 refer to the Minority Ethnic Teachers case study. Chapters 21 – 24 each present a case study of teachers in a variety of roles and settings. Finally, chapter 25 presents pupils' views collected during our school based case studies (Part II).

CHAPTER 14: THE STATUS OF MINORITY ETHNIC TEACHERS

Introduction and overview

This chapter is concerned with the status of teachers from various minority ethnic backgrounds and addresses two of the project's aims: to '*understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes* and to '*identify how perceptions of teacher status can be improved*'. Throughout this study respondents to surveys and interviews offered their views concerning issues such as the attractiveness of teaching as a career, teacher status over the years and teachers' perceptions of their own status. In assessing these contributions, however, we are conscious of further possible dimensions to teachers' understandings of their professional identity and status which may be influenced by their own ethnic origins and the reactions and attitudes of others, both individually and institutionally, towards them. This report is structured around the two key questions below.

1. What is the status of teachers from minority ethnic groups within the profession?
2. What factors encourage teachers from minority ethnic groups to remain in or leave the profession?

Analysis of teachers' discussions in relation to the above questions has identified several key findings, four of which are included below.

- Although a few teachers were able to identify examples of equal opportunities, most minority ethnic teachers expressed impatience with school leaders' inequitable approaches to promotion. Teachers believed that coupled with the personal esteem to be gained through securing sought after positions in schools, it was also important for their colleagues, pupils and the wider community to appreciate the fact that minority ethnic teachers are capable of holding influential positions.
- School managers' handling of the government's workforce reform initiative, has proven to be a cause for concern for many minority ethnic teachers participating in this study. Disparities were evident in the experiences of teachers and, whilst a few teachers were content with the outcomes of the changes, most teachers felt that the government had handed to headteachers licence to discriminate unfairly.
- Minority and majority ethnic teachers alike considered the respect and attitudes demonstrated by their colleagues and others within their schools to be essential to their sense of status. However, minority ethnic teachers, particularly African Caribbean teachers, experienced negative stereotypical and 'racist' attitudes from people at all levels in schools, which served to undermine their positions and demonstrate their relative status.
- African Caribbean teachers felt that their ability to realise and express their professionalism, through the delivery of meaningful teaching and learning strategies to minority ethnic pupils, was frustrated by inflexible attitudes towards the national curriculum and the unwillingness by some teachers to appreciate the needs of an increasingly diverse pupil population.

The Evidence

This report begins with a brief background to some of the issues which various commentators have deemed relevant to the discussion about the role of minority ethnic teachers within the teaching profession in England. After a summary of the methods used for this study, the next two sections present teachers' responses to the questions: '*What is the status of teachers from minority ethnic groups within the profession?*' and '*What factors encourage teachers from minority ethnic groups to remain or leave the profession?*' The final section provides a summary of the findings.

Background

Concerned about the volume of complaints received from minority ethnic teachers (20 years ago), about discriminatory practices in schools with regard to recruitment and promotion, the Commission for Racial Equality (1988) conducted research collecting ethnically-based data from schools. The study concluded with several findings which remain relevant today, namely that:

> *ethnic minority teachers are few in number, that they are disproportionately on the lowest salary scales, and that they are concentrated in subjects where there is a shortage of teachers or where the special needs of ethnic minority pupils are involved. They do not enjoy the same career progression as white teachers, even when their starting scales and lengths of service are similar nor do their headteachers encourage them in the same way as they do white teachers to apply for vacancies within their school ...*

Stating their mission to increase the proportion of minority ethnic teacher trainees by 2005/6, the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA, circa 2003) calculated the proportion of minority ethnic pupils in schools to be 17.1 per cent and aimed to increase the proportion of new entrants, from minority ethnic backgrounds, to initial teacher training to 9 per cent. The Runnymede Trust's (2003) examination of the factors affecting minority ethnic teachers listed several issues of concern, most of which feature in this study of the status of minority ethnic teachers, they include:

> '*subject stereotyping, promotion only available through specialist routes that do not lead to headship, expectation that they will 'deal' with parents or children from minority ethnic backgrounds, expected to legitimise school decisions that they expect may have discriminatory origins, perception of teaching as low status among certain minority ethnic communities, encountering racism during training/teaching practice*'

The General Teaching Council for England (GTC), through its Achieve network, have sought to encourage equality and diversity in schools and support the recruitment, retention and professional development of minority ethnic teachers. Highlighting the importance of a more diverse workforce, the Vice Chair of the GTC (Sivaloganathan, 2005) said, '*BME* [black and minority ethnic] *teachers need a better deal in their own careers ...they are underrepresented in senior management positions and in headships. That needs to change too*'.

Rattansi (1992) made the point that the by-product of stereotypical attitudes is racial prejudice which seeks to devise '*hostile or negative attitudes based on ignorance and faulty or incomplete knowledge*'. In their argument for greater efforts to increase the proportions of minority ethnic teachers, commentators such as Coard (1971), Wright (1987) and Rattansi (1992) identified a contentious relationship between minority ethnic pupils and white teachers, founded on stereotypical notions of minority ethnic cultures and abilities. Compounding the likelihood of failure for African Caribbean pupils, argued Bourne et al.(1994), is the tendency to exclude pupils on the basis of social and cultural misunderstandings, which '*tend to see black children as having particularly intractable behavioural problems by virtue of their culture, family structure or upbringing*'. Minority ethnic teachers with their abilities to interact, positively, with the cultural complexities of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds, present government and schools with an invaluable teacher workforce capable of engaging with the mission to raise standards in education for all pupils but in particular for minority ethnic pupils. McCadden (2000) found in minority ethnic teachers, a workforce equipped with the expertise and cultural understanding to meet the demands of minority ethnic pupils in order to stimulate academic prowess.

Methodology

The investigation of minority ethnic teachers' status was conducted in focus groups of teachers holding a range of professional roles in schools and local authorities in three regions. The objective was not to make generalisations about the population of minority ethnic teachers, rather to gain an understanding of the social, political and cultural developments that influence their perceptions of their status. The level of interest in this study displayed by minority ethnic teachers was encouraging, however, translation of that interest into committed participation was somewhat challenging. Teachers were asked to participate and share experiences of a sensitive nature pertaining to past and current school experiences. Fear of reprisals punctuated their reasons for non-participation.

Candid discussions with participants revealed that one of the chief fears was the prospect that information about their presence and contributions at the meetings might reach their headteachers. Teachers suspected that a sinister agenda might exist in the association of this project with the DfES. An Indian teacher shared the views of her colleagues who had decided against attending a focus group:

> She said "Whatever we say, these people are always connected and we could fall in trouble". So I thought that there is an issue where ethnic minorities don't feel confident. She said "even if they say it's completely confidential, it's not". She told me "Be careful what you say". You need to work on building confidence in these minority ethnic teachers.

Also, a common accusation, even from those who attended focus groups, was the charge that valuable research which challenges the activities, motives or policies of government and school management would fail to achieve sufficient exposure.

Data collection

Data collection took place between May 2005 and April 2006. African-Caribbean, Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani teachers were invited to participate in one of four focus groups held in their local authority areas. In addition, interviews were conducted with five teachers who chose not to participate in group sessions.

Focus groups were held in the North-west, the West Midlands and London where there were schools with substantial numbers of pupils and teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds. All participants were assured anonymity, therefore their names, their local authorities and their schools are not divulged in this report. The main method of gaining access to these teachers was through negotiations with local authority representatives, teachers' union representatives and various minority ethnic teachers' network groups. The GTC's Achieve Network was also generous in publicising the study to its network members.

These focus groups were conducted with qualified minority ethnic teachers who were working in maintained schools or attached to various local authority school support services. The research took place in 6 local authorities and included 14 teachers from London, 14 teachers from the North-west and 21 teachers from the West Midlands. From the four ethnic groups 33 African Caribbean, three Bangladeshi, seven Indian and six Pakistani teachers participated.

The following section presents the findings from each of the focus groups.

What is the status of teachers from minority ethnic groups within the profession?

In this first section of the findings, which seeks to understand how teachers feel about their relative status within the profession, teachers present a rationale for the necessity for schools to promote equitable career opportunities, based on the national desire to raise standards in education. The next part of the section, under the heading 'Attitudes towards government', reports teachers' views on the impact of government policy initiatives which they feel have a direct or indirect impact on their status. In the final part of this section teachers offer suggestions of ways in which teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds might gain enhanced status within schools, through forms of 'Ethnic monitoring'.

Meritocratic advancement for all?

Teachers, as with people in any other profession, are entitled to equality of access in all areas of their careers but minority ethnic teachers have serious concerns about the reality of this principle with regard to recruitment at various levels, professional support/collegiality, continued professional development and promotion to all strata of the profession. For many minority ethnic teachers, their low status and desire to attain the more senior positions in schools, including headship, or to see other minority ethnic teachers in such positions, is closely associated with their desire to tackle the problem of the underachievement of minority ethnic pupils in schools. These teachers felt that minority ethnic teachers generally held low status positions, a situation which they felt contributed towards minority ethnic pupils' understanding of the hierarchical location of their communities within society. Minority ethnic teachers argued, therefore, that their inability to secure senior positions had a negative effect on pupils' self-worth, aspirations and ultimately their academic performance. An African Caribbean deputy headteacher in

London stressed her impatience to see the proliferation and nationwide acceptance of minority ethnic people into all spheres of public life in Britain. From her view point, it is essential for the self-esteem and confidence of pupils to be enhanced by the presence of minority ethnic people in the most influential positions negotiating public governance. It is these positions that she feels minority ethnic children should be encouraged to pursue:

> *We need more at the top of the ladder because that's where you're going to make the impact. Not only as a headteacher, you need to start going into the council because even if you're a headteacher you're curtailed by them* [local authority officers and elected members]. *You have to start moving into local government, into government. Black people have been around* [in England] *from time immemorial, how many are in parliament? How many in really influential jobs? This is why we need to educate our children. We need to say "you get in there, don't look at the colour of your skin ... you need to go out there and show I am who I am , it's not the colour of my skin but what I can do.*

An African Caribbean primary headteacher, also based in London, agreed with the view that minority ethnic people needed to secure senior positions and influence policy decisions within local authorities. For her, the challenge to raise the academic attainment of African Caribbean pupils rested not just with schools but required the attention of the whole of the local education service. She said that in her local authority, whilst schools had a '*fair number of black headteachers, none of the LEA senior management or advisory services are black*'.

Bangladeshi teachers were also convinced that their status in schools played a major role in encouraging and inspiring Bangladeshi pupils to succeed academically. A Bangladeshi teacher from London insisted that Bangladeshi pupils needed to draw their confidence from examples of successful Bangladeshi people in management positions within schools and the public arena. He drew an analogy with local governance, explaining that a previously disinterested local Bangladeshi community had started to take their political responsibilities more seriously since they became more politically aware, following the accession of Bangladeshi citizens to policy-making positions in local government. A Bangladeshi teacher from London acknowledged that most Bangladeshi people who were serving as elected members were first generation Bangladeshi and perhaps did not have sufficient grasp of the role, but nevertheless he was confident of their future success. However, his point was that the political headway being made in this area of London by the Bangladeshi community had not filtered through to the education system, where Bangladeshi teachers were under-represented at the most senior levels and which had an adverse effect on the academic attainment of Bangladeshi pupils. He argued that the local Bangladeshi community were more likely to engage with school activities if they could relate to the people who were making influential decisions affecting their children's lives:

> *If there are Bangladeshi people in the decision-making process, in the schools, in the educational set-up they feel that they belong. In this borough 50% of councillors are from the Bangladeshi community and that has given the Bangladeshi community some political confidence, although their contributions might not be that much, but at least there's a presence, a political presence. If that is true for the political world then in the educational world it is also very important. At the moment it is perceived*

that decisions are being made by somebody else and we don't see the community in the decision-making system.

Two regional examples of headteachers who were prepared to support the advancement of minority ethnic teachers, were shared by teachers, who, as a result of their headteachers' actions felt they were valued members of their schools. The first example was that of a school in London where two of the teachers attending a specific focus group with African Caribbean teachers, had worked at the school, at different times but with the same headteacher. A head of department with the role of AST, commended the white headteacher at her school for her ability to recognise teachers' strengths and support their progress to senior positions. She recalled the pace with which she was able to gain promotion, '*within 2 years I was head of department and within 3yrs I was an AST. I didn't think it was a race thing at all*'. She pointed out, that at that stage, all of the school's ASTs were from minority ethnic backgrounds, a situation which changed as white teachers started to obtain these positions also. She added '*… I don't know if it was something consciously done by the head or not, I can't imagine it would have been. I think she just went for teachers that were working really hard and getting good results and having a positive effect on their students*'.

The second example of positive support from headteachers was mentioned during the conversation between two African Caribbean teachers in the North-west. One of these teachers was attempting to console the other, whom she had previously taught, as she bemoaned the lack of professional development since the school's appointment of a new headteacher. She explained to her colleague:

> *the two previous heads that you've had have been way ahead of their time, in terms of incorporating and promoting black people. Although they were white they were always progressive, and whatever schools those heads were in they wanted to make sure they had good teachers including black teachers and so on as role models for the kids. And this person* [the new headteacher] *has come along and does not understand the ethos of where the previous two heads have come from and that's the difference. So this person is what we would normally expect but it's come as a shock to your system. Those two were so good at drawing you in and nurturing you so that you could have the confidence.*

Another African Caribbean assistant headteacher in the West Midlands, who was working towards his National Professional Qualification for Headteachers (NPQH), had had mixed experiences with headteachers in the local area. He was graphic in his explanation of the ways in which he believed headteachers influenced the status and careers of minority ethnic teachers. One of his headteachers had failed to acknowledge his expertise until he decided to leave the school to work at a school where the headteacher was more attentive to his teachers' professional development needs. He explained his previous headteacher's attitude: '*… me and the Head were best friends until I told him I was leaving and the man cursed me, he said "You can f'off, don't let me f'ing see you come back here again …"* He said that, during his first year at his current school, his new eadteacher had done more for him than his former headteacher did during the 4 years that he was in post. He explained how he had benefited from the move, '*the Head there* [at his new school] *gave me a five year action plan and said that in 5 years you want to be moving out. It's like now I'm on the NPQH and he's saying*

"start looking now, we've promoted two long-standing teachers here to deputy *Heads, there's not going to be a* deputy *Head position coming up within the next 5 years".*

These are just a few examples of ways in which headteachers have demonstrated an even hand when devising strategies to support the career advancement of teachers. Unfortunately, however, those cases are outweighed by the multitude (too many to include in this report) of examples where teachers of all minority ethnic backgrounds have complained about inequitable opportunities for promotion and a depressed sense of status. A few of the comments from teachers of each of the minority ethnic groups provide a flavour of the resentment that teachers felt towards their school's management of their careers. These cases reveal a range of problems such as lack of awareness, patent nepotism and exclusion from cliques. Pakistani teachers in London and the North-west were just as concerned at the low numbers of minority ethnic teachers in senior positions as other minority ethnic teachers. Review of the comments of a few of the Pakistani teachers revealed concerns about the extent to which they appeared uninformed about the professional opportunities available to them as teachers. One of these teachers said that on entry to the profession she was totally unaware of the hierarchical structures in schools, and thought that '*... you had to be either a classroom teacher or a headteacher and that was it. I didn't even know ASTs existed*'.

Another Pakistani teacher, also in the North-west, although she had secured an AST position, felt she had been duped into accepting the position at the cost of forfeiting the chance of a deputy headship, which she felt would carry greater kudos. Whilst for many the AST role is a sought after position, it does carry the requirement for teachers to excel in and concentrate on a specialised subject/area. Deputy headship, on the other hand, requires a more general all-round set of skills and management techniques. She said '*I've been kept in Year 6 due to my specialism but if I'd known that I could have applied for a management position I wouldn't have taken the AST. I'm going to apply for NPQH next year but I'm not sure if my Head will support me.*' This teacher also had concerns that although she was included in the school's leadership team her relative status was clear as she felt excluded from genuine decision-making processes and felt that her headteacher had deliberately thwarted a vital career opportunity for her. The resilience and determination of this teacher to manage her own career development is, perhaps, commendable as she was prepared to challenge her headteacher on the issue. She said:

> *In my performance management meeting I reminded the new head of my desire for NPQH and challenged her for excluding me from leadership discussions. I said, "You don't acknowledge me as a member". A year ago I would have cried but now I won't. This is an Asian girl who they don't respect but she'll keep asking "why?"*

Indian teachers also spoke of the difficulties that existed for their communities, with regard to accessing certain positions in schools. An Indian London-based supply teacher, who had been working in the same school for four years, explained how she saw a chink of light when the school appointed an African Caribbean deputy headteacher with responsibility for teacher recruitment. A sudden strategic change was required, however, when the headteacher discovered a change in the normal pattern of recruitment. The teacher's tone was lamentable as she described the situation,

> '*In our school one SMT is black, she is deputy head but the rest are white. They put her in charge of recruitment last year and she recruited three staff,*

two black and one Asian. And when we started the new term in September that responsibility had been given to someone else, she's white'.

Other teachers have spoken about the reliance upon the perceived fairness of minority ethnic teachers in management positions for career breaks, such as the Indian head of department, this time in the West Midlands, who was fortunate to have an African Caribbean headteacher who recognised and rewarded his expertise. He complimented her, '*For my head of department post I had to apply for jobs at various places, it took me 5 years and in the end I believe the single factor that got me this post was the fact that the head was an African Caribbean head and she gave me the opportunity*'. This teacher felt that a more ethnically diverse school management was one of the few ways in which minority ethnic teachers could breach what he viewed as the closed networks which served to promote nepotism. He explained, '... *that's what stops us from encouraging our kids to come into teaching ... we don't have access to the networks that are there*'.

Concern was raised by a couple of the Indian teachers about the tendency for headteachers to be more attentive to the needs of those minority ethnic teachers, particularly African Caribbean teachers, who are prepared to present their case for professional advancement in a more forceful manner. An Indian teacher in the West Midlands felt that she, as with other Asian teachers, may have been forced out of the promotion arena, unfairly. She concluded:

> *I think Asian teachers don't kick up as much of a stink as do other teachers. I've got other Asian teachers who work with me and we keep in the background, we don't fuss. There are lots of things we disagree with but we just keep our noses out of things because I've found, over the years, that we're not taken seriously with a lot of things.*

Some Indian teachers felt, therefore, that they, and other Asian teachers, needed to take action to promote their own status in schools. An Indian teacher from the North-west described what she had done to take control of her own career advancement, '*I think I've learned to control my professional development now and I'm logging everything that I've asked for. I'm not prepared now for management to repeatedly ignore my wishes. What I do is to ask for it, log it, take action if I need to take action. I kind of feel a bit weary to have to push against every damned thing*'.

Bangladeshi teachers spoke about the ways in which their lifestyle differences, due to adherence to their Muslim faith, exclude them from certain situations. One of these teachers was particularly concerned about exclusion from teachers' social settings, to which he felt membership was a significant advantage, increasing the potential for promotion or other professional development. He said:

> *There are barriers. Bangladeshi Muslims will not go to the pub for social evenings. So it's the socialisation factors in establishments, especially higher up* [senior managers]*, where decisions are taken in the pub in a place where we don't go ...Even if formal decisions are not made, what happens is that you will lose out, the fact that you are not there in the social group, then you're disadvantaged in terms of the information, extra friendships etc.*

African Caribbean teachers spoke about the same issues from their perspectives, many of them reserving their most scathing comments for headteachers who they felt, generally,

served to hinder their professional development. A teacher in the North-west spoke about the willingness of headteachers to keep certain teachers away from positions of responsibility. She said:

> *I don't think that Heads will do anything unless they have to. I think they're quite happy with the status quo, they will keep black people where they are because most black teachers will work really hard. I know in primary, there are lots of women who are there working their socks off doing everything they can, giving of themselves and they're not really believing that they need to get anymore from it because they're quite happy with the amount of money they've got, they're happy with the fact that they know they're doing a good job and it's all intrinsic.*

For some minority ethnic teachers, it was only after external influences came to bear upon headteachers that they saw any chance of promotion, or at least recognition for their expertise, and the associated enhanced sense of status. The teacher above referred to her own situation, in which she felt the catalyst for her career progression came from an external source, rather than through her headteacher. She said:

> *'... even though the Head eventually promoted me, she only promoted me after OfSTED came and gave me the highest [ratings] of all the teachers. I got excellents and very goods throughout my teaching and I wasn't being given anything. The inspector was responsible for two areas and he sat down with me and looked at the progression I was taking the school through, the leadership that I was offering and he said "And you're not getting anything for this are you?" I said "well I don't need anything because I'm enjoying my work, I love what I do". The inspection was July and September I was offered the promotion.*

A similar situation was described by a primary school headteacher in London, who, whilst being content with her progression through the profession, was also rewarded for her work at the behest of external authorities rather than her own headteacher. Her story, whilst over 20 years old, almost mirrors the aforementioned, perhaps demonstrating the limited extent to which attitudes and actions of headteachers have changed. She explained that her breakthrough to seniority occurred after being observed by the HMI who complimented her, '*She said "this is wonderful, this is great, I'd like you to come to the headteachers' conference to talk at the conference about your topic and why you did it this way". I took it to the headteachers' conference and got job offers from all over England*'. The same HMI told her that she could be a headteacher by the time she reached 28 years of age (she actually became a headteacher shortly after her 28th birthday). The HMI designed a career development plan with her and promised to transfer her from the school that she was in at the time as she felt that the school management would hinder her professional development.

In their discussions about the insufficient numbers of minority ethnic headteachers within the teacher workforce, African Caribbean teachers were concerned about the limited extent to which they felt minority ethnic headteachers were able to make the desired impact that they thought was needed to change the status of teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds. A teacher attached to a local authority EMA (Ethnic Minority Achievement) team in the North-west was doubtful that significant change was on the horizon and felt that any prospective headteachers form the African Caribbean community would enhance their chances of success by concealing any inclination

towards equal opportunities. She remarked, '*I think that if you come across as a bit vocal or anything to do with black issues, well you can forget management. What you have to do is to keep shtum and if you get the management job then do what you want with it.*' An African Caribbean teacher in the West Midlands, continued the theme reflecting on examples of African Caribbean headteachers who had found it difficult to implement certain policies in the face of local authority and teacher opposition, she suggested:

> *... even black teachers are under pressure to maintain the status quo. I know black teachers who have become heads and they have had to toe the line. It's either that they toe the line or they've had so much hassle that they've had to give it up, they have no support. It's like the Red Sea, everybody parting and not supporting them at all, and they're left to stand alone and of course their policies are just not going to work.*

Attitudes to government

As teachers felt that their status in the profession was affected by their difficulties in securing senior positions in schools, they were asked to comment further on the issues which they felt served as barriers to their career progression, and the extent to which they felt government directives aided or hindered that progress. The bulk of their concerns surrounded issues related to headteachers' management of government initiatives and their wilful neglect of equal opportunity requirements. In terms of government policy initiatives, perhaps of most direct concern to the status of minority ethnic teachers, has been the perceived fairness, or otherwise, of the implementation of the government's reformation of the school workforce (DfES, 2002b) in schools. A Pakistani teacher in the North-west was of the opinion that, during recent years, teachers had experienced a decline in their status, mainly due to workforce restructuring. She contended:

> *There's been a big turnaround over the last five years due to TLR* [teaching and learning responsibilities] *and all the restructuring that schools have done. There's no longer any clear steps to promotion. I know an assistant head, who's an Asian woman and before she was told that she was in line for promotion but now, because of TLR, she's been taken off the ladder for promotion.*

Another Pakistani teacher felt that headteachers' restructuring of staffing levels left minority ethnic teachers at a disadvantage, due to the types of responsibilities that headteachers had apportioned them and found it difficult to believe that the government will preside over what she feels to be an inequitable system. She predicted that the government would reverse the policy within the next five years because, in her view, '*all ethnic minorities will be at the bottom, it was hard enough for ethnic minorities to get appointments before but now it will be even harder*'. She spoke about her headteacher's attitude towards the new structure, after a meeting that was held to explain the new system to staff, '*after the meeting the head asked me how I felt about it and I said that the new structure was not going to help a lot of people. All she said was "If people are going to lose money then they lose money"*.

Indian teachers made very few comments with respect to the programme of restructuring which schools have undertaken and appeared content that they had been sufficiently well catered for, as one of the London-based teachers explained, '*our headteacher has balanced it out very well and she has been ready to talk to any of the teachers who are losing out and she's giving them positions so that they don't lose too much. She's negotiating with them personally, maybe*

giving them extra responsibilities.' Bangladeshi teachers, on the other hand, were apprehensive about their prospects under the new structures, feeling that their ability to advance had been hampered. A Bangladeshi teacher felt slighted when she was asked to take over coordination of PHSE (personal health and social education), a subject area which afforded her no responsibility credits, and consequently no associated salary enhancement. She complained that '*TLR has had an impact on the opportunities available as I am struggling to get on that ladder*'. A Bangladeshi primary school NQT explained that she was reconsidering her choice of specialism as ICT no longer attracted TLR credits at her school. Although she held an ICT related degree she was prepared to hone her skills and divert her attention to an alternative area which would be reflected in her salary and provide the scope for higher status opportunities later on in her career.

A few of the African Caribbean teachers were satisfied with the ways in which headteachers had conducted the restructuring of their teacher workforce. One such teacher, in the North-west, noted her headteacher's fairness in ensuring that staff were treated equally. This teacher recognised the fact that the reform '*could be open to misuse*' by headteachers wishing to employ discriminatory practices but contended that '*… you'd have to be pretty screwed up to do that kind of thing*'. But this is precisely the situation which an African Caribbean teacher felt she had faced at her school where she feared the new structure may disadvantage minority ethnic teachers. She explained, '*Progression is difficult enough for existing black teachers. When this system comes into play, how are they going to implement it in order for progression to be fair? People are running scared because they fear that their management points will be taken away.*' Another teacher based in the North-west was convinced that headteachers had been granted licence to perform blatant discrimination by rewarding those closest to them. She said '*it's all about money, Heads are going like this* [rubbing hands together] *saying "I can save some money here and I can get rid of such and such". It's the old-boy network, it's "You're alright because I'll make sure you have three people under you".*' Another African Caribbean teacher, attending the same meeting, felt that '*with the freezing of the management points, if there's a black teacher in the school who's perceived as being too vocal, that could be mismanaged by certain headteachers to get certain teachers out of their school. It's a weapon that can be used by various headteachers*'.

Another area of concern, particularly for African Caribbean teachers, related to the ways in which they felt that school's interpretations and application of the national curriculum had a negative effect on their sense of professionalism. They felt that teachers demonstrated their worth and justified their status through their successful teaching of the content to diverse pupils groups, but they were dissatisfied with what they felt was a rigid curriculum, lacking flexibility to cater for the learning needs of minority ethnic pupils. For an assistant headteacher, in its current form, the national curriculum did little to enhance the status of the teaching profession, she explained:

> '*Teaching is about raising the expectations of all children no matter what your colour is, so to me it's about everybody in my class counts. To me it's about looking at teaching, raising the status of the teaching profession, looking at addressing the national curriculum. The national curriculum is white middle-class, it doesn't address the cultural needs of different pupils.*'

Some teachers have succeeded in adapting their learning materials and teaching styles to satisfy the learning needs of their classes, but found that their headteachers had not always been supportive of their strategies. An assistant headteacher explained that she resorted to covert measures with her primary class of pupils of various ethnicities, when

she incorporated their own histories into her teaching of historical events. She explained that her white colleagues and the school management opposed any deviation from the traditional history syllabus. During a discussion between teachers in another focus group in the West Midlands, about the constraints of the mathematics syllabus, an assistant headteacher felt teachers needed to be prepared to stretch the boundaries in order to aid the development of minority ethnic pupils' understanding of the subject, and justify teachers' own claims to any professional standing within schools. He argued that teachers should employ their own strategies to ensure that the pupils gain the knowledge they need to attain the results, regardless of the restrictions placed upon teachers. Thus, for these teachers the mere semblance of status was insufficient as they saw their true professional status as dependent upon their possession of the knowledge, skills and freedom to serve all of their pupils' learning needs. A supplementary report (to be published by DfES) uses data from this study to discuss the factors pertinent to teachers' perceptions of the barriers to their professional aspirations, which emanate from a desire to tackle the persistent underachievement of minority ethnic pupils.

African Caribbean teachers in London and the West Midlands felt that, compounding the negative effect of a mono-cultural curriculum, some of their colleagues failed to appreciate the necessity and/or lacked the will to engage with inclusive teaching approaches which often depended on their engagement with minority ethnic pupils' cultural differences. A West Midlands-based teacher explained situations where African Caribbean pupils had been misunderstood by white teachers and how her intervention had brought about mutual understanding between parents, teachers and pupils in dealing with cultural and language differences. Teachers' further explanations of the vital importance of a more flexible approach to the requirements of the national curriculum and a preparedness on the part of all teachers to accommodate the oral and body languages of diverse pupil populations are detailed in Cunningham (2006).

Ethnic monitoring

Challenged to suggest ways in which the status of minority ethnic teachers might be enhanced, 'tracking' was viewed by most minority ethnic teachers to be the key strategy capable of increasing the likelihood of fair access to a meritocratic teaching profession in which teachers are evaluated and rewarded on the basis of their knowledge and expertise as opposed to their ethnic origin. Teachers called for a mandatory system which would apply pressure to employers and education providers to monitor people as they entered the profession and throughout their careers. Indeed, one of the recommendations made to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) by Osler et al. (circa 2002) was to 'Review DfES Code of Practice on LEA – School Relations to ensure that it enables the effective collection of data required to enable schools and LEAs to carry out their duty to carry out race equality (as service providers and employers) under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act'. An African Caribbean teacher, now working as an LEA behaviour and attendance consultant, aired her thoughts during a focus group session held in the North-west:

> I think there needs to be some sort of tracking system in education anyway, so that for the people who are experiencing staying in the same job, not moving on, the school must run a much tighter ship. So they can track that this person has come in as a Year2 teacher and they systematically have appraisals where they move that person's career on. There has to be some guidance on that by the DfES.

Similar views were expressed by other African Caribbean teachers who placed the emphasis on the school's responsibility to ensure that teachers are given sufficient opportunity to progress their careers, however, these teachers were not convinced that headteachers would enforce such monitoring procedures voluntarily, and that '*the DfES should produce this as law, rather than good practice because if they produce it as a document of good practice, these people* [headteachers] *will not take note*'.

Suspecting a systemic strategy to exclude minority ethnic teachers from high status positions in schools, an African Caribbean teacher in the West Midlands was convinced of a conspiracy on the part of school managers to maintain a quota of minority ethnic teachers at senior levels, he explained, '*the system is very smart because we will get promoted but we won't be promoted to tilt the balance*. He provided the example of an African Caribbean teacher who had been occupying a senior management position for a few years, however, '*no other person can break into that level, simply because the ratio is already met, they don't need to promote anybody else*.' One of the teachers attending the same focus group suggested the DfES ran a pilot project which would: '*take a sample of people qualifying in a certain year, from different backgrounds and track them every so many years and see where they are, what they're up to, what their experiences are and why is it that this group of people have gone ahead*'. African Caribbean teachers felt, strongly, that positions of seniority in schools should be awarded on merit and not as tokenistic gestures by school managers in order to save face or to maintain quotas. They felt that such specious appointments would create a lack of confidence in the abilities of minority ethnic teachers and undermine the status of the teaching profession.

Teachers also rejected, as untenable, the idea of positive discrimination, which would ensure certain proportions of teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds. Teachers felt, strongly that these ideas were unsustainable and ran contrary to their desire to ensure high quality teachers for pupils. One of these teachers in the West Midlands spoke of the burden that a teacher appointed on this basis might have to bear, '*I don't believe in positive discrimination, and if you get into a position just to get the numbers right you'll always be looking over your shoulder and think "this doesn't feel right", you're not valued, you're just there because they're making the numbers right*'. Although a minority view, a couple of the African Caribbean overseas (Jamaican) teachers, based in the West Midlands, were prepared to challenge the premise that greater numbers of minority ethnic teachers would equate to improved academic attainment for minority ethnic pupils or tackle racism in recruitment. One of these secondary school maths teachers was unequivocal in his assertion that the argument was flawed and said, '*if we ask for it we'll be sorry in the long-run. In my school, I'm sure if we work out the ratios there would be too many black teachers there, then some of us would have to go*.' The point is made that by asking for policies which seek to match the proportion of minority ethnic teachers to the proportion of minority ethnic pupils, then once those proportions are fulfilled in specific schools, headteachers would not feel obliged to recruit further from minority ethnic groups, and serve as a deterrent to potential teaching applicants of minority ethnic backgrounds.

When asked to comment on the significance of a teaching workforce to reflect, more accurately, the ethnic composition of the pupil population in schools, Bangladeshi teachers expressed similar concerns to those raised by African Caribbean teachers. Although they felt that greater numbers of Bangladeshi teachers would demonstrate to Bangladeshi pupils that they too have a place in a profession which is considered by their

community to be of respectable status, Bangladeshi teachers were curious to know more about the ethnic breakdown of the current teaching workforce and, most importantly, the proportions occupying middle or senior management positions. One of these London-based teachers, working now with the local authority's Learning Support Service, also wanted knowledge of the precise minority ethnic backgrounds within the teacher workforce. From his perspective, as a specialist in the management of pupil behaviour, he felt that more Bangladeshi teachers in schools would produce positive outcomes for pupil attainment, *'I think definitely there would be an impact because if children can relate to their teachers in terms of their background then it's good for class management. This expectation could be by law in these Boroughs* [local authorities with high proportions of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds] *with teachers from the different ethnic communities as they do understand their communities. Most teachers in this borough are middle class white people, a few live in the borough but most of them live outside. So, do they know the dynamics of this community, the difficulties, challenges, aspirations, their hopes*?' Another London-based Bangladeshi teacher, whilst anxious that some action would be taken, was less certain about the merits of any attempt to match proportions of teachers to the pupil population. She explained:

> *That way you won't get white teachers in all black schools and no black teachers in white schools. But I feel that raising the profile of black teachers and developing opportunities naturally, not tokens, for black teachers may help. People who are graduating want to get into jobs where they see career progression but what role models of BME* [black and minority ethnic] *senior managers and heads do they see?*

The view from a Bangladeshi teacher from a different area of London was that Bangladeshi teachers needed to be more assertive in their demands for equality of opportunities and higher status in schools. He said that the Bangladeshi community *'needs to be more vocal, stand up and be counted. Also the government needs to be more interventionist. Positive discrimination is not justified but there must be positive action'.* He conceded, however, that *'… it's not going to happen in one or two generations, it will take longer'.*

Teachers, regardless of ethnicity, will want to receive the due respect commanded by their relative position within their school, to enable them to carry out their responsibilities effectively. It is conceivable that the esteem in which teachers, from majority or minority ethnic backgrounds, are held will have some impact on their determination to remain or leave the profession. Minority ethnic teachers, however, speak in the next chapter about their struggles to command such respect.

What factors encourage teachers from minority ethnic groups to remain or leave the profession?

In this section we discuss some of the factors that affect minority ethnic teachers' sense of status and have an impression on these teachers' resolve to remain or leave the profession. Specifically, in the first part of this section teachers speak about the uninformed and potentially damaging stereotypical attitudes of teachers, school managers and pupils. Closely allied to the issues related to stereotyping teachers, the following parts to this section discuss issues of respect, where teachers talk about their struggles to gain the respect of pupils, parents and their teaching colleagues.

Stereotyping minority ethnic teachers

Being the lone, or one of a very few, minority ethnic teachers in a school can be a daunting experience. Many, however, have endured this situation at some stage during their careers. The attitudes and practices of their colleagues can play a significant role in shaping the experience of such teachers and affect their feelings of belonging and either boost or depress their sense of status. Long-standing stereotypical attitudes towards certain minority ethnic communities are shown here to be demoralising for teachers. African Caribbean teachers spoke about their 'first contact'. A teacher from the West Midlands said '*on my first day, walking through the doors, the reaction was "Oh the cleaners go through that door"*'. Most interesting about such experiences, perhaps, is the lack of surprise among focus group participants, who have had similar encounters themselves. Another London-based teacher recalled her first experience at a school located in an area of London with a large minority ethnic community:

> *I remember my first teaching job in a school with 98 per cent minority ethnic children and probably one other black member of staff. I walked in and the Headteacher didn't think that I was the teacher. I was an angry parent coming in to complain about a child. So I sat outside the room for about half an hour. I suppose that was his way of "let her calm down while I do what I have to do". Eventually, he was so embarrassed when he realised that I was the class teacher. You could see the face going red and he couldn't face me, he sent the secretary out to do whatever* [the paperwork for her] *and she took me to the classroom.*

Several teachers concluded that headteachers also held stereotypical images of an aggressive and irrational African Caribbean community. During the few years that he had been teaching in England, a teacher in the West Midlands described what he perceived as astonishment of white teachers at his ability to hold rational and meaningful discourse during meetings. He explained, '*they are not expecting black people to reason, and we're thanked for reasoning which to us is a normal thing. You can see them looking perplexed afterwards because they're expecting us to get mad but we're not getting mad we're showing them that we're professional ...*'. Another African Caribbean overseas teacher concurred, claiming that '*there's an extra burden that we face because we're Jamaican ... they expect that you're going to be more aggressive than the so called black British*'. Another African Caribbean teacher, in the West Midlands spoke of her annoyance at the frequency with which her colleagues brought disobedient pupils to her, presuming that she would be able to bring them in line. She spoke about her own childhood disciplinarians, which she expected most families would have benefited from, in order to make the point that her experiences were not too far removed from other teachers in the school, and as such their presumptions were founded in stereotypical notions of African Caribbean women. She said:

> *It used to bother me but I know that in my school they have a stereotype. I didn't do a course to learn it, my mom, my grand-parents, my dad told me. I went to a behaviour venue and they had on it* [teaching materials] *"Miss Wilson (stereotype black name) and she's a single woman and she was biggish - it was stern Miss Wilson, the one that the children will not mess about with. And I've spoken to most of my black colleagues and it's the same thing; the preconception that black teachers are able to cope with discipline.*

Apart from the Pakistani teacher from the North-west who said '*I've had a NQT who, when I started, presumed that I was a caretaker*', no further such encounters were voiced by minority ethnic teachers from other backgrounds participating in focus groups. Teachers argued that these stereotypical attitudes were evident of the low esteem in which their colleagues held them and were often the source of 'racist' practices by teachers and school managers, which might work towards discouraging minority ethnic teachers from considering the teaching profession as a long-term career.

African Caribbean teachers were disappointed that their pupils also held similar stereotypical attitudes with little conception of a professional African Caribbean teacher. An African Caribbean deputy headteacher in a London-based school shared her story about the expectations that pupils often have of African Caribbean people. She described the awkward introduction to pupils on the first day at her new school:

> *The children amazed me, they first of all went through a line of things that I could be which was "are you so and so's mum?", "No", "are you the cook?" "No", "are you the helper?" "No", "are you the cleaner?" "No". So it makes you consider the things that children think of black people. When they see them they don't see them as professionals, it's the menial jobs first and then …When I said I'm your class teacher for today they said "No!" It was shock, horror. This is what saddens me and what I think made me continue in teaching. It saddened me to think that this school was 90% minority ethnic pupils and their reaction to a black teacher in the school, they just couldn't understand that here was a black person coming to teach them.*

Gaining respect from pupils and parents

Clearly, the level of respect received by teachers plays a major role in forming their sense of status in their schools and influencing their determination to remain in the profession. Asian teachers may not have suffered the ordeal of negative stereotyping to the same extent as that discussed by African Caribbean teachers above, but they have, however, had their authority challenged by parents and pupils. An Indian teacher in the West Midlands was most offended at the behaviour of a white pupil and his father, explaining:

> *I was abused last year by a parent in front of my whole class because of this child who was constantly disruptive and rude to me. He was brushing himself up against me and the remarks he was making I could have had him for sexual harassment. He called me a Paki, everything, you name it. Yet I had to teach this child and his father came in and called me all sort of names, right in front of the whole class, yet this child was still not removed from my class.*

A Pakistani teacher, also from the West Midlands, commented that she had had negative confrontations with parents of minority ethnic as well as white backgrounds. She was most disturbed, however, by what she felt was threatening behaviour of African Caribbean parents and parents of mixed heritage. The climax of this incident came when she was accused of racism, she said '*it was the worst year I'd had, they were just a horrendous Year 6 and several times this parent* [African Caribbean] *had reported me for being a racist. At that point I was at my lowest.*' This teacher explained that this

incident, coupled with the lack of support from her headteacher, almost drove her to leave the profession.

Teachers also took exception to the ways in which parents expected them to tend to the pastoral needs of their children, commenting that parents considered them to be '*either a god or a childminder, nothing in between*' (Pakistani teacher in the West Midlands) and '*you're either a social worker ... teaching goes out the window at times*' (Indian head of department in the West Midlands). Bangladeshi teachers, in London, described a quite different teacher/parent relationship. Two teachers spoke at length about the extent to which Bangladeshi parents relied upon them for their ability to interpret non-Bangladeshi teachers' comments. One of the teachers explained the importance of Bangladeshi teachers in schools in her area of London:

> *Their very presence can help some parents who don't feel comfortable confronting a white teacher. So parental confidence is important, many parents won't go to a white teacher because they don't know how to speak any English. Although schools provide translators, they* [parents] *are definitely vulnerable in front of a white teacher who is knowledgeable. If there are more teachers from the* [Bangladeshi] *community then there will be more interaction with the community and they say that where parents take more interest children do much better.'*

These sentiments resonate with the experiences of the other Bangladeshi teachers in the same focus group but she felt that Bangladeshi teachers should be remunerated for providing what she considered a free interpretation service which schools would otherwise have had to pay for. She said:

> *I've been at schools where teachers have difficultly explaining or they need interpretation of whatever needs to be said to the parents and they've had to hire out TAs and get them to do overtime. The TAs can claim overtime when they're interpreting, whereas because we're* [Bangladeshi teachers] *bilingual we're expected to do it and we're not getting anything extra for it ... So there's more that we have to cater for because we're bilingual, they'll approach you more than they'd approach a white teacher because there's a language barrier there.*

African Caribbean teachers have experienced a range of positive and negative experiences with parents and their children, and as with the Bangladeshi teachers, the majority of positive encounters have been with parents of the same ethnicity. It was from these teacher/parent relationships that teachers felt they gained most respect and were credited with the due status that encouraged them to remain in the profession. Having worked in a number of schools in London, an African Caribbean teacher attending one of the focus groups in London spoke about the benefits and the progress that could be made working with more ethnically diverse teacher workforces and pupil populations. She said:

> *You felt that you could be yourself with the parents and the children. And the parents, even though they gave you the respect, when you told them something about their child "wait until I get home ...", they gave you that respect and you felt that they were engaging and they would come to you and tell you "Well Miss XX, I can't read but can you help my child".*

Other African Caribbean teachers spoke about ways in which they had worked with parents to raise the attainment of their children. Another teacher, also in London, spoke of her efforts to be a positive image in the eyes of white parents, stating:

> *I don't think it's always been good. I think my relationships with parents have changed because they got to know me and I hope I'm a role model so that when they come in and meet another black teacher they won't be all stand-offish. I hope through meeting me they will change their views about what black teachers are like and what black people in general are like.*

A teacher, in the West Midlands, spoke of his astonishment at the reaction of a parent who respected his judgement of her child's behaviour. He works in a school that he describes as '*challenging',* and said:

> *The kids are not too bad. I think the biggest problem we have is with the parents, not the children. In fact I quite happily say to the parents that they are worse than the kids. I phoned a parent today and told her that her son was behaving like an imbecile and to my absolute surprise, this was a white parent, she said to me "I will deal with him when he comes home, love", I was quite shocked.*

He went on to explain how he was satisfied with this mother's response but felt that generally parents were less supportive.

Gaining respect from colleagues

For many teachers, as shown in earlier chapters, the level of respect and workplace collegiality enjoyed in schools is of great importance and can influence their feelings of self-worth, their impression of the profession and their understanding of their own importance within the teaching community. Positive and negative teacher interaction, at all levels of hierarchy, was discussed in focus groups to understand teachers' impressions of their relative status in schools and the extent to which they felt inclined to remain or leave the profession. Indian teachers spoke chiefly about situations when they felt excluded from meetings and had to endure racial discrimination from white colleagues. An Indian teacher said, '*I think favouritism happens a lot in junior schools and primary schools'.* Although he is a secondary school teacher, his daughter teaches in a local primary school and '*she complains about primary headteachers'.* During this focus group, held in the West Midlands with Indian teachers, there was consensus that discriminatory practices by headteachers were more severe in primary schools. A primary school teacher agreed:

> *The other member of staff* [also Indian] *who I work with, she's been there about 16 or 17years and she said it's always been like that. She said she was qualified as a teacher but when she was first employed she used to float around the school doing odd jobs until she was put into a classroom. We often sit down together and discuss, how is it that we, being Asian, are put aside and our views aren't counted or we're not asked? It's a case of favouritism.*

Minority ethnic teachers were aware of forms of indirect racism that hindered their careers by discouraging them to obtain or remain in senior positions. Armed with the knowledge that senior managers at his school would seek to impede his success as head of department, an Indian secondary teacher, also based in the West Midlands, explained the way in which he challenged his line manager by saying, '*I said to the senior teachers*

"I know your role is to monitor what I do but I also know that your role is to support me. Now, if you support me I will shout about that but if you don't support me I will shout about that" and they've been very good. We shouldn't have to run around for support.'

Indian teachers in London were concerned about more direct forms of racism. One such teacher spoke of her shock at discovering, while working as a supply teacher in an area with just one per cent minority ethnic pupil population, '*the students were giving me respect, some of the staff I've received racism from but not the students*'. Another Indian teacher spoke about her attendances at teacher training sessions at her local authority's professional development centre, where she could always anticipate being isolated by the majority of teachers, particularly when they were required to form work/discussion groups. She described one incident in which she '*was very slowly pushed off as they turned around to form their group*'. During the lunch break she spoke to an African teacher who had a similar experience, she explained, '*... a teacher from Ghana said "I'm going to write in the feed-back form, do you see how we're treated?"*'. She asked the teacher about her experience, '*and she gave exactly the same story*'. This Indian teacher is resigned to the view that '*you can't wipe this thing out, it's a permanent thing in this society but we need to learn to deal with this.*'

Pakistani teachers spoke about their struggle to gain respect from white teaching staff in positions junior to their own and were '*disheartened because I'm climbing the ladder of success, they don't realise how hard I've worked to get it, they think it was just given to me*' (Pakistani teacher in the North-west). This same teacher was angered at her colleagues' lack of cooperation which she felt obstructed important tasks, she said '*planning wasn't done as a team because teachers wouldn't respond, until the headteacher stepped in and said "what's the problem, why are you not giving XXX your cooperation with planning?"*' Another Pakistani teacher, also in the North-west, felt aggrieved at what she viewed as another form of racial exclusion, performed regularly by teachers at her school, when celebrating special occasions; an attitude which she felt served as a reminder of her relative importance in the school. She spoke about the inconsistencies of teachers' attitudes towards the acknowledgement of Muslim celebrations. '*It's like when we celebrate Eid, we spend time with the children and have a good celebration and stuff but not with the staff. When it's Christmas or any other celebration the staff go out as a group but we don't go out to celebrate Eid.*' Another Pakistani teacher from the same area, who said she was reconsidering her position within the teaching profession, had problems with a '*racist*' teaching assistant and felt that as far as white teachers were concerned '*they just see you as stupid*'. She clarified, '*When the Head asked me to relay information to other management colleagues, they were horrified that I could be given this important role. One teacher refused to take part and the other was negative, and neither of them spoke to me for the rest of the day.*' She said that an African Caribbean teacher at her school left her post last year as she had had similar problems. '*I don't understand why they have to be that way*'.

African Caribbean teachers repeated stories similar to those mentioned above, in relation to colleagues' acceptance of their authority and attitudes which they interpreted as directly and indirectly racist. Struggling for recognition, an African Caribbean teacher in the North-west felt that she needed to suppress her knowledge and appear to be less astute in order to be accepted by white teachers. She said:

> For a long time in order to get myself accepted I had to pretend that I didn't
> know and that they had to teach me but when the time was right I came out

and I showed them. Even today I still have to bring things like dictionaries, I still have to provide evidence to prove that what I'm saying is right and to prove them wrong; things like grammatical errors. Some times the consultant [local authority consultant] *would help me because I would say something that nobody would believe, then the consultant would come and say it, and then they would believe it.*

An African Caribbean deputy headteacher in London had adopted a similar strategy during her early teaching career, as she explained, '*in the past I've been happy to play the idiot and just keep my head down but I found the older I got, the more confident ...*'.

In one of the West Midlands-based focus groups, a teacher spoke of the lack of support that he felt African Caribbean teachers received from their white colleagues, particularly when managing projects. He said '*You might be doing something which would benefit the school but I don't think, as a black teacher, you get a lot of support from your white colleagues. They're looking for it to fail*'. He explains that while other minority ethnic teachers would offer support '*white teachers would not like to see black teachers benefit from any success*'. A teacher in London agreed commenting, '*at the end of the day you have to be better ... in the eyes of white teachers because they're just waiting for you to fail*'. Summarising his concerns about what he saw as deliberate strategies by headteachers to keep minority ethnic teachers out of senior teaching positions and the unwillingness of white teachers to receive instructions from minority ethnic teachers, an African Caribbean teacher in the West Midlands said, '*if you're making decisions that are affecting them* [white teachers] *they're not going to like it, so it's " we're not going to promote you to a position where you're going to have to be responsible for making decisions".*'

During another focus group session, also in the West Midlands, a teacher found that she needed to confront her headteacher with an ultimatum in order to obtain her promotion, she said:

> *I made it absolutely clear, "I'm off if I don't get promoted". They had to do something and my impact now is with all staff. I have a direct impact not only on all pupils but with all staff and over a period of time they are getting used to me because they are ignorant -the staff- they are ignorant of black teachers which is probably one of the reasons why they didn't want to see me in that major role'.*

The headteacher of a London-based school defended her opinion that the levels of racism in schools had not subsided over the years, by recalling her own experiences. She came to live in the UK when she was 11/12 yrs old and had a tough time in secondary school. This headteacher described the historical involvement of African Caribbean teachers in British schools and felt that despite the public drive to recruit more minority ethnic teachers, these teachers struggled to acquire any sense of belonging within the profession due to long-standing 'racist' attitudes within the teaching profession. She recalled:

> *Although I was a very intelligent child who could read, I was put into the bottom class because my English* [spoken English] *wasn't good enough, and we had nasty teachers who told us to go back to the jungle. But it's interesting that we've got teachers in this school saying "the LEA's put a monkey to lead us", so it's gone full circle. It's gone from teachers, when I was at school telling us that we're monkeys and to go back to the jungle, to*

two teachers in this school, where the majority of children are from minority ethnic groups, who are saying "we've got monkeys leading us".

This study has revealed the serious concerns of minority ethnic teachers about the influence of their ethnicity on their status in schools and the factors that affect their sense of belonging to the teaching profession. The concluding section assembles some of the key points made by participating teachers.

Summary

During examination of the plight of minority ethnic teachers within the British maintained education system, it is perhaps unsurprising that matters of race and culture permeate this report. It must be acknowledged that these teachers might be those who have had particularly negative experiences as regards their promotions, and relations with other teachers, pupils and parents. When recognising the limitations of this study of the perceptions of 49 minority ethnic teachers, it should be borne in mind that the views expressed are those of teachers who, voluntarily, attended one of several focus group sessions held in six local authorities in the West Midlands, the North-west or London. Whilst we do not attempt any generalisations from these findings, we are confident that the research strategy adopted was sufficiently robust to ensure the validity of the methods used. First, the fact that any teachers had cause to express these views is not acceptable in any profession. Second, these findings are congruent with those of research which has been conducted simultaneously by others. The GTC (2006) survey, for example, identified similar issues with regard to the promotion of minority ethnic teachers. Maylor (2006) has also found similar situations among London teachers where lack of staff development and promotion, lack of transparency in recruitment processes and racist experiences in the day to day professional experiences of 'black' teachers had negative implications for recruitment and retention within schools. In other words the present findings are supported by other studies and this increases our confidence in their authenticity. It is an unfortunate commentary but many of these teachers felt, in the face of their encounters with school management, that they had very low status. In their deliberation of matters significant to their status within the teaching profession, teachers have shared their anxieties about matters that they perceive to exist on account of their ethnicity, some of which are summarised below.

- Minority ethnic teachers committed themselves to the cause, to raise standards in education, amid what they viewed as direct and indirect racial injustice meted out by white school managers and teachers seemingly intent on maintaining the status quo by excluding them from professional development and other career advancement opportunities. Speaking about their status, relative to their white counterparts, minority ethnic teachers spoke of feeling undermined by colleagues and headteachers, over-stepped by less experienced colleagues and their reliance upon school inspection officials or, the even more uncommon, fair-minded headteachers, to recognise and reward their knowledge and expertise.

- There appeared to be a growing impatience on the part of teachers from each of the minority ethnic groups who felt that headteachers had, in many ways, hindered their professional development. With few exceptions, headteachers are

portrayed as unsupportive and grossly biased in terms of their strategies for rewarding teachers for their efforts.

- Teachers were opposed to the idea of being promoted in order to indulge headteachers' tokenistic gestures but felt passionately that a system should prevail which would reward excellence, rather than allegiance. African Caribbean and Bangladeshi teachers were most vocal and most supportive of the notion of ethnic monitoring, seeing it as a positive development, and suggesting the government take an even more interventionist approach, such as tracking the career progress of minority ethnic teachers. Forms of racism were claimed by teachers who felt they had a range of negative experiences evidenced, for instance, through their verbal and physical interactions with colleagues and school managers and in the manner in which they felt their professional development and promotional opportunities had been hindered.

- Bangladeshi teachers felt, strongly, a responsibility to support the development of their community at every level and argued that such work needed to start at schools where they could influence Bangladeshi pupils' aspirations. They recognised, however, that the mission required the participation of a wider range of Bangladeshi professionals in various sectors of public life equipped with the intellectual strength to influence decision-making processes. Bangladeshi teachers therefore, in recognising their own relatively low status, within the teaching profession, placed an emphasis on the necessity to stimulate a community spirit capable of motivating their children.

- Bangladeshi, Pakistani and African Caribbean teachers held concerns about the ways in which headteachers had implemented the government's initiative for the remodelling of the school workforce. Bangladeshi and Pakistani teachers were untrusting of headteachers whom they felt had assigned teaching and pastoral responsibilities, deceptively, in order to exclude them from positions for which they would gain teaching and learning credits. African Caribbean teachers shared these concerns but feared also, that the government had provided headteachers with the scope to oust teachers discriminatively. These teachers felt that 'racist' practices at these levels, although by no means a recent phenomenon, when coupled with enhanced headteacher autonomy and nepotistic silos, threaten to alienate further a vital teacher workforce. Teachers holding a range of roles and at different levels of seniority have expressed concerns about what they view as the new freedom from accountability afforded headteachers as a result of the government's school workforce reform directives. For these teachers, less headteacher accountability and transparency equates to a diametric opposition to their chances of equitable status within the profession.

- Minority ethnic teachers considered the attitudes of white teachers and headteachers towards them to be of crucial importance to their sense of status and belonging to the profession. However, present among the list of negative experiences endured by minority ethnic teachers in this study has been the unwelcome stereotypical attitudes which block teachers' understanding of other cultures and can generate, consciously or unconsciously, racist attitudes. Teaching staff, pupils and parents alike have held opinions of minority ethnic

teachers which have prevented them from being viewed in a positive light, and as a professional body of capable teachers.

- Teachers participating in focus groups were forthright about the necessity to achieve professional status through their interaction and ability to cater for the learning needs of ethnically diverse pupil groups. They remain perplexed, therefore, that an education system which purports to be striving to raise the attainment of minority ethnic pupils should continue to administer a mono-cultural and inaccessible curriculum to generations of the minority ethnic population in England, for whom they believe this policy has consistently failed. Teachers' requests, of the government and headteachers, are for greater autonomy to adapt their lesson plans in ways that they feel would render them culturally relevant to minority ethnic pupils. This freedom, along with more inclusive attitudes from their colleagues towards the cultural diversities and learning needs of minority ethnic pupils, might contribute to raising pupil attainment and, simultaneously, a renewed self-esteem among teachers.

- Some of the loudest voices in our focus groups were those of community-minded teachers who may have entered the profession at an early age, only to find themselves, in their opinion, struggling against the same 'racist' attitudes from individuals and institutions some 20 years later. The anguish for these teachers is clear as they ponder their resolve to continue the fight for pupils' equitable access to good education, and recognition for themselves through unbiased career advancement.

CHAPTER 15: THE STATUS OF EARLY YEARS TEACHERS

Overview

This chapter on the status of early years (EY) teachers responds to the project's second aim *'to understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes'*. It is not typical of the Type III case studies on specific teachers because it draws EY teachers' responses to the surveys, as well as interviews conducted with Foundation Stage and Key Stage 1 teachers and practitioners as a normal part of the programme of Type I and Type II case studies. It therefore presents both qualitative and quantitative evidence. These findings were published as a paper in the *Early Years* journal in July 2006 (Hargreaves and Hopper 2006) and this report consists in large part of the contents of that paper. It considers the sense of status held by teachers from nursery, infant and first schools, covering an age range from 3 to 8 years, and compares their perceptions with those of teachers from primary (ages 5 to 11) and secondary (11 to 18 years) schools. These comparisons were guided by the following research questions:

- How do EY teachers define a high status profession, and how far do they consider that teaching conforms to this definition?

- What are EY teachers' views of recent initiatives, and their impact on their status?

- What are EY teachers' perceptions of the esteem in which they are held by groups such as pupils, parents and the public?

The main findings of the chapter are:

- EY teachers agreed with other teachers that high status professions were characterised by *reward and respect* and were just as uncertain as other teachers about whether *external control* typified high status professions.

- Again EY teachers agreed with other teachers that the teaching profession is characterised by *external control* but their views varied over *reward and respect*. Whereas primary and secondary teachers 'disagreed' that the teaching profession is characterised by *reward and respect*, the EY teachers were significantly more likely to be 'not sure'.

- Teachers' higher ratings of surgeons, doctors and barristers, compared to their own professions gave further credence to the argument that the 'mystique' and distance maintained by these professions served to raise their status. Teachers also recognised that the teaching profession's close proximity to their clients and their parents, contributed to teachers' status. This situation is clearly an issue for EY teachers who depend on parental involvement within and outside of the classroom to support pupils' learning.

- The 2003 survey of teachers showed that the most consistent reasons for teachers' decisions to be a teacher and their reasons for being a teacher today, was to work with children. This desire was most evident in EY teachers' responses which were more positive than all other teachers.

The Evidence

> *Passion for young children is part of the culture of practitioners. Passion must be allowed both as a panacea for coping with challenging paradoxes and also for inspiring professionalism in those who work and play with the youngest members of our society* (Moyles, 2001:93).

Moyles (2001), supported by her own and others' research, argued that passion for young children is a vital part of professional practice in early years education. In the same year, Hoyle (2001), in his analysis of the status of teaching, hypothesised that, *'it is ... the teacher's relationship with pupils which has the strongest impact on image and hence on prestige'* (p.140) adding that this relationship is *'the most intractable barrier to enhanced prestige'* (p.143). He suggested that status depends on the image of an occupation, and, in the case of teaching, this involves children in school on an involuntary basis, often in large numbers, and so with an ever-present potential for disorder unknown in other professions. If Hoyle's hypothesis is correct, the status prospects for EY teachers look rather bleak. On a more positive note, Hoyle hypothesised that the sole aspect of their status which teachers themselves can enhance is the *esteem* in which they are held through the qualities which they bring to their work, i.e. their dedication, expertise and competence.

Hoyle's definitions refer to public designations of teacher status. Hoyle maintains that the prestige of an occupation is determined by its perceived image in the public eye. The image of the teacher, he suggests, 'ultimately stems from the fact that the teachers' immediate clients are children' (Hoyle 2001: 141). If as he indicates, teachers' prestige is relatively low, and teachers feel the need to apologise for their occupation, the fact that EY teachers' work with the youngest children is likely to render their occupational prestige below that experienced by teachers generally. In relation to occupational status, Hoyle points out that 'school-teaching' achieved formal professional status when the Office for National Statistics placed it in category 1.2 along with doctors, barristers, solicitors, clergy, librarians and social workers for the 2001 census. He goes on to say, however, that the 'semantic status' of teaching, that is whether knowledgeable groups refer to teaching as a profession, remains questionable, despite, for example, teaching's all-graduate status and rigorous training. We shall argue below that some recent government policies, on the one hand, and high profile research in early childhood education on the other, have the potential to enhance the professionalism of EY teachers and ultimately raise their occupational status. Further, despite Hoyle's gloomy predictions for their occupational prestige, EY teachers are better placed than other teachers to raise the esteem in which they are held. Since EY teachers have closer links with members of the public, that is parents and carers, who bring their children into school, they have more opportunities to demonstrate their expertise, commitment and competence, and so enhance their occupational esteem, than do teachers of older children.

Developments in early years education in England

The past decade has seen several initiatives which have the potential to enhance the status of EY educators both within and outside the profession. First of all has been the formal recognition of three to five year olds' education as a 'key stage' to be known as the Foundation Stage within the National Curriculum, in the Education Act (2002). This

precedes chronologically the other key stages that have been established in primary schools since 1988 namely, Key Stage 1 (five to seven year olds) and Key Stage 2 (seven to eleven year olds). The earlier introduction of Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage (DfEE/QCA, 2000), the establishment of statutory Foundation Stage assessment in 2003 (despite its double-edged impact) and the unprecedented expansion of initiatives and government investment in early years education identified by Moylett and Abbott (1999) illustrate this potential.

Anning et al. (2004) critically elaborate this theme and argue for the importance of informed pedagogical knowledge developed through awareness of, and/or participation in, recent national research projects. Thus knowledge of, and response to, the findings of the longitudinal Effective Provision of Pre-school Education (EPPE) project (Sylva et al., 2003) which identified, for example, the positive benefits of having qualified teachers in EY settings, and the effectiveness of sustained shared thinking in promoting learning, has the potential to deepen teachers' professionalism and professionalise teaching. Other examples of central investment in EY research include the Researching Effective Pedagogy in the Early Years (REPEY) (Siraj-Blatchford et al., 2002) and the Study of Pedagogical Effectiveness in Early Learning (SPEEL) (Moyles et al., 2002, Fleer et al., 2004). Anning and Edwards (1999), for example, involved EY practitioners from education and day care roles in a collaborative action research project designed to bring together their expertise and develop a curriculum model for literacy and numeracy in young children. Despite these positive developments, Brock however warned of threats to EY teachers' professionalism from 'downward' pressure to conform to the needs of primary schools to meet performance targets:

> [whilst] *early years is at the forefront of educational change in the United Kingdom…   … the stresses to meet the demands impacting from primary education filter down from schools into nurseries and early years provision, many early years educators have believed that they are losing opportunities to be creative autonomous professionals* (Brock 2001: 2).

In effect the barriers to teaching being recognised as a high status profession that were identified over 30 years ago by Banks (1971) continue to be promoted in EY education. These include the employment of a large workforce, largely consisting of women, many of whom have low level qualifications, who lack lengthy training and do not possess a recognised body of knowledge and expertise. Thus as Abbott and Moylett pointed out, whilst the status of EY education may have been boosted by recent events, the status of its practitioners is less certain:

> *If we give high status to early childhood as a phase in its own right then we should give high status to all our youngest children's educarers. With high status comes recognition of skills and knowledge and organised professional development* (1999: 196).

Fumoto et al. (2004) take this a step further in arguing for a reappraisal of the concept of teaching, and the extension of the title 'teacher' to include all EY practitioners. There is a danger here that artificially raising the status of all EY practitioners to teacher status, will devalue the lengthy training and specialist expertise that are teachers' claim to professional status.

Finally in this section, the government, through HM Treasury (2004), have proposed to, 'improve the qualifications and status of EY and child-care workers' (para 6.8). This commitment and recognition of research showing the value of settings with qualified staff (e.g. Sylva et al., 2003) would seem likely to raise the status of EY practitioners. On the one hand it should pre-empt a reinstatement in early childhood education of the obstacles listed by Banks (1971) that once faced the majority of state school teachers. The potential effect on EY teacher status of the Ten Year Strategy's suggested creation of, '*a new profession combining learning with care long the lines of the continental 'pedagogue' model*', with the '*flexibility to work alongside teachers in the school system*' (HM Treasury, 2004, para 6.10) is a debatable issue. On the one hand, it would potentially allow EY teachers to focus on pedagogical issues, thus rendering their roles less diffuse and reducing another of the factors Hoyle regards as a barrier to enhanced prestige for teaching. On the other, unless the public were aware of the different professional areas of expertise held by the EY teacher and the 'pedagogue' working alongside him or her, it could merely maintain perceptions of the diffuseness of the EY teacher role. The Ten Year Strategy begins with a statement of the government's intention to make, '*working with pre-school children…have as much status as a profession as teaching children in schools*' (p.4 and p.45). The government is keen also to raise the status of the teaching profession, including that of EY teachers, but the effects of recent and current policies on teacher status, remain unclear, party because it is not possible to find state-funded schools or teachers that are not subject to these initiatives to use as a reference point.

Methods

The data presented here come from the public opinion survey of 2003 (Chapter 2), the teacher and associated groups surveys (reported in Chapters 4 and 5), and interviews conducted with teachers, senior managers, teaching assistants, pupils, parents and governors in the case study schools. The case study schools include 15 primary schools and 5 infant schools with nursery classes. The interview extracts reported here are the result of systematic analysis to identify themes in the EY teachers' opinions on issues relevant to their status and esteem. The case studies also included interviews with mixed gender groups of pupils (see Chapter 20) where EY children were asked to draw pictures to illustrate a headteacher's job and a teacher's job and to provide commentaries on their drawings. Two drawings have been used to illustrate highly typical themes in the children's observations of the work that teachers and headteachers do.

In the 2003 teacher survey (N= 2350), 146 of the teachers described themselves as nursery, infant or first schoolteachers. In 2006 (N = 5340), 730 teachers were in these categories. The questionnaires asked about status, professionalism, reasons for being a teacher and respect and responsibility. The data were factor analysed and reliable scales were constructed. Scores on these scales between different groups of teachers, such as EY and secondary teachers were compared using standard parametric and non-parametric tests.

Characteristics of the early years teachers
Our survey sample of 146 EY teachers consisted of teachers from nursery, first and infant schools. 93 per cent of them were women: compared with 69 per cent of all other

teachers (3% of both groups did not give gender information). Their age profile did not differ significantly from that of other teachers, with 21 per cent aged 32 or less, 46 per cent in a middle age range, and 30 per cent aged 51 or over. EY teachers were significantly more likely to have a Certificate of Education (45%) than other teachers (28%). Of these, 53 per cent had a degree and a teaching qualification compared with 70 per cent of primary teachers and 81 per cent of secondary teachers. In summary, the EY teachers were very likely to be women and non-graduates.

Teaching: a high status profession?

The questionnaire began by asking the teachers to define the characteristics of 'a high status profession' in terms of 19 statements drawn from the literature and our teacher focus groups. As explained in Chapter 4 of this evidence base, the teachers rated their levels of agreement with each statement about a 'high status profession' on a five point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Typical statements from the list were:

- Is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them.
- Enjoys high quality working conditions
- Has mutual respect between colleagues
- Has members who are a recognised authority in their area of expertise
- Is subject to external regulation
- Is valued by government
- Enjoys high financial remuneration

The results formed two virtually independent factors which showed that teachers saw a high status profession as characterised by *reward and respect*, and that they were 'not sure' whether *external control* was also characteristic of a high status profession. These results provide a teachers' definition of a high status profession, and early years, primary and secondary teachers' views were almost identical (Figure 15.1a).

We then asked the teachers to say whether the same characteristics were typical of the teaching profession. The results, in Figure 15.1b, were almost the reverse of those concerning a high status profession. Teachers from all phases agreed strongly that teaching is characterised by *external control*, and disagreed that teaching is characterised by *reward and respect*. The teachers' views were identical in regarding *external control* as highly characteristic of teaching, but whereas primary and secondary teachers disagreed that the teaching profession is characterised by *reward and respect*, the EY teachers were significantly more likely to be 'not sure'. This uncertainty may reflect the ambiguity surrounding the status of EY teachers.

Figure 15.1a Status characteristics of a high status profession

Characteristics of a High Status Profession

Bars (mean level of agreement (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)):

	early years	primary	secondary
REWARD AND RESPECT	4.29	4.17	4.24
EXTERNAL CONTROL	3.42	3.47	3.41
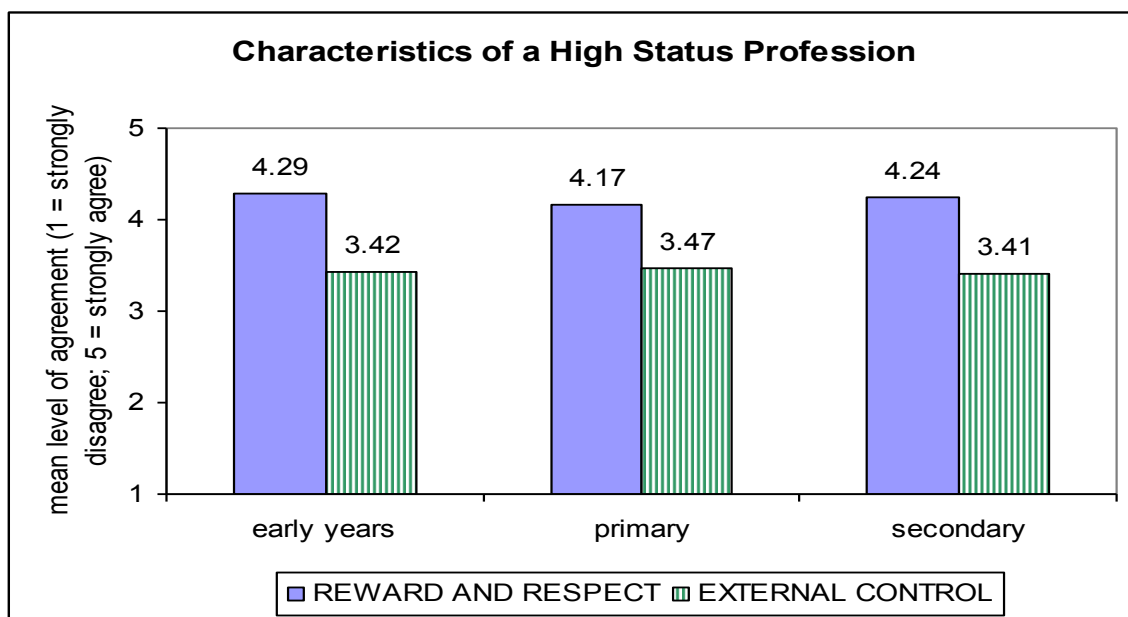
Figure 15.1b Characteristics of the Teaching Profession

Characteristics of the Teaching Profession

mean level of agreement:

	early years**	primary	secondary
(blue)	3.05	2.91	2.84
(green)	4.43	4.36	4.27
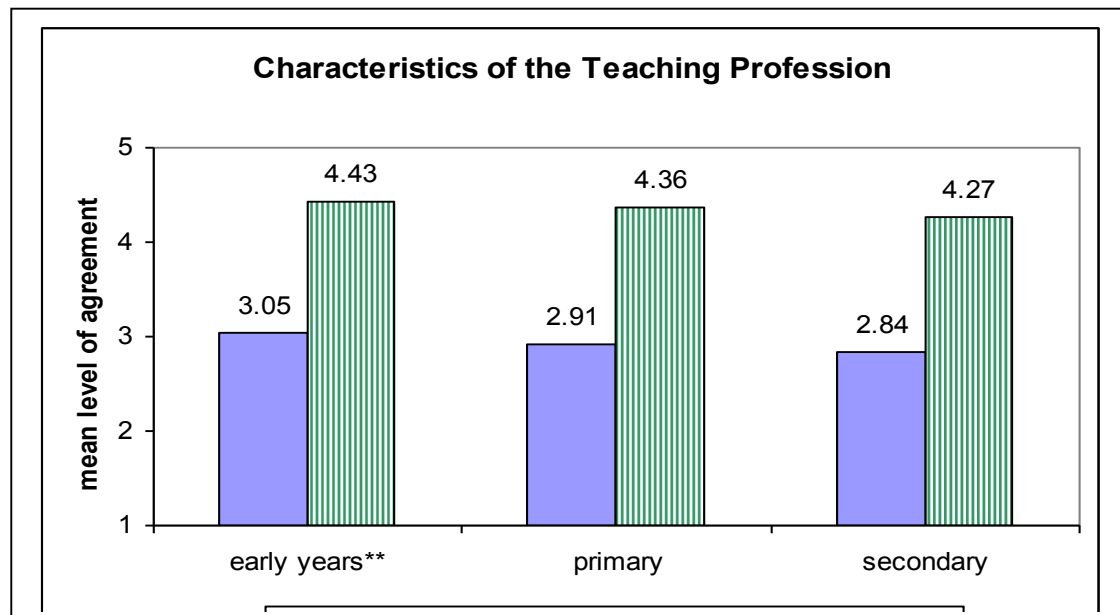
In our case-study interviews, we asked teachers to say how they think 'others see them'. Two typical comments from EY teachers revealed:

I'm proud to be a teacher but you don't boast about it because I don't think other people necessarily feel the same about teaching as I do. People don't really understand.

> *[I] don't feel valued by some people outside. .... Some think you are silly- [it's] not perceived as a well-paid or important job – they wouldn't want to do it. Not in the corporate world, so [a] silly job to do.*

These statements tend to confirm the view that EY teachers' sense they are accorded low status by the outside world. In Hoyle's terms this might refer to the teachers' sense of their occupational status - how they are perceived by knowledgeable others. An infant school headteacher, however, spoke in terms of prestige, relating teachers' skills to those of other occupations.

> *Our people management skills, our communication skills are undervalued by people in other professions...we are exceptionally good leaders and managers that other professions could learn from but we always seem to be the poor relation in that regard, I think.*

We shall return to the teachers' sense of prestige below, after considering the EY teachers' attitudes to external control and the teaching profession. In common with other teachers, and in comparison with a high status profession, EY teachers perceived *external control* to be strongly characteristic of the teaching profession, as one pointed out:

> *I enjoy teaching, I love working with the children but I find there is a lot of political things and paperwork that are taking us from the classroom...all these extra things...coming from the government...it takes away from education and the children.*

When this was explored later in relation to teacher professionalism, EY teachers felt significantly more strongly than secondary teachers that central control of the curriculum and assessment undermined their autonomy and professionalism. Again the interview data typically supported this view, for example,

> *... this Literacy and Numeracy Strategy dictated in many ways ...what a good lesson was like...now that suits some situations, some times, but that certainly isn't the only way that children learn particularly in respect of Early Years...the need to integrate children's learning when they're young ... I think that was lost.*

> *...This political interference is not in the best interests of the children ...The Government's document 'Excellence and Enjoyment'[29], when I read it I thought, 'this is what it was like before the National Curriculum, before the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies'. Why don't they just leave us alone?*

The strength of feeling on the part of EY teachers compared with secondary teachers, may well be explained by the long term existence of external curricula and examination syllabi in the secondary phase, compared with the relatively recent introduction of the National Curriculum and Literacy and Numeracy frameworks (DfEE, 1998; DfEE, 1999)

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[29] DfES (2003). *Excellence and Enjoyment: a strategy for primary schools.*

for teaching at Key Stage 1, and the even more recent introduction of formal assessment and Curriculum Guidance in the Foundation Stage (2000).

Occupational Status

In another section of the survey, we asked teachers to give each of 16 occupations[30], including primary and secondary teachers and headteachers, a rating of 1 (very low status) to 7 (very high status) for 'the status they have' and 'the status they should have'. EY teachers agreed with other teachers that the highest status occupations were surgeons, barristers, doctors, solicitors, vets and accountants but they gave barristers, solicitors, secondary headteachers and secondary teachers significantly higher status ratings than did other teachers. By awarding relatively higher status to secondary teachers, they were implicitly awarding themselves relatively lower status ratings.

When asked to rate the 'status that they should have', the EY teachers' ratings resulted in rankings identical to those of other teachers. They placed surgeons 1st, doctors 2nd and nurses 5th. Secondary heads went from 8th to 3rd, and primary heads from 10th to 4th. Secondary and primary teachers were promoted in an ideal world to 6th and 7th from 12th and 14th respectively. Management consultants and web designers were relegated to 15th and 16th places.

One feature of a high status profession is that of both a literal and metaphorical distance between the professional and his/her clients. The inaccessibility typical of say doctors and barristers, has served to sustain a professional mystique that, until recently (Sachs, 2003) has induced trust in professional expertise and respect for authority. These qualities have tended to elude teachers, especially EY teachers whose professionalism would tend to prize accessibility, welcoming parents and carers into the classroom, getting to know the families, and visiting new children at home. Breslin (2002) discusses in detail the teachers' dilemma as regards, on the one hand, exclusivity as a feature of high status professionalism and on the other, the professional familiarity that enables teachers, especially EY teachers, to help children learn. An EY headteacher suggested that, as EY teachers

> *…we make ourselves too available because we are considering the children…*

> *…by making ourselves open. I think has perhaps undervalued the profession to some extent…*

and she continued:

> *But I think where the teaching profession has, and the government and other people have, made a rod for our back is that we have endeavoured to work with parents and we have encouraged parents to become involved. We've been very open. …a lot of people think that they can do a teacher's job because everyone has been to school.*

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[30] The occupations were: accountants, barristers, doctors, librarians, management consultants, nurses, police officers, social workers, solicitors, surgeons, vets and web designers, as well as primary teachers and headteachers and secondary teachers and headteachers.

Thus EY teachers' availability and lack of exclusivity might depress what Hoyle calls their occupational prestige and status. However, using Hoyle's hypothesis that teachers may be able to enhance their occupational esteem through their contacts with parents and carers, we would argue that EY teachers have greater opportunities to enhance their occupational esteem than their primary or secondary colleagues. Their availability allows parents, who are also members of the public, to see the teachers' commitment and skill in teaching, managing, and caring for children.

To test this hypothesis we turn briefly to the survey of public opinion that was part of the Teacher Status Project. The survey revealed that parents of dependent children were significantly more likely than non-parents to have an image of what teachers do that is more concerned with teaching and learning. For example, when asked, 'When you think of the activity of teaching, what three things come to mind?' parents were more likely to suggest the following:

- *responsibility for children*
- *preparing children for future careers*
- *working with children*
- *preparing children for exams.*

Non-parents were more likely to say *controlling a class*. This would support Hoyle's hypothesis that the public's image of teaching focuses on teachers as managers of behaviour, whereas parents of school-age children had more realistic and educationally oriented views. A Foundation Stage teacher said,

> *There are some who feel you are an authority figure and some who feel I have a nice little dolly life. I go to work at nine; I pat my children on the head. Not parents, those who I deal with at the moment know that I work quite hard. But people who are past that point with their children or have never accessed that think it's all 9 to 3 and long holidays.*

Returning to the teacher survey, we tried to gauge teachers' perceptions of the esteem in which they are held, by asking them to rate how much respect they felt they received, and how much importance they placed on the respect received from different parties, on a very coarse 3-point scale from 'none', 'a little' and 'a lot'. The various parties were as follows:

(1) inside school: pupils, fellow teachers, senior management, support staff,
(2) outside school: parents, governors, local community, general public, media

Figure 15.2a Perceived respect from inside school: pupils, teachers, support staff and senior managers
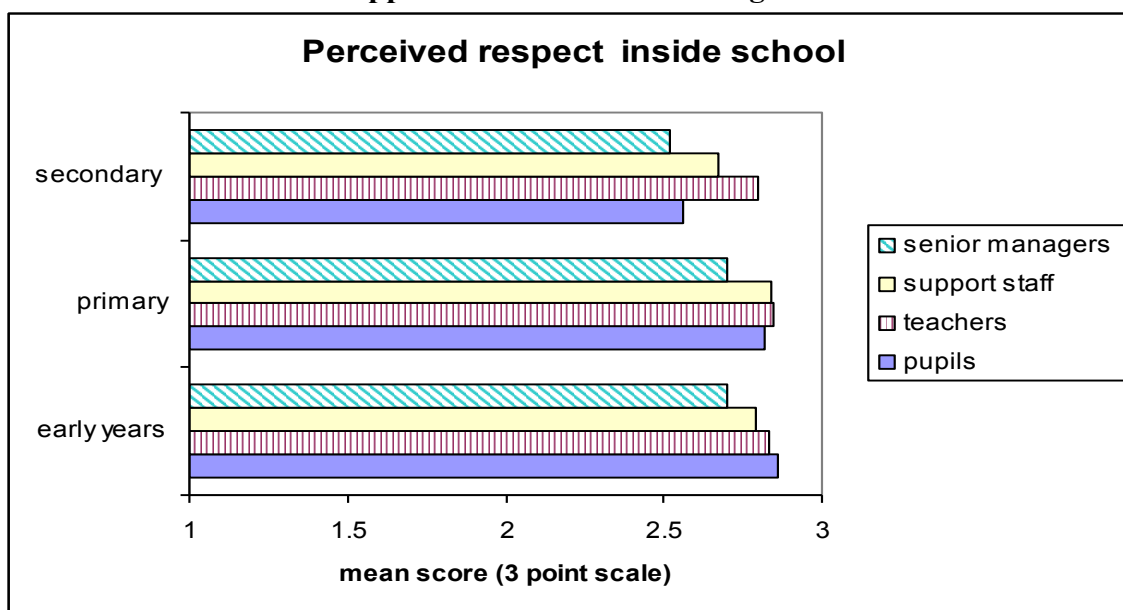
Figure 15.2b Perceived respect from 'school associates' (parents, governors, local community)
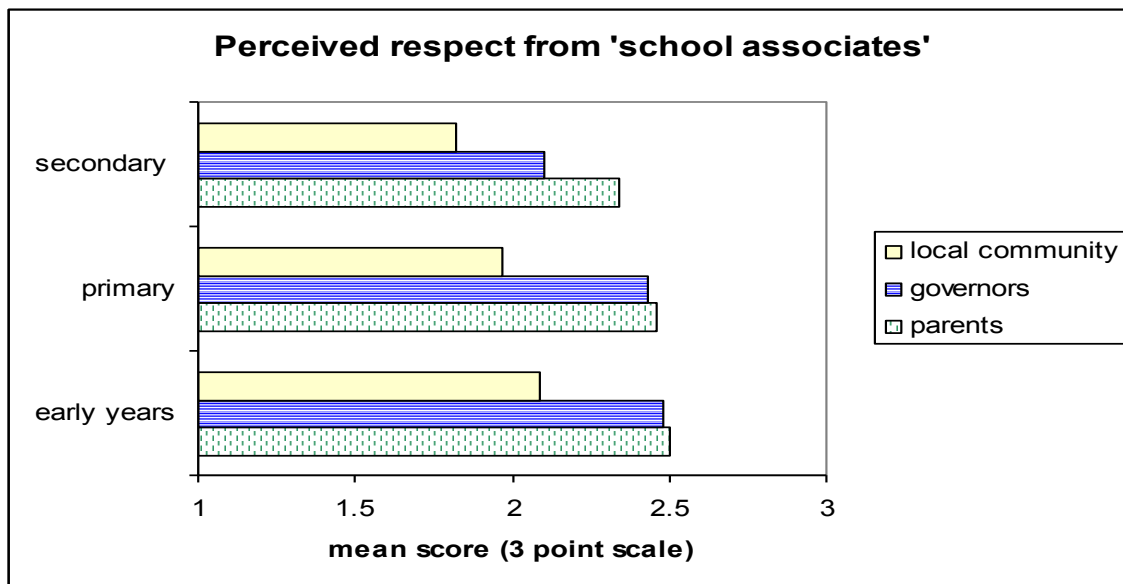
As shown in Figures 15.2a and 15.2b, EY teachers perceived significantly more respect than did secondary teachers, from the 'inside' school groups, although a few EY respondents were moved to comment spontaneously on the questionnaire that EY teaching was detrimental to their status:

The higher the age of the children you teach the greater the status. I was moved from Year 3 to Reception, and promoted, but parents said I would be 'wasted down there'.

Addressing status within our profession is also an issue between secondary and primary and in particular raising status of early years educators i.e. nursery as an equal partnership. This needs to start by further raising status of younger children's needs within the UK education system.

Two or three (colleagues) say you just play- they don't see what goes into the play, the language etc. Others who have seen what is involved are more appreciative, recognise it is hard work. They don't recognise the work you do at home because you don't have marking. They are sort of patronising you.

Despite these comments, the survey results as a whole showed that EY teachers perceived more respect, and placed greater importance on respect from people inside school as well as 'school associates' such as parents and community, than did secondary teachers. This perception of respect from groups associated with their schools but not members of it provides some support for our hypothesis that EY teachers are held in greater esteem than their counterparts who teach older children.

The lowest perceived respect for all teachers was from the media and general public. Here, EY (and primary) teachers perceived even less respect from these two outside sources, than did secondary teachers. All teachers, however, rated these sources as important. Some teachers felt that the media were partly responsible for influencing the views of the general public, yet at the same time their personal experience was of positive views, as shown in the following quote:

Well you have comments that you see on TV and things in the papers and people always say, 'Oh they have all those holidays!' but from my point of view I've always heard people saying, 'It's a lot of work, you know'...My view would be a positive one but...sometimes you feel that you can't win as a teacher.

All these results together suggest that EY teachers feel more strongly than secondary teachers that they have more respect from people with whom they come into regular contact than from the general public or the media. This, we argue, supports the idea that EY teachers enjoy more occupational esteem than their counterparts in other phases.

Policy developments and their impact on teacher status

Next, we shall consider the views of the EY teachers on recent policies and potential change. In the questionnaire, teachers were shown a list of recent initiatives and were asked to say whether an increase in each of these would have a positive, neutral or negative effect on their status. Example items included:

- Teacher input into policy reform
- Levels of teacher workload
- Opportunities to engage with educational research

- Availability of classroom support
- Opportunities to develop partnerships with parents
- Understanding by policy makers of the practicalities of classroom life
- The visibility and impact of the General Teaching Council
- Pupil choice of ways to represent their learning.

EY teachers' opinions matched those of other teachers closely. All teachers considered that the initiatives which would increase public awareness of the demands of teaching and increase teacher involvement in policy reform and curriculum content, would have a very positive effect on their status.

A greater emphasis on pupil issues was seen having a positive impact whilst teachers were unanimous that constraints such as increased workload or more national testing would depress their status. EY teachers were significantly more positive than other teachers on two specific issues. First they felt that an increase in the visibility and impact of the General Teaching Council for England would have a more positive effect on their status than did other teachers. Secondly all teachers thought an increase in the availability of classroom support, such as teaching assistants or technicians, would have a very positive effect on status, but EY teachers were more positive still. This probably reflects their greater experience of working in teams in nursery settings and suggests that they see this managerial aspect of their teaching role as having the potential for increasing their status. In our interviews, there was a general view that the government failed to understand the complexities of the EY teacher's work, and typical comments about recent government initiatives included:

> *I find the plethora of initiatives from the DfES and the demands it makes on the school are negative and that has certainly contributed to my decision to take premature retirement*

A headteacher was concerned that,

> *This notion of the government that you can download plans from the internet and give them to somebody to deliver to a group of children completely undervalues the profession of what a teacher is. You can't deliver the curriculum, you teach the curriculum.*

On the other hand, as suggested earlier, the Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage (CGFS) has been welcomed. When asked whether the CGFS had had any effect on the status of EY teachers, a Foundation Stage co-ordinator said,

> *I really do, I really do because all of a sudden we've got our Foundation Stage curriculum we really needed something like that and it's...it's really made the status of play whereas before we had our areas of learning but we didn't have an official 'this is our curriculum' and I think it's made a huge difference...and I think for the rest of the school as well to have the staff in the school here who perhaps just saw it as, you know, play and nothing much going on, and all of a sudden we can now get out our curriculum and say well this is why we do it all.*

This statement, and similar responses, point to a critical issue in considering the status of EY teachers, namely the erstwhile lack of an established body of knowledge. The same teacher described the situation prior to the introduction of the CGFS as a time when EY education:

> *…didn't have anything really solid about it…there were so many people were doing it in so many different ways. You had some really formal schools, some were doing play and you know there wasn't any real guideline like there is now in the Foundation Stage document*

In other words, the CGFS would seem to be a major step towards the professionalisation and potentially enhanced status of EY teachers. Indeed, our survey revealed that EY teachers were more likely than other teachers to value a shared specialist language for teachers as an aspect of professionalism. The effects of the introduction of '*Every Child Matters*' (DfES 2004) which proposes closer links between the care and education sectors, as well as EY teachers working as experts in multi-professional teams remains to be seen. As Siraj-Blatchford (2004:147) suggests, this will be more likely to have a positive effect on the status of EY teachers if we, '*value and reposition teaching as central to quality in early childhood education'*.

Status, care and relationships

In this final section we return to the issues raised at the outset, namely the importance of relationships and concern for young children in EY education, and the relative status of education and care in this phase. One of the most consistent responses to our questions about why our interviewees became teachers was the desire to work with children usually spoken with the passion referred to by Janet Moyles (2001). Our teacher survey findings showed that *working with children* was given as the most important reason not only to *become* a teacher but also to *be* a teacher today especially by EY teachers, as shown in Figure 15.3.

**Figure 15.3 'Working with children' as a reason for becoming a teacher
and being a teacher**
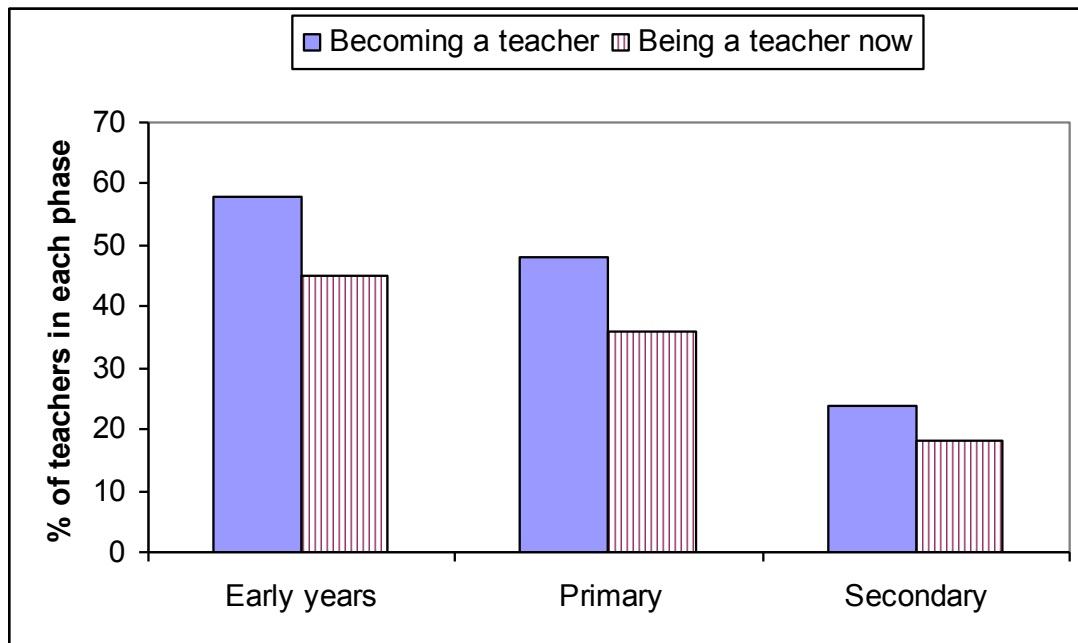
In the words of a nursery teacher, the opportunity to develop relationships and be autonomous was paramount:

> *What I really love is that you've time to have a bit of a chit-chat and you can find out, you can talk to the children. It's not as pressurised, I haven't got to produce this or that. We can pursue children's interest.*

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to show that EY teachers sense greater occupational esteem - that is respect from people who regularly see their daily work - than secondary teachers. Their occupational status and prestige, however, depend on the public's views and compared with secondary teachers, EY and primary teachers perceived less respect from the general public and the media. This seems to confirm a sense of inferiority of occupational status. All teachers felt that their status would be enhanced if there were greater public awareness of their work and if they had more input into policy making. Early Years teachers were more positive than others about the role of the General Teaching Council for England and the availability of classroom support in raising their professional status. The latter finding possibly reflects their greater experience of working in teams. Whilst EY teachers were more concerned than other teachers about loss of autonomy, the introduction of CGFS appears to have been seen as an asset to status. The impact on EY teachers' status, and sense of status, of the proposals in the Ten Year Strategy for Childcare (HM Treasury, 2004) for a high quality 'children's workforce' and a new profession of 'pedagogues' who combine learning with care provides an interesting question for long-term investigation. As yet, it is too early to judge progress of the government's goal, expressed in '*Every Child Matters*', to make '*working with children an attractive, high status career*' (DfES 2004:10).

CHAPTER 16: THE STATUS OF TEACHERS OF CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Overview

This chapter explores the perceptions of teachers who work with children who have special educational needs (SEN). It addresses two main research questions:

- What are the perceptions of teachers who teach pupils with special educational needs about their identity and status?

- What factors affect their perceptions of status?

Teachers from a range of SEN settings participated in one of eight focus groups, consisting of six to ten participants, held in different locations across the country. In addition, individual interviews were conducted with a range of other professionals.

The main findings of the chapter are around:

Special needs teachers' identities

Special needs responsibilities are wide, as are the professional identities of the teachers. Identity and status are not only determined by a particular position in the school's management structure, but are associated with personal and professional credibility, knowledge, skills, responsibilities and on how the SEN task is perceived. Many wanted to undertake sustained professional development, not only to do the job better, but also because having specialist qualifications is crucial in establishing credibility and status with parents and colleagues.

The working environment

Teachers of pupils with SEN work in a range of settings and there is huge variation in forms of provision across different local authorities. Settings and working environment are directly linked to status. Many did not have adequate resources to do the job, because it was seen as low status work in some schools.

The nature of their work

The special needs task is complex and varied. In part this is because of the contested nature of the special needs task and a lack of agreement about best practice. Many reported tensions between the teaching and management functions of the role. In a rapidly changing field there is a lack of consistency in expectations, roles and responsibilities, especially for SENCOs.

Being a trusted professional

The growth in the number of teaching assistants has affected status. Many SENCOs are being trusted to manage adults, but the message is that unqualified people can do this job.

Status increases because the role involves managing adults, but it also decreases because of the belief that unqualified adults can do much of this kind of work.

The children they teach

The status of teachers is linked to the status of the pupils. In the current competitive context, high achieving pupils may be perceived as being higher status than those who struggle, but this view varied across schools. In schools where there was progress in the implementation of inclusive policies and practice, respondents reported that pupils had equal status. In turn this increases the status of their teachers.

Career opportunities

National and local policies and practices have provided new career opportunities for some teachers of children with special educational needs, for example through the provision of 'outreach' and consultancy work. Many primary SENCOs saw the role as a good preparation for increased responsibility, including headship.

The perceptions of others about SEN teachers

Status is linked to levels of respect from colleagues, children and parents. The skills and attributes of the special needs teachers themselves is a crucial factor determining status. There was widespread consensus that SEN teachers are held in high esteem by parents and governors.

Introduction

This strand of the Teacher Status Project explores the perceptions of teachers who work with children designated as having special educational needs (SEN). It has been designed in order to answer the following research questions:

- What are the perceptions of teachers who teach pupils with special educational needs about their identity and status within the teaching profession?
- How does the broader special needs policy context and other recent developments affect teachers' perceptions of their status?
- Is status affected by the nature of children taught, the type of school in which they work, the working environment or by the professional qualifications of the teachers themselves?
- Do special needs teachers hold perceptions of their role, which makes teaching more or less attractive to them?

Background and policy context

It is important to examine the historical developments in the field of special educational needs in order to understand the current context in which teachers of pupils with special educational needs are working. All areas of education have changed during the past twenty

years. The reform of school systems, including major changes to governance, accountability and funding mechanisms, together with the introduction of the national curriculum and national approaches to assessment have significantly affected the nature of teachers' work. In addition, the concept of special educational needs itself has evolved to incorporate new understandings about the interactive nature of children's special needs. In turn these new understandings are reflected in special needs policies and laws that have been introduced during the past two decades. Such developments have substantially altered the field of special education during the careers of many teachers. Further, these changes have resulted in greater complexity and new uncertainties.

Before 1970, certain children with complex and severe difficulties were considered to be ineducable and were placed in long stay institutions or training centres where they were the responsibility of health or social services. Following the implementation of the 1970 Education Act in 1971, all children became eligible to attend school and became the responsibility of local education authorities. The old training centres were re-designated as schools for the educationally sub-normal (severe). During subsequent years, many of the staff in these newly created schools were accorded qualified teacher status.

Following the Warnock Report in 1978 (DES, 1978) and the associated 1981 Education Act, there was a growth in special needs provision in mainstream schools and increasing awareness that up to 20 per cent of children may have difficulties in learning at some stage of their school lives. These changes in thinking lead to a substantial growth in local authority support services in the 1980s with new posts in peripatetic teams and special needs advisory services being created.

In addition new career routes opened up in mainstream schools for what were then called remedial teachers. A series of new award bearing courses became available to support teachers and developments in mainstream schools. Some were at certificate level such as SENIOS (special needs in ordinary schools) or OTIS (one term in-service); others were more substantial leading to an advanced diploma or a master's degree in special needs. Full-time secondments were available to support many of the teachers who undertook these courses. In addition, there was an initial teacher education route into special needs work leading to the BEd (special), although this came to an end in 1988. Also in the late eighties, funding for full-time secondments began to disappear and most professional development for SEN became part-time.

Following the introduction of the first special needs Code of Practice in 1994 (DfEE, 1994), the role and status of special needs teachers continued to evolve. By now most mainstream schools had a special needs co-ordinator (SENCO), although their role and status was variable. New approaches to statutory assessment through the 'statementing' process and the introduction of individual education plans (IEPs) led to more transparency and greater accountability, but increased bureaucracy. In addition, consultation with parents and liaison with external agencies meant that in many cases the role of the SENCO became more administrative and organisational. The growth in the popularity of whole school approaches to meeting special needs saw many SENCOs working in a consultative capacity with their colleagues, especially in secondary schools. Furthermore the huge increase in the deployment of teaching assistants meant that many SENCOs became managers of adults in addition to being teachers of children. Thus the role of SENCO has significantly changed during the past decade at a time when substantial award-bearing professional development opportunities became increasingly hard to access.

Currently, with the exception of teachers of the blind and the deaf, there are no nationally mandated qualifications for teachers of pupils with special educational needs despite attempts of many pressure groups to extend the requirement for mandatory qualifications. However, there have been national initiatives, as the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) – now the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) - produced their National Standards for Special Educational Needs Co-ordinators in 1998 and the National Special Educational Needs Specialist Standards in December 1999. A number of higher education providers developed courses in response to these Standards and there was some funding available to local authorities and schools through the Standards Fund, but there was no requirement that teachers undertaking the role of SENCO or specialist teacher should attend such courses or gain particular qualifications. Further, in many parts of the country there was a lack of professional development opportunities leading to formal qualifications. Except for autism and dyslexia, where the pressure groups and voluntary associations have succeeded in convincing parents that teachers of their children should have undertaken a specialist course approved by the association, there are few nationally approved qualifications for working with children who have special educational needs.

Since 1997, the policy context is one that supports inclusion of pupils with special educational needs into mainstream schools subject to certain conditions. Some local authorities have made significant progress in the development of inclusive practice, which has entailed the large-scale relocation of teachers from special schools to either mainstream or local authority support services. Nevertheless, whilst many pupils with physical or sensory impairments and those with mild and moderate learning difficulties are now successfully educated in mainstream schools, the numbers of pupils educated outside the mainstream in special settings remains more or less constant at around 100,000. In part this can be explained by the increase in the numbers of children, predominantly boys, who are now described as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD), and who are educated outside the mainstream in special schools or pupil referral units.

The influence of certain national and local pressure groups and associations that exist to promote the cause of particular 'types' of special needs is also an important contextual factor. For example, children described as having autism or dyslexia have well organised voluntary societies that have skilfully used the media and to influence local and national government. This influence can be seen not only in the ways in which children are supported directly, but also in the ways in which funding for professional development for teachers is allocated. As a consequence, it could be argued that in the allocation of funding for special needs, there are 'worthy' and 'unworthy' groups of children. Clearly, if this is the case, then there are likely to be implications for the status of teachers who have (or have not) undertaken such specialist professional development courses in order to teach these different groups of children.

It can be seen that the current policy context is one that has been influenced by a raft of changes. Many of these policies are supportive of inclusion of children with special needs in mainstream schools, most have implications for the role and responsibilities of special needs teachers. The list of policies and initiatives is long and it includes:

- DfES *Removing Barriers to Achievement*

- DfES (2001) The revised *Code of Practice* and *SEN Toolkit*

- DfES (2003b) *Every Child Matters*

- DfES *Guidance on Inclusive Schooling*

- DfES (2000) *Woking with Teaching Assistants: A good practice guide*

- National literacy and numeracy strategies

- Workforce agreement

- The SEN and Disability Act (SENDA) and *Code of Practice* on schools' disability duties

- OfSTED *Guidelines on Inclusive Practice*

- DfES *Future Role of Special Schools*

In addition, other reforms and initiatives have also impacted upon the nature of the special needs task and the perceived roles of teachers of such pupils. For example, in parallel with developments in inclusive practice, all schools are held accountable for the levels of attainment of their pupils. In this competitive context, highly achieving pupils may be perceived as being more valuable to schools than those who struggle to reach the specified levels of attainment. It could be argued therefore that the status of teachers might well be linked to the perceived status of the pupils they teach.

Further, increased delegation of funding to from local authorities to schools has significantly affected special needs provision. In many cases this has left local authorities unable to maintain their central support special needs services. As a consequence, members of local authority support services have either lost their jobs or have been relocated to schools.

The rapidly changing policy context, together with uncertainty about how best to organise and deliver special needs provision leads to a range of understanding about the purpose and nature of the special needs task. Thus special needs provision varies from school to school and from local authority to local authority. Therefore any exploration of the status of teachers who teach children with special educational needs has to take into account the complexity of the special needs task. Such complexity arises from uncertainty about who the children with special needs are, the 'type' of needs they have, the range of settings in which they are educated, the professional qualifications of the teachers themselves and how teachers construct their own professional identity.

Methodology

This strand of the study was designed to explore how teachers of pupils designated as having special educational needs view their status relative to other teachers. It was conducted using qualitative strategies, specifically focus groups and individual interviews, designed to explore perceptions of a range of teachers working with the full

range of pupils designated as having special educational needs. The objective was not to make generalisations about SEN teachers, rather to gain an understanding of the educational, professional and policy context that influence perceptions of their status. Inevitably, the findings reported here are those from a particular sample of teachers, but they were selected to represent the widest possible spectrum of teachers within the constraints of a relatively small-scale study.

Data collection

Data collection for this strand of the study took place over a two-year period from January 2004 to December 2005 and the main method used was focus groups. Teachers from a range of SEN settings were invited to participate in one of eight focus groups held in different locations across the country. The groups ranged in size from six to ten participants. In addition, individual interviews were conducted with local authority special needs and inclusion managers and special and mainstream school headteachers and heads of special needs departments. More than 90 per cent of the participants were women, reflecting the overall gender balance of teachers working in the field of special educational needs.

Participants were guaranteed anonymity, therefore neither the names of participants, the names of their schools, nor local authorities are included in this report. Focus groups were held in the North of England, East Anglia, the Home Counties and a London Borough. The focus groups consisted of special needs co-ordinators (SENCOs), special needs teachers in mainstream and special schools and members of local authority special needs support services. Use was made of existing networks, such as local SENCO support groups and a national special educational needs support association. Three focus groups were conducted with teachers on award bearing continuing professional development courses for special educational needs. All participants in the focus groups were volunteers. The focus group sample consists of special needs teachers who belong to networks, support groups or are undertaking professional development courses, therefore they are by definition, representative of teachers who take their role seriously. As such they are a self-selective sample and may not represent the views of a wider group of special needs teachers who do not participate in such activities.

The data from the interviews and the various focus groups have been analysed in relation to the research questions and are present in the subsequent sections.

The Evidence

The findings have been organised under a series of themes that emerge from the data, namely: identity; roles and responsibilities; working environment; being trusted, the children taught; career opportunities and perceptions of others.

Special needs teachers' identities

The range of teachers who have special needs responsibilities is wide, as is the extent to which special needs responsibilities form part of a teacher's professional identity.

Identity is complex but it is influenced by a range of factors explored below and further under other themes later in this report.

Primary teachers are more like to see their identity as a class teacher first, then as a SENCO second, whereas secondary special needs teachers are more like to have made a specific career choice and are more like to have undertaken additional professional development leading to qualifications. Thus, secondary special needs teachers are more likely to describe themselves as 'a teacher of children with special educational needs' than are primary teachers. Similarly, teachers in special and local authority support services are more likely to have a clear professional identity as 'special needs teachers'. According to the respondents, there is considerable variation in status between mainstream special needs teachers relating to particular school policies and the nature of special needs provision within the school. In some schools SENCOs have significant influence and a high level of management responsibilities. Often they are members of the senior management team, at the level of assistant or deputy head. In other schools special needs provision is marginalised and the SENCO may not even have qualified teacher status. Although status is linked to pay, those that took part in the focus groups saw status as being not only determined by a particular position in the school's management structure, but also as being associated with personal and professional credibility, knowledge, skills and responsibilities.

The identity of special school teachers seems more likely to be associated with their schools and with the children they teach. This is because the schools in which they teach serve children with particular 'types' of difficulty. For example, they often talk about themselves as 'a teacher of the deaf' or 'I teach children with autism'. For some teachers who previously worked in special schools, identity has been affected by inclusion, especially for those teachers who have made the move from special to mainstream schools. Some ex-special school teachers commented about loss of status associated with the move to a larger mainstream school, particularly when it was associated with undertaking a less clearly defined role (see below) and a lower position in the school's management hierarchy. Others however, commented that although their identity was less clear, their status was higher now that they taught in the mainstream.

Differences in professional identity are also associated with whether the teachers have specialist qualifications and have made deliberate career choices to work with children who have special educational needs. Whilst some primary SENCOs have such qualifications there are others who see who see it as a stage in their career, something they will undertake to get extra experience, or because *'it's my turn'*. There are those who see being a SENCO as valuable preparation for headship in the primary sector. Many SENCOs, especially in smaller schools, also have other responsibilities such as literacy co-ordinator. Most primary SENCOs do not hold specialist qualifications for the role (see Dyson, Millward etc). Several reported that they became special needs teachers by accident or because the work was available on a part-time basis and it fitted well with other commitments when they returned to teaching.

> *When I decided to return to teaching the only part-time work was to help with the reading groups in a local primary school. Then the National Literacy Strategy was introduced and I went full-time. Later I became the SENCO, but I had to learn about this role on the job. Previously I was a secondary teacher of English.*

The picture then is complex. Special needs teachers come from different professional backgrounds, their identity and status is influenced by a range of factors including where and who they teach and because they have a range of different experiences and qualifications. Nevertheless, a common theme emerged throughout the focus group discussions. Most special needs teachers believe that they can make a difference to children's lives. Many said they were motivated by a desire to help vulnerable children. One spoke of being,

> ....*a safety net, the only chance that these children have for staying connected to school and receiving any kind of education.*

Others spoke of the satisfaction of helping children overcome difficulties. As one respondent stated,

> *There is no greater professional satisfaction than helping a child to realise that they can do it after all*

Another recurrent theme in the discussions was the broader social importance of the work,

> *Other children learn in spite of the teaching they receive, but I believe that I can really make a difference to the kids with SEN. This is challenging work, it's not easy, but it is crucial, not just for them and the school, but for society.*

Some spoke of how working with children who find learning difficult had helped them to develop as teachers,

> *I am happy to describe myself as a teacher of children with special needs, it is where I learned to be a good teacher. All my colleagues should take this work seriously, there would be benefits for all children. They would have to think carefully about what it is to be a good teacher.*

However, there were many respondents who recognised that some teachers' professional identity is defined by the subject they teach. They see such teachers as not interested in working with those who they think are not capable of learning their subject.

The working environment

Teachers of pupils with special educational needs work in a range of settings including mainstream primary and secondary schools, special schools and units, pupil referral units, local authority support services, voluntary organisations, provision that is sometimes referred to as 'education otherwise.'

During the focus group discussions it was clear that there are huge variations in forms of provision across different local authorities. In part this can be explained by different histories and traditions especially in the field of special needs. Many local authorities have high status special needs policies and provision, others have not emphasised or organised the work in the same way. Thus the nature of the working environments varied between respondents in this research. Nevertheless as with all teachers, having a positive working environment is crucially linked to status. Many SENCOs talked about having sufficient '*space and place to do the work*'.

Further, allocation of spaces and places to do the work was mentioned by many members of the focus groups as being significant in feelings about status.

> *We know our work is valued here because we have a well-resourced base that is central to the school. We are located between the head's office and the library, not hidden away down the end of a corridor or in a hut across the playground.*

However, others spoke of the frustration that although they were responsible for working with external agencies, they were not given the facilities to carry out these tasks, for example, a room for meeting parents or outside specialists, where sensitive matters could be discussed in private, easy access to a telephone, a lockable filing cabinet or a dedicated computer for keeping confidential files. However, the biggest complaint related to the lack of time to do the job properly. As a primary SENCO complained,

> *How can being a SENCO be seen as high status work when I am given no time to do it, because I have full-time teaching commitment with my own class.*

Resource allocation is an area that affects how special needs teachers feel about their status. Many SENCOs do not understand or have details of the SEN budgets for their schools. Few primary SENCOs understood the funding formulae for special needs and some were not involved in discussions with the governors or senior management team about how human and material resources should be distributed.

There were also many comments about the lack of sustained professional development opportunities. One SENCO commented that, *I operate on a wing and a prayer, half the time I don't know what I doing*. Local authorities generally provide professional development for SENCOs but many complained that it only covered the administrative aspects of the job, such as how to do IEPs or manage the statutory assessment process. Other mentioned that parents were often better informed than they were because of easy access to information through the internet or information provided by disability organisations. One questioned whether special needs work could be considered high status work when she had to cover the costs of her master's degree out of her own resources. She wondered, *how many lawyers have to pay for courses out of their own taxed income?* Many felt that they needed time and support to undertake sustained professional development, not only so that they could do the job better, but also because they saw having specialist qualifications as a crucial aspect of establishing credibility with parents and their colleagues. Higher status is associated with credibility and greater confidence.

The nature of their work

The special needs task is complex. In part this is because of the contested nature of the concept of special needs outlined above and a lack of agreement about what constitutes best practice. Special school teachers report having the clearest role descriptions, although many special schools are now reconfiguring their roles and are providing support to mainstream schools through 'outreach' arrangements. Because of delegation of funding from local authorities to schools, many central support services are currently being reorganised. Members of support services spoke of a lack of clarity in their new roles and worried about how they would manage the expectations of schools and parents who do not understand the implications of the new funding arrangements. Those who had lost their jobs in the support service and had been relocated to schools felt that the change had resulted in a loss of status.

Given the rapidly changing policy context and other complexity, it is inevitable that special needs roles and responsibilities will vary between schools. However, when mainstream special needs teachers are asked about the nature of their roles and the tasks they undertake, a long list is produced. It includes; teaching, assessing, counselling, administrating, organising, liaising with external agencies, consulting with colleagues, providing staff development, and managing other adults. Many SENCOs reported tensions between the teaching functions and management and consultancy functions of the role.

Such wide-ranging tasks require knowledge, skills and attributes that not all SENCOs feel they possess. Some referred to the TTA SENCO Standards (TTA, 1998) and other TTA Specialist Standards, but they lamented the lack of opportunities to develop such skills. As one SENCO commented,

> *When I came into the work, it was to teach children. Now most of my time is spent working with other adults, such colleagues and assistants, external agencies and families. I have never received any support in making this move, so whilst in some ways it has raised my status, it has undermined my credibility.*

Recent initiatives such as *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2003b) is likely to mean that special needs teachers will be undertaking more multi-agency work with social services, school psychology services and health authorities. Most respondents saw this as a positive development for vulnerable children, but also wondered whether it would be properly funded and supported,

> *Will 'Every Child Matters' be yet another initiative that depends on the goodwill of teachers and other professionals?*

Many respondents spoke of the difficulty in managing the demands from colleagues, children and parents. One of the biggest challenges is convincing colleagues that they are also responsible for children with SEN,

> *My colleagues always want me to deal with their problem pupils and I find it difficult to say no because I don't want to see the kids struggling. I*

> *know that the more I agree to do this for them the less likely they are to*
> *see it as their responsibility…it's a kind of learned helplessness I suppose.*

The overall picture is one of a rapidly changing field in which there is a lack of consistency in the role and responsibility of many teachers of children with special needs, especially for SENCOs. The nature of tasks and responsibilities varies from school to school. In part this variation arises from differences between school policies and the perceived skills and attributes of the SENCO. Most however, speak of a role that is overloaded and confused. Thus the status of SENCOs varies from school to school.

Being a trusted professional

Elsewhere in the Teacher Status Project an important element of status relates to being a respected and valued authority. For special needs teachers the picture in this regard is complex. Many are seen as being trusted professionals; others describe themselves as glorified child minders, part of the schools ambulance service picking up the casualties:

> *Yes they trust me to care for these children and I have high levels of trust*
> *from the parents and governors, but some of my colleagues are very*
> *patronising…you know the kind of comments, 'Cathy you are so wonderful*
> *with these kids…we don't know what we would do without you', they have*
> *no idea or interest in what we are doing.*

Many spoke about the increase in accountability and scrutiny. Most were critical of OfSTED claiming that in many cases inspectors did not understand what they were trying to do. Others however, pointed out that since the introduction of the new OfSTED guidelines on inspecting inclusive practice things had improved.

Accountability was mentioned by several respondents and it was widely agreed that more people are now interested in the performance of the children with special needs. Many felt that there had been an increase in external control and regulation. A senior member of a local authority support service pointed out,

> *In the past as long as the children were happy and they were 'out of the*
> *way' no one scrutinised what we were doing. Now it's different. And this*
> *is a paradox. One on hand we have to demonstrate that these children*
> *can learn and that's a good thing. The national curriculum and the*
> *strategies might have helped here, even though the national system of*
> *assessment still does not enable all children to participate. On the other*
> *we have lost professional autonomy and judgement. We should be trusted*
> *more to know what is in the children's best interests.*

Others felt that the national strategies had not helped teachers to improve achievement of children with SEN. They complained about the rigidity of the strategies and some felt that whilst they had raised standards for some, there had also been casualties. One SENCO commented,

As long as the strategies are in place we will produce more children with special needs. The Additional Literacy Strategy was a disaster here. Why should assistants be expected to do the hardest thing in schools? It's bad for the kids, but good for me I suppose. I'll never be out of a job while we carry on making kids feel stupid and bad about themselves!

One of the biggest changes to views about whether they felt that they were trusted professionals is associated with the growth in the number of assistants. Many SENCOs are being trusted to manage adults, but the message is also that unqualified people can do this job. The rise in numbers of assistants who now carry out much of the face-to-face work with children was raised in all the focus groups. But there were many different accounts about whether the increase in the use of assistants was a good or a bad development. It was acknowledged that many parents liked the notion of their child being 'helped', even when it did take them away from qualified teachers and other children. One local authority manager claimed,

The demand from parents for individual help has backfired. Who would have thought that parents would be happy with unqualified help for their children that separates their child from the teacher and from other children? It's a national scandal.

Many SENCOs described the paradox of working with assistants. On one hand it increases status because it involves the management of adults, but at the same time it decreases status because of the widespread belief that unqualified adults can do much of this kind of teaching. Many were angry about the growth in the belief that any one can do this kind work. One secondary SENCO commented,

Why does the government think that the least well-qualified, least rigorously recruited, least well-paid people can reach the hardest to teach?

Others commented on the difficulty of recruiting good assistants and were generally happy with new courses and career structures such as higher level teaching assistants. However, they were less confident that the Workforce Agreement would improve the current situation.

One of the biggest reasons for dissatisfaction was the increase in numbers of SENCOs who are not teachers. Many felt that the message is that the special needs role in schools is one of managing assistants and IEPs, which renders their work largely organisational and administrative. One irate SENCO commented,

In a secondary school I know the SENCO is not even a teacher, he's an assistant. It gives the message that you do not need any qualifications or knowledge of children's special needs or how they learn or why they have difficulties. It's only about how best to deploy resources and to keep the kids quiet. I'm not sure I want to carry on being a SENCO if the LEA and government think that this situation is OK and anybody can do this job.

The children they teach

It was argued earlier that the status of teachers might well be linked to the status of the pupils they teach and that in the current competitive context, highly achieving pupils may be perceived as being higher status than those who struggle to reach the specified levels of attainment. During the focus groups and interviews this question was explored, but there was no clear consensus. It was generally believed that high achieving pupils have higher status in schools, but this view varied across schools. In schools where there had been real progress with the implementation of inclusive policies and practice, respondents reported that pupils were seen as of equal status and that teachers' status was not defined by who was taught. However, this view was not always the case as explained by one local authority support teacher,

> *I work in several secondary schools and the differences are stark. In one of my schools the top streams get the best teachers and the best resources. The bottom sets and special needs children get what's left. They are hidden from view and largely forgotten. In another one of my schools all pupils are valued and get a fair share. Experienced teachers work across the school.*

In spite of the difficulty with definitions about who are the children with special educational needs, it was clear that there are status differences between children with special needs. This is complex and disputed territory, but even amongst teachers of pupils with SEN there are beliefs that some children are more worthy than others, because their difficulties are not their fault. This can be seen in the growing need to have biological or psychological explanations for children's difficulties in learning, communication, or with behaviour. In other words, when difficulties can be given a label such as autism, dyslexia or ADHD, it provides a focus for the mobilising support for the child and it provides an easily understood pseudo-medical explanation. Clearly it is not their fault, nor is it the fault of their parents or teachers, but the fault of the syndrome that they have. Conversely, when difficulties are seen as related to intellectual, socio-economic or cultural differences, the children are often seen as 'unworthy'. Therefore, the nature of, and explanation for, children's difficulties affects perceptions of the importance and status of the work.

In addition some SENCOs talked of the reputations that their schools had developed for dealing with difficult children and how this was not always seen to be positive. One SENCO claimed that she was told by her head teacher,

> *There's no need to do your display at the open evening this year. We don't want to get a reputation for being too good at this kind of work.*

Teachers of children with SEBD are a particular case. They sometimes describe themselves as having low status because the children they teach have low status, others see themselves as high status because they *are good with these kinds of kids* who have often been excluded from their original schools. Some teachers speak of working in a *war zone* and they describe a perverse sense of achievement linked to beliefs that most other teachers could not do this work.

Career opportunities

National and local policies and practices have provided new career opportunities for teachers of children with special educational needs. Such opportunities have arisen in support services or through the provision of 'outreach' work from special schools. There has also been in an increase in the amount of school-based staff development that is provided by SEN teachers. These and other developments have raised the status of SEN teachers, but delegation of funding from local authorities to schools and, in some cases, badly implemented inclusion policies have lowered the status of the work.

It was interesting to hear how many primary SENCOs saw the role as a good preparation for increased responsibility including headship. As one primary SENCO stated,

> *How many other roles in the primary school provide opportunities for learning about managing budgets and other adults, for working with colleagues across the school and with families and external agencies?*

A secondary teacher commented that the current policies for inclusion had raised her status in the school.

> *Until a few years ago I was a traditional SENCO doing my own thing under the radar of the rest of the school. With the appointment of the new head and new policies of inclusion, I became Inclusion Manager in charge of the school's review of teaching and learning. I have seen my status rise as colleagues realise that I have a real contribution to make to how they do their work.*

Such changes have occurred in some schools but not in others and there is still a confusing picture about how and where SEN teachers fit into a rapidly changing educational system.

The perceptions of others about SEN teachers

Status is linked to levels of respect from colleagues, children and parents. Many respondents commented that respect and gratitude from parents is vital.

> *We don't always get that and some parents are unrealistic in the expectations of their children. The media doesn't help with its promises of miracle cures. Part of my role is expectation management. Raising the expectations of my colleagues and the pupils I teach whilst at the same time lowering the expectations of some the parents.*

In spite of developments in understanding about the nature of the special needs task, there are still widely held perceptions that special needs work is more about caring and less about curriculum, teaching and learning. Such views can be heard in comments such as,

> *'It must be such rewarding work'* and, *'you must be so patient'*

Teachers of children with special needs who have undertaken award-bearing professional development are seen to have higher status in the eyes of their colleagues.

> *I don't know if it's because I am more confident now I have my master's degree or whether my colleagues recognise that I know more about teaching and learning. Whatever the reason I am treated with greater respect now. They listen to me and seek my advice*

Sadly many teachers who took part in the focus groups have not had the opportunity of undertaking award-bearing courses.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the views of teachers who specialise in, or spend time working with children deemed to have special educational needs, on their status within and beyond the teaching profession. The work of these teachers is distinguished by its range, complexity and variety. Their expertise in supporting the learning of children learning difficulties must include critical fundamentals of pedagogy, knowledge of different types of special needs and the skills to work with other adults. Yet, the boundaries of their work are arbitrary, given contested, resource-led definitions of what constitutes special needs. Their working environments, despite the vulnerability of their pupils, can range from a bench in a corridor to a well-equipped unit, or within the mainstream classroom. Time and resources to support their work varied accordingly. Whilst many have funded their own CPD in order to gain qualifications to improve their practice and their status, the increase in the numbers of teaching assistants, who lack any teaching qualification to do the face-to-face work with the children, is a serious threat to the SEN teachers' status, and to the welfare of the children. In the present performance-led climate, they have little chance of achieving high status through their pupils' achievements. Not surprisingly, their status is at best ambiguous, and is sometimes low. They are, however, often held in high esteem by parents, governors and other teachers, who see the benefits of their work. Given the importance of their role, one might expect them to have a higher status within the teaching profession. Clearer policies, more time and resources for them to do their work, together with recognised, funded training would help to raise both their perceived and their actual status within the profession.

CHAPTER 17: THE STATUS OF TEACHERS WORKING IN PUPIL REFERRAL UNITS

Overview

This chapter aims to explore the factors influencing the status of teachers and explores the perceptions of teachers working within pupil referral units (PRUs). More specifically, the research was conducted to:

- understand how teachers working within PRUs feel about their status as teachers

- establish whether their perceptions of status are similar or different to teachers working in mainstream schools

- understand what particular factors shaped by working within PRUs contribute to their perceptions of high or low status.

The research was conducted through qualitative case study research in six PRUs in three LAs. The main findings of the chapter show:

- External status is not a driving motivation of PRU teachers, rather teachers within PRU draw pride from their abilities to develop relationships with pupils, manage behaviour and inspire change in pupils' achievements. The possibilities of doing so are encouraged by the small size of the units and less hierarchical working relations developed between pupils and staff in PRUs.

- Teachers in five out of six PRUs expressed great dissatisfaction with what they considered to be inadequate buildings and facilities, which they saw as indicative of their low status. It appeared that PRU teachers were not overly concerned with career development, given that many were working under temporary contracts.

- Teachers in PRUs experience their teaching and learning skills differently to mainstream schoolteachers. Rather than drawing status through specialised training (whether initial training or through CPD) PRU teachers expressed how they benefited from learning by experience of the personal skills required on the job. They also reported enjoying more autonomy through adapting the national curriculum to individual learners' needs.

- PRU teachers felt they were seen as lower status than other teachers by the government and LA. They felt marginalised within the profession, evidenced, they suggested by the application of inappropriate pay structures and policy initiatives, and some teachers felt frustrated by the lack of control in decision-making. In contrast, teachers in PRUs felt they were valued by those working in other agencies, other teachers who they come to contact with, and the general public, who respect the challenging work they do.

An introduction to PRUs

In the past, the two major forms of alternative education for excluded pupils have been placement in a special unit or education at home (Blyth and Milner 1996). However, in 1993, the Education Act placed a duty on LAs to make provision for children out of school for whatever reason, resulting in a new type of school, the Pupil Referral Unit. Although the DfES defines PRUs as '*legally a type of school*' (DfES 2004), there are key differences between PRUs and mainstream or special needs schools. Managerial responsibilities of PRUs are decided by LAs, and as such they do not have a Board of Governors and the headteacher may not be formally employed in the same capacity as in mainstream schools. The curriculum taught within PRUs need not follow the full National Curriculum and not all pupil referral units are registered with the DfES, so only those registered are subject to OfSTED inspections. It can be argued, therefore, that they have an ambiguous nature when compared to mainstream schools.

However, although teachers working within this sector are marginal, it is interesting to consider their perspectives, not least because there has been a tremendous growth in both the number of Pupil Referral Units and the numbers of teachers employed within them since 1993. Pupil Referral Units rose from 309 to 452 over the last 8 years (Crace 2005), and '*between 2001 and 2003 there was a 25 per cent increase in the number of pupils educated in PRUs*' (OfSTED 2005). In 1997 there were 3460 teachers working in PRUs and other 'education elsewhere' provision, but by 2004 there were 5730 (National Statistics 2004). Moreover, PRUs represent an area of increased government expenditure; Stephen Twigg indicated that planned net expenditure on PRUs in England was £100,309,321 in 2000-01, and £198,460,713 in 2004-05 (House of Commons Hansard Written Answers for 21 Feb 2005: pt 75).

Discussing PRUs is also complex because they are very varied both in size and scope. Some are located on a single site, whilst others operate over several sites, with a 'teacher in charge' (rather than headteacher) running the smaller units (see methods section for further details of the variation in PRUs studied in this research project work within). Many offer support to schools and pupils in mainstream schools, or share joint provision with a child's mainstream school, although they also provide full time education packages to some children. Two thirds cater for secondary pupils only, and the majority work with 14-16 year olds. Pupil numbers vary from single figures to over 100, although most units have between 10 and 30 pupils (OfSTED 1999).

Given that other areas of the Teacher Status Project (the public opinion surveys and type I and type II case-studies) identify discipline issues as an important factor in relation to teacher status and other studies reveal that teaching as a profession has status hierarchies within in (Banks 1971, Hoyle 2001) it is necessary to explore more how teachers working within such contexts perceive their status. To date, there is very little literature on these issues, apart from Garner's small-scale study of two London PRUs, in which teachers as well as pupils felt '*both marginalised and undervalued*' (2000: 7). Certainly, a study of Pupil Referral Units and the teachers within them is timely in the light of current political debate on the increased levels of pupil misbehaviour in schools, the introduction of strategies to tackle this, calls from the unions for further action, expansion in the number of children being educated in PRUs by Labour, and the suggestion of the introduction of 'turnaround schools' from the Conservatives.

Methods

Six case studies were conducted with teachers working in Pupil Referral Units. The case studies were drawn from three LAs, including inner city London, the Midlands and a predominantly rural county in the South East of England. They comprised five focus groups conducted in PRUs A-E and one semi-structured interview in PRU F, where, following the cancellation of a focus group, only the deputy head was available. In total, 22 teachers participated in the focus groups, which included 6 heads or deputies. Of these, 20 were white and 19 female. The selection represented a range of PRUs, including:

PRU 'A': The PRU catered to around 55 Key Stage 4 pupils, and was now in its third academic year. It had modern purpose built premises, although prior to this, the head established and ran provision from two caravans. Seven female teachers attended the focus group.
PRU 'B': The PRU catered to 49 Key Stage 4 pupils at the time of the research, although has had up to 120 students enrolled. It consisted of a main building and several mobile classrooms. Three female teachers participated.
PRU 'C': Up to 100 pupils of all ages were at the PRU, which had a particular focus on pupils with behavioural difficulties. The unit shared premises with other LA services, including Educational Psychology. Two female and one male teacher participated.
PRU 'D': This long running unit was set up 13 years ago, and was designed to cater for mainly school-phobic children, with less emphasis on behavioural problems. There were around 30 children at the unit, which was based in premises near to an EBD school, with whom it shared some facilities. Four female teachers attended the focus group.
PRU 'E': The PRU catered mainly for recent immigrants to Britain who had poor English language skills, with fluctuating numbers between around 130 and 200; it was temporarily housed in a disused secondary school. Two female and two male teachers attended.
PRU 'F': The PRU was based in centres in many different geographical sites run by a 'teacher in charge', offering primary, Key Stage 3 and 4 provision for around 200 pupils, and offering its services to mainstream schools.

All interviews except one were tape recorded, transcribed, and open coded using the coding framework as discussed in Chapter 6. As in the type II research on teachers in schools selected for their particular status, however, these codes were modified through the creation of additional codes, in response to data arising within the interviews.

Evidence

The findings of the research are discussed in four sections in turn, referring to:
- teachers' perceptions of their status
- internal school relations/working environment
- teaching and learning
- external relations/external regulation and control

Teachers' perceptions of their status

As was common in the type I and type II studies of teachers drawn from survey and classified schools, teachers within PRUs did not mention status as a motivation for pursuing teaching as a career. Neither does it appear to be an overwhelming concern in the daily lives of PRU teachers and managers; many even find the concept irrelevant to the sort of work they do. A teacher in PRU A expressed, '*I think if you're worried [about status, prestige and esteem] you wouldn't be here*', whilst another offered a more pragmatic reason for their lack of concern, '*the thing is you're so worn out you don't care*'. Most participants chose to work within PRUs not to seek promotion or to otherwise enhance their career prospects or status, but rather because the work contributes to their sense of personal identity. Many moved into the sector after having worked with more challenging children in mainstream settings; those working in PRU D also particularly reported being attracted to the work after having gained experience working in the field of special educational needs. Teachers reported a high sense of self esteem that was gained intrinsically through the work they do within PRUs; one teacher summed up, '*I was thinking, well yes, I think I have more self esteem here than the last year or two when I was in mainstream school*' (PRU B). Their status rests on feeling different to mainstream teachers, as particular specialists in this sort of work, as the following comments reflect:

> *I think really there's a PRU…I think you are a kind…I think not of a kind, I mean we are very different people* (PRU A)

> *I feel as if I've got out of the rat race and just found a little niche* (PRU B)

> *I don't think of myself as being superior or inferior to anybody in mainstream schools. I feel more empowered about my own knowledge base, my own professionalism, my own understanding, because I've been given that opportunity to learn about it…I feel empowered, that's all, but I feel the same* (PRU D).

All but one of the teachers appeared to get a high level of esteem and satisfaction from working with the most challenging pupils, even when they encountered problems:

> *T2: You do get a nice afternoon; you do get a nice sense of achievement in this job, though, that we can manage the most difficult children.*

> *T3: You feel that because they have been through all the stages and hundreds of people haven't dealt with them, so if I am finding it a problem I am not the only one, and if I only find a chink through him, if he does one piece of work a term, it is better than he has done for the last two years* (PRU B)

> *And been a fantastic job. And, you know, changed a lot of students' lives*
> (PRU D)

A clear finding, and common to the findings with supply teachers, is that pride and professional identity for teachers working in PRUs are derived from their relationships with pupils and their skills in behavioural management rather than subject knowledge or teaching skills. A deputy head in PRU F stated, '*success with a challenging pupil is*

particularly satisfying'. When probed about the qualities that are important in being a successful PRU teacher, participants talked about their skills in behaviour management and their ability to remain calm and focused. These were often discussed in positive self-evaluations of their psychological qualities:

> *And we talk about being a big person here and I think you do really have to be a big person here because you have to soak it up. You can't be the one that needs the attention really, but they do. My experience in school is particularly...I worked with a lot of PE teachers and ego was like everything and the confrontation was 'don't you talk to me like that' and they had to have the last say. And actually here it's much better if you say 'I've been there; I know exactly where you're coming from'. And you do have to be...you can't come with a lot of baggage. You have to be pretty well sorted out yourself really* (PRU A).

The possibility for teachers to build up such relationships is afforded by the particular occupational contexts of PRUs, which benefit from small unit sizes, informality with and proximity to pupils, limited private staff space and a flatter management structure. Teachers in PRUs are involved with numerous tasks, have no breaks when pupils are on the premises and eat lunch with them, which create closer relationships between staff and pupils. This is a positive benefit, as teacher at PRU A states, '*In terms of satisfaction, it was the small intimacy of the thing'*. Teachers referred to how pupils saw them as different to mainstream teachers, and felt they were 'on the same side'. Many teachers reported how students value the time spent there, respect the teachers and even became fond of some PRU teachers.

Status as reflected by the working environment

Although the teachers drew status from the sort of work they do, most staff felt that if status was indicated by the premises and resources they worked in, they were seen as low status. Only one of the PRUs visited was purpose built; most units occupied small sections of buildings and were shared with other LA departments, and these conditions provoked a great deal of commentary. Few units had playgrounds or adequate funding for staffrooms and even senior management had to share rooms with clerical staff, with no confidential meeting space. One indication of this is shown in the fact that one interview for the research was conducted in a stationery cupboard, which was apparently used frequently for meetings. An article in the Guardian highlighted these conditions, referring to a teacher who taught in Pupil Referral Units for 20 years but left on sick grounds; it described the increased class sizes, the ways in which units are run as a Cinderella service and referred to how much teaching is conducted in prefabs (Naylor 2005).

In line with the type I and type II case studies, a sense of pride is expressed when staff work in good premises. The headteacher of PRU A which had been formerly housed in caravans had successfully pushed to have a purpose built building, and explained how this changed the ways the teachers could present themselves to parent, pupils and the community:

> *When they* [parents and pupils] *come I always say to them and I say this with real confidence, I always say to them 'this isn't rubbish. You'll find really good*

teachers here. We've got really good rooms and you'll get really good teaching and people will treat you decently' (PRU A).

Another teacher there felt the facilities meant the unit was highly regarded:

> *Certainly within the local area I think we're highly respected because we do have a nice place and nicer than most of the schools actually and we keep it nicer than most of the schools. And teachers that come from mainstream say to me, 'it's so much nicer here', because schools get a bit run down. So I think there is a profile in the community* (PRU A).

However, the conditions reported at PRU A were not shared by most. In the majority, the poor material conditions were reported as having consequences for teachers' sense of esteem, morale and value, and provoked some exasperation. It is worth quoting at length some of the problems reported:

> *I get the impression that the [named LA] doesn't take teachers at all seriously or doesn't take the PRU teachers seriously at all. We've got a venue which is so clearly inappropriate for a school. I didn't have a desk for the first two weeks that I was here. A new person's been employed and there's no desk for them. There are no computers for the staff to use in the staffroom. You have to go down and share computers with the students…Not fixing security doors. Trying to get security doors in a PRU for goodness sakes! You would have thought that the borough would have a system in place so that if there's a problem with a pupil referral unit that needs security for the health and safety of those staff, you would have thought would have been quite a high priority* (PRU C).

> *We have got some nice buildings. This is probably the worst. That office in there is the hub of the service with eight people working in there, it's dreadful. It floods. You only have to look at the outside of this building to see the state of repair… But trying to get the drains sorted out, that's a two year job. Trying to get the gutters sorted, the hole in the roof…so premises really does bring us down. The fact that the leadership team of the service haven't got an office is not very good from that point of view. So premises are an issue* (PRU F).

This was reported to be particularly problematic at PRU F, which is organised on nine sites, but does not get a budget that adequately corresponds to its size:

> *In terms of numbers of pupils, we're not massive. We've probably got throughout the whole year 500 pupils. But nine buildings. And that's quite an issue. Frequently the fact that we are on nine sites but we are a single PRU means we get one amount of the grant for improving teacher staff rooms for example. Well we've got nine staff rooms to improve….In general I think the staff feel well supported and well recognised in (this authority). But there are things like the building that don't help.*

Another problem for PRU teachers' status arising from their working conditions is that their conditions of service are also variable. Some teachers work on temporary contracts, because pupil numbers are not consistent, and PRUs have a regular turnover of children present as they are excluded from school or leave to be reintegrated in other schools. One

supply teacher, retired from mainstream, welcomes the flexibility afforded by her work contract, but others must patiently wait their turn to move into a permanent contract:

> *I think our difficulty is the temporary contracts because the income is not… we can't say it's permanent income….So temporary contracts do cause a difficulty for staff. They're more flexible I think. But what tends to happen is the people who have had a temporary contract, when a permanent vacancy comes up, they just shift them on* (PRU F).

Two senior managers expressed that there were opportunities for progression through this type of work, as the Deputy in PRU F stated, '*it does put them in a very good position for deputy head in primary and leadership posts in secondary'*. However more teachers referred to the lack of posts available and the limits for promotion when, '*there just aren't the posts available'* (PRU D). As such, it would appear that teachers working in PRUs do not especially seek status through career enhancement when undertaking this work.

Status through teaching and learning

Although, as demonstrated below, the research shows there is a higher perception of autonomy for teachers working within PRUs, initial teacher training for working in referral units is non-existent. Teachers cannot gain QTS whilst working within a PRU. This is a barrier to high status, as generally, a body of theoretical knowledge and lengthy training are often considered one indication of professionalism (Winch 2004, Revell 2005). Rather in PRUs, preparation is not gained through initial teacher training courses, but through experience, initially in mainstream schools.

In terms of the specific teaching and learning skills that are stressed by PRU teachers, there is also a contrast with the profession generally. Research shows that traditionally primary teachers have been considered of lower status than that of teachers of older age groups (see Banks 1971) but in PRUs, it is exactly these primary and basic skills teacher training qualifications which are particularly valued. A teacher at PRU B stated, '*I think the expertise is the fact that I am one of the few people in this unit that has been trained to teach basic numeracy and literacy'.* Indeed, subject specific knowledge can even be a hindrance, as one teacher explained, '*it's difficult if you come here wanting to do your subject. That's not the way into the students'* (PRU A). PRU teachers by contrast, '*teach every subject, and many are primary trained, which is valuable because of this'* (pilot interview, teacher 1). Furthermore, having the personal skills of being able to build rapport with pupils are particularly important, as the following teachers expressed:

> *I think our expertise is in working with these particular students and with their particular needs rather than a subject.*

> *I think staff here understand young people much better than the majority of people working in schools* (PRU A).

However, some teachers felt that their skills are misunderstood. Their abilities to calmly deal with behavioural problems and downplay swearing for instance, are felt to be underrated by other teachers, even though internally they themselves feel high self esteem through these capacities:

> *If they [other teachers] look from the outside and judge my god how wet are they? Because when kids kick off we don't pin them up against a wall and threaten them. We talk them through things and we even talk them through just to give ourselves time* (PRU A).

The fact that there is no specialised initial training route to this type of teaching is also reflected in the opportunities for CPD, which existed to varying degrees within the units. OfSTED (2005) notes that there are limited training opportunities for teachers to develop strategies for working with difficult pupils. Given this absence of lengthy training and particular kinds of abstract and practical knowledge for PRU teaching (factors which are, according to Winch 2004 and Revell 2005, key markers of a high status discipline) the knowledge, skills and expertise of these teachers might be perceived as of lower status: a craft rather than a science. Meo and Parker found in the study of one PRU that although the teachers claimed specialist professional knowledge, '*the majority of teachers conceded that their occupational training within the context of SEN had been informally constructed*' (2004: 107). Indeed, PRU teachers felt that they did not learn much from external courses, which seemed irrelevant to their work and felt that they learnt much more from internally provided training, observation of colleagues and learning by on-the-job experience. Thus rather than seeking a body of theoretical knowledge, an amalgam of flexible techniques was used by PRU teachers:

> *In my case, I've been teaching for an awful long time and you pick up things and you know what works and what doesn't. Obviously if you have a response from [the pupils you're] teaching you're obviously doing something right. When I came to work here I went on additional courses that we had but I think there is a big tendency to be a bit robotic about it...The way I go around it is to look at something that you feel comfortable with and adopt that and change it to suit your own style. Then there is a danger of somebody... if you take the big expert on behaviour... with working with kids, I don't think anybody could end up like him.... He's got some wonderful tips and things that will help you but I think you have to pick a bit from this one and a bit from that one because otherwise you are just a machine really* (PRU C).

Indeed, general 'experience' is cited as the most valuable aid in working in such schools; some mentioned that having children of their own helped with understanding how some teenagers behave. In this light, whereas length of service might become a disadvantage in mainstream schools with tight budgets, in the Pupil Referral Unit, it is welcomed, as the following experienced teacher reflected:

> *I think there is flexibility of time and the experience of many years that I can bring to it. And you are not proving anything anymore, you know, I don't want to go off and be a bossy boots anymore* (PRU B).

In discussing their status, many teachers working at PRUs expressed that they felt a higher level of autonomy than their peers working in mainstream schools. Although the teaching profession as a whole is felt to have suffered diminished autonomy over recent years through government intervention (Judge 1995, Johnson and Hallgarten, 2002, Cunningham 1992, Revell 2005) PRU teachers felt they were left to get on with the job as they felt appropriate, and as a result felt more trusted in their own expertise. One

teacher explained, '*generally speaking they leave us to our own devices. But that's because they think we know what we're doing*' (PRU A). Another confirmed this sentiment of trust in their professional knowledge, as she said, '*I think that is because there's not many more people who know more than we do* (PRU A). Again, another teacher in PRU E believed, '*we don't have the constraints...I don't think, do we? To that extent, I think there's a certain amount of freedom*'. The views on autonomy coincide with the teachers observed in Meo and Parker's study (2004: 108) who, '*clearly distinguished their work from that of mainstream settings*', in the, '*considerable degree of freedom*', they had over the delivery of the curriculum. These views were confirmed by others:

> *I also think, my husband works in a large mainstream school and doesn't have a lot of influence really. I think they are little fish in a big pond there and that frustration of not being able to influence.... I do think here we do... there is a bit more of throwing in your ideas and taking more responsibility. Some people like that and some people don't. Some people say 'ooh I'm not...' but if you're not a jobs worth and you're willing to sort of go along, I think it's a nice thing to be part of.*

> *- So do you have more autonomy?*
> *Oh god yes. And nobody touches us really, so that's good* (PRU A).

For some teachers, the lack of adherence to a National Curriculum was felt to free them from more prescriptive ways of teaching, especially when working with much smaller groups of pupils. One teacher was attracted by, '*the lure of no national curriculum... and I thought 'yes that appeals'. And here I am*' (PRU A). Another pointed out,

> *The difference is in a mainstream school you are very much dominated by the National Curriculum, so you don't, this has been the change while I have been teaching, your whole life is dominated by targets, forms and you are having to get the whole class through a hoop, whereas in here I think, luckily, the children are still the important thing. I am still convinced that actually you cannot have children being dominated by the exams, and you were in mainstream school, whereas here the children are still the children, and they're the important things, so you deal with them* (PRU B).

Although all the PRUS were guided by the National Curriculum, they could adapt it creatively to the needs of the pupils. This is because a rigorous curriculum was inappropriate in PRUs, where teachers work with a rotating body of students, some of whom demonstrate high rates of absenteeism. These factors also limit the use of performance indicators which are the usual markers of the quality of teaching, confirming as OfSTED found, how few PRUs have effective performance management and self evaluation processes. But a teacher explained the difficulties, stating, '*you can't have the same success criteria as you do in a mainstream school can you? We don't keep the kids long enough*', and another in PRU B stated, '*you don't get that get kind of continuity as you would, in preparing in mainstream*'.

Status through external relationships: LAs, the government, other schools, agencies and the public

Although teachers working in PRUs feel that they have greater autonomy in the curriculum and pedagogy, this is undermined somewhat by the higher levels of control of school management, where LEAs retain greater control over management decisions. School managers, including 'teachers in charge' may not even have the formal status of headteacher, and have far less control over budget and recruitment than their counterparts in mainstream schools. Strategic management is usually through the LA rather than a governing body, as a manager expressed, '*A PRU isn't a school…Our managing body doesn't have the power like a governing body* (PRU F). This situation had various implications discussed by a headteacher, who explained how frustrated she had been in trying to secure more points for staff members through the LA's Human Resources department. The findings of OfSTED (1999), support this, reporting that the '*LEA and management committees were insufficiently supportive in some cases'*. This was contrasted with the autonomy of managers allowed in other LA schools where:

> *The heads have the final decision, [they] would go to the governors and given it was a rational argument say yes yes yes…PRU staff are centrally employed and PRUs don't have governors. They have a management committee that don't have the same sort of authority as governors. [We] can't go to the governors and get them to agree to changes…The LEA is our governing body as such* (Headteacher, PRU A).

The status of headteachers (or 'managers') could be perceived, therefore, as of lower status than that of headteachers in mainstream schools. This problem compounds by a general impression, expressed by a number of teachers, that the government and LAs sees PRUs as marginal. Although officially, OfSTED (1999) comments that, the '*quality of teaching was satisfactory or better in two thirds of units, and very good in a third in over a quarter of lessons*', teachers working in PRUs did not feel recognised by the government for their work. They felt they were subject to increasing pressure to take ever growing numbers of pupils, and suggest that their marginal position meant the staff were often sidelined, as the following comments suggest:

> *We often get lumped - and I don't mean that in a nasty way - but with special schools, special schools and PRUs. And actually it doesn't fit as well as fitting in with mainstream to be honest* (PRU A).

> *When they talk about national issues, we're the sidelines* (PRU A).

> *We struggle. For a long time, they [the LA] didn't even know we were here* (PRU A).

> *I still don't think we get anywhere near as much visibility as we should be getting* (PRU E).

It was also felt that government initiatives in tackling pupil behaviour increase the workload in PRUs. The increases in workload, especially when managed on tighter and tighter budgets (with consequent limitations imposed on pay and staffing levels) have a

knock-on effect on the morale of teachers. This was demonstrated when one focus group in PRU F was cancelled because the teachers felt under stress.

One key factor which contributes to these feelings of marginalisation was reported as the imposition, since September 2005, of an altered method of payment. From this time, additional pay scale points are gained through teaching and learning duties, rather than pastoral duties. Yet many teachers expressed uncertainty and demoralisation at the proposed alterations and this was cited as the major reason for the cancellation of the focus group at PRU F. Teachers felt that their existing pay was threatened, with the potential for lower pay being interpreted as indicative of a lower status:

> *We've got 74 staff who have a management allowance and it's going to be very difficult to find a way for all those 74 people to still be paid the same by Christmas. So that's not going to do teacher status much good…I think the main thing is that teachers feel apprehensive. Some of them are going to feel demotivated and demoted as a result of this TLR* [teaching and learning responsibilities] *thing. Some of them will end up with no management points and I think there's probably a few that will view that in rather a poor light.*

However, despite the low status felt in this regard, PRU teachers felt valued in other external relationships with knowledgeable groups more familiar with their day to day work, such as managers and teachers in mainstream schools and other agencies. In particular, teachers felt outreach work with other schools outside of the PRU, although not typical, was beneficial. In one large LA, staff not only taught within the units, but went out into mainstream schools to train other teachers, putting on courses and doing group work that was observed by mainstream teachers. The deputy head at PRU F felt this process raised their profile and prestige:

> *I think if you were to ask people in mainstream schools they would respond very favourably about our staff because they see them doing in-school support and they know that they can teach the difficult kids because that what they were doing in the morning before they got there or that's what they were doing yesterday or whatever. So I think amongst schools we have high status.*

Not all teachers had the opportunity to go out into their local schools, yet nevertheless felt that they are regarded highly by colleagues in both mainstream schools. Although many encountered a feeling of disbelief amongst other teachers that they chose to work in PRUs, in general, teachers felt they were subject to awe from other teachers. This sense of respect was also found when working with other agencies that they come into contact with. Although some groups felt that there was a lack of respect for their professionalism, shown by *'just the odd person; we'll always be "just the teachers"'* (PRU D) many reflected that:

> *The agencies that we work with, and people like that that, sometimes work with our students after they've gone from here, say that the comments they get from the kids and therefore their own respect for us is great. They talk about how the students value the time they've had with us here so I think how we're seen by other agencies is with a lot of respect for what we do with them* (PRU A).

Finally, although in general, the teacher status research shows how teachers saw themselves having less status than other high status professions (see Chapter 7) teachers working in Pupil Referral Units felt more positive about the public perception of their status than their peers in mainstream schools. Teachers reported that the general public looked up to them particularly because of the nature of their work. One teacher explained people asked her, *'how do you do it?'* and *'you must be brave'* (PRU A). They expressed amazement or admiration that anyone would want to work with such challenging children:

> *Some people when you say where you work think you've lost all your marbles completely or there's admiration maybe from some people. Or why do you bother with kids like that? I've had that kind of thing* (PRU C).

> *Well a lot of them say 'oh gosh how do you do that? Oh aren't you brave, what are they like?' That kind of thing. I think that they probably have an exaggerated view because of what they see in the press and the media. They think that all our kids are really difficult all the time. Well that's not the case* (PRU F).

Conclusion

Teachers working in Pupil Referral Unit tended to have a high sense of status when considering the 'internal sphere'. Teachers were largely positive in discussing their autonomy, expertise and the esteem they received from pupils, close working colleagues and parents. However, if status is judged from the 'external sphere' - by how they perceived they were viewed by the government and their LAs, as evidenced in financial rewards, working conditions, and the level of managerial control placed on the units they work in, they perceived themselves to have low status. This strength of internal/external division may be explicable by the context that teachers working in Pupil Referral Units worked in. These tended to be very small units, comparable to the smallest sized mainstream school. This may have an impact on the way these teachers perceived themselves in terms of status and self esteem. However, if status is to be judged by working conditions and work contracts, it is clear that teachers working in Pupil Referral Units contrasted negatively in comparison to teachers in mainstream schools, and to the workforce in other occupations.

CHAPTER 18: THE STATUS OF SUPPLY TEACHERS

Overview

The second aim of the project was to understand the factors that might influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes. This chapter reports on this aim from the perspective of supply teachers, a group within the teaching hierarchy who potentially suffer lower status than their mainstream peers. The research was conducted to:

- understand how supply teachers feel about their status as teachers

- establish whether their perceptions of status are similar or different to teachers working on permanent contracts in mainstream schools

- understand what particular factors contribute to supply teachers' perceptions of high or low status.

The research was conducted through qualitative case study research, with nine focus groups held in a variety of both rural and urban regions across the UK (London, Outer London, South West, East and West Midlands, North West, West of England). The data collection was undertaken by Hutchings et al (2006) as part of a larger study of supply teachers. The key findings from discussions with 44 participants are:

- Supply teachers' sense of status was more markedly influenced by the pupils with whom they work. However they recognised that as supply teachers they were more likely to be subjected to poor behaviour and were more exposed to the falling discipline standards reported more generally amongst teachers. Working continuously in the same school overcame some of these problems, as it established continuity for pupils.

- Supply teachers felt generally happy with their work and felt that schools benefited from their contribution. However, their status appeared to be at risk by the ambivalence within which they were viewed by teachers. They felt they were seen as lesser teachers and some reported their teaching was treated with disinterest by other teachers. Supply teachers also felt they were forbidden to use their professionalism and were socially marginalized in schools. As a result, they bore more responsibility to enhance their status, through the attitudes they displayed.

- Teachers felt the lack of clearly defined organizational procedures structurally led to some of the problems negatively affecting their status. In particular, clearer delineations of expectations of both teaching expectations and non-teaching obligations would help enhance supply teachers' status, as would opportunities for CPD and structured career advancement.

An introduction to supply teaching

Although Hutchings, James, Maylor, Mentor and Smart (2006: v) point out that it is difficult to ascertain exact numbers of supply teachers, they estimate that there are over 40,000 teachers who do supply teaching at some point in a year. However, previous research on this sector of teachers is very limited; mainly small scale in scope and conducted under a different educational landscape in which there were few private sector supply agencies operating (see review in Hutchings et al 2006: chapter 2). Hutchings et al's recent study - the umbrella under which this research was conducted - provides a welcomes contemporary overview of issues around the recruitment, deployment and management of supply teachers in England.

First, the study outlined the great diversity in the backgrounds and motivations of this group of teachers. It identified four main groups of supply teachers. The first group is the largest group of recently qualified teachers coming from initial teacher training or fixed term posts. The majority of these do supply teaching because they are unable to gain permanent teaching posts (p.96-97). The second group were mainly younger overseas-trained teachers who principally do supply teaching in order to travel. The third group is of teachers combining supply work with another occupation, who benefit from the ways the work fits in with family commitments or gives them an opportunity to develop another career. Finally, other supply teachers are retired or retiring teachers, who used supply work to supplement their pensions. Appreciating the diversity of these groups is important, as the differences bear pertinent implications for understanding the status and esteem of particular supply teachers. This is particularly so for the first group, for whom supply teaching is a reluctant default option born of their difficulties in securing employment, rather than a choice, as in the latter groups.

The research also showed that schools employed supply teachers through three means, which again influenced the quality of provision and the supply teachers' experiences. First, teachers can be obtained through personal contact, such as previous experiences working at the school or word of mouth. The second source is through LAs, although the provision is variable. Finally, the third source is the recently expanded sector of private agencies. In general, larger schools use supply cover more, and the degree of cover also relates to both the percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals, and GCSE results in secondary schools (with schools with higher percentages and lower results more likely to use supply teachers more). The research also shows that there is diversity in the expectations of what supply teaching involves; the nature of work that supply teachers are engaged in varies both from school to school and also between primary and secondary phases. In secondary schools, many supply teachers are expected to offer only 'general cover' and supervision work, which can be *a very deskilling experience* (ibid.:11). Indeed, this echoes with one of the key concerns raised in this study by supply teachers relating to their status, as some reported feeling they were considered not fully qualified, or as *not proper teachers* who were used *as a dustbin for the pupils no-one else wanted* (p.104). However, in general, Hutchings et al's study reported a high degree of satisfaction with supply teaching, particularly amongst older teachers. The most positively rated aspects of the work were appreciation of the schools they were placed in, workload and hours of work (p.102).

Methods

For the Teacher Status Project, nine focus group were conducted by Hutchings et al in a variety of regions, with 44 participants teaching across both primary and secondary school levels. The majority of the supply teachers were female and reflected the variety of backgrounds identified above. They ranged from NQTs with no permanent teaching experience to overseas teachers from Australia, Canada and South Africa (all in London) to a retired headteacher and full time teacher with 17 and 35 years' teaching experience respectively. The average length of service as a supply teacher of this group was fairly short, with most teaching supply cover for around one to two years, although one participant had been supply teachers for nine years.

Evidence

The findings of the research are discussed in three sections, referring to these factors shaping supply teachers' status:
- the heightened importance of pupil respect for supply teachers' status
- the influence of other teachers on supply teachers' professional and personal esteem
- the influence of the organisational context of supply teaching for supply teachers' status.

The heightened importance of pupil respect for supply teachers' status

The type I and type II research shows consistently that the relationships with pupils have a very important bearing on teachers' perceptions of their own status. In this respect, supply teachers face particular problems, as the temporary nature of their teaching affects the regard they can command from children, and can provoke episodes of poor behaviour. Indeed, Hutchings et al's study revealed that the lowest rated aspect of job satisfaction amongst supply teachers was pupil behaviour (2006: 103). In the focus groups, supply teachers felt they did not command the same level of status in their pupil's eyes as regular staff. Especially if the appointment is short term, children tended to 'try it on', push the boundaries or tell incorrect information about school policies. For instance, in London a teacher reported how a pupil challenged the teacher's attempts to detain some pupils to clean up the classroom, by saying, '*supply teachers aren't allowed to keep us in. And straightaway you know the fact that they can turn around and say that to me, it just takes away a lot of your power*'. Inevitably supply teachers see themselves, as participants at West Midlands suggested, as a person who '*puts himself up to be shot at*'. Another suggested, although '*it is not endemic particularly with supply teachers, it is just that they are seen as easier prey*', by poorly behaving students. A teacher there also commented, '*if you have supply teacher written across you, you are a stick of death*'.

Indeed, the more general problems of pupil behaviour that were judged as contributing to the lower status of teachers (see Chapter 7) was seen as more marked for supply teachers, as the following extract from the focus group in the West Midlands shows:

Q: Do you think there has been a decline in the kind of respect, status you are experiencing over the years?

T: yes I would say 100 per cent in both primary and secondary....where the so called nice classes...would automatically show some respect for you because you were a teacher, because you were an authoritative figure, that doesn't happen anywhere near as often.

The problem was perceived to be worse for teachers working with older children in secondary schools, an experience that was already more difficult as teachers have to keep introducing themselves to different classes over the school day. In primary schools, the younger children enjoyed the novelty of a new teacher and tried to make a good impression. There were also differences in perception, as supply teachers from overseas compared the poor discipline to their own country of origin, where children showed more respect to teachers, whereas '*in this country you have got seven, eight, nine, ten kids who are swinging from the chandeliers*' (London). One teacher from South Africa referred to how she was used to more coherent discipline policies between schools, with lots of networking between headteachers about what works.

Perhaps in the light of these challenges, the relative importance of pupil opinion was much higher to supply teachers than may be the case for permanent teachers. They cited their relationship with pupils as the crucial determinant of their esteem and their main motivation to be teachers, as a teacher in the North West stated: '*the pupils, the children; that is the reason for me being at the school*'. Although pupils are potentially the cause of their biggest problems, teachers knew that their success can be made or broken by pupils, particularly as they spend all day with the children, and they are often the main source of information about school procedures. As a result, the challenge of managing pupil behaviour was met by the development of a particular set of skills and abilities amongst supply teachers, who were felt to need to be more '*behaviour focused, behaviour centred*' (Inner London). If they commanded respect with the children and that relationship worked well, others (senior managers) started to notice, as a teacher commented, '*number one priority is the students and then the rest will follow*' (London). A teacher in the East Midlands group suggested,

> *You know a really good teacher will go in there, the kids will adore them and they can control the class. Then they get the respect from the children and they get the respect from the other teachers and they are asked back over and over again* (Outer London).

Confirming Hutchings et al's (2006) research, supply teachers felt it was easier to command respect when working in a school for longer periods, as they became '*a common face*'. This allowed continuity for pupils and overcame the problem reported by some supply teachers that some children held perceptions that they were not 'proper' teachers. When this occurred, the supply teachers became more like a regular member of staff and thus they did not face the same extent of behaviour problems. Temporary and short-term placements were reported to be experienced negatively by teachers as the disruption was viewed as exacerbating behavioural difficulties in the class:

> *it is possible to feel extremely isolated and children do say to you, 'we have a lot of supply and you are just another supply teacher so why should we behave*

differently for you than we have for all the other people who have come and gone?' (West Midlands).

I think you can command respect quite soon if you are there on an ongoing basis. You know when I have done five or ten days in a secondary school they can take to me but not in a single day (North West).

I find if you go from school to school to school, like different schools all the time then you are not establishing a routine and that rapport with students (London).

…after four months the kids behave well because they have got that continuity of that teacher (North West).

Despite some of the concerns raised about the impacts of poor behaviour, the research revealed that generally, supply teachers enjoyed their role as supply teachers. They appreciated the benefits of their job, particularly the possibilities of flexible working. Indeed, the perceived trappings of status associated with being a permanent teacher are not necessarily missed, because there are other advantages that make up for the losses. This is reflected in the following comments:

Sometimes it's great because you just walk at the end of the day and just go oh tomorrow is a new day! That part is fantastic…If I could supply teach every day I would keep doing it (Inner London).

And:

I don't miss not having a long-term relationship. I think that is what some people would miss doing supply, you don't have your own classroom and your own stuff, [where] you know your own place and almost the status. And that has never bothered me, I have been quite happy not to have that responsibility. But especially now, I feel like I can fill in a gap, you know doing something really useful, so that's good (Special School Teacher).

The influence of other teachers on supply teachers' professional and personal esteem

The research showed that although pupils were cited as most important in shaping supply teachers' status, the permanent teachers in schools nevertheless also had an important role in influencing the esteem felt by supply teachers. Supply teachers felt generally that they had a positive role and are seen as making a valuable contribution to the school system, especially when the schools experience staffing problems. One supply teacher in the London area said, *'without supply teachers I think the whole secondary system would probably collapse'*. Some teachers in the West of England focus group admitted feeling pleasantly surprised at the ways they were received. This was the case particularly when supply teachers were working in regular partnership with a school, or on occasions when schools faced emergencies and they arrived at short-notice. As this teacher stated,

I think on the whole, teachers within the school are very appreciative of the job that you do and the head of the job that you do, coming in at short notice and taking children that you really have very little idea about sometimes….I think the other teaching staff on the whole are respectful (West of England).

And another said,

> *I think they do respect us particularly here but I think in lots of schools now they know the value of supply teachers…I think the status as I say within the teaching profession has become a little bit more stable and I think they do respect us more* (North West).

Despite this general impression, supply teachers reported how they were received by some teachers with ambivalence. A comment by a teacher in the East Midlands captured this, when she mused, '*overall I think it's lowish the status. But…I have been welcomed in a school like a knight in shining armour'*. Whilst supply teachers felt that schools appreciated what they did and teachers were grateful that they were there, '*the reality is they do look down on supply teachers'* (London) and think '*you're not generally as good as a teacher…and you really are not that committed as a supply teacher'* (South East). Another in the East Midlands reported how, '*being new to the school you are the lowest rung of the ladder',* whilst another felt her low status arose because she was seen as '*a lower class teacher like you're not able to get a proper job'* (South East). Some supply teachers felt poor status because the schools saw them as '*expendable'*. This was particularly the case at poorly run schools, where supply teachers were seen as '*literally pieces of meat',* as a teacher in the East Midlands expressed, abused by pupils and then not invited back. Others referred to how supply teachers were scapegoated for poor standards in some schools by headteachers when the schools are under pressure. Much of this is related to the fact that, unlike regular teachers, they are not perceived to be interested in the wider issues faced by the schools:

> *I know sometimes supply teachers are not looked on with a particular fondness because they're out of the door at half past three and don't seem to care* (Inner London).

> *I think people in general, long term teacher do look at supply teacher with a great deal of disrespect. It's here today, gone tomorrow* (Inner London).

There was great variability between schools as to the extent of this attitude, although it was clear to see from all focus groups that when supply teachers encountered it, it had negative impacts on their sense of status. In particular, supply teachers felt marginalised when other staff showed little interest from other staff in their work, and operated no checks to see whether the supply teachers were meeting the curriculum requirements. They complained that the lack of accountability made them feel that they were, '*long-term babysitter*[s]', '*general dogsbody' and 'second class citizens'* (West Midlands). One pointed out dramatically, '*for all you know, I'm whipping these kids, and no they didn't give a shit'* (London). She demonstrated some of the dangerous consequences of some of the blasé attitudes, referring how she had been asked to provide accounts of the effort levels of the children, but having only been there three weeks barely even knew their names and thought,

> *OK, let's make up some data. And unfortunately that is a reality in the high school system as well as a lot of data needs to be generated…..These kids are getting placed in the top sets or bottom sets based on data that supply teachers are pulling out of…*
> *-Their hats!'* (London).

Although the notion of supply teachers filling in was supposed to have been erased by the demands of the National Curriculum, it often occurred in practice because schools had simply not prepared anything for the teachers to do (see next section). Yet this limited the extent to which supply teachers could engage in independent teaching, and was very much seen as undermining of their professionalism. A teacher for instance referred to how when teaching art (her subject) she was forbidden access to the stock cupboard, because the children might go in and get things. She interpreted this as a lack of respect for her teaching skill as she said: '*I feel as though I have been relegated to [a] second class teacher[s]*' (West Midlands). Supply teachers regularly pointed out how they were professionally trained and could be used better, as one said, '*we do know what we are doing and we could actually have an opinion on a child in that class that means something*' (London). Another said,

> *you are not given a chance to be a good teacher half the time and that makes me very sad. It's almost as though they expect you to sit there, even the staff sometimes, with a piece of paper in front of you, say to the children, this is what you are going to do and basically let them get on with it....If you actually try to teach them it is, 'what on earth are you doing, you can't do that' and they resent it* (West Midlands).

Not only was disinterest felt to be damaging to supply teachers' sense of professional esteem, but it had effects personally and socially. Many complained about feeling marginalised in the schools they taught at, especially in breaks. One in London reported, '*you feel like such an outsider*' and another in the East Midlands referred to being ignored, often because other teachers are too busy or, as another said, '*you can often be sitting on your own and however hard I try to talk to other people they don't want to know. You are only here for the day and not really worth bothering with*' (West of England). Some reported that they avoided going to the staffroom, and would rather use breaks to catch up on marking.

The status of supply teachers vis a vis TAs was particularly interesting. Some supply teachers felt that TAs liked having supply teachers in the classroom, because it gave them the opportunity to run the classroom and teach. Others also reported positive experiences of team teaching, with TAs an invaluable source of information on school policies, and helpful in disciplining the children. However, on other occasions, friction is reported, where TAs did not inform the supply teachers what they were doing, played the children off against the teacher, diminished their authority for instance by talking over them in class, and as reported by a few teachers, even reported the supply teachers to senior management for problems they identified in their teaching. Moreover, a few supply teachers felt under threat from the increased use of TAs especially in primary schools, who '*get paid very poor money with not a great deal of training*' (South East). The teacher complained, '*And it does annoy me that we've all qualified and trained and they're sort of taking over some of the things that we used to do. Because it's cheaper*'.

Supply teachers also commented on a number of strategies which helped reduce these potential difficulties. Some focus group participants (West, Outer London) commented on how a whole school ethos of supporting and welcoming visitors made their jobs easier and more enjoyable. One teacher reported how when supply teachers were brought in to replace a member of staff off sick long-term, they tried to communicate the benefits through the newsletter. But it was also noticeable that in contrast to other teachers,

supply teachers suggested that they feel more responsible themselves for how others perceived them. Supply teachers referred to how they bore the responsibility to 'earn' respect, and the onus was on them to convince other teachers through their attitude and the efforts that they expended. One teacher in Inner London for instance referred to a pecking order, whereby those supply teachers who are '*judged sufficient*' and have '*made the grade*' are invited back. She summarised, '*if you've made the grade with a difficult task, which I did, then that helps. You have to earn the respect*'.

The influence of organisational contexts of supply teaching for supply teachers' status

Some of the factors influencing the low status of supply teachers were seen to arise through the structural and organizational contexts that supply teachers worked within. In particular, the problems were compounded when supply teachers were part of a stream of supply teachers. As a teacher in London said, '*if they have supply teacher after supply teacher, there is just no organisation. And so I think structure plays an important part of it*'. This relates to the findings in Hutchings et al (2006) which reported that the preferred option for the majority of schools was to employ supply teachers through personal contact, as they benefit from working with a 'known' body of supply teachers. Indeed, the majority of the teachers reported that they felt more effective when they could ensure continuity and fit into a structured plan, but teachers were surprised that quite often they were in positions where there was nothing properly organised. One teacher reported covering for a teacher, who had suffered a nervous breakdown,

> *and it was just chaos. No one knew what they were supposed to be doing and no one in the school appeared to know what they were doing...and they put me in there and I didn't know what was expected* (North West).

Another said,

> *I think there are one or two schools, they seem to be so frenetically busy they haven't got time for you and you sort of go in and it is, 'there's the loo, there is the staff room, there is the coffee, there is your classroom. Bye bye.*
>
> *- Either that or there is no one in the office area you have to go hunting* (West of England)

Government interventions have recently attempted to improve the quality of supply teaching, for instance through more DfES guidance on the use of supply teachers. The 2002d document produced by the DfES, *Using Supply Teachers to Cover Short Term Absences,* for instance outlines good practice on induction procedures and the preparation of information handouts. However, there are signs that the benefits are restricted when only 36 per cent of secondary schools and 18 per cent of primary schools indicated that they were familiar with this document (Hutchings et al: xii). Significantly there was also great discrepancy between what schools stated that they provided and the percentages reported by supply teachers on the provision of information. Rather the story seemed to be one of great variability; some schools were very well prepared, with clear explanations of school behaviour and SEN policies. Some welcomed new staff, who were greeted, shown around and given a list of lessons and information pack, whereas at other schools, teachers were just expected to 'get on with it' and do extra jobs such as

photocopying which were left for them to do. This was supported by the following comments:

> *With some schools you go in and they give you a sheet of paper with the break times and the various logistic things that happen during the day, like assembly times, but there are other schools that you have to go around asking people when is break or ask the children* (West Midlands).

> *one example of a school where I was told very light heartedly, it is a year 6 group, and they have done this, and you can do whatever you want to do with them, that response has been quite common. Right the way down to the other end of the spectrum where everything appears dotted and crossed for you and work is prepared in a very professional and caring manner* (West Midlands).

Not only were the difficulties leading to their low status compounded by variability in induction and preparation, but there was also lack of clarity about expectations, with confusion between schools, LAs and different agencies about supply teachers' contractual obligations. Some referred to how despite only being paid from 9 to 4pm, they were routinely expected to so parent interviews, paperwork, so that one teacher for instance got home at 7-7.30pm. Teachers in the London focus groups reported how some school managers had expectations that supply teachers should attend meetings and cover detentions etc. but others did not, whilst some schools paid extra for additional duties, but others did not. They also felt dependent that if they did not follow the school's 'line', the SMT had the power to *'suddenly decide we don't like this guy you are not back the next day'* (London).

This vulnerability was compounded by a wider sense of supply teachers having ill-defined conditions of employment and limited opportunities for professional development. Very few supply teachers take part in CPD activities (GTC 2005, Hutchings et al 2006) and some in the focus groups referred to the difficulties they had in joining a union, because as two teachers commented in the West of England, '*one or two I got the feeling that you were secondary work force'* and '*you often can't find the correct box to fit'*. The lack of CPD was more of an issue for those looking for full time work, as a teacher expressed:

> *I am just aware that I don't necessarily have the knowledge anymore to make me feel confident in carrying on and looking for the full time job that I now want* (South West).

Amongst this group, there were concerns that supply teaching was detrimental to their career, and one teacher in the East Midlands even referred to how *'as soon as you have got supply teacher on your CV regardless of what your circumstances are it's just career death really'*.

Conclusion

The research shows that supply teachers felt that they did not command as much status as regular teachers, but understood that they also benefited from the temporary and flexible nature of their work. Teachers felt that pupil behaviour was am important factor which influenced their status, because they were not treated with as much regard as regular

teachers. Problems were exacerbated when supply teachers worked short-term, with few clear instructions on both schools' procedures or sometimes the work expected of them. It was notable that where continuity was most needed, in schools with higher proportions of children receiving free school meals, this option was least possible (Hutchings et al 2006). It was generally agreed by participants in the research that schools should have a developed policy for details around supply teaching, which was reported to be absent in many schools, despite DfES (2002d) recommendations. Details around class teaching, an overview of the stage of the children, even a seating plan would help maintain continuity and improve the status of supply teachers, a group subject to lower status within the teaching profession, by virtue of the nature of the work they do.

CHAPTER 19: TEACHERS ENGAGED IN CPD AND RESEARCH

Overview

This chapter is concerned with the second aim of the research, by gaining understanding of the factors that influence the perspectives of teachers on their status. It is specifically concerned with the influence of teachers' engagement in CPD and research on their sense of their own status. More specifically, the research reported in this chapter aimed to:

- find out whether teachers actively involved in CPD or research felt that their activities had any effect on their personal sense of status, their status within the profession and the status of their profession

- understand the contexts, processes or outcomes of teachers' engagement in CPD or research which lead teachers to view these activities as enhancing their own status or that of their profession.

The research was conducted through 6 focus groups, involving 38 teachers and a further 4 individual teachers. These groups and individual teachers were selected so as to represent diverse forms of CPD and research engagement, organised by individual schools, collaborating groups of schools, universities and NCSL (National College of School Leadership), contrasting regions of England and both primary and secondary phases.

The main findings of the chapter are that:

- All the teachers engaged in CPD and research believed that their teaching benefited, through their development of new skills, new understandings, renewed excitement or enhanced self-confidence.

- Most teachers believed that their CPD or research also benefited their schools, through changing practice and enhancing the quality of pupils' learning and motivation; but there was a strong recognition that schools varied considerably in their readiness to take full advantage of individual teachers' CPD or research. Where the climate and organisation of schools were such as to take such advantage through the effective sharing of what had been learned, teachers felt their status as agents of that learning was considerably enhanced.

- Among types of CPD, teachers valued school-based provision from colleagues with reliable expertise, networking among schools, and opportunities for extended periods away from school. One-off externally run courses were seen to have little value for teachers or their schools. Opportunities for high quality CPD was seen by teachers as an indicator of recognition of their professionalism and of the status of their profession.

- Teachers' motivations for engaging in CPD or research were diverse and often mixed. While some saw these activities as valuable and appropriate as means to advance their career, others were more motivated by personal interest or

especially by a concern to do their present job – especially classroom teaching in more informed, enlightened and effective ways.

Introduction

This case study was conducted to explore teachers' perceptions of the effects on their status as individuals and on the teaching profession, of involvement in Continuing Professional Development (CPD), and/or research. Historically, Hoyle (1969) pointed out that a profession '*should foster the in-service growth of its practitioners*' (p.84) and that '*each profession has its research element, its avant-garde and its means of disseminating new knowledge*' (p.85). He suggested, 40 years ago, that there might be '*a suspicion, perhaps even a hostility... ... between those who teach and those who lecture, administer or undertake educational research*' (p.91). Furthermore, Hoyle identified a conflict, and a detriment to the professional status of teaching, between a teacher's desire for upward mobility in their careers, and the associated likelihood that they would have to leave classroom teaching for a post in administration, inspection, higher education or research.

Today, Qualified Teacher Status requires teachers to improve their teaching '*by evaluating it, by learning from other teachers and from evidence,*' and to '*take increasing responsibility for their own professional development*' (Standards for QTS, S1.7, TTA, 2000). The professional significance of CPD has been recognised through the government's strategy for CPD (DfEE, 2001). The GTC's questionnaire survey in 2005 examined the range of CPD activities that participants had experienced in the preceding year, and found that 82 per cent had participated in collaborative learning with colleagues and that 38 per cent were doing so frequently. External courses had been taken by 79 per cent and 78 per cent had been involved in school self evaluation activities. Teachers in Day et al.'s (2006) large scale longitudinal 'VITAE' study of 300 teachers' lives and work were generally satisfied with the CPD they had experienced, and saw it as, '*an important professional life investment, a means of re-charging their batteries*' (p. 123). The VITAE teachers placed a high value on collaborative CPD, but they expressed concern about the limited opportunities available for this.

Whilst the GTC survey showed high percentages of teachers recently involved in CPD, it found also that only 14 per cent had undertaken action research, and only 2 percent had had a sabbatical or secondment. It appears not to have asked about engagement with other forms of educational research. Recently, opportunities to access research findings have proliferated as more and more agencies select, condense and review research findings and make them available to teachers, typically through their websites. Such sources of research findings include Teachernet, the GTC, the TDA, the National College for School Leadership (NCSL), the Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordinating (EPPI) Centre, and the Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education (CUREE). Furthermore, the National Teacher Research Panel (NTRP), set up by the TTA and DfES in 1999 (now sponsored by the GTC, the DfES and the NCSL) is an independent group of teachers whose aim is to ensure that the teachers' perspective is represented in research, and who offer advice on how teachers can get involved with research. Until recently, grants were available for teachers to undertake small scale projects with the benefits of the TTA's Teacher Research Grants scheme and the Best

Practice Research Scholarships (BPRS). In 2005 the GTC set up the Teacher Learning Academy in conjunction with the TDA, the NCSL and the NUT, to provide '*public and professional recognition for teachers' learning, development and improvement work*'. In the last decade, therefore, a very wide range of opportunities for teachers to engage with research and further study, and to investigate and improve their own practice have appeared. These initiatives suggest that if teachers have felt '*suspicion*' or '*even hostility*' towards research, and Higher Education (as Hoyle (1969: 91) implied), influential governmental and non-governmental bodies have made significant moves with some potential to reduce this feeling.

Research on collaborative CPD, that is CPD in which teachers work together on a sustained basis, or with a higher education institution, LA, or other professional colleagues, as encouraged in the government's CPD strategy (DfEE, 2001) has been the subject of a recent EPPI-centre review (Cordingley et al., 2003). This concluded that collaborative CPD was capable of supporting successful outcomes for teachers and pupils. Prior to this review, Harland and Kinder (1997) had made the point that the search for the effectiveness of CPD had focussed extensively on pupil-based outcomes at the expense of teacher and institutional outcomes. They had identified a typology of nine potential outcomes, ranging from 'material' and 'provisionary' through 'informational', and 'emotional' outcomes, to 'institutional', 'value congruence' and ultimately to impact on practice. Their model offers 'a tentative hierarchy' of outcomes of CPD, and recognised the complex interplay of potential outcomes from the same CPD provision, depending on institutional ethos and personal values, for example. Our interest in the effects of involvement in CPD and research goes further, to explore its potential effects on the status of teachers and the teaching profession.

In comparison with CPD in general, relatively little research exists on the effects of teachers' engagement with research. Everton et al. (2000, 2002) explored teachers' views on educational research and which issues they wished to see research on. They found that teachers concerns needed to be given greater weight, but also that they needed time for further study in order have the knowledge and expertise needed to engage in and with research. Everton and Galton (2004) provided a succinct review of teachers' involvement with research, since the 1960s. They drew attention to the major contributions of Stenhouse and Elliott in bringing action research within the scope of teachers' professional practice (e.g. Elliott, 1991). They surveyed teachers conducting small scale projects under the TTA's Teacher Research Grants scheme, in order to learn about their experiences of supervision and support. They concluded that the most effective support arrangements for teacher research appeared to be the combination of peer and supervisor support when a group of teacher-researchers worked together, on a topic of particular interest to the supervisor.

Thus the prevalence of teachers' involvement in CPD since the 1960s, the variety of forms of CPD now available, the ease of access to research findings, and existence of research grants for teachers, suggest that Hoyle's (1969: 91) hint of '*suspicion*', or '*even hostility*' between practising teachers and those in other educational roles, including engagement with research, ought to have long since dissipated. Now teachers can pursue their professional development without deserting their roles as classroom teachers, and so, without, in Hoyle's phrase, '*undermin[ing] the entire educational enterprise*' (Hoyle, 1969: 91). This case study set out to find out whether teachers involved in various forms

of CPD and research, felt that their activities had any effect on their personal sense of status, their status within the profession and the status of their profession.

Methods

In common with other case studies in this strand of the Teacher Status Project, the study of teachers involved in CPD and/or research adopted the use of focus groups. In order to include teachers involved in a variety of types of CPD/research, we met focus groups whose members had participated in different types of CPD/ research including:

- teachers in primary and/or secondary schools who have been involved in LA-provided CPD
- teachers in a secondary school who have been involved in school–based CPD
- teachers involved in leadership-related CPD, perhaps under the auspices of NCSL or NPQH
- teachers involved in university provided CPD that include research activities
- research-active teachers in schools committed to being 'researching schools', possibly in a research network of schools.

Four focus groups, arranged by the LA, were conducted in Birmingham. These groups (B) included representatives of all of five categories. In addition interviews with teachers in a committed 'researching school' in the East of England, and a large focus group of nine teachers who were in their first or second years of a Higher Education Institution M.Ed. programme. These nine teachers were engaged in individual research projects, and were expected to produce a research thesis of 20-30,000 words. Interviews were conducted in June and July 2005. The focus group discussions were recorded and fully transcribed and have been analysed manually according to the themes included in our interviews but taking into account emergent themes from the protocols.

Participants

Action research, leadership and effectiveness focus groups (A)

Interviews were conducted over a period of two days with four different focus groups. The first group was made up of four primary teachers (all women) who were undertaking Creative Action Research Projects (CARP) which, over three years, can lead to a masters degree with the University of Central England. In each of the first two years, participants undertake an action research project based on an area which their school needs to develop. In the third year they undertake a longer dissertation based on a different focus. All four participants were in their second year. For these teachers motivation for involvement seemed to be a mixture of personal ambition to study for a higher degree and a desire to research ways in which to improve the learning experiences of the children in their schools.

The second group consisted of a further four primary teachers (again all women) who were undertaking action research projects of various kinds. For two of the teachers this was part of a structured programme leading to a master's course. The other two teachers were not seeking accreditation but were motivated by personal interest and the benefits that could accrue for their schools.

The third group was made up of four primary teachers and two secondary teachers all of whom had undertaken leadership courses (NPQH and LfM, Learning from the Middle) under the general auspices of the NCSL. Two of the group were currently LfM coaches. While these teachers acknowledged the relevance of the courses they had taken for their own career development they were keen to stress that it was important to them that any CPD they undertook should have a positive impact on the children they taught and should help to move their schools forward.

The final group consisted of five secondary teachers all of whom had undertaken the Gatsby-funded Teacher Effectiveness Enhancement Programme (TEEP). While some of these teachers had simply been told to take part by their schools, others had been enthused by the reaction of colleagues who had previously attended. All five teachers had become strong advocates of the programme and some were involved in disseminating it to other teachers in the area.

The 'researching school' case study (B)

Interviews were held with four teachers involved in research in a school with a strong research culture. One of these, an English teacher had been involved in research towards a BPRS (Best Practice Research Scholarship) looking at the impact of formative assessment. Another also did a BPRS, but is now undertaking a research based Masters in Education requiring a research-based thesis. The programme helps teachers become a 'research coach' and coordinate research within schools. Another science teacher's interest in research grew out of his earlier career and six years' research experience as a research biochemist. He had been involved in many networks, including in a local Schools Improvement Partnership, a joint BPRS project with other schools locally, and also became involved with his own and others' action-based research projects in his Masters Degree. Finally, a drama and English teacher had been involved in a BPRS project, and was now doing some research into mentoring as part of a mentoring certificate.

The Faculty focus group (C)

The Faculty focus group included nine teachers from various M.Ed. modules, including the 'research route' to M.Ed. They covered all age phases from Foundation stage, primary, secondary through to higher education, a teacher in a private school which took boarders, a primary mathematics education lecturer, and the head of an LA early years and child care department. Their subject specialisms were also wide ranging, from English literature, through modern languages, to mathematics and secondary science and technology.

The evidence

Benefits of CPD and research

All of the teachers interviewed at all schools were extremely positive about the benefits that accrued from their involvement in CPD and/or research, both for them personally and for their schools. Personal benefits mentioned included the acquisition of

qualifications, as well as the opportunities to meet other teachers, visit other schools and make valuable contacts in addition to the positive effect on self-esteem and professional worth. A faculty group member explained:

> *The M. Ed. has reinstated my personal sense of integrity in my work; I am taking hold of it. It would be so easy to forgo responsibility e.g. using the QCA* [Qualification and Curriculum Authority] *schemes that I need not think about my job at all ...the M. Ed. was an opportunity to counteract the frustration I felt with the lack of thinking I'm expected to do* (C).

The benefits of involvement in research more generally were stated at the researching school:

> *From a professional development perspective, it's just huge, because it forces you to evaluate how you work, and make you think about what's going on in your classroom, and then eventually think about the wider implications and the wider issues. And that makes you a more effective practitioner, and that is what makes a good teacher at the end of the day...You feel more like a professional, because you're analysing your own classroom, rather than just doing as you're told* (B).

One of the Faculty focus group spoke of the effects of doing her M.Ed. research:

> *...on a particular approach into children's literature. And you know you're even more excited about teaching the children. It's really a dynamic thing that happened inside me* (C).

Those who had undertaken NCSL courses at Birmingham felt that they had been helped to identify areas where they could grow, to choose their own leadership style and to feel more confident as leaders. Some felt that undertaking the courses had raised their status in their schools and, even where this was not the case, participation had had an impact on personal esteem. Other teachers who had undertaken the TEEP Programme clearly felt that they had gained enormously from their involvement in terms of how they thought about teaching and learning:

> *It made me feel better about myself as a teacher. It gave me a language to discuss with colleagues about how to improve teaching and learning...It made me feel more professional* (A).

> *That's right, and that process that we underwent, seeing ourselves more professionally, actually is how children change as well and they begin to take responsibility for their own learning* (A).

Those who were undertaking action research projects saw a number of personal benefits. One was the requirement placed on them to find time to go through the process of thinking analytically about their practice:

> *...With your project, you're doing it for yourself as well as for the children. It's your own time. I can actually stop and think and just reflect* (A).

> *It's encouraging me… just to look at my teaching from a different kind of perspective, really, and be more experimental with it…I think it's kind of made me question the kind of things which are there, the existing schemes of work, and so on, and think about actually, think about it in a more analytical way, about what, you know, what am I trying to achieve here?* (B).

This was something that they knew they should do and wanted to do, but was an aspect of their work often neglected in the day to day demands of teaching:

> *It forces you to take time and reflect on your practice which we all learn during teacher training is what you should do every day. But with workload and time issues it seldom happens so I think that's a real benefit* (A).

Institutional benefits of CPD, and more

Benefits were also reported for the teachers' schools in general. Those undertaking action research projects generally felt that their work had helped to inform changes in their school policies. NCSL courses were also seen to have an impact on standards in schools, as SATs results went up, whilst a Family Learning Project undertaken by one school had improved the status of the school by enabling the local community to understand better what the school was trying to do. Those teachers at Birmingham who had attended the TEEP Programme were also positive about the benefits for their schools and their pupils. Participants talked about '*better relationships in the classroom, better learning in the classroom and better experience for our pupils*' (A). Several of the teachers had been involved in disseminating what they had learned to their colleagues in the schools, allowing the ideas to be incorporated into the curriculum through a team approach. As such, '*people work[ing] together in a professional way*' (A), was seen as an important additional benefit.

Some teachers claimed that as a result of the application of their research, there had been improvements in attainment and in SATs results. They also reported that children were also enjoying their lessons more. Indeed, at the researching school, when the science teacher applied the methodology developed by a drama teacher in his science lessons the impressive impacts in pupils' results was what had convinced him of the ultimate benefit of action based research:

> *they were so engaged, and it was really, it was powerful to see the impact. And I do remember, very visually you know, just the knock on effect it had on them…immediately I saw the power of action based research in its place* (B).

This was also reported in terms of the impacts of disseminating research-led resources in other schools. The science teacher at Researching school had for example applied some resources at a school in Liverpool and went back to see the results. He explained,

> *And I tell you, it's just amazing. I mean this school was a really tough school. And you know, the Head of Science actually saying what a fantastic change we've seen in the department: 'for the first time, I'm hanging onto the staff; they're not leaving after one year'* (B).

For one faculty group member, the outcomes of CPD went beyond Harland and Kinder's (1997) institutional outcomes:

> *It's made me evaluate the CPD [opportunities] for my whole team. I identified funding so that each member has got a CPD budget that they can use for either their personal development for a masters, or for subject based training. I have also set up a bursary scheme for practitioners across the voluntary sector so that they can do a research innovations project over two years. And that has been hugely successful* (C).

Despite these and other successes, some felt that the impact of their research was limited when their colleagues were too busy to take much interest in their research. This was seen as a lost opportunity by one of the Birmingham teachers:

> *I think I'd like it to be used more in school what we do …I think it would put more status to what we were doing if it was used a little bit more in school ….. that's the next stage …it's got to be made a useful as possible, otherwise there's no point doing it. It can be as useful to me but if it's useful to me. It could be useful to other people, so they need to know about it as well* (A).

Indeed, it appeared that the school context is influential in encouraging or impeding research. At the researching school, all teachers referred to the supportive ethos there is for research, and one even admitted that it was not until she came there that she realised that research-informed teaching even existed. When she moved to the school,

> *it sort of opened up a whole world to me that I hadn't really known existed before….You just sort of take it for granted what they tell you at training school is the best way to do it. But it was interesting to sort of challenge it. But I wasn't aware that people did it in classrooms* (B).

Another teacher there confirmed,

> *This is why this school environment in so important, because it's protective, it's nurturing, it empowers the teachers, it gives them status and a level of professionalism which instils pride* (B).

Teachers in the Faculty focus group, also endorsed the importance of the school ethos, and discussed the question of institutional versus personal benefits. One identified the headteacher's attitude as critical to the kind of CPD that was encouraged, despite the views of other staff:

> *I think* [the impact of CPD on status) *depends very much on the culture of the school that you are in. In the last school, I was regarded as being odd, quirky, 'how have you got time to do that?' Whereas I think if you work somewhere like Sally does then much more status would be concerned with it* (C).

> *I think it takes a manager, the head of the school to have quite a broad view of CPD if they're going to put funding towards people doing a course like this. … This is about personal development. It's also about professional development but the link is less obvious. I mean I would say our principal does have this broad*

> *view. The view of the other staff though is interesting – they have a narrower view sometimes …It's almost like…'well that's not going to help you use Powerpoint in the classroom', or, 'that's not going to tell you how to mark those books or about assessment for learning'…so sometimes there's a marked level of mistrust or suspicion of CPD activities like this, like research, that don't, completely, obviously have a link* (C).

In fact this teacher had opted to do action research with a direct pedagogical focus which had a very clear practical link to classroom practice.

Another noted that pursuing a research based masters course was distinguished on a day-to-day level from what she referred to as 'functional CPD':

> *It's actually interesting that the initiative has to come from you in that this kind of research could be arguably classed as personal rather than professional. Whereas I get things in my pigeon hole every day…functional CPD that will put you in a position to do a job for your head teacher and get results. It just comes. 'Go on this course', and the thing's in your pigeon hole, the form's already filled in for you, the place is booked, the money is paid. Whereas I just thought 'this looks interesting'* (C).

This practical distinction leads us to consider the value of different kinds of CPD.

The value of different kinds of CPD/Research

Several groups involved in research and CPD talked about the desirability of visiting other schools. Meeting other teachers was seen to have all kinds of hidden benefits in terms of gaining new ideas or even just endorsing existing practice. Some teachers had had opportunities to do this as part of CPD focused on the Secondary (formerly KS3) Strategy and had clearly found this valuable. Others felt that they had gained a great deal from visiting schools in other countries. Those undertaking action research projects felt that their own research would benefit from being based in more than one school while other schools could benefit from the expertise that they had gained through their research. Some teachers had already conducted INSET sessions for other schools based on their research. A faculty group member said,

> *I've done lots of other things outside school with the county, and with the college, .. that I wouldn't have done had I not been doing the course. Because you've got the confidence* (C).

Being able to talk to wider audiences about what they do was reported as very positive by teachers at the researching school, '*being part of a network of schools, with obviously good practice going on, has been really valuable as well for this school*'.

The least valuable form of CPD was seen by teachers in all three locations to be one-day, one-off, externally-run courses which were seen to have little impact on individuals or their schools. For some, a strong preference was expressed for in-house provision delivered by colleagues whose expertise in an area could be relied upon:

> *I think learning from colleagues from within your school impacts greater than sending individuals off to short courses and then coming back and not properly disseminating things* (A).

One primary school had recently held six sessions of twilight training, all in-house led. Teachers attending had been given time off in lieu. The sessions had had a very evident impact and the school planned to repeat this approach.

For those teachers in Birmingham who had attended the TEEP Programme, however, the opportunity to experience a sustained period of professional development away from school had had a huge impact. They felt that is was important that they had been able to spend concentrated three-day periods experiencing the kind of learning that was being advocated for their pupils. This was particularly strong for those who had undertaken the programme in a residential setting. While the content and delivery of the training was seen as very high, staying in a good hotel and being treated as 'professionals' was clearly an important part of the process:

> *that too raised the status of the training. It was the quality of the hotel you were in, the environment, the way you were treated. All those things helped to raise the status of it* (A).

At the researching school, one teacher felt particularly satisfied through the establishment of international connections as a result of his dissemination of research. He was involved in a book based resource called 'Update, Science Update', which has over 7000 teachers using it, and this has fed into research training courses he was delivering to other schools. He also wrote and edited internet website on managing resources in Science. He explained,

> *And that was very powerful. I mean they had 30,000 hits from teachers all around the world. I mean it was quite an amazing impact* (B).

Links between CPD/research and the idea of teacher professionalism

Some involvement in CPD or action research was seen by most groups as essential to professionalism. Broadening one's knowledge base and keeping up with new initiatives was seen as a vital part of being a professional:

> *As professionals we need to update. Good teachers are those with a thirst for knowledge* (A).

One teacher who had undertaken the TEEP Programme made a strong claim in respect of its impact on him:

> *Well I wasn't a professional before but I feel as if I am now* (A).

He felt that previously he had been relying on intuition in his teaching, but that the programme had given him a fresh framework on which to hang his thinking about teaching and learning. Another at the researching school referred in similar terms to the impact:

It becomes very powerful for the teacher, and really improves their status, just being allied to a university is quite empowering in itself (B).

One of the Faculty group explained how different kinds of CPD were relevant to different roles. Having described the '*very direct relationship*' of an advanced diploma course to '*what* [she] *was doing week by week in the classroom…what I would class as professional expertise in a practical sense*', she continued,

This [the M.Ed.] has affected it differently. This has affected it from a kind of leadership and management role. I can stand back form the whole school picture and I feel more enabled now to do a school self-evaluation and think what are the questions I need to ask…in order to help the school go forward? I wouldn't have anticipated that that would be an outcome in the end (C).

Those undertaking action research were anxious to stress that it was not an appropriate form of CPD for all teachers. They were clear that some form of CPD was part of what it meant to progress professionally as a teacher but doing action research should be seen as only one option. As another group put it:

It is all a matter of how effective a particular type of CPD is for each individual, what they need, what their learning style is (C).

The impact of CPD/action research on teacher status

Some teachers undertaking action research had been motivated by the opportunities it offered for personal advancement:

It was something I just found really interesting to further my own career. It seemed like something that was quite prestigious to be part of (B).

Having got involved these teachers were still of the view that their status amongst their colleagues would be enhanced:

Going back to job opportunities and management opportunities…I would like to think that the fact that I've done these research projects is having an impact on my development as a leader (A).

However, others at the researching school referred more to wider benefits. One stated,

I mean, I haven't actually done it as a conscious way of kind of moving up through the career ladder. It's more for kind of personal satisfaction, improving my own teaching and maybe kind of feeding it into the department (B).

Another felt it to be '*inventive*', '*creative*' and '*innovative*', explaining, '*If you develop a mindset where you…it becomes an integral part of your own professional development*'. This teacher also cited the importance of the work for his own stimulation; he does not teach A levels, so, '*from a sort of intellectual perspective, for me, it's nice to do*

something else, rather than just teaching GCSE science'. This was echoed by another, who confirmed:

> *I think it has improved my teaching, and it also makes it more interesting. I think if I was kind of teaching the same old schemes of work and not kind of thinking about really what I was doing, I'd get very bored, and also my teaching get very stale. So I think it kind of works against that, really* (B).

Others felt that their colleagues did not value their involvement in research, one claiming that fellow teachers did not see research as a justifiable part of a teacher's role,

> *why doesn't she stop that rubbish and just teach?* (A).

The Faculty focus group considered the influence of qualifications on perceptions of status, alluding to the implementation of the workforce agenda. The early years' team leader referred positively to the developments associated with the ten year strategy for childcare (HM Treasury, 2004):

> *It* [child care] *has never been a graduate profession. Obviously teachers that support early years settings are graduates, but now because of the strategy, leaders of day care centres are now graduates. So it's right that people supporting them go back one step further than their CPD and go and do masters' programmes* (C).

A secondary teacher spoke next, followed by a primary teacher:

> *That's really interesting because I was just thinking a few years ago they had those adverts on telly, 'Those who can teach'. But I've always had the feeling that from the academic side of things, academia, and even from the pupils now you get the idea 'Those who can't quite teach'. You get them looking at you saying 'Why when you have got this degree are you looking at teaching? Why not go straight on to a doctorate?' And your kids saying, 'What's the catch here, Sir? You're wasting your time working in a school when you could be out doing this, that or the other'* (C).

> *Primary is so different because we're heavily into lifelong learning. My school's got Investors in People because everybody in that building is seen as someone who can learn. We've got loads of people whatever their role in school there's always somebody on courses. ... And the children know this is happening because they share it with them so therefore they see that learning is something which carries on and it has a very good impact on them. Hopefully when* [those] *children reach secondary, they might have a different keel, I don't know* (C).

It appears that phase may still have made a difference to perceptions here, highlighting perhaps the long-standing status differential perceived between primary and secondary teaching. When someone suggested that the secondary view might be '*...just an age thing. It's adolescents to be honest'*, the primary teacher continued: '*But if they've been exposed to a different culture from four years old, then maybe things will impact upon them differently'*. Their discussion moved on to consider the general erosion of respect for professional expertise,

> *you get parents no longer in awe in front of you, saying 'I think my child needs…'
> and a doctor friend of ours said patients come with reams they've got off the
> internet: 'This is what I think is wrong with me!' The awe of expertise has shifted;
> you do feel 'just a teacher'* (C).

Those involved in other forms of CPD were more positive about the impact on their
status. One of the participants in the TEEP Project felt that her involvement had
enhanced her as a teacher and had improved her promotion prospects. Another, who had
gone on to provide TEEP training for colleagues, was even more positive:

> *My self-esteem just rose…I felt good about myself in terms of my own status* (A).

These teachers felt that the TEEP Programme had allowed them to develop as teachers in
a way that required them to function differently:

> *Instead of us standing there demanding respect because we're the authoritative
> figure at the front of the classroom, we're not that anymore. We're involved in
> helping* [pupils] *develop as individuals and learners and we haven't got all the
> answers* (A).

There was a strong feeling amongst this group that if all teachers began to adopt this
approach, the status of the teaching profession would gradually be enhanced with the
parents of tomorrow having more positive personal experiences of school on which to
base their views.

Other forms of CPD were also seen to have potential for enhancing the self esteem of
teachers and the esteem in which they are held by others. Some of the teachers
interviewed had had links with the business world which they felt had allowed them to be
seen as more professional and in touch with the real world. One primary school had
developed a link with Land Rover that had arisen out of the Head doing an LPSH
(Leadership Programme for Serving Headteachers) programme. This had led to a genuine
exchange of expertise in which the teachers had been recognised as good at team
building, something they could pass on to their business collaborators:

> *Having a break from the classroom and working with others helps to make us
> realise that we have a huge range of skills* (A).

One group of teachers interviewed talked about there being greater openness these days
and the fact that this allowed the wider community to know more about teachers and
what they do. This too was seen to have potential for raising the status of the teaching
profession. There was a general view amongst this group that things were changing for
the better:

> *Schools are becoming more open and this gives people a better insight into what
> teaching is about and this is slowly changing perceptions. More people are
> coming into teaching from other professions. We are moving to a feeling that we
> have the power to transform things, centred on the child. Things are slowly
> moving away from the league table mentality* (A).

Other groups were conscious that there was still a long way to go. At the researching school, one teacher felt that the government was reluctant to let teachers do things, '*unless it's going to improve results*'. One group at Birmingham felt that the proliferation of government initiatives gave many people the impression that schools were not doing what they should be doing and that they have to be made to do it:

> *My school is viewed favourably by the local community but the public generally do not see teachers in the same way as other professions because the government is seen a needing to direct things* (A).

There was a view at the researching school that as a teacher expressed, 'probably a lot of the issues in education could be answered by teachers if they were asked in the right sort of way', but these teachers felt that their tacit knowledge was not being mined. They felt however, there was much potential for professional dialogue:

> *I suppose if they can access, then I suppose teachers as professionals, it's going to go through the roof because they're being asked what they think and what they think counts, and then if what they say counts, then it means that if things get changed in a way that will make classrooms better places for children to learn and teachers to teach in. And it'll revolutionise the whole teaching practice* (B).

Some felt that the government could do more to highlight the importance of CPD nationally and to trumpet the fact that things like action research were going on, which helped to improve results. The general view however, was still one of optimism with the government seen to be beginning to play its part:

> *There is still a big job to be done but teaching is still the best job in the world; we are still enjoying it, still moving forward. The government is changing and giving teachers more scope and freedom* (A).

Conclusions and implications

The quotations above present both positive and negative perceptions of the effects of CPD on the teachers' personal sense of status, their status within their profession, and the wider status of the profession. The researchers' overwhelming impression from all six groups was of enthusiasm, which was almost evangelical in some cases. Teachers maintained that CPD and research had a positive contribution to make to their status within their schools and in the profession as a whole. It has to be acknowledged, of course that the people who were invited or who volunteered to be in our focus groups were likely to be those with positive stories to tell. We did not meet people whose CPD experiences had been unprepossessing. By the same token, the teachers who did take part had clearly reflected considerably on their experiences. To be cautious, their positive reflections on the effects of their academic and research based CPD might be explained partially at least by dissonance reduction, especially where they were beneficiaries of grants and awards. Their perceptions of the existence of negative attitudes inside and outside the profession might stem from mild paranoia that others envy the funding that these people have secured for their research or CPD. That said, their infectious enthusiasm for the research projects, their CPD experiences and desire to disseminate these benefits, suggest otherwise.

Although we have not attempted an analysis based on Harland and Kinder's (1997) tentative hierarchy of outcomes, the examples cited here, which are a small sample of the data, can be placed among their first and second (i.e. higher) order levels. These include motivational, affective and institutional outcomes (second order) and value congruence and knowledge and skills at the first order. The examples illustrate well Harland and Kinder's observations about the interplay of a complex array of factors, such as institutional ethos and support, to be in place for their higher level outcomes to be achieved. The data show strong support for the enhancement of teachers' personal sense of esteem with their references to CPD giving '*the confidence*', being '*hugely important to my sense of status*', and '*reinstat[ing] my personal sense of integrity in my work*'. The teachers were keenly aware of different types of CPD and their different outcomes in terms of practical effects which were immediately transferable to classroom situations, and the less immediately visible qualitative effects of masters' level study and research which increased their creativity, critical appraisal, restored their excitement in teaching, and engendered a 'leadership' perspective.

The value of school-based CPD was also recognised, notably when this enabled teachers to work with the school community. In general, they felt that participation in CPD had improved their status within the profession and given them confidence to criticise or defend initiatives, and to disseminate their work beyond their schools. We would suggest tentatively that in some cases the focus group members' expected and achieved outcomes transcended Harland and Kinder's (1997) nine outcomes. Their experiences had taken them beyond their own institutions, into other domains of work, including business and industry, as well as overseas. Such experiences made then aware of their own skills and expertise. There were perceptions of negative societal attitudes to the status of teaching, expressed through references to being over-qualified to teach. Such perceptions, whether or not justified, need to be dispelled if the status of the profession is to improve. It would seem that the impact of CPD on the status of the profession may benefit from opportunities for more extra-institutional activities, and in particular their crossing of the boundary out of the educational domain and into business and industry, to demonstrate and to value the elements of teachers' professional expertise that they themselves do not necessarily recognise.

CHAPTER 20: PUPILS' VIEWS OF THE STATUS OF TEACHERS

Introduction

Many of the contributions to this study were from adults, within and outside of the teaching profession, who shared their perceptions of teachers and the profession. Whilst it was essential to secure the participation all of the contributors who share a responsibility to shaping the education system, it would be remiss to exclude the views of pupils, who are most affected by education policy developments. Indeed, during interviews with teachers, some declared that pupils' views featured highly among those whom they felt were most important to their sense of status.

This final chapter therefore presents the results of discussions held with pupils from early years, primary and secondary schools situated in different parts of the country. Discussions were developed to establish pupils' perceptions of the role of teachers and the comparative esteem in which they viewed the profession. The methods used to obtain the data are described below and this is followed by a discussion of the findings, which provide interesting revelations about pupils' understandings (whether right or wrong) of the teaching profession and their perceptions of their teachers' status within the profession. Before these sections however, we list here some of the key findings from the pupil group sessions.

The key findings of the chapter are that:

- The status of headteachers was rated by secondary and primary pupils more highly than that of teachers in general, whilst secondary teachers were rated more highly than primary. The responsibility of secondary school staff to prepare pupils for GCSEs was thought to raise their status.

- Young and older pupils alike rated the medical and emergency services most highly (from a list of 16 professions) but younger pupils emphasised that teachers were essential to each of the professions. Younger pupils felt that the teaching profession had played a major role in the lives of all professionals.

- For all phases, pupils considered teachers' primary function was to teach. However, younger pupils felt teachers enforced learning, whilst older pupils saw teachers as facilitators of learning. A further split in teaching styles in the secondary school phase suggested that younger year groups felt teachers helped them through exams and older groups saw teachers as offering support, guidance and preparation for life ahead.

- Most pupils' comments about the prospect of teaching as a career related to concerns for pupil behaviour. Pupils, from reception through to secondary phases, recognised the positive or negative impact that pupil behaviour can have on teachers' lives. Older pupils, however, felt that good teaching skills required teachers to have the ability to manage behaviour.

Methods

Interviews with pupils formed part of case study visits to schools which were selected to provide a geographical spread, a range of school sizes, types, phases, achievement levels and local area features such as economic factors and local population make-up. The schools are sited in London, the South West, the East of England and the North East. Interviews with pupils took the form of discussion groups in which 100 early years and primary children were interviewed in 23 groups ranging from reception to Year 6 (ages 5 -11 years). A total of 33 secondary school pupils from Years 7-13 (ages 11 to 18) were also interviewed in 11 groups. These discussion groups met during the school case study visits which took place between February and July 2004. Unlike the longitudinal nature of other aspects of the case study visits, where schools were re-visited a year later to assess the extent of changing attitudes, pupil discussion groups met just once, and this provided a valuable snap-shot of pupil opinion.

Discussion group questions

Whilst the essence of the discussion groups was the same for all pupils, the approaches taken to obtain the information differed through the questions asked. The early years and primary school pupils were asked questions (with prompts) in three main areas:

- What does a teacher/headteacher do?
- What job would you like to do when you are older?
- Why/why not a teacher?

The interview often began with a practical, warm up activity. The children were shown a selection of cards with simple line-drawings of a footballer, fire-fighter, vet, doctor, nurse, librarian and policeman/woman on them.[31] They were asked about the job shown in each picture and what each job involved. The children were asked to draw a teacher doing their job. Later in the interview, they were asked, as a group, to rank the pictures in order of whose job is most important and asked to place their own drawing of a teacher within this ranking. In practice, due to time constraints, this activity was often adapted to include either the drawing or the job rankings with some discussion about where a teacher would be placed.

The secondary pupils were asked:

- When you think about the activity of teaching, what three things come to mind first?
- Is teaching an attractive career?
- Would you like to be a teacher?
- If you had to be/were a teacher, which age/subject would you like to teach?

The secondary school pupils were also given a sheet containing a list of 16 occupations ordered alphabetically and asked to rank each occupation according to the status they have on a rating of 1-7 where 7 = high status. Group discussions then took place about the pupils' reasons for their decisions.

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[31] Ann Curtis was the artist providing the drawings.

Evidence

What do teachers do?

Teaching and learning

Unsurprisingly, the most frequent response from pupils of all age groups, in response to this question, was that they thought teachers were there to '*teach*'. A distinction could be made, however, in pupils' perceptions of the approaches that teachers adopt. Younger pupils seemed to think that teachers were there to enforce learning, while older pupils spoke about teachers' responsibilities to facilitate learning. For instance, pupils in a reception year group felt that teachers were there '*to teach everybody to learn*', a view shared by other pupils of the same age group who thought that the job of teachers was '*to teach you, writing and how to be quiet*'. The theme was continued by some of the young primary school children who followed this with '*making you learn/do work*', whilst the older primary pupils started to appreciate the more supportive characteristics of teachers, commenting that teachers '*help you learn*'. In particular, Year 6 pupils who mentioned their preparation for SATs and other tests were grateful for teachers who '*help you to do it, not just tell you*'. This was echoed by another group of Year 6 pupils who said that teachers '*teach, show you what to do*'.

Pupils' understanding of the teachers role also differed in secondary schools where the younger secondary pupils (e.g. Year 8) also mentioned learning for their SATs in terms of booster classes. The older pupils (e.g. Year 9 onwards) used the terms '*support/guidance*' which perhaps indicates a change in teaching style and teacher-pupil relationships for the 15 to 18 year olds. Examples of their comments include pupils' feelings that teachers, '*help you progress after school booster groups*' (Year 8 pupils). For Sixth-form pupils, teachers provide rather, '*lessons, support, work, guidance*' and they are, '*educating, teaching how to learn about life, moral issues as well as facts*' (Year 13 pupils).

Manage pupil behaviour

The disciplinary responsibilities held by teachers were seen by pupils as necessary to their role. Managing behaviour was recognised by all age groups as a prominent feature of teachers' jobs. Some of the remarks made by the pupil groups included:

> *When you hurt somebody she tells you off*' (reception pupils)
>
> *They shout at people. We're not just at school for being silly. We're at school for learning* (Year 2 pupils)
> *When we all shout, she tells us off* (Year 4 pupils)
>
> *Being able to control the class* (Year 8 pupils)
>
> *Policing - discipline and control* (Year 13 pupils)

Preparation, classroom management and organisation

The youngest children were often preoccupied with what might be termed the mechanics of classroom life where teachers' involvement in administrative tasks and system management was recognised. For instance, keeping the register was a responsibility often mentioned by pupils, as was the need to maintain order by tidying up work areas. It was

also clear that many of these young children were aware of the preparation that their teachers did both in and out of the classroom. The younger reception class pupils spoke about teachers who '*get things out*' and helped their pupils because '*she does all the cutting out*'. An older Year 1 group, contemplating the tireless efforts of their teachers, said, '*think...about how hard they make the work. When do they think? When we're at home, in the playground*'. There was also an awareness of the complexities of the teachers role due to pupil differentiation, as reception class pupils acknowledged that teachers, '*have to put them in groups*', and primary Year 2 pupils explained that their teachers, '*split classes into people who need help and children who are quite high*'. Secondary school pupils recognised the need for preparation too, and the fact that their teachers' work involved planning, delivery and assessment. Year 8 groups commented that teachers do '*a lot of work, setting the work for each lesson, making sure they know what to do*' and '*marking a lot of the time*'.

Some of the younger children mentioned that teachers had some responsibility for safety issues, both inside and outside of the classroom. Reception class pupils said that they were taught that for their own safety, '*children have to walk*' and Year 2 pupils understood that teachers' responsibilities stretched beyond the classroom as they had to, '*make sure children don't go out of school at playtimes*'.

Prepare pupils for the future

Some children, particularly those who were perhaps approaching critical stages of their school lives, mentioned a link between their teachers and their own futures. Year 6 pupils who were having to think about their transition to secondary school and their future potential, valued the role that teachers played in that process. They commented that teachers, '*help children learn and understand and get a good education. Help explain, teach you what you need to know. Help you have a good career*'. Another Year 6 group agreed when they said that teachers, '*help kids, [get] jobs in the future, go to college*'. Those pupils for whom the end of compulsory education was nigh were practical but also a little more philosophical. This was evident with the Year 11 group that said of teachers, '*they play a part in shaping people's futures so it's quite an important job*'. A Year 12 pupil prophesied, '*Future - the children you teach will be the next generation. I'm a romantic.*'

What is good/attractive about a teacher's job? What is difficult?

Relationships, personal rewards and helping to 'make a difference'

Secondary pupils were able to identify many more positive aspects of the job than the primary pupils but all pupils suggested many more reasons why teaching was difficult and not an attractive career. Positive suggestions which highlighted the more attractive aspects of the teaching career included qualities which were of a more pastoral nature. Some of the observations of what teachers do according to younger pupils included:

> *they help you* (Reception pupils)

> *making children feel happy* (Year 3 pupils)

> *be friendly* (Year 6 pupils)

Secondary school pupils said that the teaching role was good, '*if you like children*' (Year 8 pupils) and that teachers have good '*social skills - help children gain confidence*' (Year 8 pupils). Year 10 pupils said that teachers were good at '*understanding children's needs*'. For Year 12 pupils, the idea that '*you make a difference to pupils' lives*' was seen a popular positive aspect to being a teacher. Other secondary school pupils, such as one of the Year 8 groups, spoke of the psychological satisfaction that they imagined teachers gained through their interaction with pupils and '*the knowledge that in the future they are going to be good people because they have taught them well*'. Other Year 8 pupils thought that the teachers' job required '*hard work but can be rewarding*'. Sixth-form pupils also considered teaching a commendable profession and said '*you leave a* [positive] *mark on a child*' (Year 12 pupil), and that teachers, '*play a part in shaping people's futures so it's quite an important job*' (Year 13 pupil). Teaching was seen by a Year 12 pupil, as having the potential to be personally rewarding as, '*it's a selfless profession, you give back of yourself*'.

The impact of pupil behaviour on the role of teaching

There was evidence that pupils were aware of the impact that they could have on teachers' own feelings about their careers. Their comments revealed that they recognised that well-behaved children had had a positive influence on the job of teaching. Reception class children explained '*we make them happy when we are good*' and, describing the picture that had been drawn during the discussion group, a Year 2 pupil said that the '*teacher in my picture is happy because the children are being good, sitting nice on the carpet and got a sticker*'. Year 8 secondary school pupils spoke about '*the pleasure of teaching if people have got a well-behaved class*' and, perhaps introspectively, another Year 8 pupil was reassuring that, '*you meet a range of people, not just naughty people in Year 8. There are some nice people*'.

Managing behaviour however, is more often seen as a major difficulty of the job. Almost all pupils mentioned this aspect, including the many younger pupils who were concerned about the noise and shouting in their classrooms. Year 1 pupils were in no doubt when asked about the difficulties of their teachers jobs, '*What's difficult? Noisy talking makes them angry*' and '*telling people off makes them sad. Lose their voices*'. Year 8 pupils were reflective once again, acknowledging that they too can contribute to their teachers' misery, commenting, '*I wouldn't want to teach our year. It's a bit loud and gobby*'.

The older pupils seemed to recognise that managing behaviour is complex and not easy but essential to teachers' success. Such was the assessment of a Sixth-form student who concluded that, '*taking control is the most difficult part, getting respect*'. A Year 11 pupil offered teachers the following advice, '*You've got to get the balance right between having control of the class and actually being a nice person*', whilst a Year 10 student explained, '*you can't just break out in a stress because students react to that*'.

Subject knowledge and skills

Many pupils across the age range often recognised that teachers needed to have good subject knowledge. The younger children tended to emphasise the need for teachers not to make mistakes, pointing out that '*writing's hard because she needs to do everything right*' (Reception class children). Children also explained that their teachers '*have to know their sums*', (Year 1 pupil) and '*try to get the spelling right*' (Year 2 pupil). It was recognised that teachers sometimes had to develop new knowledge and methods and this

was seen as a drawback of being a teacher. Year 2 pupils felt that teachers were required to get to grips with modern concepts and, '*things they haven't done, they have to learn it if they haven't. They did it a different way when they were at school*'.

Older pupils, such as those in a Year 8 group, were aware of the need for teachers to have good academic qualifications, and that they '*need good grades*'. Other pupils recognised that teachers had a '*passion*' for a subject but were perhaps restricted from developing and exploiting their enthusiasm with pupils. A Year 12 pupil elaborated:

> *People teach a subject because they have a passion for it, they love what they are doing. Maybe the curriculum just doesn't allow them to share that passion, just the facts. It should be about creativity, expanding learning. The curriculum wrecks that, it steers in another direction.*

Another Year 12 pupil in the same (selective) school felt that the expression, '*those who can, do, those who can't, teach, is completely harsh*' and that '*in the past, for Aristotle, it was knowledge for knowledge's sake. It would be good to preserve that*'.

Some children felt that teachers needed professional knowledge and skills not directly related to specific subject areas and explained that a range of expertise was essential in order to engage an entire classroom of pupils. A group of Year 8 pupils said, '*you have to be able to give help to children who need support but don't want it. You have to get round that problem*', and, '*you have to involve all the children*'.

Pay and conditions

Discussions about teachers pay and conditions roused comments about how the job of teaching was difficult, stressful and unrewarding. A number of pupils expressed that teaching was '*hard work*' or a '*hard job*' and one Reception class child declared, in a very expressive tone and with a slow shake of his head that, '*it's bad, hard work*'. Some older pupils mentioned the stressful nature of the job and others, such as a Year 8 pupil, recognised that, '*writing reports takes ages*', and that teaching was, '*stressful; marking, report writing to a deadline, like doing homework*'.

It was mainly the older pupils who commented directly about teachers' pay in relation to it being an attraction or drawback of the job, probably because they were closer to beginning to earn a salary themselves. All but one of their comments were negative. Year 12 pupils spoke about teaching being '*hard work*' with '*not much pay*' and '*what's good? Definitely not the salary!*' A younger, Year 8, pupil thought teachers' pay should be differentiated according to the ages of the pupils being taught. The pupil went on to explain his policy idea, '*I think people who teach older people should have better pay because they have to deal with not just school work but falling out and that sort of thing*'. This young teenager felt that teachers should be rewarded for coping with the behavioural challenges presented by adolescent pupils. Just one pupil made a positive comment about pay, however, it was hardly an encouraging endorsement of teachers' pay and conditions, yet this Year 8 pupil '*wouldn't mind* [being a teacher] *but only for the pay…you would be able to live better compared to working in Waitrose*'. Many others were clear that teachers' pay was not a factor which would attract them into teaching. Some of their comments included:

> *…because they don't make loads of money* (Reception class pupil)

don't get much money (Year 3 pupil)

only if there was better pay (Year 8 pupil)

the wages put people off. If you're the one wage earner in the family you have to earn enough to keep your family (Year 12 pupil, boy)

Another thoughtful Sixth-form (selective school) pupil felt that inequitable school selection policies, placed teachers at maintained schools at a disadvantage, when required to meet performance related pay targets, the pupil elaborated, '*achievement related pay is too much pressure. How do you gauge this? Our school glorifies itself, but picks students who find it difficult to fail and then congratulate themselves*'.

The conditions under which teachers were required to work was not considered, by pupils, to be an attraction to the job of teaching, a job perceived to be unbearably hectic. The pupils recognised that teachers were very busy during the day which rather put them off wanting to teach and that you '*don't get a break to sit down and have a cup of tea*' and '*not much sleep because of marking books all the time*' (Year 3 pupil). Even the youngest children showed an awareness of teachers' burden of administrative tasks. One group of five year olds was sure they did not want to become teachers, '*because you're sitting in the medical room and office all day writing. You have to sit there drinking cups of tea*' (Reception class). Only one pupil, a Sixth-form pupil whose mother is a teacher, mentioned the teachers' holiday entitlement as a potential attraction to the job, feeling that the, '*holidays are quite nice but it's hard work*'.

Becoming a teacher

Perceptions of the job

Very few of the pupils interviewed had ambitions to become teachers in the future and cited a range of reasons for their lack of interest in a teaching career, with the most common theme being concerned with the attitudes of pupils themselves. For those pupils who showed some positive interest in a teaching career, the school phase and subject area were key determinants. Year 8 pupils at a selective school were concerned that in most schools teachers' time was often spent managing pupil behaviour. One of these pupils explained that a teaching career was not appealing '*because of some students' attitudes towards teachers...especially at 15, 16* [years old]*...gets better at 17,18* [years old]'. Another pupil in the same group said, '*If teachers are occupied with unruly people, they can't help others who are working. That's why grammar schools are good, they give children who want to learn more of a chance of doing so*'. Other pupils at this selective secondary school felt that different schools gave teachers different challenges. One of the group felt that '*it would be hard to teach in a state school, not the same as here. If the school has special needs it's harder*' (Year 12 pupil). Whilst reflecting on whether he might become a teacher, a Year 8 pupil said '*not in a comprehensive, somewhere with rules*'.

The younger pupils who did want to become teachers focussed on the practical aspects of teaching such as, '*writing on the whiteboards, cleaning them*' (Year 1 pupil) and how they, '*might like marking the work, doing work on the computers*' (Year 2 pupil). An

incisive Year 6 pupil however, whilst enjoying '*writing on whiteboard*', also wanted to be, '*filling children's minds*'.

For pupils who attempted to imagine a day in the life of a teacher, the prospect of having to interact with pupils constantly was a daunting proposition. Pupils spoke about the sheer number of people involved in teachers' interrelationships throughout the school day, whilst for some, noise levels were a concern. A Year 1 pupil said that there would be '*no peace and quiet in the classroom*'. Placing himself in the place of his teacher, a Year 2 pupil explained, '*I can't handle the children all shouting at me*'.

The idea of having to discipline pupils was a distinct drawback for some pupils, who were concerned that teachers and pupils needed to have positive relationships. A Year 6 pupil group spoke about not wanting to have a job in what they considered to be a potentially hostile school environment. They felt that the pastoral element of the job may cause teachers to shout at pupils and lose the confidence of pupils. They explained that they, '*don't want to shout, telling little children off*'. Another in the group said '*Teachers get cross if people annoy them, shout at children then children don't like them. I like people to like me*'.

Relationships, personal rewards and helping to 'make a difference'

Pupils suggested that teaching was a valuable career which influenced pupils' futures. Indeed, there was no shortage of adulation for the key role teachers had played in the lives of people and the anticipated impact that they would have on the future lives of the current pupil population. Teachers, according to pupils, were responsible for shaping the conscience, ambition and sense of being of many people. Pupils explained '*Teaching is very important because if you don't have teachers, can't make up your mind, read, have to use other people's opinions, not make up own mind*' (Year 6 pupil). An older Sixth-form group said the job was '*rewarding, [the] attraction of working with young people, shape them, help them, seeing them grow, develop*'. Others, such as one of the Year 6 groups, felt they had spent enough time in school already and would not want to remain there as an adult. They seemed to recognise the positive impact that teachers can have on pupils' lives but nevertheless, felt it was not for them. One of the group said, '*I would care about others' lives and what they want to do but wouldn't want to teach them, but do something else*'.

Subject knowledge

All age ranges recognised the need for good subject knowledge and, for many, this put them off becoming a teacher. Younger pupils in particular, appeared to be concerned about their ability to grasp subject knowledge sufficiently well to impart to others. Groups of Year 2 pupils described their fears: '*It's too hard, you've got to remember stuff and you have to remember it until you're about fifteen. And you have to answer all these questions all the time*'. There was also the feeling that teachers were required to deliver lessons flawlessly and that '*if teachers make a mistake, children laugh*', also '*they might get something wrong then children write it in their books and get it all wrong. You might be told off by the head*'. Some of the older pupils spoke about their own perceived subject knowledge weaknesses being a hindrance to any idea of a teaching career, one such pupils said '*I'm bad at spelling*' (Year 6 pupil) and another pupil explained they would be deterred, '*because of writing essays*' (Year 6 pupil).

Pupils highlighted a need for teachers to be enthusiastic about what they were teaching but felt they, themselves, would not have the required subject enthusiasm. '*It's just not a job that would appeal to me because I wouldn't like teaching the subject, it would be boring for myself, and if I was bored the children would probably be bored*' (Year 8 pupil). Two pupils were a little more positive explaining, '*maybe if I learned something really* good' (Year 8 pupil) and felt it was important to, '*communicate a subject you are enthusiastic about*' (Sixth-form pupil).

Gender

The under-representation of men in the teaching profession is not unnoticed by pupils, and is perhaps most acute in early years settings. The subject was broached by four groups of five year old pupils and there was a distinct impression that teachers were female even when in some cases, there were actually male teachers in their schools. Some of the exchanges between these children included:

> Boy 1 - *I wouldn't want to be a teacher cos a teacher isn't a boy, only a girl*
> Girl 1 - *But there's a boy teacher in Year 6*
> Girl 1 - *No! Because he's a boy*
> Interviewer - *Can't boys be teachers*?
> Girl 1 - *Yes, there's Mr D and Mr S.*
> Boy 1- *No!*
> Boy 2 - *There is some boy teachers. There are hundreds of girl teachers*
> Boy 1 - *I'd turn into a girl. You can't be a boy teacher because it won't be the same ... because there will be more boys than girls as teachers*'.

One group of older pupils suggested that teaching might not be an attractive career to men due to the potential for men teachers to be accused of inappropriate behaviour. Pupils felt that this was a realistic challenge for potential men teachers which warranted due consideration. One of these Sixth-form pupils said that '*in this climate it is difficult if you are a man and you love children*'. Another in the group was concerned that men teachers, '*are open to abuse*'.

Comparative Status

Rankings by secondary phase pupils

The secondary school pupils who participated in discussion groups were also given a sheet containing a list of 16 occupations, ordered alphabetically. They were asked to rank each occupation according to the status they have on a rating of 1 to 7 where 7 equals high status. In almost all cases, doctors/surgeons were rated highest. Both primary and secondary headteachers were rated as having higher status than teachers but secondary headteachers and secondary teachers were seen as having higher status than their primary colleagues. It was interesting, however, that in one interview group two 15 year old pupils gave teachers higher status ratings than headteachers. They both rated all teachers as seven and one rated all headteachers as six and the other as five.

Occupational rankings by secondary and primary school pupils

Occupation	Total score (from 20 returns)	Average rating
Surgeon	134	6.7
Doctor	132	6.6
Police	118	5.9
Solicitor	116	5.8
Nurse	110	5.5
Secondary headteacher	**107**	**5.4**
Barrister	105	5.3
Vet	101	5.1
Social worker	97	4.9
Secondary teacher	**92**	**4.6**
Accountant	91	4.6
Primary headteacher	**90**	**4.5**
Management consultant	85	4.3
Primary teacher	**78**	**3.9**
Web designer	57	2.9
Librarian	**50**	**2.5**

Whilst we did not specifically ask pupils to explain the reasons for their choice of ratings, the activity generated discussion in some groups. The pupils seemed to feel that high status depended on levels of responsibility and potential risk to self. Surgeons and doctors were highly rated because '*they are saving lives*' (Year 11 pupil) and the police put '*their own lives in danger*' (Year 11 pupil). Levels of '*learning*' were also an issue for some pupils with one pupil making a neat distinction between skill and learning, explaining '*Web designers are skilful but not really well-learned*' (Year 8 pupil).The pupils offered further interesting insights into teacher status, such as the two Year 8 boys who echoed the opinions of others that teaching fell between high and low status:

> Boy 1 - *It is in the middle- it is not difficult to do but just enough to make you think, but other jobs require you to think more*
> Boy 2 - *It is middle and middle paid.*

A Year 11 pupil, in a different discussion group, was even more precise in his levelling of status, once again feeling that teachers and heads fell in the middle but that secondary school teachers' responsibility for examination preparation raised their status. He said '*teachers and heads in middle but secondary higher than primary – [they] prepare children for exams*'. Working with secondary age pupils was seen as having higher status than primary by almost all pupils. Involvement in formal examinations was a factor but other pupils felt that working with older pupils deserved higher status than working with younger pupils because, '*the secondary age range is when you get all the changes taking place, it's when you get adolescence and things*' (Year 11 pupil).

The fact that almost everyone has benefited from contact with teachers which could affect the rest of their lives led to some pupils, who had rated teachers and headteachers highly, to reason that, '*teaching is high status, you work with people, you make a*

difference. Doctors wouldn't be doctors if they hadn't been well taught (Year 12 pupil). Another said, '*a teacher is at the beginning of everyone else's career*' (Year 10 pupil). For these pupils, teachers are a crucial influence on pupils' futures and so deserve high status. This is in contrast to a Sixth-form pupil who felt that teaching was not a high status profession because the, '*social make up of country does not value education enough. Money is valued*'.

Rankings by primary phase pupils

The interviews with the primary-phase children often included a practical activity where they were asked, as a group, to rank pictures of people doing various jobs in order of whose job they felt was most important, and then asked to place their own drawing of a teacher within this ranking. Not all the youngest children understood the concept of the ranking activity. When asked, in relation to the cards, 'whose job is most important and why?' almost all children ranked doctor and nurse pictures the highest. A range of reasons were given, which related to keeping people well and alive:

> *The hospital 'cos he takes care if anyone hurts anybody* (Reception class pupil)

> *Nurses, they have lots of jobs to do, a hundred jobs to do. They do all the jobs to make people better* (Reception class pupil)

> *I would put nurse first because they save people's lives. Then it would have to be an excellent person (doctor)* (Year 2 pupil).

The police were rated the next most important since they were seen as important for keeping people safe. Reception class pupils' reasons included:

> *Take people away*

> *Stop cars*

> *If we didn't have policemen somebody could rob you and nobody would help you.*

Year 6 pupils' reasons included:

> *Arrests, murders. Stop crashes, violence, drugs*

> *Take charge, stop people being silly*

The risks faced by police officers were also acknowledged by a few children who felt that they were worthy of high status ranking, '*I think the police because they can stop people and they might die*' (Year 2 pupil).

Teachers were placed in the middle or lower half of the ranking by most of the groups except for a few individual children who wanted to place them first as they felt that '*without teachers you could not do any of these jobs*' (Year 6 pupil). Another Year 6 pupil explained, eloquently, that teachers should be ranked first because '*They help*

children to have a good education, learning comes first before anything. They help children not to turn to a life of crime, clever when older, have a nice world. Tell you to avoid things that will harm you, give you education, tell you what you can do, what you need, how you can do it'. The pupils who did not rank teachers highly among the other jobs did, nevertheless, often comment that teachers were important, such as the Year 6 pupil who said of teachers that they '*Teach the kids that become all the others* [occupations]'.

Summary

This chapter has revealed the unmistakable recognition, and sense of admiration that pupils of all age groups hold for teachers and the work that they do. Teachers were considered to be hard working and caring, in conditions that are unyieldingly trying and unrewarding. Indeed, according to pupils, teachers' main source of job satisfaction lies in the pleasure of teaching their pupils. Pupils' comments about the ways in which teachers went about their work revealed variations according to the age of pupils taught. For instance, younger pupils felt teachers enforced learning, whereas older pupils saw teachers as facilitators of learning. A further split in teaching styles in the secondary school phase suggested that younger year groups felt teachers helped them through exams and older groups saw teachers as offering support, guidance and preparation for life ahead. With respect to the relative ranking of the teaching profession, compared to the list of 16 professions, teaching failed to reach the higher quartile, with all pupils rating the medical and emergency services most highly, feeling that life saving and life risking professions were worthy of distinction.

Throughout the age ranges, pupils identified an underpaid teaching role which required a commitment to maintain a personal knowledge base and perform many other teaching responsibilities including managing unruly pupils. It was the behaviour of pupils themselves that appeared to be the chief deterrent to a teaching career. Pupils from reception through to secondary phase schooling recognised the positive or negative impact that pupil behaviour can have on teachers' lives.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Sent to Teachers and Associated Groups (2003 and 2006) and the longitudinal survey administered in 2005

About You
(For Associated Groups): Are you a Parent, Governor (type), Teaching Assistant
Full time/Part time
Your occupation
Your age
Male/Female

Your school:
Nursery / Infant / First
Beacon / Leading Edge
Specialist
Training
Voluntary Aided / Controlled
Foundation
Other

Your school size
Primary schools From under 100 – over 400
Secondary schools From under 100 – over 1300
Special schools From under 100 – over 400

Your school location
Predominantly rural
Town
Suburban area
Inner city

Your current job description *(Please tick as many as apply)*
Classroom teacher
Subject leader
Key Stage Coordinator
SENCO
Advanced Skills Teacher
Supply teacher
Assistant / deputy Head
Headteacher / Principal
Head of Department
Head of Year
Mentor
Peripatetic teacher
Other

Your subject specialism(s)*(up to two)*

Your training route *(please tick as many as apply)*

Certificate in Education
Degree followed by PGCE
Degree leading to QTS
Graduate/Registered Teacher Programme
Fast Track Teaching Programme
School Centred Initial Teacher Training
Other

If you are a Teaching Assistant, what is your role?
General learning support assistant
SEN support assistant
Behaviour support assistant
Higher level teaching assistant
SEN support assistant
Behaviour support assistant
Higher level teaching assistant

Your qualifications
CSE
O Level/GCSE
AS Level
A Level
BTec
NVQ/GNVQ
HNC/HND
Degree
Postgraduate Degree
Other
Professional Qualification _____

Your ethnic origin
British
European
Irish
Indian
Pakistani
Bangladeshi
Caribbean
African
White & Black Caribbean
White & Black African
White & Asian
Chinese
Other

Here are some statements that have been made by teachers and others about professional status.

For each statement please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement, with the statement as a characteristic of a *high status profession*. Then, please rate the SAME statement as a characteristic of *the teaching profession.*

Rate on scale 1-5 from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5)

1. Offers an attractive life-long career.
2. Has mutual respect between colleagues.
3. Enjoys positive media images.
4. Has a powerful and independent professional body.
5. Enjoys high financial remuneration.
6. Has members who are a recognised authority in their area of expertise.
7. Is subject to external regulation.
8. Has the respect of clients (in the case of teaching, pupils).
9. Is valued by government.
10. Is subject to strong external controls.
11. Has members who have lengthy professional training.
12. Is one for which there is strong competition to join.
13. Is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them.
14. Has high status clientele.
15. Has responsibility for an important service.
16. Demonstrably maintains high levels of performance
17. Enjoys high quality working conditions.
18. Has members who have the autonomy to exercise their professional judgement in the best interests of their clientele.
19. Enjoys substantial non-financial rewards.

Teachers have suggested that *increases* in the items below would have some effect on their status. Please tick a box in each row to show your views.

Rate from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive)

1. The relevance of the curriculum to pupils' lives
2. Pupil choice of ways to represent their learning
3. Use of ICT (internet, video-conferencing, etc.) in teaching
4. Time for professional collaboration with colleagues
5. Strategies to reduce levels of teacher workload
6. Teacher input into policy reform
7. Opportunities for leadership experience
8. Parental support for the school
9. Teacher input into curriculum content
10. Pupil involvement in school policy making
11. Scope for teachers to engage in critical thinking
12. Availability of classroom support (e.g. teaching assistants, technicians)
13. Strategies to reduce time spent on administrative tasks
14. Initial professional training based in schools
15. Amount of professional autonomy
16. Support for managing difficult pupil behaviour
17. Differential pay and conditions
18. Opportunities for leadership training
19. Salary levels closer to those of comparable professions
20. Reduction in the amount of national testing
21. Improvements to school resources and facilities
22. Opportunities to engage with educational research
23. Understanding by policy makers of the practicalities of classroom life
24. Availability of planning, preparation and assessment time through the workforce agreement
25. Time for headteachers to focus on leadership responsibilities
26. Participation in National College for School Leadership Activities
27. Expansion of the Extended Schools scheme
28. Local community access to school facilities
29. Opportunities to develop partnerships with parents
30. Public appreciation of teachers' contribution to society
31. Teachers driving the reform agenda
32. Public understanding of teachers' responsibility
33. The visibility and impact of the General Teaching Council
34. Entitlement to high quality Continuing Professional Development
35. Impact of Teachers' TV
36. Public awareness of the intellectual demands of the job
37. Opportunities for teachers to exercise professional judgement
38. Time for planning and training to implement new initiatives

39. Recognition of teachers' pastoral and social work for pupils
40. Deployment of teaching staff into a wider range of roles within the school
41. The national level of pupil attainment
42. The variety of recognised career paths
43. Official recognition for teachers' work (e.g. awards)
44. Opportunities for accelerated routes into leadership
45. Teacher involvement in defining professional standards
46. The number of teachers in the workforce
47. Working with a range of professionals outside education
48. The management and direction of other adults in the classroom
49. Availability of administrative support outside the classroom
50. Learning focused on individual pupils' needs and abilities

5 Please indicate, for each of the groups listed below
 a) to what extent you feel responsible to each of them and
 b) how much respect you feel they give you

Rate from 1 (none) to 3 (a lot)

1. My pupils
2. My school
3. Teachers at my school
4. Senior managers at my school
5. Support staff at my school
6. The parents of my pupils
7. My school governors
8. The local community
9. The general public
10. The teaching profession
11. The Local Authority
12. The Government
13. My own family
14. Non-teaching friends
15. People in other professions (in general)
16. The media

Here are some statements made by teachers about their profession. Please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to *your own sense* of teaching as a profession.

Rate from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

1. Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum
2. More emphasis should be placed on the process of learning
3. Effective teaching involves collaborating with parents as equal partners
4. It is important for teachers to address individual learning needs
5. Teachers must always be ready to learn new classroom methods
6. It is important for teachers to be creative
7. Continuing Professional Development is essential
8. Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching
9. Central control of assessment undermines professionalism
10. Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies
11. The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment
12. Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them
13. Teachers should develop working relationships with the local community
14. Teachers must be able to manage a complex learning environment
15. High quality teaching involves collaborating effectively with members of other professions
16. Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance
17. It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise
18. There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment
19. Being involved in research is an important activity for teachers
20. Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools
21. Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism
22. A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice
23. The teaching profession should take into account the views of pupils
24. External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession
25. Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher
26. An influential and independent professional organisation for all teachers is desirable
27. Teachers should be responsible for directing and supervising support in the classroom
28. Teachers should have a shared specialist language for talking about teaching and learning
29. Being trusted by the public is important for teachers
30. Managing administrative staff is part of the teacher's role
31. Being trusted by the government is important for teachers
32. Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions
33. Good teachers evaluate their practice and learn from this

We would like to know whether you think the status of teachers has changed over the years.

Please tick the appropriate box to show how you think teachers were regarded for each of the years listed below. Please tick 'cannot comment' for years outside your personal experience.

Rate on scale from 1 (very low status) to 5 (very high status), 6 (cannot comment)

Years specified
1967
1979
1988
1997
2003
2006

Here is a list of occupations in alphabetical order.
Please give each of them a status rating from 1-7, where 7 means high status.

Accountants
Barristers
Doctors
Librarians
Management Consultants
Nurses
Police Officers
Primary Headteachers
Primary Teachers
Secondary Headteachers
Secondary Teachers
Social Workers
Solicitors
Surgeons
Vets
Web Designers

Here are some statements made by teachers about their profession.

Please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to your view of teaching as a profession.

Rate from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

1. Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum
2. More emphasis should be placed on the process of learning
3. Effective teaching involves collaborating with parents as equal partners
4. It is important for teachers to address individual learning needs
5. Teachers must always be ready to learn new classroom methods
6. It is important for teachers to be creative
7. Continuing Professional Development is essential
8. Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching
9. Central control of assessment undermines professionalism
10. Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies
11. The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment
12. Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them
13. Teachers should develop working relationships with the local community
14. Teachers must be able to manage a complex learning environment
15. High quality teaching involves collaborating effectively with members of other professions
16. Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance
17. It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise
18. There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment
19. Being involved in research is an important activity for teachers
20. Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools
21. Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism
22. A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice
23. The teaching profession should take into account the views of pupils
24. External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession
25. Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher
26. An influential and independent professional organisation for all teachers is desirable
27. Teachers should be responsible for directing and supervising support staff in the classroom
28. Teachers should have a shared specialist language for talking about teaching and learning
29. Being trusted by the public is important for teachers
30. Managing administrative staff is part of the teacher's role
31. Being trusted by the government is important for teachers
32. Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions
33. Good teachers evaluate their practice and learn from this

If there were *increases* in the areas of possible change below, what effect do you think there might be on the status of teachers? Please tick one box in each row to indicate your views.

Rate from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive)

1   Strategies to reduce levels of teacher workload
2   Availability of classroom support (e.g. teaching assistants, technicians)
3   Strategies to reduce time spent on administrative tasks
4   Improvements to school resources and facilities
5   Opportunities to engage with educational research
6   Availability of planning, preparation and assessment time through the workforce agreement
7   Time for headteachers to focus on leadership responsibilities
8   Expansion of the Extended Schools scheme
9   Local community access to school facilities
10 Working with a range of professionals outside education

Previous occupations (Duration of 2 years or above per occupation)_____

What are your career aspirations for the next five years? (please tick one)
Stay in school teaching
Have a career break
Pursue a career outside school teaching

If you have any further suggestions or comments about this questionnaire, or about the status of the teaching profession, please use the space below.