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THE STUDY OF TEACHER MORALE
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Master of
Arts in Education, University of Durham.

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ABSTRACT

It is often argued by the teachers' organisations that salary levels and alterations in working conditions are the dominant factors in any change in the morale of teachers in our schools today. However, previous research on 'morale states', both in schools and other organisations, has indicated the existence of a wide range of factors which affect morale. The research which follows will show the existence of a web of 'social' relationships which influence teacher morale. Basically, the study focusses on analyses of the views of ten 'mid-career' teachers from secondary schools in a North of England education authority. Most of these are seen to be peculiar to the schools in which they work, being based on the characteristic structures, processes and organisational problems that they meet there. Often they are to do with 'critical incidents' involving senior personnel. However, it will be indicated that there are variables which are affecting the individual morale of these teachers which are subject to an increasing number of external constraints and issues. These are of a 'political' and/or 'economic' nature and many are linked to central government initiatives and policies on education.

Contents

		<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 1</u>	Introduction	1
<u>CHAPTER 2</u>	Review of the Literature	8
<u>CHAPTER 3</u>	Methodology	53
<u>CHAPTER 4</u>	The Case Studies	81
<u>CHAPTER 5</u>	Common Morale Factors	189
<u>CHAPTER 6</u>	Morale Factors Linked to Stress.	264
<u>CHAPTER 7</u>	Conclusion	334
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>		348

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION



"Our first conclusion was that Teachers' morale was low." (Chilvers 1988, p.1)

"Low morale in 70% of secondaries."
(T.E.S. 1985, p.1.)

"Exodus is near fatal as morale hits new low." (Hackett - 1986, p.1).

"...there is evidence that teachers' morale has been adversely affected in many schools. It's weakening, if it becomes widespread, would pose a major problem in the efforts to maintain present standards, let alone an improvement."
(D.E.S. 1981, p.13).

Such comments would seem to indicate that a crisis of morale exists within the teaching profession today. Spooner (1979), Dennison (1979) and Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1979) argue that it has arisen because of the economic cutbacks in education, which have stilted promotion opportunities for teachers, and left them with diminished material resources.

Ball et al (1985) offer us a more complex picture. The scenario is one of schools, comprehensives in particular, in crisis. Experiences are echoed which have seen teacher morale decline. He alludes to compromises forced upon the schools from the inception of comprehensivisation, the divisive polarisation among teaching staffs into managers and managed, the continuing adverse publicity, and criticisms in the media. There are also the constant eroding effects of the lack of career rewards and dwindling resources to be remembered. In addition, he refers to a government which is lacking in commitment to its state schools, preferring them instead to become subject to a market force ideology. Also, it is diverting money from the state to the private sector in the form of assisted places.

This issue of teacher morale would appear to be a crucial factor within the context of the educative process in this country particularly when all involved are under pressure to consider its efficiency. What then is the true picture of teacher morale? The aim of the study is to investigate the state of teacher morale in secondary schools. It seeks to provide a perspective on this issue through the analysis of the careers of ten teachers in one local education authority in the North of England.

In beginning this investigation, the author became aware that the definition and the nature of morale itself is problematic. Chapter Two considers this and it begins with an examination of the historical context of the notion of 'morale', after which various definitions are suggested. Theories and concepts from the relevant literature are then discussed. As will be noted, much of the early work in the field of morale research in education began in the U.S.A. in the 1940s. Much of it was based industrial practice. The American research continues¹. but developments have occurred in this country from the mid 1970s which, although not necessarily centering on morale, have produced some alternative perspectives on the issue. These are outlined and, at the end of the Chapter, the links between morale and the related notion of 'stress' are reviewed. The researches of Dunham (especially 1976, 1984, 1986) proved most useful here. The difficulties in definition possibly accounts for the paucity of specific morale research in this country although its importance is recognised by some writers, including Chilvers (1988).

¹. see Brodinski (1983 and 1984), Buonamici (1983), Eble (1985).

In Chapter Three, some possible methods that a study of morale may use are outlined together with the justification for the selection of an 'eclectic' format. Details of how the data was collected are then given. The techniques used in building up the case studies are indicated. Major sources of useful background material were obtained from Ball and Goodson (1985) and Sikes (1985). The former helped to place the study within its contemporary contexts of falling rolls, educational cuts, and governmental demands for fundamental change in educational processes. Sikes (1985) proved especially useful in indicating how a career based study might be attempted.

The case studies of ten selected 'mid-career' teachers, five P.E. teachers and five Mathematics teachers, are outlined in Chapter Four. Each study is introduced with a brief career profile. In the accounts which follow, some career background is given and then those factors, including 'critical incidents' which have proved most crucial to their personal morale, are considered for analysis.

Chilvers (1988) has concluded that the morale of teachers is low. He went on to say that;

This is not only, nor principally, a matter of pay, though pay was at the heart of the industrial dispute and it would be foolish to imagine that since the 1987 pay increase it has ceased to be an issue. At any rate, we were struck by the number of non pay issues brought to our attention which are evidently of real concern to teachers. Many complain of a lack of public appreciation and recognition for the work they do; there is a widespread feeling among teachers that they have been unfairly blamed for the faults of our education system, they are conscious of the demands placed on them by the reforms which are already in train, and others perhaps even more fundamental in prospect. They are anxious about career opportunities within teaching at a time when an unbalanced age structure of teachers and falling secondary school rolls combine to restrict promotion prospects. They are concerned too about certain prospects of school management, for which responsibility is diffused between a number of different parties." (p. 2).

The purpose of Chapters Five and Six is to examine some of the above issues, including pay and conditions, which could be synthesised from the case studies as holding significance for the teachers interviewed. Specifically, Chapter Five considers the 'Common Morale Factors' of the local education authority itself, (Westridge L.E.A.), 'management' in the schools and 'career prospects'. Chapter Six is entitled 'Morale Factors Linked to Stress' and it considers those factors connected with 'change', the 'role' of the teacher, and teacher reference groups, especially 'pupils' and 'staff relationships'. These concepts were recognised as relevant by Dunham (1984, 1986) in his analysis of 'stress'.

As a consequence of what was found in Chapters Four, Five and Six, some patterns emerged which enabled some inferences to be made about the current state of the morale of the ten teachers. These claims, which seek to advance the present state of knowledge about teacher morale, are outlined in the concluding Chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. General introduction to the chapter

This review of the literature on morale has been assembled using certain criteria. It was felt that a historical base for the study would be desirable. This could be viewed generally in terms of early fieldwork and definition. In addition, it was necessary to examine the development of the use of a variety of concepts which are found in these earlier studies of morale. Much of this work took place in the United States of America and arose from industrial practices. It was therefore felt that some British perspectives, (for example those on stress pp. 43-52) should be viewed in order to justify the relevance of the study.

The American literature has been included because it was felt that in some cases it did offer ideas which proved to be of use; for example that of 'Leadership' (pp. 24f) and 'Job Satisfaction' (pp. 26f). In the remainder of cases, it was thought that though the material is only of marginal interest it has been included for the sake of completeness.

B. Historical Contexts of the Concept of Morale.

Blocker and Richardson (1962) indicate that the subject of morale was virtually unknown before World War One. They also indicate that it received scant attention in the educational field until World War Two.

Probably the earliest reference was in 1938 in the U.S.A., when Burton (1938) looked at "Teacher Morale as an Important Factor in Teaching Success." He commented on the paucity of objective investigation in the area of morale in education as compared to insights developed by industry. Oppenheimer and Britton (1952), in considering "Faculty Morale", echoed these sentiments when they emphasised that institutions of higher learning had lagged far behind industry in studying staff morale.

The comparison with industry was given an impetus by Hebeisen (1955) who looked at "Employee Morale". He had taken up a position as a personnel administrator in education having previously occupied a similar post in industry. He pointed to direct transfer in matters of technique and argued that the same understanding of human relations was essential. Redeffler (1959) took a similar standpoint.

'Morale' was first considered comprehensively in educational terms in the "Twenty-Second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators" (1944). In the "Thirty-Third Yearbook" (1955) morale was again considered at length. Also there was a report given of two techniques of surveying opinions of staff relations and a definition of 'morale' was offered:

"It is the extent to which an individual's needs are satisfied, and the extent to which the individual perceives satisfaction as stemming from the total job situation." (p.2).

Whilst early application and development of the concept of morale took place in the U.S.A., and had industrial application, the concept is now more widely studied and applied to educational institutions in this country. It is in this context that the following study has been directed.

C. Definitions of Morale

Consensus in defining morale is difficult to achieve. Williams and Lane (1975) refer to morale as being;

"a chameleon -like concept. Many a researcher claims to have grasped it, to have defined it so that it is recognisable but it proves itself ever elusive, persistently refusing to be seen as separate from the environment in which it lives." (p. 90)

Lonsdale (1964) gives us some meanings and associations which he attributes to morale;

"absence of conflict, collection of job related attitudes, ego involvement in one's job, feeling of happiness, feeling of togetherness, freedom from restraint in action towards a group goal, generalised feeling state, good personal adjustment, motivation and incentives, personal acceptance of goals of groups, we-feeling or cohesiveness of groups and zeal with which goal directed activity is carried out." (p.143).

Definitions such as those put forward by Herzberg (1957) regard morale as an underlying state with a variety of symptoms, including rates of productivity, absence or amounts of complaint.

However, if we return to Lonsdale (1964) for a definition of morale; he defines it as;

"a feeling of participants in an organisation - stemming from a combination of; a) perceived productivity or progress toward the achievement of the tasks of the organisation and, b) perceived job satisfaction or the satisfaction of individual needs through the interaction of the participant in his work group and the total organisation." (p.144).

He goes on further and views high morale as;

"the participants perception of a successful task-needs integration."
(p. 146).

Brown (1954) indicates that intergrating and accomplishing tasks, together with the satisfaction of the individual's needs within the organisation, is the ultimate purpose of administration.

It therefore should follow that high morale is the individual's perception of fulfillment of those purposes.

More recently Smith (1976) defined morale as;

"a confident and forward-looking state of mind relevant to a shared and vital purpose."
(p. 87).

Chilvers (1988) called it;

"a tender plant in any profession. It feeds on the employee's sense of his own worth: how he evaluates the job he does, and his own contribution to it." (p. 21).

Lawley, (1985) talked of the;

"vagueness of the term" (p. 199).

and says that it tends;

"to be used in a very generalised, perjorative way." (p. 199).

He refers back to Cattell and Stice (1960) who suggest that:

"We should not expect morale to be a single dimension, but several, each contributing certain general characteristics towards the general area of behaviour connected by such notions as resistance of the group against dispersion, tenacity in pursuing goals.... confident attitudes in individuals about the future of the group." (p.199).

Despite varying definitions and loose usage of the term 'morale' as a concept, it has proved to be useful in studying aspects such as teachers' careers and relationships. This will be shown in subsequent sections.

D. Studies of Teacher Morale

(i) American Perspectives.

Much of the early work in the field of morale research was carried out in the U.S.A. and was based on industrial practices.

In a study comparable with those carried out in industry, Cralle and Burton (1938) chose from a list of factors which stimulated or depressed teacher morale. Using interviews it was determined that some of the major causes of frustration were; too heavy a work load, non-participation in policy decisions, arbitrary reassignments, salary, lack of supervision and unfair criticism.

Schultz's (1952) survey of newly qualified teachers, besides recognising leadership as a major determinant for morale, pointed out that more male than female teachers were dissatisfied.

Anderson (1953) attempted to relate teacher morale to student achievement. His conclusions were that teachers in secondary schools (Junior High and High Schools) which showed higher achievement by students had higher morale than teachers in schools with lower achieving students.

Doubts over the validity of Anderson's questionnaire were expressed by Blocker and Richardson (1962). They pointed out that variables such as levels of intelligence had not been accounted for. However they recognised the value of the Anderson study as;

"it represents an attempt to objectively demonstrate that high teacher morale is good for schools, an assumption upon which all morale research rests." (p.203).

Hunter (1955) used the same instrument in 1950 and 1953 to analyse teacher morale in New Orleans public schools. He reported that morale had improved and provided a list of areas in which responses were compared. Significant differences were noted only where the wording had been changed in the questions. Unfortunately, the low percentage of return - 25% in 1950 and only 24% in 1953 - casts doubts as to the validity of its conclusions. On the credit side, however, the investigation does stand out as an example of a longitudinal study of morale in a school system.

Ross (1960) highlighted nine personnel factors in ascertaining morale status or level of teachers in two rural school systems in the U.S.A. These factors were; teacher-board of education relationships, administration and administrative policies, professional attitudes, personnel policies and practices, teacher-pupil relationships, curriculum and curriculum practices, teacher-supervisor relationships, school plant, services and equipment, and teacher-parent-community relationships.

He also looked at how morale was influenced by factors such as teachers' social origins measured as by parental occupation, teacher attitude to community status and the teachers' feelings about the cultural level of the community of the school. Seven measures produced information from almost one hundred teachers. A basic instrument of 108 statements considered morale levels. The findings showed that:

1. Social origin and morale status do not generally correspond.
2. Teachers in rural schools with low morale regard themselves as being of lower status than those who did not teach.

3. There are variations in influence on morale of personal factors between the differing groups because of their uniqueness.
4. Personnel policies and practices are important to staff group morale
5. Personnel policies which are system wide do not necessarily determine staff morale. Rather more, it is affected by administrative leadership and procedures underlying implementation of policy.

So, within these rural school systems, supervisory personnel were key factors in morale studies, and married women had higher morale than married men. This last comment similarly may well be to do with the problem of the married man in supporting a family on the generally low salaries prevailing in such areas, whereas for the woman the salary tended to be supplementary to the income of another.

Hodges (1959) in her, "Study of Faculty Morale in One Junior High School in New York City" argued that pupils were a major factor in teacher morale.

Many of these studies were concerned with attempting to pin down various general factors which existed in the teaching environment and affect morale. Their objective in most instances was a remedial one.

(ii) Large Scale Surveys

Most of these surveys have emanated from the U.S.A. In a great number of incidences, attempts at investigating morale on a large-scale using mailed questionnaires have been made. They do provide a wide spectrum of morale. First to use a large sample was Hand (1948) in the U.S.A.

He concluded that teachers with high morale felt a sense of belonging. They were of the opinion that they were consulted about school policies which affected them. They regarded the leadership as supportive and that their duties were fairly shared. On the other hand, more teachers with low morale felt dissatisfied with these aspects of work. He described principals and supervisors as the major influences on morale.

In the same year (1948), 'Nations Schools' reported that the morale of teachers, as recognised by the administrators, was improving. It was claimed that this was due to improvement in salary, better qualified teachers and improved staff relations. Shilland's "Teacher Morale Survey" in West Virginia (1949) concluded that adequate equipment and supplies, courtesy and consideration by supervisors, fair compensation and job security were important for good morale.

Hedlund and Brown's survey in New York State (1951), which considered "Conditions That Lower Teacher Morale", developed ten such conditions. These included poor salary, poor promotion prospects, big classes and lack of support in discipline cases. Again, much emphasis was made on the administrator in determining morale levels. Other surveys, notably that of Campbell (1954), came to similar conclusions.

In a departure from the multi-item-response-questionnaire, Gregg's questionnaire (1955) asked only two questions:

- 1) What factors contribute to high morale among members of this staff?
- 2) What factors work against high morale?

The findings are of less importance than the methods he adopted. One interesting departure was that he hypothesised that the act of consulting teachers about their morale was itself a morale booster. In the Critical Issues Report of the A.A.S.A.¹, Brodinsky (1983) proved this hypothesis to be true.

1 - American Association of School Administrators.

Redeffer (1959) used voluntary anonymous 'opinionnaires' from about 5,000 subjects in 24 different school boards in the U.S.A. The 108 items considered for analysis covered such things as salary, board administration and personnel policies, and teacher-pupil relationships. Various themes could be discerned, especially:-

1. The quality of education of individual schools was related to faculty morale.
2. There were correlations between morale levels of staff and their ratings by supervisors as effective teachers.
3. Age, sex and marital status were not significantly linked to morale levels of individuals.
4. Although of importance, salary was not significantly linked to morale state.
5. Economic and Social Status of the community was not a significant determinant of faculty morale level.
6. Teaching in a 'problem' school was not necessarily linked with poor morale.

However, in contrast to the findings of Redeffers, salary was the single most important factor for morale to be recognised by Miller (1959) in her survey of administrators and teachers.

Thompson's survey (1960) of Negro teachers pointed out several factors that were significant to them in terms of morale. These factors included having to work and rear children in segregated communities, lack of opportunity to carry on individual research or creative scholarship, autocratic leadership, lack of academic freedom, uncertainty about promotion policies as well as low salary. No doubt some of these morale factors have much to do with the position held by the Negro college within the American educational system, but the other areas do compare with the findings of other morale investigations.

Thus we have a plethora of studies, each identifying a variety of factors deemed to influence teacher morale. There is no general consensus. However, there is one factor which does seem to prove to be of considerable importance. This is 'leadership'. It is to this that we now turn. It is also dealt with in the empirical part of the study where it is considered in Chapter Five.

(iii) The importance of Leadership

In the U.S.A., Blocker and Richardson (1962) published a comprehensive review of all of the available research carried out on teacher morale and job satisfaction. They concluded that the administrator was the key figure. Whether teachers were satisfied or dissatisfied depended greatly on the quality of administrative relationships in which they were involved and on the quality of the leadership they were given within this structure.

More recently, in this country, Weindling and Earley (1987) echoed many of the sentiments expressed by Blocker and Richardson (1962);

"effective leadership can do much to improve staff morale, motivation and commitment." (p.91).

and Chilvers (1988) maintained that;

"in our view good management could do much to improve motivation of teachers."
(p. 3).

Blocker and Richardson (1962) had quoted O'Connor (1958) who discovered that the way which the teacher felt about his superior showed the most consistent relationship with level of morale.

Comparisons have been made between 'autocratic', 'democratic' and 'laissez-faire' leaders. Much of the research, for example, Harap (1959), indicates that the 'democratic' style is the most effective. However, Bidwell (1965) did argue against those who advocated a democratic answer for all situations of poor morale.

There is a newer perspective. This maintains that the particular situation is the main determinant and that different styles are needed for different situations. Studies like those of Manasse (1985) and Dwyer et al (1983) point out that such flexibility of style, together with inborn personality traits, makes for effective leadership.

(iv) The Job Satisfaction Argument

Probably the earliest work done in the field of morale concerned the notion of, 'job satisfaction' Hoppock (1935) and McClusky and Strayer (1940) produced instruments to show satisfaction and dissatisfaction. However, can 'job satisfaction' and 'morale' be regarded synonymously? There is a difference in usage. Job satisfaction is more concerned with the encompassing nature of the job itself, whereas morale also includes, and probably more specifically, personnel practices. Smith (1976) talks of;

"the errors of workers in U.S.A. where confusion of 'morale' with 'satisfaction' is rife, where definitional disagreements concerning morale as an input or output variable (or both) result in inconsistent research findings about the relationship between morale and productivity, where some questionnaires are developed quite independently of an accepted definition of morale, and where there sometimes seems lacking an adequate theoretical undergirding to reported studies." (p. 87).

The 'Organisational Climate' concept of Halpin was developed because of the confusion in pinning down this notion of morale beyond this narrow area of satisfaction. However, are we in fact getting away from the true notion of morale? Kevin Smith (1966) thought so. He put 'satisfaction' as only one contributory factor to some dimensions of morale. He regards it as not being so important a factor that morale can be assessed by measuring job satisfaction alone.

A 'job-satisfaction approach' does not account for the fact that high morale does exist in situations where job dissatisfactions exist and yet are being overcome;

"bad conditions of work in themselves have practically no bearing at all on the morale of the workers or their attitude to the job. For example, the troops in Burma or the Western Desert during the war worked under the most appalling conditions, yet their morale was very high." (Brown, 1962, p. 192).

However, it may prove somewhat unrealistic to totally separate the notion of job satisfaction from morale. Any division is bound to be arbitrary and to contain an amount of overlapping. As Chilvers (1988) found, the notion does seem to be important to morale. This appears especially true within the important perspectives of teacher reference groups, and, in particular, concerning the relationships between teachers and their pupils:¹.

"Many told us that the rewards of good classroom work with children were their only reason for entering and remaining in teaching."

(Chilvers, 1988, p. 21).

1. See also pp. 294-233.

(v) Models and Dimensions

The foregoing arguments probably stem once again from this lack of consensus for the term 'morale' and what needs to be ordered to produce desirable morale levels. It might be of advantage to take Davis' analysis (1963) as a basis for generalisation. From the existing researches he concluded that:

- a) Morale is a function of many interrelated variables, but the absence of adequate instruments for its measurement that are based on its comprehensive and theoretical conceptualisation necessarily limits the extent to which effective research may be undertaken.
- b) The leader or leadership style of immediate supervisors are important to morale. For example, a democratic administration may alleviate factors producing a low morale state.
- c) Consensus in perceptions and expectations between all levels of administration and its teachers is important to the morale of teachers.

"For example, teachers and administrators may perceive differently the level of teacher morale and what is important to teacher morale. The greater the discrepancy the lower the morale." (p. 411).

Generalisations such as these may be helpful in pinning down the notion of morale but they do not offer prescription for improving morale in schools. They do, however, indicate that:

"There is no question but that morale - however the concept should be defined - is a real phenomenon. Indeed, there is little question that it is an important variable."
(Haire 1954, p.118),

and that it exists in a variety of recognisable 'dimensions';

"related in a logical and meaningful way through the expectations and personality characteristics of the individual group members." (Smith, 1966, p.147).

Cattell and Stice (1960) had already used this idea of 'Dimensions' in their definition:

"By our hypothesis we should not expect morale to be a single dimension, but several each contributing certain characteristics toward the general area of behaviour connected by such notions as resistance of the group against dispersion, tenacity in pursuing goals, and such non-synality, personnel profile measures as confident attitudes in individuals about the future of the group." (Williams, 1982, p. 2).

If we take the case of industry, the multi-dimensional nature of morale had been already illustrated by Katz, (1950). He offered four dimensions of morale - one of these was intrinsic job satisfaction, the others were pride in the work group, satisfaction with wages and with promotional opportunities, and identification with the company.

More recently for teachers, Smith (1966) and (1976) in Australia, Williams (1982) in the U.K., and the Purdue Teacher Questionnaire (1970), and Stedt and Fraser's 'Behavioural Morale Checklist' (1984) in the U.S.A. provided instruments which tapped other dimensions of morale.

Smith's and William's questionnaires were based on Cattell and Stice's (1960) dimensions of morale. These were particularly related to factors to do with 'leadership', 'the group', and 'individuals'. They were, 'morale of group cohesion', 'morale of tenacity and fortitude', 'morale of leadership synergy', 'morale of adventurous striving', and 'morale of personal reward'.

Stogdill (1959) had already argued for morale as a 'group' phenomenon defining it as;

"a degree of freedom from restraint in action towards a goal and as a measure of the degree to which a group actually utilizes its potentiality for freedom." (Williams, 1982, p. 4).

Smith (1966 and 1976) and later Williams and Lane (1975) recognised the limitations of the model that Stogdill (1959) had developed. They felt that it failed to recognise the truly multidimensionality of morale as well as its dynamic nature.

Smith's refinements took into account the experimental results of Cattell and Stice (1960) and he also attempted to adapt them to the school setting. However, Williams and Lane (1975) in their validation study, and subsequently Smith himself (1976), acknowledged that he had failed fully to apply all the dimensions, only measuring: a) 'cohesive pride'; b) 'leadership synergy' and c) 'personal challenge'.

Certainly Smith (1976) had recognised 'time' as an intervening variable and had incorporated it into his model, but Williams (1982) was interested in tapping the five factors which had come out of Smith's original research. Thus, following an attempted synthesis of research on 'school morale', he produced his own model of high and low morale which pointed back to the three dimensions recognised by Cattell and Stice over twenty years previously (1960).

These were; individuals, the group, and, central to his model, leadership - the major factor already isolated in the analysis of research on morale by Blocker and Richardson (1962). As a result Williams (1982) produced his school morale questionnaire. This was intended for use in identifying problems suggested collectively by the staff of an institution.

Williams (1982) had also recognised a 'control' component within which possible remedial action for morale could operate. This aspect of control had already been mentioned in the Ross study (1960). Williams, however, only conceptualised it as operating within the context of the school, whereas Ross had looked beyond the immediacy of the school.

Lawley (1985) also made mention of 'external factors' creating problems for the analysis of morale. (See also PP. 269-270). He saw these as;

"seemingly insurmountable", (p. 205).

If they are, they deserve examination. Such scrutiny could be attempted within the context of the 'multi dimensional framework' used by the more recent researchers. On the other hand, this conceptualisation of the shift of 'locus of control' could offer itself for separate or allied consideration. Certainly, as is seen in Chapter Six, this notion of shift of control was a cause of concern in most of the case studies.

(vi) Trends and Conclusion

Several other conclusions are evident from this examination of the literature on morale.

Little work has been done to investigate morale levels of teachers, especially in this country. What does exist, as can be inferred from the literature, is of a fragmentary nature.

The research reviewed has identified a variety of factors for consideration. Though some consensus may be recognised, there are some differences in the techniques adopted, the sample populations, and in the primacy of those factors making for high or low morale.

Researches into the factors affecting teacher morale often failed to resolve the effects of morale levels - see McClusky and Strayer (1940) and Garrison.

(1945). Similarly, studies of the effects of a particular level of morale are not always conclusive as to its origin - see Ross (1960) and Harap (1959).

Ideally, when teacher morale is investigated, the factors for morale, its level and effects should all warrant consideration.

Confusion also seems to exist in the researches as to the terminology for the measurement of morale. Hertzberg (1957) and Ross (1960) refer to 'morale status'. Others, including McClusky and Strayer (1940), Garrison (1945) and Hodges (1959) allude to 'morale state', whilst most consider 'morale level'. Similarly, respondents in the following study have used 'morale state' and 'morale level' without being able to differentiate between the two terms when pressed. Suffice it to say that for the purposes of this study the terms are regarded as being synonymous.

Much of the existing research on teachers' morale has taken place in the U.S.A. To a lesser extent, as a result of the work of Kevin Smith (from the mid 1960's), there have been developments in Australia too.

Although Chilvers (1988) has made some recent pronouncements on the state of teacher morale in this country, little in the way of actual study of the subject has been attempted. A valid instrument for assessing morale needs to be developed. What efforts there have been, have largely been centred in the U.S.A. and to a lesser extent in Australia. These have concentrated on measuring those aspects that could effectively be modified by leadership.

These factors have tended to be of an 'internal' or school related nature. For many researchers, confusion existed between the notions of job satisfaction and morale. Recent studies have sought to categorise morale in terms of component parts and dimensions. Such classifications will allow further progress and look to have value.

Morale assessment methods in education have not been adequately validated against external criteria. More needs to be done in the sphere of interviews, using open-ended questionnaires and other techniques. Information from a variety of sources must be collected. Attempts like Stedt and Fraser's Behavioural Morale Checklist of 1984, where the panacea - the questionnaire - is supplemented by techniques such as observation and more personal contact with those under investigation, should be followed.

With 'appraisal' and 'assessment' there is a need for morale to be related to the performance of the teacher. It has been assumed that high morale automatically means an improved performance. This remains to be investigated. (See also Chapter Six)

Those researches which point to single factors for morale levels fail to do justice to the field. Such studies do not recognise the complex nature of morale and should be regarded with scepticism.

In many studies, leadership is seen as a key determinant of morale. It is apparent that the behaviour pattern of the leader alone can induce spells of high or low morale. That morale is dynamic is a further topic for investigation.

The increasing body of research in our schools is producing new perspectives on the morale of teachers. It is shedding new light on aspects hitherto not recognised or considered in great depth, but which are proving to have relevance to teacher morale.

E. Alternative Perspectives

The subject of current low teacher morale, as Chilvers indicated, may also be viewed in the light of patterns of other research on teachers which has been carried out over the past three decades in this country.

Until the late 1960's strategies involving researching the teacher centred around the notion of 'role'.

About that time case-study practitioners, such as Lacey (1970) and Hargreaves (1967), began considering how schools and their teachers 'processed' pupils.

The impression grew that;

"classroom teachers were the villains
of the piece," (Ball, 1985, p.7)

seeking only to differentiate their pupils into channels and thereby imposing limits on how they achieved at school and on their life chances in the outside world.

By the late 1970's researchers began to recognise some of the constraints which existed for teachers within the context of the whole framework of their job. There developed two schools of thought.

The Interactionist Perspective (see Evans 1982, Woods, 1979, Lacey 1977, Goodson 1983) looked at limitations due to aspects such as the demands of instruction and control in the classroom, socialisation and the norms and values of sub-cultures.

Supporters of the macro-Marxist Perspective (see. Riseborough 1983), on the other hand viewed teachers in the light of;

"societal and economic determinants of education." (Ball, 1985, p.7).

In reality, teachers recognise constraints arising from a variety of areas which influence all aspects of the teacher's job. This is not a new phenomenon for them, but the notion that teachers are human beings with careers to think of, .. with their own lives to lead, and who are given to react to changes in circumstances is:

"Researches have begun to focus on the careers (subjective and objective) of teachers (Lortie 1975; Woods, 1981; Lyons, 1981) and to examine more closely their motivations, experiences and strategies as workers in the education system." (Ball 1985, p.8)

Superficially, and certainly according to teacher unions, salaries and working conditions would appear to dominate any consideration as to how to achieve desirable levels of morale for teachers.

However, the analysis of the case studies suggests that this matter of morale is related to a wide and complex interrelated group of factors which Davis et al, 1963) noted.

They are also connected with circumstances affecting the individual within his own immediate context of the school and dimensions beyond the school.

Ball and Goodson (1985) call these:

"The political, social and economic contexts of teachers' work." (p.2.)

They consider that the increasing control by external agencies notably Central Government, is due largely to financial exigencies, the result of falling rolls and the growing criticism which was fuelled initially from significant events such as Callaghan's 'Ruskin Speech' and Shirley Williams' subsequent 'Green Paper', and the 'William Tyndale Affair'. 'Education' and how it should be allowed to develop has assumed prominence as a major political issue. Statements in the 'mass media,' (television and the press) serve further to perpetuate the educational debate.

The evidence suggests that these 'political, social and economic contexts' are proving to be increasing constraints on teachers and how they react to their jobs in the schools. (See pp. 269-270).

"Our first conclusion was that teachers' morale is low. This is not only, nor principally, a matter of pay, though pay was at the heart of the industrial dispute and would be foolish to imagine that since the 1987 pay increase it has ceased to be an issue. At any rate, we were struck by the number of non-pay issues brought to our attention which are evidently of real concern to teachers. Many complain of a lack of public appreciation and recognition for the work they do; there is a widespread feeling among teachers that they have been unfairly blamed for the faults of our education system. They are conscious of the new demands placed on them by the reforms which are already in train, and others, perhaps even more fundamental, in prospect. They are anxious about career opportunities within teaching, at a time when an unbalanced age structure of teachers and falling secondary school rolls combine to restrict promotion prospects. They are concerned too about certain aspects of school management,

for which responsibility is diffused
between a number of different parties."

(Chilvers, 1988 p.1)

Before continuing it must be pointed out that it has always been necessary for teachers to operate within a fairly well defined pattern of constraints. What this study seeks to show is that such constraints and controls are growing or shifting their emphasis, so that teachers in state education are losing out in status and autonomy.

F. Studies on Stress

(i) Defining Stress

Stress has aspects in common with 'morale'. Like 'morale', there is an inexactness and confusion over interpretation and definition, and like 'morale' there are factors which affect it. Furthermore, if we take both 'stress' and 'morale' as 'effects', it is possible to discern a similar pattern of these factors.

Lawley (1985), when considering Simpson's review of literature concerning stress, sickness, absence and teaching (1976), recognised a further link between 'teacher morale' and 'teacher stress'. He thought of the terms as being "interchangeable" (p.200). He associated 'low morale' in a school with absences of staff brought about by stress;

"morale and stress are felt to be an interchangeable and objective index of the state of a particular school. Staff absence rates are accepted as a positive measure of the phenomenon."
(Lawley, 1985, p.200).

However, AMMA (1987) notes,

"an inverse relationship between stress and morale. When excessive stress increases, a drain on the individual's coping capacities, morale is reduced (p.21)

and argues that stress will affect morale rather than the other way round.

Medical science uses both terms, stress and strain, to describe physiological and psychological processes. Unfortunately whatever these terms lack in precision of definition, they are generally understood by the population at large. The pace of modern life is offered by writers, such as Mills (1961) and Carruthers (1962), as causing increasing stress. It is felt that some occupations and situations are more prone to stress than others.

In recent years, a number of studies in the U.S.A. have examined a variety of dimensions of occupational stress amongst teachers. Some, like those of Needle, Griffin and Svedsen (1981) and Pratt (1976), showed relationships between conditions in the work environment of the school and psychological, physiological and social harm affecting teachers.

Others, such as Bloland and Selby (1980) and Bridges (1980), speculate on the existence of links between absentee rates and reducing career prospects. In addition, researches by Blase (1982 and 1984) suggest that excessive teacher stress produces harmful effects on the quality of teacher and student performance in the classroom.

Norris (1985) reported on Surveys by Teacher Unions in Texas and in Maryland. These isolated discipline, low financial reward and work load as the principle stress inducers making for a low morale profession.

In this country, work on stress was pioneered in studies by Simpson (1976) and Dunham (1976).

Simpson (1976) argued that physical well-being is just as susceptible to social and interpersonal environment as is mental health. He goes on to say that illness, especially that which is related to neural and hormonal disorders, is a person's;

"perception of his life situation and his reaction to it." (p.28).

This study of city teachers by Dr. Simpson offered us a medical appreciation of stress as a factor in response to life and its problems. He recognised a link between the stress of teaching and a high incidence of staff sickness, particularly amongst young teachers.

He wrote that stress sprang from difficulties encountered in the classroom as a result of 'modern techniques'. He felt that such methods often produced disorder or disruption and the consequence was psychosomatic illness for these young teachers.

He also maintained that teachers in the "promotion zone" (p.32) were often able to suppress the incidence of sickness caused by stress. Later in the teacher's career, he reported that there was likely to be a reaction to the period when absence through sickness had been artificially avoided. He pointed out that older men and women showed signs of strain particularly when they have been involved in re-organisation and its consequent change in teaching routine and style. (See also pp.280-284).

(ii) Staff Absence

Bashford's analysis of incidences of stress among probationary teachers (1985) endeavoured to link this problem of absence and stress further. He could point to no definite conclusion for this. Yet, he inferred that those teachers most frequently absent for short-term illnesses were young. This had previously been recognised by Simpson (1976), who had concluded that illness was indeed a measurable factor for stress. In addition, Bashford indicated that women teachers were especially prone to short-term illnesses.

The analysis of a questionnaire sent out to teachers in the North of England in 1985 by Kyriacou and Pratt seems to bear this out. They reported an increase in medical consultations over stress related illnesses. The results showed that women teachers were especially liable to... "nervous tics, imaginary heart palpitations and numbness of hands and feet." (See pp. 100, 322-326).

Fullerton, according to Casey (1976), supported Simpson's views, whilst emphasising the point that doctors, such as himself, distrust the term 'stress' even when they use it.

Perhaps the notion of stress is used too loosely. An individual may say that he is suffering from stress and he may also call the irritation which may have caused the problem stress. Thus the one word is used for both cause and effect.

The medical professions says that everyone suffers stress to some extent and even argue that in moderation it is a necessity in order to develop resilience. In excess, they recognise prolonged stress as a modern killer:

"During the last ten years deaths among serving male teachers coming towards the end of their careers have more than doubled. In the same period, the number of male teachers qualifying for a breakdown pension has more than trebled."
(NAS, 1976, p.180).

(iii) Strategies to recognise Stress

Dunham (1986) argues that the first step in considering stress is to acknowledge its existence, though he realizes that:

"Acceptance is difficult for people who associate stress with personal weakness." (p.87).

From there he sought to clarify what the term 'stress' means when used by teachers. He isolated three broad approaches:

"The first approach looks at the pressures exerted on teachers in schools... The second is concerned with teacher reaction to the pressures... The third attempts to understand stress in terms of the interaction between teachers and the school organisation." (Dunham 1986 - p.88)

Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1977) in looking at sources of stress identified four major areas:-

1. Pupil misbehaviour
2. Poor working conditions (-including salary and career prospects).
3. Time pressures (the increasing work load and insufficient time to do the work).
4. Poor school ethos (the lack of corporate spirit and the behaviour of the head teacher).¹.

Dunham (1976 and 1980) reported similar general findings to Kyriacou. Among these were that:-

- Senior and experienced teachers do not know how to cope with stress affecting themselves nor can they assess the effects of stress on other teachers.
- Complexities and stresses in large schools are seldom thought about prior to re-organisation.
- A head teacher's response to stress on himself often creates stress for others.

¹. See Doreen's account, pp. 84-86, 93.

Garner (1985) quoted Armes' study of Bradford teachers which bore this out and commented;

"The sad conclusion to be drawn from this survey is that the majority of class teachers regard their heads as one more, often heavy burden to be borne." (p.11).

- Aspects such as absenteeism, teacher truancy, leaving teaching to take up alternative forms of employment, are the most obvious signs of withdrawal from stress among teachers.

Dunham (1984 and 1986) has since refined his hypothesis. He offers the notion of patterns of stress factors to do with:

- a) Re-organisation and Educational Change.
- b) Role, conflict and confusion.
- c) Problem Pupils
- d) Poor working conditions.

As will be demonstrated in Chapter Six, these factors are significant to the morale of the teachers in the case studies and will form a framework to that chapter.

(iv) Conclusions

Stress has no single predominating cause. That it may be recognised as being causal itself adds to its complicated nature. However, if we recognise that its causes are many and may change over time, then we may acknowledge that there are aspects of the job of teaching which are regarded by teachers as being stressful. These include disruption, indiscipline, inadequacy of support, poor leadership, poor working conditions, both physical and psychological, lack of communication, role ambiguity, and role conflict.

It has not been the intention to discuss 'stress' in detail, nor to offer solutions to overcome it. What is suggested is that there is consensus in the literature in the way that the terms may be regarded as to factors making for stress, and the factors affecting morale.

It is self evident that much needs to be done to alleviate both burdens of stress as well as to bolster the incidences of low morale in today's teaching force. By focussing on the relationships between stress and morale, it is hoped that this study may prove of some use when considering these problems.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

A. Starting Points

This piece of research required a thorough knowledge of much of the literature available relating to morale and connected concepts in order to provide the necessary background material. In particular, a knowledge of techniques which could be used to study morale within the context of the current dynamic state of education in England and Wales was necessary.

However, given that the aim was to consider the morale of a selection of teachers in one local education authority using a 'snapshot' approach, how could this existing theory be utilised in its examination?

Given an apparent dearth of theoretical models in this area, it appears that an eclectic format may be justified and appropriate:

"The majority of morale assessment devices in education have not been validated against any external criterion. Emphasis needs to be placed on the use of interviews, open-ended questionnaires, and other techniques for validation studies. Information regarding morale is needed from a variety of sources. The ubiquitous questionnaire must be supplemented by other techniques yielding a higher percentage of returns and incorporating more personal contact with the system being investigated."
(Blocker and Richardson, 1962, p. 208).

But what does the researcher hope to catch in such an eclectic net? A general assumption that can be made is that the way in which accounts of morale have been presented is essentially in terms of a conflict rather than a consensus model. This being so, an appropriate methodology should seek to uncover and focus upon dissonances in an attempt to explain such factors as states of morale.

When, for example, are indicators of dissonance most likely to emerge? Is it during steady state conditions, during periods of economic expansion or during periods of crisis - economic or otherwise?

Given that education in general is going through a period of crisis, it may be the case that an identification of 'issues' is even more important today in the sense that many problems are all too easily subordinated within a general climate of complacency, if not pessimism.

An important starting point for data collection is the informal context. As a member of a local authority's team of teachers, one is, of course, aware of potential issues and is a possessor of a historical perspective of developments within that L.E.A. going back over a number of years.

My personal experience of a low morale situation has also proved invaluable to the conduct of the study. It brought an awareness and appreciation of many of the problems facing individual teachers in similar situations. Furthermore, it provided an insight into some of the ways to achieve increasing levels of morale, both real and potential, which are possible given a low morale situation.

B. Methods of Data Collection

(i) Case Study

In the study, investigations of individual subjects were carried out on a 'case study' basis. Such a procedure has been increasingly used in all branches of educational research. There are variations in the approach, but the case studies were generated as a result of data collected by interviews and discussions with ten secondary school teachers.

In 'case study', evidence may be gathered by a number of techniques. These include observation, questionnaires, examining or considering documentation, looking at records and interviews. In this study, a combination of some of the above is used.

In the observation method, the researcher observes his subjects' behaviour and attitudes. Motives and feelings are inferred from this behaviour. Observational techniques were not used in the following study because of the researcher's own full-time teaching commitment.

The use of questionnaires developed from early investigational methods when it was realised that a subject not only showed attitudes to his work, but could give responses to different aspects of it. With a questionnaire, it is possible to list factors of morale for consideration. Such factors are predicted in order to produce a score to express the level of morale of an individual or a group.

This assumes that it is possible to provide and elicit specific responses from the subject or subjects.

The questionnaire approach has been used for many years in the U.S.A. to investigate teacher morale - see pp.20-3'. In a rare study of teacher morale in this country, Williams, (1975) produced a 'school morale questionnaire.' He used a Likert-type scheme to gather responses to a bank of twenty six items.

One value of the use of the questionnaire is that a variety of statistical techniques may be used to investigate conceptions such as morale and/or their multifarious recognisable components and dimensions. Also, the general philosophy behind the method is that where there are variations among individuals, they may be reconciled by the study of a large population.

The statistical methods that questionnaires use operate on the principle that it is possible to organise large samples which would be significantly different with respect to sets of variables. The groups are then compared in order to discern relationships between the variables and other measures. In this way, groups with different morale levels are offered for comparison within the elements of the job - in this case,

A questionnaire approach for this study was rejected for several reasons. First, a concurrence with Ball (1981) that there was the danger that subtle detail could be omitted. It could also be argued that as facts about morale are 'social facts', then it would not be appropriate to use such objective and quantifiable measures as questionnaires - see Woods (1985) p.114 .

It was not the intention to carry out a statistical analysis, a process which the questionnaire is more suited. It was preferred to base the work on a small sample. Such a sample is not as amenable to the statistical analysis which the standardised questionnaire requires.

In addition, it was also deemed inappropriate to the study as it was possible to contact the subjects directly and with relative ease. That the morale of the individual teacher rather than a group was under scrutiny was a further consideration.

(ii) Interview

(a) Justification of Technique

In the interview method, the subject is required to show his morale state directly by answering questions about his work. Simply, it may show like or dislike for a job. Using factors as criteria, major causes of frustration may be determined. An early example of the use of this process in morale research was by Cralle and Burton (1938).

Woods (1986) pointed out that;

"most recent ethnographic work in educational research has relied heavily on interviews." (p.62).

He went on to say:

"Often it is the only way of finding out what the perspectives of people are, and collecting information on certain issues or events, but it is also a means of 'making things happen' and stimulating the flow of data."
(p.62).

Interviews may be conducted in a variety of ways: structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Each has its advantages depending upon the particular research design pattern of the study.

The advantage of structured over unstructured interviews is that questions are formulated in advance and the range of responses are pre-determined so that the interviewer is not dependent upon his own judgement to decide which questions to ask. Furthermore, the interviewee is only permitted a limited number of responses.

On the other hand, the unstructured interview allows the interviewee to dictate the course of the interview and this can be a useful device in pilot studies or exploratory investigations.

Between these two extremes lies the semi-structured approach, where all decisions concerning what to look for are constructed in a basic set of questions. These may differ in variety of formality, but their aim is to be set in an open-ended form so as to permit variable responses from the interviewee.

This technique can produce a richness of information which is not uncovered by the limited response type question.

In this respect, the semi-structured interview appears to be an appropriate technique in terms of the generation of some factual data.

Campbell(1985) used semi-structured interviews in his Warwick inquiry into primary school curriculum development programmes. He indicated his indebtedness to Stenhouses's ideas (1982) on case studies in educational research which depended on a 'reflective' interviewing style:

"The people I interview are participants and then are observers of themselves and others: My object is to provide in interview the conditions that help them to talk reflectively about their observations and experience."

(p.266).

So, like Stenhouse (1982):

"It is their observation I am after, not mine." (p. 39).

Further to this, it was intended that these observations and experiences should be reflected in the wider context of their own career histories - see pp. 227-233.

b) Method

In order to obtain as many open responses as possible from each of the sample, care was taken over certain details.

Each interview was arranged well in advance. Usually over a week's notice was given. By this means, it was hoped that the respondent would not feel as pressurised had the meeting been arranged at shorter notice. It also gave the respondent some time to think about morale in the light of his own experiences because in the initial contact he would have been informed that this was to be the topic to be considered.

Interviews took place in the privacy of the respondent's own homes. Fortunately, cups of coffee and relatively subdued lighting were always in evidence and this helped in a relaxing of the atmosphere and a 'breaking of the ice' between interviewer and interviewee.

As Westridge is such a small area and L.E.A., it was invariably possible to open proceedings with some general conversation about local people and places.

At this time, it was stressed that all of the data would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and that a pseudonym would be used. Often the respondent suggested his own. See also p. 76.

Career profiles were then obtained and it was usually at this juncture (and during the second cup of coffee) that the personal semi-structured interview was begun. The interviews ranged in length from two to three hours.

The interviews were tape recorded on cassette and later transcribed using a Sony BM 46 or a Dictaphone DCX dictation machine. Verbatim scripts were produced. Case study reports were then drawn up from these scripts and these formed the basis for the consideration of evidence of low or high morale.

This study did not involve the organisation of large numbers of people. It also did not operate on previously defined and recognised variables, nor was the population restricted to being from one educational establishment. Therefore statistical analysis of the result was inappropriate.

It was decided to terminate the study after interviewing ten subjects because they offered a sufficient range of responses concerning their personal morale and no further data was being significantly generated. It could, therefore, be argued that teachers in Westridge are likely to answer in similar ways and that the sample was indeed typical of the teachers of Westridge as a whole.

In common with other life history approaches the relatively small numbers used in this research leaves its findings open to question on the grounds of validity as well as typicality. However,

"the major safeguard for the life
historian is triangulation."

(Sikes et al, 1985, in Ball, 1985, p.28).

As each member of the final sample was known to at least one; or more of the other interviewees it was possible to confirm statements made in the interviews.

Cross checking of the accounts was arranged following initial interviews. On occasions, this was carried out by telephone, but usually it was possible to arrange a meeting.

(iii). The Life History Approach

a) Introduction

Life history methods of research have been carried out since the early years of this century. They first became popular in the 1930's with Shaw's (1930) 'The Jackroller' - the study of a 'mugger', and Sutherland's (1937) 'Study of a Professional Thief'. More recently their interest has been revived in the research Faraday and Plummer (1979), Goodson and Walker (1976), Goodson (1980), Bertaux (1981), and Plummer (1983).

The use of the application of life histories for educational research was propounded by Goodson (1980):

"Life history investigation set against the background of evolutionary patterns of schooling and teaching should provide an antidote to the depersonalised, ahistorical accounts to which we have become accustomed. Through the life history, we gain insights into individuals coming to terms with imperatives in the social structure...

From the collection of life histories, we discern what is general within a range of individual studies, links are thereby made with macro theories but from a base that is clearly grounded within personal biography." (p.74).

Later, Goodson (1981) argued;

"that there are important distinctions in attitude, performance and strategies which can be identified in different teachers at different times. To understand the degree of importance of these distinctions we have to reconnect our studies of schooling with investigations of personal biography and historical background." (p.69).

Benyon, in Ball and Goodson (1985), developed the use of this technique of life history in an ethnographic study of a large comprehensive school in South Wales. He gathered data over a period of eighteen months fieldwork and illustrated the potential of life history study in ... 'filling in the gaps in our knowledge of schooling.'

"Teachers are not... cardboard cut-outs: behind their teaching lies a range of motives and emotions... they are influenced by past, as well as contemporary events, and more attention should be paid to how 'critical incidents' in an institution's history affect its teachers.

(Ball and Goodson, 1985, p.13).

b) Critical Incidents

The notion of 'critical incidents' was first developed by Flanagan (1954). He used the concept in morale research in industry. He showed that individuals could be asked to report 'incidences' producing high or low morale. From these accounts he isolated factors affecting morale.

Herzberg (1959) used and refined Flanagan's techniques to investigate attitude and job motivation. These researches were specific to industry. Recent studies have recognised its potential for educational research.

Turk and Litt (1985), and Brodinsky (1983) used the technique in order to assess morale levels in teaching in the U.S.A. In this country, Lawley (1985) cited certain 'critical incidents' involving the morale of individual teachers in three schools.

In considering 'critical incidents', the following research was influenced by other studies. Rodger (1983), in parts of his work, used analysis of critical incidents of post holders. His project concerned teachers with posts of responsibility in primary schools. Like Rodger's study, the key point of reference was the individual who was asked to produce a thumbnail sketch of him or herself to be considered along with his life history and some information on his school or schools. This latter data was to be supplemented by L.E.A. information - see pp. 189-192.

Measor (1985) reconciled this concept of 'critical incidents' to the 'life history approach' (see above). She argued:

"that there are 'critical incidents' which are key events in the individual's life, and around which pivotal decisions revolve. These events provoke the individual into selecting particular kinds of actions, they in turn lead them into particular directions, and they end up having implications for identity... They are a useful area to study, because they reveal, like a flashbulb, the major choice and change in people's lives."
(p. 61).

Her data showed that there were "critical phases" (p. 62) in the individual's life when these 'incidents' were most likely to occur. She writes that they are of three types. First, the 'personal' critical phases. These are largely to do with family events. Second are the 'extrinsic. These are to do with major changes or events in society, such as war or political initiatives on education. Included here are pronouncements on curriculum or the imposition of pay and conditions in 1987. The Third phase is the 'intrinsic', which takes place within the ordinary progression of the teacher's career. She identified five phases here, and it is to the fourth, that of those in mid-career, that the following research addresses itself.

c) Career

Ball (1985) indicates that career is an important factor which warrants consideration within this context of the whole life of the teacher, especially when given the current climate of massive educational change:

"Account must be taken of the increasing numbers of teachers who say things like, 'recently, I've been thinking more about life and less about career' or 'you don't understand my centre of gravity is no longer here' (i.e. in the classroom). When the climate of schooling is changing as rapidly as at the moment we need methodologies and concepts which sensitise us to the changes of gravity in teacher's lives. For much of the impact of those who currently seek to 'cut' education can only be assessed by methods which map the teachers' changing perception of their work; the delicate balance of commitment between teaching and life." (Ball and Goodson, 1985, p. 24).

Sikes (1985) collected evidence into teachers' careers using the life history approach. She considered earlier researchers, including Peterson (1964), Newman (1979), and Rempel and Bentley (1970), which showed that differences in attitudes, experiences, satisfaction, expectations, frustrations and concerns etc., were bound up with different and distinct phases of teachers' lives and career cycles. Her particular concern was with an investigation of the ageing process of teachers and how it affected them. Her data was analysed using Levinson's (1978) framework of phases. Phase 1, from 21 to 28 years, concerned 'Entering the Adult World'. Phase 2, the time when commitments and responsibilities increase and the necessity arises to establish a stable life structure, covered the years between 28 and 33. Phase 3 was the 'settling down' time - occurring between 30 and 40 years. Phase 4 was between 40 and 55, and Phase 5 was in the years preceeding retirement.

The results, apart from offering further contribution to the understanding of schools as social systems and affording teachers the opportunity to;

"compare and share and learn from each others' experience and feelings about a personal although absolutely central and universal aspect of their lives." (Sikes in Ball and Goodson, 1985, p.57)

indicated that age and experience can affect motivation and job satisfaction - two concepts which have great influences on morale levels.

(d)' Summary.

The use of concepts like 'stress', 'critical incidents' and 'career', within the context of the 'life history' of the individual teacher, enables aspects of his work to be studied. For instance, successes, failures, relationships with each other and with leadership, conditions of work and attitudes to change, which are all components of the phenomenon known as 'morale', may be examined, and an indication of its state determined.

C. The Sample

One crucial decision was the choice of who to select for the case studies. It was decided to use people 'in the middle' - those in mid-career. As indicated earlier, this notion of a career has become a key concept for study. Therefore, those selected were above scale one teachers. They had taught for over ten years and had shown evidence of following part-time or full-time courses of study since qualification leading to awards in advance of initial teaching qualifications. They also were involved in their schools, but not necessarily at managerial level (viz. head teacher, deputy head or senior teacher), and as such it was felt would be more likely to have an overall view of the situation in their positions as 'career teachers'.

The ages of the sample used also corresponded to one of the groups analysed by Sikes (1985) - those in 'Phase Three', the 30 to 40+ age group.

For her they have:

"the conjunction of experience and a relatively high level of physical and intellectual ability."

(p.45).

Measor (1985) in her study identified a similar group - those in mid career. She recognises that it is the time when many teachers are at their peak. For men, careers are established and they are working towards promotional goals or looking at the terminal point in their careers for the first time. For women in addition to their occupational career, their lives at home as wife and mother must be considered. This may evoke attitudes of discrimination:

"In many schools, the attitude towards women teachers is often that they are working for 'pin money', and in few secondary schools are they equally represented in senior posts."
(Sikes, 1985, p.46).

In order to ascertain whether such attitudes existed, equal numbers of male and female teachers were chosen for the sample.

It was also decided to concentrate on secondary school teachers. This was because the body of literature suggests that they have more problems with their careers, with anxiety, with stress and consequently were thought likely to experience problems of morale. (See Ball, 1985).

Mathematics and P.E. teachers were chosen because it was felt that they offered contrasting career structures and prospects. Status within the schools was different and, therefore, there was the possibility of contrasting data, and with that some difference in morale might be recognised.

Early informal interviews with two deputy heads of schools in Westridge, together with conversations with L.E.A. Advisors, proved fruitful. From their remarks some key individuals were identified and their interviews suggested others.

The personal interviews were conducted with ten teachers over 1986 and 1987.

A great amount of consideration was given to the presentation of the data. It was finally decided that as some of the case study extracts which follow may contain information which the participants would not wish to be regarded under their own names, pseudonyms would be used in order to avoid any embarrassment or unease which may otherwise have been caused. As a further safeguard, pseudonyms have also been used for the names of the schools. In this way, it is hoped that the integrity of the information will be maintained without causing any distress.

D. Constraints and Concerns

The philosophy of the research concurs with views expressed by White (1952) in his study, 'Lives in Progress', where he considers the collection of data for research purposes;

"... the study of another person is a difficult undertaking which cannot be handled in a cut-and-dried fashion. Perhaps the very first thing to consider is the other person's motivation for taking part in such a study. Unless his interest is enlisted to a rather unusual extent he is not likely to be disposed toward whole-hearted participation and candid self-disclosure. Even when cooperation is perfect, a further difficulty arises from the very nature of the material. No interviews or available tests, no existing methods of observation, can possibly be considered complete or definitive." (p.92).

Biographically, this researcher's background as a primary teacher with certain emphases on everyday knowledge, analysis, discussion and argument, has been modified to the extent that there is the suspicion that aspects of knowledge will not be value free and therefore one must make the admission that the accounts of events and their interpretation are likely to be personal, interested and biased.

Apprehensions are held about intruding into the privacy of attitudes of fellow professionals. However, one can reconcile this on the grounds that the findings may be potentially useful, not only as a research exercise, but as a documented report which would be of interest to employees of the chosen local education authority, be they teachers or officers, and to educationalists in general.

A 'career history approach' was adopted in order to obtain data for the case studies. Individual teachers were asked to reflect over a number of years in their teaching careers. However, there will be problems over the reliability of these reflections. Difficulty in recalling accurately events of the distant past provides the greatest complication. As a consequence, the interviewees were invited to concentrate on more recent and current events and specific incidents which were strong in their memories.

The accuracy of the interviews and the openness of the subjects responses remain a matter for speculation, even though it was pointed out that a pseudonym would be afforded in order to protect confidentiality.

A further important constraint relates to the interview situation itself. Attempts were made to gently question the subjects about aspects of their personal morale. Thus it was hoped that a good relationship would develop during the proceedings and the consequent probing produce material of use to the spirit of the study. How effective the interviewer had been in establishing rapport is a further matter for conjecture.

Also, anyone familiar with interviewing of this type is aware of the difficulties in codifying a variety of responses to facilitate a comparison of results - in this case pictures of individual morale.

There is the added danger of accepting the views of the interviewee 'per se' as being the objective view. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview the head teacher or others involved in a particular 'critical incident', to ascertain their perspective of the incident - see Davis (1963).

Ideally, the comparison of the results of this study in Westridge with a similar one in another local education authority would have been beneficial. However, it was only possible, within the limits of this particular research, to concentrate on one local education authority.

A comparison with another local education authority will have to wait until further research in the field of morale study is carried out.

The nature of a part-time piece of research such as this is that it extends over a period of time. There is the ensuing danger in adopting the 'snapshot' approach that the research findings may have become out of date before the study is completed.

E. Conclusion

An appropriate methodology should seek to map and interpret perceptions through a variety of techniques which are not inimical to the theoretical base. Given an eclectic approach, this research does not feel bound to a specific and narrow methodology nor to replicating previous methodologies. However, in terms of typology, the general approach has been one of semi-structured or open-ended interviews in which the teachers have been encouraged to talk freely, and at length, about their career histories. Here, they have been asked for details concerning states and changes of their morale during that time - both in the past and at the present. Cross-referencing or triangulation, where statements of one person about incidents could be checked for verification with others, was possible, as was some use of documentation.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CASE STUDIES

A. Introduction

Each case study is introduced with a career profile which contains details of past and present posts. Extracts from the individual taped interviews follow and are discussed. These extracts focus on key issues and incidents which the subjects indicated had the greatest influence on their personal morale. It has been attempted to list the explanations of their morale state in order of importance beginning with the most important.

The case studies are presented in the form of quotations which illustrate those key aspects of the teachers' careers which affected their morale. The quotations were taken selectively from the taped interviews and the researcher's interpretation incorporated. This approach is similar to that adopted by Sikes et al (1985).

Teachers who are currently at the same school have been grouped together for the convenience of the reader in order that similarities in those factors affecting morale may be recognised.

B. The Teachers

1. Doreen

- female

- aged 41

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

1966 - Lakeside Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 1 - Mathematics - Teacher.

1970 - Lakeside Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 2 - Mathematics - (Assistant to
Head of Department).

1973 - Garden Lake Comprehensive School,
(formed from amalgamation of Lakeside and
Riverside Secondary Schools),
Scale 3 (pre Houghton) - Mathematics -
(Second in Maths. Dept.)

1974 - Garden Lake Comprehensive School,
Scale 4 (pre Houghton) - Head of Year.

1975 - Garden Lake Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Head of Year.

1978 - Seaview Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Head of Mathematics
(a re-deployment following the closure of
Garden Lake Comprehensive).

1984 - Percival Comprehensive School,
Scale 4 - Head of Mathematics.

(ii) Qualifications

1982 - Diploma in Advanced Educational Studies (D.A.E.S.)

1983 - B. Phil. (part time).

(iii) Current Appointment

Percival Comprehensive School,
Scale 4 - Mathematics - Head of Department.

b) Doreen's Account

Doreen is 41 and was born and educated in the area in which she now teaches. She trained as a teacher in the locality, following which, she has taught in three comprehensive schools in the Local Education Authority. Her first twelve years were in the same school where internal promotions saw her holding a Scale Three post as Head of Year. Following its closure, she was redeployed as a Scale Three Head of Mathematics and Head of Year. Six years later she was appointed as Scale Four Head of Mathematics to her present school, Percival Comprehensive, where she is the most highly placed female member of the staff.

Doreen gained a B.Phil. degree after successfully completing:- a year full-time course and a second year of part-time study. She is heavily involved in examination board work, but still finds time to play a mean game of squash, to caravan and garden. She is married and has a daughter of 20.

School Ethos

Like others in the study, Doreen indicates that she has experienced peaks and troughs in her personal morale. Doreen's views of her personal morale and of that of her current school, Percival Comprehensive, are not good:

"It's a school without a heart."

She recognises a number of factors which could account for this. Doreen enjoys the teaching aspect but not the atmosphere in the school nor does she feel the sense of loyalty in... "sticking up for the place", as she did with her previous schools (Lakeside Secondary Garden Lake Comprehensive, Burnside Comprehensive). She experiences a... "lack of belonging to the school", primarily as a result of not being allowed to become, in her eyes, sufficiently... "involved". She seems to echo the sentiments of the teachers in the Sikes research (1985, p. 235 ff) when she says;

"I can't find an identity for myself
within the school".

She does not think that she, or for that matter most of the other staff, are sufficiently involved in issues such as curriculum development or change - for example there has been no information on Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (T.V.E.I.) conveyed. She would like to be more at ease in offering opinions. When she does she maintains that she is not listened to by senior management;

"Decision making and opinions seem to be
the reserve of the Head Teacher and his
'henchmen' ¹".

1. Head Teacher, Two Deputy Heads, Three Senior Teachers.

She is alarmed at this and thinks that more staff should be involved. In her previous schools, she had been able to play a role in decision making and management with other staff and she feels that it had helped to;

"put a good heart into the school and help with improving staff morale."

She regards the current decision making process of the Head and... "his henchmen ", as fundamentally.... "dictatorial ".

There is despair for her over the way that recent senior promotions have been handled in the school. All have been done internally and she questions the calibre of the successful candidates regarding them more or less as... "yes men " for the Head. She feels that this has added to conflicts within the school and between staff.

The school structure is undergoing some re-organisation Those involved in a re-designation of jobs/posts are being... "kept in the dark." There has been no communication. As a consequence..."people are feeling threatened, and filled with uncertainty".

Discontent and speculation abound... "this isn't doing us any good." She gave as an example a teacher who was put under pressure by the Head to accept a downgrading if she refused a particular job in the new structure.

Sex Discrimination

Doreen believes that her morale is affected by a further aspect of the career structure of the school...

"It is male oriented. Women get the functions and the coffee to organise rather than the curriculum or the timetable."

Hence, she says, that when it comes to considering one's experience for promotion, women are disadvantaged because they haven't been given the opportunity to be equal.

She finds it frustrating that she is not thought of as being, nor treated as, the equal of other senior Heads of Department;

"Little things like not being trusted with the photocopier or near the coffee machine in case I break them are very tiresome."

What she indicates here is that, although there is no rule against certain people using these machines and therefore, in theory, everybody can use them, in fact there is a chauvanistic attitude by male staff that female staff can not be trusted to operate them. She and other female staff are expected to let the men operate them. A general feeling among the women on the staff that they are not trustworthy with machines seems to have developed. How real or imaginary this is reflects the chauvanistic feelings and tensions that are occurring in her school.

She blames the hierarchical structures of schools which she sees as being fundamentally male dominated. Yet, as she points out, 50% of the school pupil population is female. In her school she is the only Scale Four female teacher:

"All above me are men; 3 senior teachers; 2 deputy Heads, the Headteacher, yet the number of female staff is 30 compared to 21."

Allied to this, as the... "senior woman teacher", she is never consulted concerning the curriculum or welfare of the girls.

Failure of Leadership

She argues that many of the problems that the school faces are due to the inadequacy of leadership, particularly from the Head Teacher. As well as being viewed as dictatorial he is an ideologist. He is well versed in educational philosophies but his weakness is that he is not a pragmatist. This is complicated by the fact that he is apparently unwilling to face people unless it be his..."chosen disciples".

"He is never seen around the school, never takes children, shies from calling staff meetings or seeing the children; 'Is that the Headmaster, Miss? asked one Fifth Year."

Doreen speculates that he regards himself as being intellectually superior to everyone else;

"with the result that he doesn't want their views because he thinks that his ideas are better anyway. I think that he may well have the theory but not the ability to put it into practice."

She holds the belief that the Head also has the inability to establish good personal relationships and is sceptical of his ability to develop good management skills. She considers that he lacks the experience for the job. He has served in only two schools, becoming Head of Department, Deputy Head and now Head at Percival Comprehensive.

"He does not have the right personality to put his ideas and philosophy over to a staff he has grown up with. It is not easy. To do it you need to have superior personal qualities established through successful dealings with people over the years. In this way you may be able to convince the staff that what you feel is right for the school."

In an attempt to improve relationships between the Head and the staff, Doreen tackled the Head about staff contributing to the corporate spirit - "esprit de corps." She suggested that he should try "open government," to make people more aware and... "acknowledge that members of staff exist", but he seemed... "blind to the communications void," and blamed the school's problems on the sanctions by the teachers' organisations.

However, Doreen regards communication as.. "abysmal," even when no union 'action' is taking place. She does acknowledge the difficulties of arranging formal meetings, but mentioned with optimism that;

"people at least are still talking to one another... and... I think that the goodwill is still there."

Despite what is going on around her at school Doreen maintains that she still genuinely enjoys her job of teaching and being with a class of children;

"I feel that this is what is carrying me through this difficult time at Percival."

She hopes that her performance as a teacher and her good relationships with her colleagues have not been adversely affected by her current morale state.

c) Summary

Doreen has experienced an adjustment problem in moving to Percival Comprehensive School. This has affected her personal morale. In her previous schools she maintains that she has always been made to feel and felt part of the school. At Percival, this is not the case for her. She is willing and her experience shows that she is able to take part in the important decision making processes in the school. She feels that the Head Teacher does not get the best out of her or others on the staff by restricting decision making to himself and/or the Senior Management Team (1)

(1) Weindling and Earley (1987) reported a similar case;

"there was a lack of communication and very little consultation. Having set up working parties, the Head ignored their recommendations and so the staff believed they had no role in decision making." (p. 174)

Doreen said that she still enjoyed the teaching aspect but was unhappy with the atmosphere at Percival. Like Sikes' teachers (1985 p. 154), there was growing problems over loyalty, and commitment to the school was not as great as it could be.

She talks of a... 'poor school ethos,' at Percival and lays the blame for this at the feet of the Head Teacher. (See also Rutter et al 1979). Apart from this unwillingness (or inability) to involve more staff she points out his failure to establish staff relationships, in communication and in ending a male bias in the school.

Chilvers (1988) would probably agree that good management does not seem to be a feature there. Certainly what he regards as necessary components for good management seem to be missing.

"One component of good management is effective communication with employees. Another component... is encouragement. A third component... is to involve the employee in the wider aspects of his job." (pp. 21-2)

2. Mac

- male
- aged 42

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

1965 - Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School (Comprehensive in 1974),

Scale 1 - Mathematics and Science - Teacher.

1972 - Brightwell Secondary Mixed School (Comprehensive in 1974),

Scale 2 - Chemistry (Head of Department).

1973 - South Street Secondary Mixed School (Comprehensive in 1974),

Scale 3 (Pre Houghton) - General Science
- Second in the Science Department.

1974 - South Street Comprehensive School,

Scale 4 (pre Houghton) - Pastoral -
Head of Year.

1975 - South Street Comprehensive School,

Scale 3 - Pastoral - Head of Year Five.

1985 - Percival Comprehensive School - redeployment,
Scale 3 - Pastoral - Head of Year 'Four.

(ii) Qualifications

1976 - B.A. Degree (Open University) - part time.

1983 - Diploma in Teaching Mathematics - part time.

(iii) Current Appointment

Percival Comprehensive School,

Scale 3 - Pastoral - Head of Year.

b) Mac's Account

Mac is 42. He is married to a teacher. They have one son of primary school age. His wife has recently returned to full time work after working part-time for some years. He was born and lives in a neighbouring district to Westridge. All of his teaching service has been with schools which are a part of Westridge Local Education Authority.

He trained as a Mathematics teacher and his subsidiary subject was Science. He began his career in 1965 at Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School, Westriver, where he taught Maths and General Science. In January 1972 he gained a Scale Two Post for Chemistry at Brightwell Secondary School. In 1973 he was promoted to a Pre-Houghton Scale 3 Post as second in the Science Department at South Street Secondary School. In 1974 following re-organisation of the school as Comprehensive he was promoted to Head of Year Five on Pre-Houghton, Scale 4. Following the rationalisation of Teacher Salaries under the Houghton review in 1975 he reverted to a Scale three designation for his pastoral responsibilities. During his time at South Street, he has taught almost exclusively Mathematics and Science.

In September 1985 Mac was re-deployed to Percival Comprehensive as Scale Three, Head of Year Four. This was a mutual agreement between Mac and the Local Education Authority following the closure of South Street Comprehensive. His time-table at Percival is exclusively Mathematics with the less able child.

In 1976 he gained an Open University B.A. Degree. In 1983 he completed an in-Service Diploma in the Teaching of Mathematics.

He has a variety of interests outside school. These are primarily centred around D.I.Y. He also plays badminton to a high standard.

Mac is reckoned as something of a perfectionist and if things are not as they should be, has the reputation of being a 'worrier'. In fact, he did admit that during one low in his morale, he was concerned about his health.

His wife has recently returned to teaching after a break of some years and he says that this has considerably eased financial worries.

Currently, Mac claims that his personal morale has recently improved. Since redeployment, he has felt that he has had fewer worries about his future. Prior to obtaining this permanent appointment at Percival Comprehensive with the comparable status to that which he enjoyed at South Street Comprehensive, he admitted to experiencing... "a period of despair and uncertainty". This last few years at South Street affected his personal morale.

Closure of South Street

It was... "a time of total uncertainty." This began in 1981. Closure proposals were put forward then, and three years later a schedule was finally agreed. He says that;

"there was no consultation of staff or parents. Those parents who had anything about them got their kids out... this left us with the problem ones."

He ponders whether South Street;

"ever really got off the ground or was given a chance by the Local Education Authority."

Originally, it was formed in 1973 following amalgamation of two small single sex secondary schools. Then it was designated as a Secondary Mixed School. Soon it began to acquire pupils from the fire devastated Garden Lake Comprehensive. It became an 11-16 Comprehensive School in 1974. In 1976 it was designated an 11-18 school with a sixth form. Specialist sixth form teachers were employed who never really had an opportunity to use their skills with sixth form pupils. Their maximum proved only to be thirty eight. Dissatisfaction by sixth form staff with the state of affairs

"caused a great deal of friction amongst staff... this was bad for our morale."

A Critical Incident

A critical incident occurred for him in 1984 when a Scale Four Post as Senior Pastoral Head was filled internally by a member of staff who had no involvement with pastoral responsibilities. Mac was the longest serving Year Head and he together with the other four Year Heads - all male members of staff - were interviewed alongside the (female) Head of Home Economics for this job. It was apparent from the job description that the Head favoured a female for the job. In fact, the Teachers' Representative at the interview agreed later that;

"the questions favoured one candidate and the Head recommended this person also to the Governors."

Mac felt that he had acquitted himself well in the interview, but said that he felt a sense of injustice when afterwards he was

"approached by the Head who told me that I nearly got the job."

Things got worse when he, especially, and the other Year Heads were expected to deal with problems that the new Senior Pastoral Head could not, and would not, handle.

"Twelve months after her appointment, she took early retirement and because of shrinking numbers and closure, her job disappeared."

Following this incident, and with concerns over closure and his fears of re-deployment, Mac says he was;

"at an all time low. I thought my health was suffering... I became a hypochondriac."

Summary

Mac's disposition shows ambition, but at the same time there is evidence of the similar self doubts which were expressed by 'Phil' in Sikes et al (1985, p42). Mac is beginning to believe that past hopes of achieving further promotion will not be realised. Such doubts have, in all certainty, been exacerbated by fears of closure and re-deployment. The result has been to encourage a similar 'status anxiety' situation to that recognised by Webb in Ball and Goodson (1985, pp.78-88).

After discovering only about a week before the end of the Summer term in 1986 that he was to be re-deployed on comparable status (Scale Three), with comparable responsibility (Head of Fifth Year), he was naturally somewhat relieved. However, he made the point that he had... "lost ground in the promotion race ". He considers that he has to re-start his Scale Three phase again now he has been re-deployed to Percival. He feels that he will have to prove himself there and expects that this will take time, whilst another teacher who may have been appointed to Scale Three in another school after Mac had gone to South Street, but who had not been re-deployed, would be preferred to him in any subsequent promotional opportunity.



Mac was interviewed in December 1986, only three months after his re-deployment. Though he did make comments about Percival (see p.97), there was the indication that the major problems with his personal morale had occurred before this at South Street.

Being a relative new-comer to Percival, Mac does not seem to be as aware of the shortcomings of the school as Doreen. In fact, in Mac's case, the change seems to have proved beneficial to his personal morale, a point amplified by Weindling and Earley (1987), and he indicates that he feels accepted there. As we shall see later, Frank (pp.140f) also refers to the notion of 'change' stimulating views and attitudes. 'Change' itself proves to be an important factor and receives separate consideration in Chapter Six.

3. Blake

- male

- aged 40

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

1969 - Lakeside Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 1 - P.E. - Teacher.

1972 - Lakeside Secondary mixed Schools,
Scale 2 - P.E. (Head of Boy's P.E.)

1973 - Garden Lake Comprehensive School,
(formed from amalgamation of Lakeside and
Riverside Secondary School),
Scale 3 (pre Houghton) - P.E. -
Head of Boys' P.E.

1975 - Garden Lake Comprehensive School
Scale 3 - Head of Boys' P.E.

1978 - South Street Comprehensive School,
Scale 1 (Protected 3) - P.E.

(A redeployment following the closure of
Garden Lake Comprehensive).

1984 - South Street Comprehensive School,
Scale 2 (Protected Scale 3) - P.E.
Head of Boys' P.E.

1986 - Selwyn Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - P.E. - Head of Boys' P.E.
(A re-deployment following closure of South
Street Comprehensive.)

(ii) Qualifications

1983 - Diploma in Advanced Educational Studies (D.A.E.S.)

1984 - B. Phil. (part-time).

(iii) Current appointment

Selwyn Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 P.E. - Head of Boys' P.E.

b) Blake's Case Study

School Closures.

Blake's morale is linked to school closures and consequent concerns about his future career. Unfortunately 'fate' has decreed that he has already experienced two closures and that he must look ahead to his latest school (Selwyn) ceasing operation in 1988.

b) Blake's Account

Blake is 40 and married with a ten year old son. Apart from when he was in teacher training, he has lived all of his life in Westridge. He has worked in a number of schools there. After leaving school at 16 years, he worked in a local engineering firm as a Buyer for two years. He did not enjoy the job and decided to try teaching. In 1969, he began his career at Lakeside Secondary School where he taught P.E. In 1972 he was promoted to Scale 2 and in 1973, following an amalgamation between Lakeside Secondary and Riverside Secondary into Garden Lake Comprehensive, he received a Scale Three post as Head of Boys' P.E.

1978 saw the closure of Garden Lake Comprehensive and Blake was re-deployed to South Street Comprehensive on a Scale 1, protected Scale 3 post. In 1984 he was made Head of P.E. on a Scale 2, protected Scale Three post. The closure process involving South Street Comprehensive during 1987 has meant a further re-deployment to Selwyn Comprehensive as Scale 3 Head of Boys' P.E. Department., on a half time basis between the two schools.

Blake gained a B. Phil. Degree in 1983 after the successful completion of a one year full-time and a second year part-time course. He is heavily committed to ensuring that both Selwyn and South Street appear on school fixture lists and to develop their sporting reputations. However, he still manages to find time to run and play in a football team in the local Sunday league, and take his son swimming and rock climbing.

School Closures

Blake's morale is linked to school closures and consequent concerns about his future career. Unfortunately, 'fate' has decreed that he has already experienced two closures and that he must prepare himself for when his latest school (Selwyn) ceases operation in 1988.

Two fires devastated the buildings at Garden Lake and resulted in its closure and affected Blake's personal morale. Blake had decided to stay on and support the school as the numbers of pupils were steadily run down with losses of year groups in successive years. He thinks that staying until the final closure subsequently damaged his career development. Those of his colleagues who, .. "got out early," were... "fixed up without losing status", whereas those like himself who, although their salaries were safeguarded, stayed on, lost departmental status and responsibility and reverted back to Scale One. Some, like Blake, have ended up having to go through another closure exercise a few years later.

Garden Lake was the first of Westridge's Comprehensives to close. Blake indicates that the staff initially had faith in the undertakings they received from the Director and his staff, and in the promises made by the elected representatives. Although the school Governors were against the closure, this trust was dashed when it became obvious that what the Local Education Authority desired was... "quick solutions to what they considered a problem".

"The 'Office' tried to keep us at arms' length and not get involved. They didn't like being asked questions about what was going to happen to the school, the kids or us. I don't think that they had the answers really and I don't think that they were too bothered about finding some either. They didn't care."

He maintains that the attitudes of the Local Education Authority did not help teacher morale when closure was involved :

"The 'Office' regard us as just pegs on a board, there to be moved around as they think fit. I wish that they would try to show us a more sympathetic face even if all they did was to sit down with us and listen to our problems."

Blake and the remaining staff at Garden Lake were given a "take it or leave it situation." Blake ended up at South Street back on Scale One teaching Boys' P.E. He remembers being concerned at the time because Scale Three Head of P.E. posts did become vacant in other schools in the Authority, yet they were never advertised outside the schools concerned and consequently all went to internal candidates. This affected Blake's morale further;

"I would have at least had the opportunity to have had a go for the jobs in the first place."

It was eight years before Blake got off Scale One at South Street. By that time (1984), its closure was already under way and Blake was faced with the prospect of having to,

"salvage my career and start at the bottom again."

Perhaps he is more fortunate in his current re-deployment at least in the short term. At Selwyn, he has regained his Scale Three Head of Department Status. Also, for the first time in his career he has modern and up-to-date facilities for his subject - a new well equipped gymnasium a games hall, playing fields..." luxuries denied to me at Lakeside Secondary, Garden Lake and South Street.

His Future

As to his future once Selwyn closes, he remains sceptical:

"I'm afraid that I may be put from there into yet another school earmarked for closure."

Blake feels an added complication for him is that he is in a subject "trap", and that this may not have helped him with re-deployments. He finds himself teaching P.E. full-time at the moment; half of his time at South Street, the rest at Selwyn, so he is in the unenviable position of running two sets of teams at two schools on his own. Previously, there was always the opportunity for him to do some Craft Design and Technology (C.D.T.), but now he finds himself teaching a full P.E. time-table. The 'Industrial Action' by his colleagues during 1985 and 1986 has also probably contributed to this;

"Members of staff who previously would have helped out with taking the odd P.E. lesson or a team are now no longer willing to do so."

He regrets that he had not "thought about getting out of P.E. earlier"; but he recognises that with his current time-table arrangements and commitments, there is little chance of gaining experience in another subject area. The reduction of pastoral jobs in Westridge - a further result of the falling roll situation - has closed up another opportunity of moving from P.E.

Summary

School closures and concerns for his future have affected Blake's morale. Probably a basic problem for him is that his career has not developed since 1978. This was the time that his first school, Garden Lake Comprehensive, closed. He has stagnated and become a 'blocked spiralist.'

Although direct approaches to the Local Education Authority and to schools where vacancies have occurred have been made by him and on his behalf, these efforts have proved fruitless. He has obtained an advanced qualification and has made attempts to move from P.E. to another subject or responsibility area. Patterns of constraints, similar to those outlined in Sikes et al (1985, p.71-92), seem to have confounded him and encouraged a feeling of 'status panic'. (See also Webb in Ball and Goodson, 1985, pp.78-88).

Financially he admits to "difficulties", and to being "trapped". He is unable to consider selling his house, because of his financial constraints, and moving to a more secure appointment with another Local Education Authority although this may be a solution to his problems.

Blake however seems to be prepared to 'grin and bear it'. Despite his problems, he retains a cheerful disposition as well as a commitment to his job in general and his subject - P.E., in particular.

4. Grace

- female

- aged 36

a) Career Profile

(i) Service before coming to Westridge

1973 - British Families Education Service, West Germany.

Scale 1 - P.E. Teacher.

(ii) Service in Westridge

1974 - Burnside Comprehensive School,

Scale 1 - P.E. - Teacher.

1977 - Burnside Comprehensive School,

Scale 2 - P.E. Head of Girls' P.E. Department.

1980 - Selwyn Comprehensive School,

Scale 3 - P.E. - Head of Girls' P.E. Department.

(iii) Qualifications

1985 - Diploma in Advanced Educational Studies (D.A.E.S.)

(full-time).

(iv) Current Appointment

Selwyn Comprehensive School,

Scale 3 - P.E. Head of Girls' P.E. Department.

b) Grace's Account

Grace is 36 and was born in the East Midlands. She was brought up and educated in the West Midlands. She trained as a teacher not far from Westridge after having previously worked in an office for three years. After a brief spell with the British Families Education Service in West Germany, she came to Westridge in 1974. She took up a Scale One Post at Burnside Comprehensive School then and received a Scale Two Post there in 1977. In 1980 she was appointed to the post of Scale Three Head of Girls' P.E. at Selwyn Comprehensive.

She is a faithful, if long range, supporter of Wolverhampton Wanderers and enjoys dance/drama, ladies keep fit and Needlework. She is married to a former colleague from Burnside Comprehensive and has two small children.

Grace looks back over her career and remembers the times when she felt that her personal morale was high. These occasions concerned promotions and successes in her subject. She also remembered other times when her morale had been low.

Critical Incidents in Relationships with Head Teacher

Grace blames her current low morale on her situation in her present school, Selwyn Comprehensive. In particular she refers to her relationship with her current Head and his lack of appreciation for her efforts.

After, "six happy years at Burnside Comprehensive", she took up a Scale Three appointment as Head of Girls' P.E. at Selwyn Comprehensive. The Head of Boys' P.E. regarded himself as overall head of department for P.E., "although we're on the same scale", and as such dictated the use of facilities and equipment. "I thought this unfair"; and "I went to the Head".

She received no support. Apparently, the Head acknowledged the Boys' P.E. department's priority. She argued that her department should be equal in status to the boys' and thinks now that the antagonism that has developed between her and her department and the Head and the Head of Boys' P.E. stems from then. She says now that;

"I wish I hadn't been so direct with
(the Head). If I'd been a bit more
thoughtful beforehand things might've
been different."

(my brackets).

It was a conflict in which she hoped to get the Head on her side, but he reacted against her and this has, possibly, coloured her attitude throughout her time at Selwyn. There has been a continuing reaction to the initial rebuff from the Head and a consequent feeling that the Head and her were in conflict.

She mentions that soon after this, she requested a "private interview," with the school Adviser about the incident. His council was for her to keep... "a low profile"; and... "do your job." She remembers feeling... "let down," by this as she says that this is... "exactly what I was trying to do."

Grace wonders whether the Adviser broached her problem to the Head or to the Head of Boys' P.E. so adding further 'fuel to the fire'.

A few weeks later;

"the Head and I had a big bust-up over plimsols. I wanted the kids in P.E. kit... I got no backing from the Head, in fact he made me throw out all the old Local Education Authority plimsols which I had kept to give to needy cases or to those who didn't turn up with suitable P.E. footwear."

When she was appointed to Selwyn in 1980, she had not long returned from a maternity leave (her second in two and a half years). The Head had said to her that she should be... "at home with her young family and not holding down a full-time job," especially since Grace's financial circumstances do not force her to work.

This may help to account for the attitude that Grace encountered from her Head. Grace says that her morale was affected at this time because she felt that she was not valued and because her department had so little standing in the eyes of those in authority, especially the Head:

"So much for my so-called responsibilities and status. It was worse than being in the office¹ again. You didn't dare to give an opinion. You were too frightened to try anything out or to make a stand on things. I found it very frustrating."

¹. Grace worked in an office for three years before training as a teacher.

Blake, who has recently been re-deployed to Selwyn, added some further information in his interview concerning Grace's dilemma. He indicated that the Head in fact did not favour her for the job from the outset because with two small babies she wasn't in a position to give as much to the school as he wished. In spite of this preconception, Blake observed that;

"The P.E. department for the girls had never achieved anything. They hadn't even entered teams in tournaments... at least when she (Grace) came she did try to get one or two things going."

Grace herself seems to have regarded the situation as one of sex discrimination and an inequality in the department, which ultimately may have become apparent to the children through attitudes over facilities and equipment:

"I feel that I've been kept down ever since I walked in the door and have never been given the opportunity to show what I can do."

Her hopes for the future include a desire that on the closure of Selwyn, in 1988, she may be given the opportunity to move on to an establishment with a... "better atmosphere," and where she may be valued.

Disillusionment with Schools

Pronouncements on Pay Negotiations, Conditions of Service, Salary, Curriculum Movements, etc, do not seem to concern her too much at the moment.

In the past she says that her sole ambition was...

"to get on with the job of teaching."

Now she is beginning to realise that this is not as easy as it was. However;

"At the end of the day, if things don't work out I'll pack teaching in. I don't need the money in any case... I don't want to be told what to teach and when to teach it and that seems to be what is being forced on us... If the kids start getting to me as well, I'll go and try something else."

At the moment this is not the case, she is sustained by her pupils and her colleagues. Her major worry about state education and the way that it may develop is how it will affect her own children:

"But, at the end of the day, I know that we can afford to send them privately and they're the schools that won't be affected too much by Mr. Baker's (Secretary of State) ideas."

Summary

Measor (1985) pointed out the importance of 'critical incidents' for teachers in her research.

A succession of critical incidents, involving initially the Boys' Head of P.E. and subsequently the Head Teacher at the onset of Grace's appointment to Selwyn probably affected her morale. The bad feeling which has developed between her and the Head may have been exacerbated on the one hand because the Head did not feel that Grace, because of her family commitments, was able to do the job fully. On the other hand, Grace's obvious directness makes it likely for her to be drawn into conflict situations, where she comes off second best, and this may have affected her morale also.

Both Blake and Grace have offered evidence that the current situation at Selwyn is a factor affecting staff morale generally. The school is due to close. In addition, the uncompromising attitude of the Head Teacher is cited. He was previously the school's 'Senior Master'. Perhaps the sentiments of Gordon and Rosen (1981) could be echoed here and that promotion from 'within' was not indeed in accordance with staff hopes and expectations.

5. ANNA

- female
- aged 40

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

- 1967 - Brightwell Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 1 - P.E. - Teacher.

- 1968 - Lakeside Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 1 - P.E. - Teacher

- 1969 - Edgewater Secondary Mixed School,
(Comprehensive in 1974),
Scale 1 - P.E. - Teacher.

- 1971 - Edgewater,
Scale 2 - P.E. Head of Girls'
P.E. Department.

- 1972 - Edgewater,
Scale 3 (Pre-Houghton) - P.E.
- Head of Girls' P.E. Department.

- 1973 - Edgewater,
Scale 4 (Pre Houghton) - P.E.
Head of P.E.
- 1978-1983 Out of Teaching
- 1983 - Burnside Comprehensive School,
Scale 1 - P.E. - part time teacher.
- 1984 - Burnside Comprehensive School,
Scale 1 - P.E. Teacher.
- 1985 - Bishop Tooley Comprehensive School,
Scale 2 - P.E. - Head of Girls'
P.E. Department.

(ii) Qualifications

- 1984 - B.A. Degree (Open University) - part time.

(iii) Current Appointment

- Bishop Tooley Comprehensive School,
Scale 2 - Head of Girls' P.E. Department.

b) Anna's Account

Anna is 40. She is married to a teacher. They have one son, he is eight years old. She trained as a teacher in the Midlands, but is a native of the region. All of her teaching service has been with schools in Westridge. She began her career in 1967 at Brightwell Secondary School. After a year there, she was transferred to Lakeside Secondary and a year later she moved to Edgewater Secondary School on Scale One. She stayed there until 1978 achieving Scale Two Head of Girls' P.E. status in 1971 and then Scale Three, Head of Girls' P.E. in 1972. In 1973 she became the first woman overall Head of P.E. in Westridge on a Pre-Houghton Award Scale Four. She is proud of this achievement.

Maternal responsibilities took her out of teaching from 1978 to 1983. On her return to work, she took up a Scale One Temporary Appointment teaching P.E. at Burnside Comprehensive School. After a year this appointment became permanent. In that year also (1984) she successfully completed a three year B.A. degree course with the Open University. In 1985, she was appointed as Scale Two, Head of Girls' P.E. Department at Bishop Tooley Comprehensive School.

She lists her interests as Keep Fit, badminton and her family.

A bad start at Bishop Tooley

Anna maintains that her personal morale was affected when she was appointed to Bishop Tooley. She said that she "didn't see staff from other departments." The result was that she felt that she was;

"working in isolation and I didn't
feel like part of anything."

Here Anna pointed out that there is "no real staff area," rather there are a large number of "department refuges," where a department's staff will congregate before school starts, at breaks, or when not teaching. Allied to this there was no previous tradition in girls' P.E. at Bishop Tooley and this made her realise that she,

"was working harder for my Scale Two
than when I was a Scale Four."

Like Grace at Selwyn, (See pp.114f), Anna found that what status there was for P.E, and that was apparently very little, belonged to the Boys' Department where the Boys' Head of Department (Scale Three) held control over resources and time-table. Conflicts with the Boys' P.E. Department over these points ensued. These were exacerbated when a major fire destroyed much of the facilities and equipment at Bishop Tooley. Anna says of this time;

"I was near to breaking point...

I would have got out then if I could."

She remembered how previous Heads that she had worked with at Edgewater Comprehensive had regarded P.E. There she had been in overall charge of P.E. on Scale Four. They had considered Boys' and Girls' P.E. to be of equal status and of equal importance when compared with other subjects. Bishop Tooley Comprehensive has a very academic tradition and P.E. is thought of as a low status subject, especially through the eyes of the well established academic departments:

"It is important to me how other teachers regard my subject... the scale or money is not as important as the actual status of the subject within the whole framework of the school."

The attitude of the Head at the time did not help Anna. Like most of the other senior management, he was concerned with academic success and the difficulties of the P.E. Department were relegated to the sidelines. Anna ponders why it took so long to begin the re-building programme to replace the fire-damaged P.E. facilities and speculates that "the Head didn't push the issue hard enough... or at all." She says of him;

"The man had my morale in the pits."

In addition, there was a strained relationship with her colleague in her department. This had probably been due to the fact that Anna, "got the job over her," and was determined to... "shake things up."

A 'turn round'

Since September 1986, Anna's morale has been boosted. Her colleague had become pregnant and had been replaced by an enthusiastic supply teacher who Anna had known for a number of years. When her colleague returned she noticed that.. "she had mellowed with motherhood", consequently their relationship was on a better footing.

"We are much more of a team now.
She is helping me more with teams
and organisation... Also her abrasive
manner with the girls which was the
cause of a lot of problems with them
before seems to have improved... It's,
definitely an easier working atmosphere now."

At the same time, September 1986, the Head Teacher retired and the position was taken by the Deputy. The new man had already shown himself to be one of the few in authority in the school who was interested in P.E.

In October 1986, the decision to close the VI Form at Bishop Tooley was confirmed by the Department of Education and Science. She detects that staff members experienced their greatest unity in this period of adversity. Anna said that the prospect;

"led people into talking and meeting together. When I first went there I came across people by accident without realising that they were members of staff. They always used to hide together in their subject blocks."

Now that the decision has been taken, instead of;

"going back to their subject blocks they are still mixing... I don't know how long that will last."

She sees an exchange of views amongst staff as a precursor to changes which threaten their status and the status quo. Anna points out that the morale of those who have had VI form work at Bishop Tooley for many years has been affected. They are now faced with the prospects of spending the final years of their careers in a Tertiary College working with many who are non academic students.

Surprisingly, other local policies for education, ... national policies, and government pronouncements and initiatives on education seem to have had little impact on the school:

"Staff recognise it as a good school and don't want to be affected by outside factors."

and... "no one is militant here."

No doubt she is alluding to the total absence of conflict between teachers during the recent rounds of industrial action.

Summary

Anna indicates that her morale was affected following her appointment to Bishop Tooley School. She gave as an example the inferior way she, and her subject department, was viewed in comparison with what she had experienced in her previous schools. Similar problems over subject status through the eyes of fellow staff as well as the Head Teacher had been mentioned by Sikes et al (1985, pp. 203-6).

The difficulties were compounded by conflicts with key personnel, the Boys' Head of P.E. and her department colleague. There is, also, the then Head Teacher's unhelpful attitude. Parallels with Grace (pp. 114-119) may be drawn on these particular issues.

Anna developed feelings of isolation at this critical time. However, since September 1986, her morale has been boosted. This is at a time when the school itself is undergoing change. There is a new Head who she believes will offer a new sense of purpose, a new direction, fresh opportunities and who will not possess the negative characteristics that she associated with the previous Head. These hopes and expectations are referred to by Weindling and Earley (1987), who indicate from their research that the newly appointed head tends to offer staff;

"a new sense of direction, a purpose, a feeling of teamwork and of being a much more cohesive unit than was the case previously."

(p.77).

Additionally, Anna senses that attitudes to her and her subject are changing. This is at a time when the fire damage has been rectified and the new facilities are in operation. Dunham (1985) pointed out that improvements in working conditions are important in reducing stress. Certainly, in Anna's case, many of the problems she had experienced in teaching her subject after the fire have been alleviated.

Anna says she is much happier. She speaks of her successes with the subject both inside the school, and with teams and extra-curricular work. The school is convenient for her to travel to, so now she feels that she is able to carry out her roles as mother and P.E. teacher efficiently. Whether she remains as contented is open to speculation. Her responses showed her to be ambitious. Within the last two years she has obtained her B.A. (Open University) Degree:

"I hope that it will some day
further my career."

If there are reservations about her present position they are to do with the fact that she... "feels undervalued." No doubt, she would gladly like to take on a role which is linked formally to Pastoral Responsibilities connected with Girls' Welfare. Whether she will be able to do this in, to use her phrase, "such a male dominated establishment" as Bishop Tooley, remains to be seen.

6. Mary

- female
- aged 40

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Neighbouring Boroughs to Westridge

- 1968 - Scale 1 - Mathematics - Teacher
- 1971 - Scale 2 - Mathematics
Second in Mathematics Department.
- 1973 - Scale 3 - Head of Mathematics
Department.
- 1977-1984 - Out of teaching.

(ii) Service in Westridge Local Education Authority.

- 1984 - Burnside Comprehensive School,
Scale 1 - Mathematics - Temporary Teacher.
- 1985 - Bishop Tooley Comprehensive School,
Scale 1 - Mathematics - Teacher.

(iii) Qualifications

- 1979 - B.A. Degree (Open University) - part time.

(iv) Current Appointment

- Bishop Tooley Comprehensive School,
Scale 1 - Mathematics - Teacher.

b) Mary's Account

Mary is 40 years old, married with three growing boys. She is a native of the region. She trained as a teacher in a Roman Catholic College in the South West of England, before returning to the North to teach in three schools in neighbouring boroughs to Westridge. Her final appointment before leaving teaching to tend to her... "maternal responsibilities", was as Scale Three Head of Mathematics in one of these nearby towns. This was in 1973.

During her absence, she studied mathematics with the Open University and was awarded a B.A. in 1979. Financial considerations brought her back to work as a long-term supply teacher in 1984 at Burnside Comprehensive School in Westridge. In 1985, she obtained a permanent Scale One appointment at Bishop Tooley Comprehensive School teaching mathematics.

Mary thinks she smokes too much. She lists her interests as literature, politics, theatre and her sons. She has recently embarked on... "Keeping Fit" and playing squash again - after an absence of ten years.

Sex Discrimination ?

Mary's personal morale is linked to factors outside her own teaching. She feels that her performance with the children and the relationship that she has with them are key elements in sustaining her at Bishop Tooley Comprehensive.

She talks, however, of "experiencing a great deal of professional frustration at this school" and admits that "it prevents me putting in 100% effort to the job as a result."

She compares her position with someone who had worked at the Midland Bank;

"They have a scheme whereby women who leave to have a family can be away from their careers for five years, and providing they work for at least ten days per year during this time, when they return they come back to the position they left. In teaching this doesn't happen."

If this had been the case, then Mary would have returned to teaching with her Scale Three status, although she acknowledges that she would not have expected to have retained her Head of Department responsibilities.

"My previous school was a small secondary school."

There, she;

"was responsible for policy and the way mathematics was taught. I felt that I had 'clout' as far as the school was concerned."

She gives the impression of despair because she feels that her previous status and expertise have counted for nothing in the school and does not think that it will help for promotion in the future.

Mary indicated the imbalance in sharing out of responsibility and status within Bishop Tooley between male and female staff. The Head, two Deputies, four House Heads, two Sixth Form Tutors, five Year Heads, and all academic Heads of Department, except one, are men.

"So, from a feminist and a female point of view I find Bishop Tooley a frustrating place. In a way the legislation on equality has worked against women. When they advertise they can't specify sex and those who are in their early forties tend to be men who are further up the career ladder than women who have had years out with their families."

A further point concerning the "male domination," of the school is to do with the situation that as there are only men in these key positions, then only the male point of view is being considered.

The girl pupils and female members of staff see men only in leadership and authority positions; "for example, no women take school assemblies." Mary thinks that this affects female morale in general.

Also she argues that;

"men have additional qualifications to women by this time also, not only in length of service but also, quite often, diplomas and further degrees which puts us (women) to a double disadvantage on paper also."

So, Mary feels that women are behind in the; "promotion stakes," and never seem to catch up or get the opportunity to be equal,"in going for top jobs."

She feels that a woman's time at home with her children away from teaching should receive recognition also when applying for jobs. She says that such maternal experiences are beneficial in developing other teaching skills and in modifying attitudes.

Critical Incidents

Shortly after she arrived at the school she was called in by the Head. He was unhappy that she had worn trousers in school. He maintained that "standards in the school had to be upheld." One of these was that: "women staff do not wear trousers."

She admits to being taken aback by his remarks and refused to comply with his wishes. Since then they have, "discussed the matter," and... "has since said to me that he mishandled the situation." Despite this, she feels that she remains on bad terms with her head as a result and considers that this will affect any promotional chances at the school:

"For the first time in my teaching career I feel that I am on bad terms with a Headmaster."

Another and more recent 'critical incident' concerned the running of her department, the Mathematics Department, in the absence of its Head, for a year. The 'second' in the department was given the responsibility and with it a temporary Scale Four. That left a vacancy as 'acting second' in the Department on Scale 2. The Head refused to offer anyone the job saying that it was not necessary to do so. However, the English Department is apparently in exactly the same position with its Head on a year's secondment and the Department 'second' has received a temporary upgrading from Scale Two to Scale Four, and his Scale Two has been awarded to someone in the Department:

"I was really cut up that he hadn't done the same with the Mathematics Department. I went to him and put my point that I thought it was unfair. He said that he was the Head and he had made the decision that the Maths. Department could cope."

She says that she was furious and maintains that pressure had been brought to bear on the Head by others in senior management positions, including the Head of Science. Apparently he is a particularly abrasive character who nobody, including the Head, wants to upset.

Another Head of Department, the Head of Music, seems to hold similar awe for the Headmaster. He was the cause of another 'critical incident' when he discovered that Mary objected to certain of her examination candidates regularly missing her maths lessons to attend concert rehearsals. The Head of Music complained to the Head who came to see Mary and told her to "co-operate," with the Music Department.

Summary

Existing attitudes and opinions in the school allied to problems with relationships with key personnel have affected Mary's morale.

Probably the single focal point for these dissatisfactions concerns her belief that sex discrimination exists within the school. Anna has mentioned this of Bishop Tooley School also. However, the problem is cast as more dramatic for Mary for she has only just returned to teaching and is only on Scale One.

Her previous experience and status, she feels, now counts for nothing. She feels that her decision to leave teaching to rear her family has penalised her career. These were aspects acknowledged by Trown and Needham, (1981), who when referring to women teachers, noted;

"most had chosen to be at home with their young children for a few years and felt that their right to make that choice, without giving up their career aspirations should be defended."
(p.42).

This problem is further focussed for her at Bishop Tooley where all senior positions are held by men. She is concerned that the female point of view is hardly, if ever, considered. Doreen indicates that a similar phenomenon exists at Percival Comprehensive.

'Critical Incidents' involving senior staff, especially the Head Teacher, have not helped matters. The initial 'incident' concerned a discussion with the Head over her breaking the 'rule' that female staff did not wear trousers in school. This has led to the feeling that he is prejudiced against her. She indicates that he has failed to support her or to listen to her point of view over difficulties she has experienced with other staff. Sikes et al (1985) reported similar pressures being brought to bear on some of their respondents regarding their personal appearance (p. 101).

Mary feels undervalued by the Head and this unsatisfactory relationship looks like continuing for some time. This raises the question of how a teacher can improve his or her relationships with their superiors once a strained situation has developed.

7. FRANK

- male

- aged 41

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

- 1966 - Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School
Scale 1 - P.E. - Teacher
- 1969 - Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 2 - P.E.
- Head of Boy's P.E.
- 1972 - Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School,
(Comprehensive in 1974).
Scale 3 - (Pre Houghton) -
- Head of P.E.
- 1975 - Blackbarrow Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Head of P.E.
- 1976 - Blackbarrow Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Head of P.E.
and Deputy Head of House.
- 1983 - Blackbarrow Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Head of History and
Deputy Head of House.

1986 - Blackbarrow Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Head of History
Deputy Head of House
and T.V.E.I. Co-ordinator.

(ii) Qualifications

1978 - B.Ed (part-time).

1980 - Diploma in Education Management (part-time).

1985 - M.Ed.

(iii) Current Appointment

Blackbarrow Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - T.V.E.I. Co-ordinator.

b) Frank's Account

Frank is 41 and married to a teacher. He has two children. Frank is a native of the region but trained as a teacher at a P.E. College in the Midlands. He holds a B.Ed degree which he gained following the completion of a three year part-time course in 1979. In 1983, he completed another part time course - the Diploma in Education Management. He is currently awaiting his results after completing a one-year course of full-time study for the degree of M.Ed.

Frank has been teaching for twenty years. All of this service has been in the same comprehensive school. He gained a Scale 2 post in charge of Boy's P.E. after three years of teaching. Three years after that he became overall Head of the P.E. Department and was upgraded to Scale 3. He has subsequently taken on responsibilities as Head of History and Deputy House Head with Pastoral responsibilities. Last year, his Scale 3 post was re-defined to account for his work in History and within the House System, and he relinquished his P.E. responsibilities.

Frank is a keen cricketer. In fact, when he was younger he received offers from the 'Counties'. He preferred to stick to teaching - a job in which he felt he was successful, happy and there was a future.

His other interests are supporting Newcastle United, reading, gardening and politics.

'Re-definition'

Frank acknowledges that, along with many other teachers, his career benefitted during the 1970's when education was expanding but... "unfortunately once you get up the scales promotion becomes more difficult." This is exacerbated by the falling roll situation, which has meant that promotional opportunities in the late 1980's in secondary schools are undergoing something of a collapse. Frank uses stronger words:

"Basically the education service is not only contracting, it is disintegrating."

He argues that when scale posts are available, certain staff are willing to make themselves available to be seen to carry out certain duties in the expectation that they will be offered the post. He thinks that staff attitudes have changed, in that they have become more selfish and self centred. His view is that teachers will not now offer the same sort of commitment, interest and professionalism to the job.

"That was a phenomenon of those people who entered the profession in the 1960's and 1970's when the service was expanding. Also, people saw that doing extra work at school was a means towards their first scale post, a step up the ladder. Now the way to promotion seems to be by the paper chase - to go for extra qualifications."

He is disappointed so far that his particular paper chase has not yet furthered his career and speculates that he should have considered getting out of P.E. earlier;

"It's a dead end job with no prospects for those who stay in the subject."

He feels that his career progress is held back by those who are immediately senior to him. He has little respect for them;

"They took over from an older generation of senior staff who were good at the job themselves and who had an interest in what was going on. They would give you the time of day to help to sort out a problem ... they appreciated being asked for help and gave you good advice."

He refers to these senior colleagues as;

"The nine 'till four brigade... they have never attended in-service courses, ... they are not effective teachers. They got their (internal) promotions by being in the right place at the right time. They're the 'aunties' and 'uncles', who hold down the senior posts (Scales Four and Senior Teachers), yet who do not contribute at all to the life of the school."

He maintains that this makes for frustration, anger and cynicism amongst the next strata of staff like himself, who are prepared to play their parts. He sees this as being a problem that leadership must... "get to grips with," in order to improve morale.

Unfortunately, he reckons that his current Head Teacher is lacking in the skills needed to overcome problems with morale that his staff have. He is pictured as failing to be positive and to recognise... "when people do a good job." He has a ... "leave it with me attitude," and... "hopes that a problem will go away without any action. One of Weindling and Earleys' (1987) case studies used similar words about his Head:

"I'll get back to you on that." (p. 177)

Frank says that the Head is more prepared to involve himself in pursuing trivial tasks, such as "chasing lost property."

Frank is perturbed by the lack of respect that the pupils show to the Head. He despairs at the way some pupils speak to him and seem to force him into making and changing decisions.

Once again he referred back to the past, where his previous Heads

"knew their staff as people, got round the staff as they worked, went into classrooms, helped them, set them an example, and supported them."

Frank believes that children's attitudes have also altered;

"A few years ago they appeared to sense that teachers were trying to do their best for them."

He wonders whether the "carrot" of examination success is as effective as it was. He refers to a recent conversation with a group of pupils who were disappointed because they were being entered for the examinations. Attitudes like this must be confusing for teachers, but they may be linked to a variety of factors. Not the least will be the lack of job certainty at the end of the child's school career.

Frank also expresses concern over an apparent decline in self discipline among pupils. He reckons that they are more devious and are on the look out for opportunities for aggravations in the school. When they are challenged, even when caught red-handed, about an offence they will not own up;

"They know their rights."

Blackbarrow School is set to close in 1990. Frank has taken the announcement positively;

"It is an opportunity to move on to something new."

There are doubts, particularly when he thinks about how previous closures have affected the teachers involved. (See Blake). He acknowledges the frictions that have developed between various staff members as a result;

"They're moaning and groaning at each other... they are pre-occupied with trivia... and get worked up about things very easily."

It is clearly a stressful time. Frank considers that the school is being closed on political grounds;

"Our chairman of governors is leader of the opposition on the council and they're (the majority party on Westridge L.E.A.) using our closure to get at him."
- my brackets.

He is becoming increasingly concerned with the way that politics and political decisions are becoming tied up with education. Locally, he feels that those who run education are lacking in expertise and fail to listen to the professionals. Nationally, he is worried about the confusion which is being generated as a result of;

"a never ending stream of initiatives from D.E.S., H.M.I. and the Government."

He feels that teacher morale will continue to suffer if the traditional autonomy of teachers in this country is eroded still further.

Summary

The scenario offered by Ball et al (1985) of changes in schools forced upon them through compromise is evident to Frank. He is greatly concerned about the reduction of support to schools and considers his own school in particular. Cited are attitudes of more senior colleagues, the pupils, their parents and local politicians. Changes in the school, including those to do with curriculum and organisation, he believes are necessary, but where change has been attempted it has not been implemented fully or wholeheartedly.

Weindling and Earley (1987) talked of change in school, albeit from the perspective of the head teacher and illustrated similar difficulties over implementation.

Frank is also clearly worried about how the change in the size of the school population will affect his future status now that Blackbarrow School is due to close. Despite this, he does remain optimistic that his change from P.E. (Head of Department) to T.V.E.I. Co-ordinator, together with his advanced qualification will prove fruitful in the long term. Similar sentiments were echoed by Anna (p.129), and Weindling and Earley (1987) indicated from their research that a change in responsibility was one of the strategies that could sustain and boost morale.

Frank, unlike the others, has spent all of his career in one school, Blackbarrow Comprehensive. He is aware of the changes that have occurred in the school and in many instances has, himself, made 'positive adjustments' to these 'new situations' to ensure that these changes are smoothly engineered. Sikes et al (1985) referred to such behaviour as examples of the 'how of 'managing' or 're-defining' which occur during critical periods or incidents in the career of a teacher. (Sikes et al, 1985 pp. 235-237).

8. Sarah

- female
- aged 44

a) Career Profile

(i) Service before coming to Westridge

1964 - Teaching in Leicester,
Scale 1 equivalent - P.E. Teacher.

(ii) Service in Westridge

1966 - Edgewater Secondary School,
Scale 1 equivalent - P.E. and English
Teacher.

1968 - Riverside Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 2 equivalent - Head of Girls' P.E.

1970 - Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School,
Scale 1 equivalent - P.E., English and
Remedial - Teacher.

1973 - Brightwell Secondary Mixed School,
(Comprehensive in 1974).
Scale 2 - Remedial English - Head of
Department.

1974 - Scale 3 (Pre Houghton)
- Remedial - Head of Department.

- 1977 - Brunswick Girls Comprehensive School,
(Co-educational in 1978)
Scale 4 - Remedial English, Careers,
Pastoral Work,
- Head of House.

(iii) Qualifications

- 1972 - B.Ed Degree - in service - part time.
- 1986 - Currently on secondment for one year
full time M.Ed.

(iv) Current Appointment

Brunswick Comprehensive School,
Scale 4 - Pastoral, Head of House.

b) Sarah's Account

Sarah is 44 and was born and educated in the area in which she now teaches. She trained as a teacher at a Roman Catholic College of Education in Leicester where she studied P.E. and English. After qualifying in 1964, she taught in Leicester for two years. Family illness brought her back to Westridge in 1966, where she took up an appointment as an assistant teacher (Scale 1) at Edgewater Secondary Mixed School.

In 1968 she gained a graded post (Scale 2 equivalent) for P.E. at Riverside Secondary Mixed School. She stayed there until 1970 when her daughter was born. Financial difficulties forced her back to work later that year and she took up a post, on Scale One equivalent, teaching P.E. and English at Blackbarrow Secondary Mixed School. By 1972, she was teaching less P.E. and more English and was in effective charge of Remedial Education at Blackbarrow.

In that year she obtained a year's secondment to follow a course on Remedial Education for a Diploma in Advanced Educational Studies. The next year, she moved to Brightwell Secondary Mixed School as Head of the Remedial Department on Scale 2. In 1974 she was upgraded to Scale 3 - (Pre Houghton) and began studying for an in-service B.Ed degree (part time). In 1975 she received a new Scale 3 1977 saw her promotion to Scale 4 as Head of House at Brunswick Girls' Comprehensive School.

This school has been a co-educational establishment since 1978.

Currently, Sarah is on secondment for a year for a M.Ed degree. Much of the information for her dissertation is being obtained whilst running part-time English courses for adults with learning difficulties at evening classes in the local college.

She lives with her daughter, who she says is her main interest although she does admit to smoking too much and reading adventure stories. She also enjoys theatre, sewing, knitting and crafts and is proficient in several languages. She endeavours to travel extensively.

Relationship with Head Teacher

Sarah feels that the managerial style and attitudes of her Head Teacher have affected her personal morale and that of her colleagues in the school. She says that she has become increasingly aware of disunity within the school since the present Head was appointed three years ago. Sarah claims that the Head is not interested in preventing or resolving conflicts in the school:

"She prefers to divide and rule"

Consequently, the co-operative ethos which formerly existed does no longer. This, she feels, contributes greatly to general staff unhappiness.

Tensions have developed between Sarah and the Head since the latter was appointed.

"I've always had good relationships with the Heads I've worked for before. They always treated me as a professional, gave me encouragement and recognised what I was trying to do."

Sarah points out that the Head's personality is not sufficiently strong to maintain the authoritarian style of leadership that she seeks to adopt:

"She isn't really effective. As a result, the previous tight-ship in which I served is now floundering because of her inaction."

She reckons that the Head basically feels... "insecure.":

"She feels threatened when I have to tackle her as Union Representative (for N.A.S./U.W.T.) on Union business... She also feels threatened because I've got more teaching experience."

The Head won't allow her to see her without a prior appointment and on such occasions the Head always writes down what is said. On occasions when Sarah is... "summoned" by the head, she asks Sarah... "prepared questions from a sheet of paper." She remembers being;

"waylaid by the Head in the corridor outside the administration block - the Head and her question paper.

Sarah said that she... "had a go at her about this," on one occasion:

"I got a lot of abuse about how she wanted her school run and then she turned her back on me and went to her room.

Sarah says that other staff have experienced similar behaviour from the Head:

"I don't know whether she's all that bright really? She's certainly not all that good on man management and courtesy."

Staff meetings seems to be run along these lines, with the Head reading from prepared documents:

"They tend to degenerate into realms of diatribe. Nothing constructive comes out of them. No one except her 'henchmen' are allowed to say anything."

The 'henchmen' are the two (male) Deputy Heads and three Senior Teachers (two male, one female). They meet together formally each Wednesday between 1.30 and 3.00 p.m. and informally on other occasions to decide what is to be policy. Sarah's view is that:

"Too much goes on behind closed doors now and you only find out things when you see one of them running away from the notice they have just pinned on the staff notice board."

Sarah has scant regard for the decisions that are made. She reckons that they tend to focus on administrative detail - such as dates of events in the school calendar or to be to do with... "pettiness against individual members of staff, such as changing their teaching rooms with regularity".

She contrasts this with what she had previously done under the last Head when she, too, had been considered as one of the decision making team.

"You felt you were part of a team. You knew what the game was and what the rules were."

She was happy to be involved. Now when she is approached by more junior colleagues about decisions which have been made from the top, and for advice, she talks of feelings of... "loss of confidence," and... "embarrassment," in answering them.

A Critical Incident

A particular incident which upset her was when she read on the notice board that her job as Head of House and Head of Careers had been... "split". A separate post at Scale Three for Careers was being created. Sarah had managed Careers in the school since going to Brunswick in 1977 - a period of eight years. She had organised Career Conventions for several schools in the Local Education Authority and had spoken at In-Service courses. She was acknowledged as being... "something of an expert " in Careers. She asked for an interview with the Head. Eventually she saw her.

"She was her usual unpleasant self and forced conversation through her teeth in the usual way. She'd made the decision, if I didn't like it I could move to another school."

The teacher who got the job was a favourite of the Head:

"One of her personable young men."

He had no experience in the subject of Careers and Sarah remained in effective control. Within two terms he had taken up another appointment in a Local Education Authority much nearer his home. Following his departure Sarah learned from the notice board that she would be... "looking after careers for the time being."

She did not go to the head this time though she felt strongly that she should have been consulted first. However, she knew that it was in the best interest of the pupils to take up the responsibility again:

"It would have given me great personal satisfaction to tell the Head that I wasn't going to do it, but that wouldn't have done the kids much good."

Sarah is currently (in the school year 1986/7) on secondment. In the term before the secondment, she remembers receiving a... "summons" from the Head via one of the Deputy Heads as she parked her car. She went straight to see the Head who told her that as the Head of another House and his Deputy were to be absent for the remainder of term she was to take over their duties. When she went to the staffroom a notice to this effect had been already posted:

"Despite all the extra work I took it as a compliment... at least it showed that despite our differences she knew I could cope because I am adaptable."

However, at the end of term, appreciation for her efforts was forthcoming from everybody except the Head.

Despite the fact that Sarah has a strained relationship with the Head, she continues to be shortlisted for senior teacher and deputy head posts both in Westridge and in other neighbouring Local Education Authorities. Sarah is a devout Roman Catholic and she has also applied for senior posts in Roman Catholic schools without being shortlisted. She accounts for the difference in responses to her applications between Catholic and Local Education Authority sectors as being a consequence of her single parent status. Whether this is true, or not, remains a subject for speculation but it is her opinion.

Summary

Sarah is no longer happy at her school. This is due to the strained relationship that exists between her and the current Head Teacher. She continues to make short-lists for senior management positions and also her efforts in the school are recognised by her colleagues.

Sarah indicates that she has enjoyed good relationships with all of her previous heads and that she respected them. However, a 'personality clash' seems to exist between Sarah and her current Head. Sarah recognises weaknesses in the Head's leadership. The Head Teacher possibly realises that Sarah recognises them also and, because she knows that Sarah herself is an aspiring candidate for headship, she is suspicious of her.

Sarah's view of leadership is similar to that expressed by Weindling and Earley (1987) that;

"effective leadership can do much to improve staff morale, motivation and commitment." (p. 91).

Whilst Weindling and Earley's comments here would obviously reflect the views of headship of all of the sample, in Sarah's eyes the ineffective leadership of her school has affected staff morale, motivation and commitment adversely. Indeed, conversations with some other members of the staff at Brunswick do bear these comments out.

She is clearly worried about her future career.
However, this does not seem to have affected her job
in the school where she still believes she is both
competent and respected by the rest of the staff.

9. Bob

- male

- aged 38

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

1970 - Selwyn Secondary School
(Comprehensive in 1974),
Scale 1 - Mathematics and Science - Teacher.

1972 - Seaview Secondary School,
(Comprehensive in 1974)
Scale 2 - Mathematics.

1975 - Williamson Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Mathematics - Second in Department.

1979 - Williamson Comprehensive School,
Acting Scale 4 - Head of Mathematics Department.

(ii) Qualifications

1980 - B.Ed. Degree (Honours) - part-time

1985 - M.Ed Degree - full-time

(iii) Current Appointment

Williamson Comprehensive,

Scale 3 - Mathematics - Second in Department.

b) Bob's Account

Bob is 38 and married to a teacher. He has two young daughters. He was born and educated in the area in which he teaches. He has taught in three schools in Westridge Local Education Authority. He qualified in 1970 and taught Mathematics and General Science at Selwyn Secondary School. In 1972, he gained a Scale Two Post for Mathematics at Seaview Secondary, where he remained until 1975 when promotion to Scale 3 as 'second in the Maths. Department' at Williamson Comprehensive was achieved. He has remained at Williamson ever since. In 1979 he ran his department during the secondment of the Head of Maths. Bob's main subjects at college were Mathematics and Science. In 1980, he completed a B.Ed degree with honours and in 1985 gained the degree of M.Ed following a year's secondment. He has been involved with examination board work for G.C.E., C.S.E. and now G.C.S.E.

Bob exudes confidence and says that he welcomes the unexpected... "variety is the spice of life," and is... "prepared to try anything." His positive attitude to life seems to be welcomed by fellow members of staff and the pupils. Since going to Williamson in 1975, the results of the pupils entered for public examination in mathematics (G.C.E. and C.S.E.) have consistently maintained good levels.

His interests outside school are supporting Sunderland A.F.C., reading, playing squash and theatre. He is a member of a local dramatic group.

A Critical Phase and Ensuing Critical Incidents

Bob took over and ran the Maths Department at Williamson Comprehensive while the Head of Maths was on a secondment for a year. He feels that he was successful in this and this boosted his morale. However, he became aware of the jealousy of the Head of Department on his return. He is convinced that;

"I've said things to some people that have damaged my career."

What these things were, Bob does not know but he points out that his Head of Department has;

"powerful friends in influential positions in Westridge... some of them are local councillors."

Whilst running the Department, a 'critical incident' developed concerning the organisation of an in-service course for Maths. This was over a difference of opinion with the current Mathematics Adviser:

"I had spent weeks planning out how it was to be organised and what the content was to be. He, (the Adviser), arrived the day before with his plans for what he wanted to do. I blew up and told him exactly what I thought of him and the way he was proposing to structure the course at such a late juncture."

The Adviser threatened to have him disciplined.

Bob says;

"I saw him off the premises."

Bob wasn't disciplined. The course went Bob's way and the Adviser didn't speak to Bob again. Ever since, Bob speaks of;

"being wary of advisers,"

and speculates that adverse comments were made about him at the office.

Also, over this period, Bob recalls;

"battles with the Deputy Head over the cover time-tables... I said that we were doing badly when it came to having to cover."

Personally, as an acting Head of Department he felt that he should have had the same entitlement to secured non-contact time that other department heads enjoyed. He remembers that this was not so. In addition, he remembers pointing out that teachers in the Maths and English Departments always had full classes as all pupils studied these subjects.

"Purely then on the grounds of numbers, in a 34 teaching period week these teachers will deal with over 1,000 pupils and the marking of their work, whereas a teacher in another subject, like Domestic Science, may have half that number and very little marking over the same time. Yet, Maths and English teachers are as likely, if not more so - because they can cope - to lose their free periods."

Bob says he probably wouldn't have been so forceful to the Deputy had she herself appeared on the cover timetable. She is a Home Economics teacher whose pupils' successes were linked to;

"a small handful of C.S.E. passes."

He admits to not having any time for this Deputy Headmistress. He regards her as;

"lazy and inefficient. In the past ten years her responsibilities and teaching commitment have been significantly reduced. Her forte is making coffee for the boss (the Head Teacher). Supposedly she is in charge of girls' welfare and discipline, but the boss and everyone knows she isn't up to it."

These responsibilities are handled by the senior pastoral heads.

Distrust

Bob frequently referred to his distrust of other people and actions to do with education.

He talks of the Head;

"operating a divide and rule system of management. There is no co-hesion. Senior members of staff (Heads of Department, Senior teachers and Deputy Heads) are frequently at each others' throats over policies and use of facilities."

The result is that;

"nothing gets done and you get worked up about it... but the clever way the Head operates he blames the other members of staff... He even says he's trying to keep people together during difficult times."

Bob is convinced that the Head is afraid of being;

"ganged up upon by the staff and discourages staff unity... Consequently, decisions don't seem to get taken."

He also regards the Head as making preparations for his retirement. He describes him as;

"winding down",

The term;

"winding down and coasting to retirement," at the end of career and letting things slide was used by Weindling and Earley (1987, p. 177).

Extra-School Influences

He distrusts politicians. Locally, he maintains that they have not concerned themselves with establishing... "quality," in their education service. Rather, they have concentrated on furthering;

"their party faithful and relatives who tend to be local party officials and activists or the election agents of local councillors.

He feels that the consequence is that those who;

"genuinely have something to offer are blocked for promotion and their morale suffers."

Summary

Bob regards his failure to achieve promotion as a key factor affecting his morale. He was promoted twice within the first five years of his career and had expectations that he would occupy a senior management position by now. Despite pursuing some of the strategies which Lyons (1981) recognised as career enhancers, including obtaining an advanced qualification and becoming involved in a variety of extra curricular work to become... "visible," he is no further forward. He seems to have become a casualty of a falling roll situation which has meant fewer senior posts. As Ball and Goodson (1985) pointed out;

"the current context of economic cuts and falling rolls which, as noted already, is inhibiting career development for new entrants and producing low morale in the profession as a whole." (p. 12).

In addition, Bob has been faced with 'critical incidents' at a 'critical phase' in his career. Measor (1985) has already indicated their importance. Like Sarah, Bob's proved to concern conflict situations with key authority/ leadership personnel, especially the Deputy Head and the Mathematics Adviser.

He regards them as being of low calibre. These conflicts have probably not assisted in his advancement to a more senior post.

10. TERENCE

- male

- aged 40

a) Career Profile

(i) Service in Westridge

1975 - Seaview Comprehensive School,
Scale 1, Mathematics, Physics - Teacher

1976 - Seaview Comprehensive School,
Scale 2 - Physics, (Head of Department)

1977 - Midhurst Comprehensive School,
Scale 3 - Mathematics
- second in the Maths. Department.

1979 - Midhurst Comprehensive School,
Scale 4 - Mathematics,
Head of Department.

(ii) Qualifications

- a late entrant to teaching via P.G.C.E.

(experience in Industry, University Research,
and the army - R.E.M.E.)

- BSc (Honours) Class 1. - Physics.

- M.Ed (part-time).

(iii) Current Appointment

Midhurst Comprehensive School,

Scale 4 - Mathematics, Head of Department.

b) Terence's Account

Terence is 40 years old, married to a teacher with two children of primary school age. He has eleven years teaching experience, being a late entrant via a P.G.C.E. Course after gaining a double first class honours degree in Physics at Newcastle University. Before that, he served in R.E.M.E. and had reached the rank of sergeant. The year after gaining his degree was spent working for the G.P.O. However, he found the work though profitable rather boring. He went as a lecturer and research fellow in a local polytechnic before teaching in schools.

He has worked in three comprehensive schools. He received an internal promotion to Scale 2 in his first school following his probation. He moved to his second school a year later to take up a Scale Three appointment. Two years later, he moved to his present post on Scale Four as Head of Mathematics, a position which he has held for the past seven years.

He has recently successfully completed a three year part time M.Ed degree. He is involved with examination board work in Mathematics at G.C.E. and C.S.E. He lists as his hobbies; cricket, reading, computing, D.I.Y., cutting his grass and playing the bagpipes.

A Critical Period

This critical period has arisen over a period of some months. Like Frank, Terence spoke of... "the ups and downs of the job," particularly within the current climate of education debate. He recognises that his morale, and that of many of his colleagues, is being affected as a result.

He makes complaints about the reduction in discipline and teacher control, but recognises certain weaknesses from within which have contributed to this deterioration. He also allows for the fact that his current morale pattern may be due to his age and experience:

"Forty is regarded for some cultural reasons as a significant age. Women can begin to recognise a change of life. Probably there is a change of life for men as well."

He also points out that he is in 'mid-career' with a growing family and admits to financial difficulties. He agrees that he will be no different to many others in this respect. He would hope that the future would offer him the prospects of greater security so that his personal difficulties can be overcome.

The fact that he was a comparatively late entrant to the profession possibly accounts for the feelings of urgency that he displayed when this point was discussed. After achieving initial rapid promotions to become the head of a large department, he is now experiencing feelings of frustration that he has not moved on to a management post in a school.

Currently, his quest for job satisfaction is becoming increasingly more difficult and speculates that this is affecting his life. He is beginning to question whether what he is doing is any longer of value to the country.

He ponders whether he is;

"perhaps not as effective as hitherto...
and I can see that it is quite easy to
go through the motions of teaching."

Maybe he is beginning to recognise and accept the views of some of his colleagues that;

"teaching after all is just a job."

Terence was interviewed during the school holiday (Summer 1986) and confided that he was;

"feeling guilty about not spending some
of the holiday in school."

(He usually does spend at least a week of the summer break working in school.)

He gives the impression that conflicts with pupils and other staff occur more readily now than hitherto;

"I have a lowering regard for some members of staff, particularly some in my own department and their ability.

He acknowledges that he is openly more critical of them;

"I tell them when I think they have been playing truant."

He mentions that he is aware of the diminishing commitment of teachers;

"They aren't prepared to take on extra duties and responsibilities as they once did."

He recognises that union action has taken its toll here and that relationships between certain colleagues have been undermined.

Grave concern was expressed over the loss to teaching of certain colleagues he valued;

"Poor morale has forced them to take early retirement or to seek better prospects outside teaching."

He said that they have been replaced by... "teachers of much poorer quality.":

"Their commitment is lacking. This does no good for those of us who are left nor does it help keep standards up."

Attitude of the Head Teacher

He is also unhappy about his Head Teacher.

Terence is particularly scathing about the lack of support staff may receive from the Head Teacher. For example, he talks of the Head;

"taking the easy option by taking on the cause of the parent in staff disputes with children."

Weinding and Earley (1987) cited a similar case in their research of;

"occasions when parents had complained and the Head had immediately taken the parents' side, often to the detriment of the staff." (p.74).

and that:

"In only a few schools was it really admitted that the Head backs us up to the hilt". (p.73)

Terence argues that support;

"needs to be a two-way process.

The Head Teacher must support the staff in the way he expects support from them."

He does not believe that his Head sets sufficiently a good example to his staff;

"He is not an effective teacher."

He also points to his lacking of skills of..."man-management and manners." Sarah makes similar remarks about her Head. (pp. 154-158).

Here Terence gave the example of the appointment of the new Deputy Head for the school. Terence was one of the two internal candidates for the post. Both were unsuccessful:

"He did not show regard for the feelings and station of the internal candidates. After the interview he (the Head) made no approach to us. We felt rejected and dejected. Finally, we went to him and asked for a de-briefing session. Reluctantly he agreed to see us."

He thinks that an attitude like this displays a lack of appreciation of his staff by the Head.

Weindling and Earley (1987) indicate the need of a Head to behave in a "tactful" way in such a situation. (p.76).

Terence was interviewed soon after this incident. This possibly would account for his current attitude and comments. He was obviously experiencing feelings of rejection and failure especially since he had been acting Deputy-Head in the interim period. In fact his failure may have been as a result of the unease felt by the Headteacher about the role Terence might adopt should he have been appointed. In a subsequent conversation, a colleague of Terence said:..

"You know why he (Terence) didn't get the job. He was too much for the boss."

However, Terence is beginning to feel that there may not be a future for him in teaching. He talks of;

"considering a move to industry."

Perhaps he is beginning to recognise a position akin to that of his;

"first Head of Department who was caught up in a promotion logjam in his early 40's due to an unfortunate relationship with the Head."

A conflict situation had apparently developed which left the relationship soured and culminated in the Head of Department being 'blocked' for promotion by the Head.

He expresses concern about the future of State Education. He believes that the various education debates have succeeded in devaluing the status of the teacher:

"Many parents believe exactly what they read in the press or see on television and this helps them to react unfavourably to teachers."

Terence is of the opinion that the criticisms mask:

"a desire to rationalise the relative economic failure of the country, and to find a scapegoat."

Worries were expressed about the growing centralisation of curriculum and the impact of current moves on vocationalisation in certain areas of the curriculum:

"Initiatives like T.V.E.I. introduced to Fourth Year Options could threaten subjects like geography or history."

Although he is not himself concerned in these subjects, he thinks that a balanced curriculum remains important.

Unfortunately, Terence envisages more problems for education developing. He is convinced that his personal morale and that of fellow teachers throughout the country will be adversely affected.

Summary

'Age' and 'stage of career' were two of the concepts considered by Sikes et al (1985) in research into teachers' careers. Terence speculated that they may also be factors affecting his personal morale. However, he says that he is keen to maintain the degree of 'commitment' that he gives to education in order to maintain the 'job satisfaction' element which he regards as being vital to this morale.

'Job satisfaction' and 'commitment' are universally recognised as key concepts in morale research, yet Terence's responses would seem to suggest a somewhat ambivalent attitude to them. On the one hand, he expresses criticism against those who are now unable, or unwilling, to offer similar commitments. On the other, he talks about leaving teaching to do something else. In this sense, he wonders whether he is right for the job. Webb, in Ball and Goodson (1985), highlights a similar view. He quoted Lortie (1975) that;

"uncertainty is pervasive and cuts deeply into teachers' sense of satisfaction." (p.83).

So, while Terence talks about reducing commitment, he is unlikely to do so. His colleagues agree. His emphasis is, and probably always will be, on an extreme conscientiousness and commitment to his job. His failure to achieve the Deputy Headship in his own school has complicated the issues for him. However, it does serve to show a further example of the tensions that have existed between an individual in the sample and his/her Headteacher.

C. Conclusions

The foregoing comments and extracts from the case studies have examined some of the key issues and individual difficulties affecting the personal morale of these ten mid-career teachers. The 'complexity' of morale which Davis (1963) discussed, and the 'vagueness' of the term, which Lawley (1985) alluded to, have been illustrated. Much more was said by the sample and this will form the basis of the discussion sections which follow (pp. 187-333) where certain aspects forming consensus will be explored.

In most cases, it has been shown that several factors have affected morale. These concerns have largely centred around the actuality of the job and the school setting. They have ranged from 'critical incidents' for Mary, Mac and Sarah, 'career prospects' for Blake and Bob, 'job satisfaction' for Terence, 'school organisation' for Doreen, 'sex-discrimination' for Mary and Doreen, 're-definition' for Frank, and relationships with key personnel, especially the Head Teacher, for Sarah and Grace.

There were differences in the sample not only in the responses but in the way that they responded. Some, like Sarah and Grace, indicated clearer focal points, than the others. They recalled specific 'incidents' and 'incidences'. Sets of events and the consequences were recalled and they talked consistently about them. Others, like Frank and Terence, offered more reflective and more generalised accounts.

In these cases it is indeed possible to discern what Sikes et al (1985) call:

"The theme of managing or coping."
(p. 235).

They argue that... "strategic redefinition" (p. 236) is becoming apparent and, whilst remaining to offer a superficial conformity, comments about reducing commitment and becoming more personally detached and becoming more instrumental, are beginning to occur.

"As to when 'redefinition' of this character occurs, we have shown the importance of critical periods and incidents." (p. 237).

Sikes was able to show how her mid-career sample were affected by certain key incidents; how their conception of teaching had changed and how they felt their own identities were altered. The importance of external factors was also illustrated in the Sikes study. They were crucial for Frank and Terence, who still hope to achieve senior management status and who recognise the dangers a contracting profession has for these aspirations.

Only Terence actually spoke about leaving the profession. It could be hypothesised here that the L.E.A. itself may be a factor. Most have a life-long or a career-long history there and some loyalty may exist. Alternatively, the Chilvers (1988) view of the wider context of teacher stability in employment could be taken:

"The teaching force is generally stable; the majority of teachers stay in the profession for most of their working life."
(p. 21).

In addition, it can be seen that all of the sample have a wide variety of interests. The researches on 'stress' point out the importance of such interests for 'coping strategies.' Unfortunately, shortage of time has meant that it has not been possible to consider further these aspects and their relationship to teacher morale.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMON MORALE FACTORS.

A. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the following chapters (five and six) is to synthesise some of the aspects developed originally from the case studies (pp. 82-186). The case study chapter concentrated on those factors and 'critical incidents' which had particular significance for individual morale. These chapters which follow seek to show that there are factors which are common to all of the teachers involved in the study.

The setting of the study (Westridge Local Education Authority), itself warrants some consideration, particularly as most of the sample have spent the majority of their teaching careers there. The 'Historical Context' of Westridge (pp. 189-190), together with its 'Current Policy for Education', (pp. 191-192) were compiled by considering L.E.A. documents which were considered relevant to the career developments of the sample. Here there is an indication that the situation is in a state of flux; for instance, in future sixth form provision will be centred on a Tertiary College based on split site premises, six miles apart.

The management of their schools and the part it played in motivating them was of particular importance to their personal morale. Crucial factors were their career prospects. Of particular interest here were the views of the women teachers. That half of the teachers taught

mathematics and the other half P.E., in theory
meant that differing perspectives could be
considered - see pp. 254-261.

B. WESTRIDGE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITYHistorical Context

Westridge is a metropolitan borough which was formed by amalgamating urban districts (of Churchside, Burnworth and Claxheugh) from a shire County with a county borough - in the local government re-organisation of 1974.

The L.E A. is one of the smallest in England. The total population is under a quarter of a million. Most of these live in a densely populated Urban Area, of Northern England.

The Northern section of the borough consists of older industrial areas interspersed with older housing. The traditional employment of the area is shipbuilding, heavy engineering and mining. With the marked decline in these industries and their associated suppliers, attempts have been made to introduce light engineering and other factories to alleviate a serious unemployment situation. Throughout this area there are factories and local services which have been established with the encouragement of financial support of local and national government and the E.E.C.

From about 1930, onwards housing development tended to be located away from the river towards the south of the constituent districts. In the last 20 years redevelopment of housing in the central areas has taken place with some consequent movement of population back to the central area.

The outlying areas of Brightwell, Seaview and Churchside consist of mixed areas of housing and a green belt with the residue of the farmland of the area.

Housing includes terrace houses in the old mining villages, expensive detached houses in the executive estates, semi-detached owner occupied houses and Council-owned estates.

Problems which are affecting Westridge are:-

1. declining economic standards with a high unemployment factor.
2. high levels of out-migration coupled with a lower than average birth rate.
3. high demand on social services
4. poor quality environment.

Current Educational Policy

The proposals put forward by Westridge L.E.A. in September 1985, which would establish tertiary education in the Borough were recently accepted by the Department of Education and Science. This means that the Authority will be able to go ahead with the establishment of a Tertiary College which would cater for the education of pupils of post-statutory age (16+).

Currently this age range is catered for by the school sixth forms and Westridge College. In future, the Tertiary College will be based in Westridge College, operating from two sites at each end of the Borough.

These proposals will mean the closure of sixth forms and of two secondary schools (Blackbarrow Comprehensive and Selwyn Comprehensive).

The Authority, in its press release of September, 1985, gave two main reasons for this change of policy:

1. "To meet the challenge of social and economic change which has permeated the education scene."

2. "the decline in school pupil numbers which has highlighted allocation and use of local authority resources."

Therefore, if a contracting situation is to be capitalised upon, the Authority views the need for a careful reappraisal of priorities and resources.

They anticipate that more will be gained by the change than will be lost. It is argued that there will be increased scope for course provision, and different styles of learning and teaching, which will provide benefits for students who will take up their educational opportunities within the the new system.

Also, it is hoped that the conventional divisions between the vocational and non-vocational courses for young people will gradually be reduced and a wide range of options become available. This, it is hoped, will meet the challenge of the rapid social and economic change of the past decade.

The sample's perspective of Westridge L.E.A.

Mary (the only 'outsider') compared her experience in two other adjoining L.E.A.'s to Westridge. She spoke of its insular nature. Certainly there appears to be little movement of personnel to or from the area. This is indicated by the fact that most of the sample were natives of Westridge and its immediate districts and/or went to schools or did their training there. Mary argued that 'outsiders', such as herself, were disadvantaged when seeking promotion because they were not known.

Mary's (and Anna's) school, Bishop Tooley Comprehensive is possibly a classic case of this insularity of Westridge L.E.A. However, where there has been some movement to and from other schools within Westridge L.E.A. (and in fact most of the sample had taught in at least three schools,) in Bishop Tooley most appointments are from within.

Perhaps this would indicate that teacher morale in Westridge may not have been crucially affected and that Westridge teachers with their lack of mobility do represent a special case. This would suggest that a study of their morale is difficult to generalise upon.

It is not inconceivable that even more parochial attitudes remain within the historically separate divisions which make up the modern borough of Westridge. Discussions with advisers illustrate that appointing panels within the former County Borough boundaries tend to appoint or promote staff who have links with that area. The same would seem to hold true for appointments made in the two former Urban Districts and in the former Shire County region. Bob maintained that he felt disadvantaged when he appeared on shortlists outside his district.

He also said tht he felt disadvantaged when he was:

"up against the party faithful."

They are individuals who have assisted local politicians in various ways, including canvassing for elections, and would expect to be rewarded with promotion for their efforts.

Although the borough is under control of one political party infighting develops when area politicians see their independence under threat or when they feel that general policies will discriminate against their areas. One example was the decision to abolish VI forms in favour of a Tertiary College. This caused a major rift between councillors from the Bishop Tooley catchment area and the rest.

Additionally, the conduct of appointments raised considerable disquiet amongst the sample. At the time of writing, candidates for all teaching posts from Headship to Scale One were given three questions prior to entering the interview room. They were then called in alphabetical order and told to answer them in front of a committee of elected representatives in a ten minute session. The sample viewed the process as 'stressful'. They also were concerned about the lack of input allowed by the professionals, such as the Headteacher or L.E.A. officials, in assisting teachers' career development because of the system.

When Grace was appointed by the committee of governors to Selwyn, The Head there may well not have been asked to make any comments about his views of the suitability of candidates. This may have helped account for the subsequent difficulties that Grace experienced. (See pp.114-117).

Little credibility, however, is accorded to the L.E.A. officials. It is felt that they are not prepared to make efforts at ensuring greater uniformity in education policy:

"They are not prepared to stick their necks out and argue the rights and wrongs of what goes on." (Bob)

Doreen thinks that it is because they fear to challenge decisions:

"If they say they don't agree with something they could find themselves out of a job."

Mac points out that some of them have achieved their position through their family connections with local politicians and others through political affiliation and therefore would be reluctant to:

"put their heads on the block."

Concerns were expressed that these individuals would be playing important parts in the appraisal process for teachers in Westridge. - see also pp. 271-279.

The L.E.A.'s position is that it has always sought to:

"Develop the existing good relationships with its teachers either as individuals or through its teacher organisation."

(Westridge L.E.A., 1985).

These are fine words, but when one looks at the context of the statement they may be considered as rhetoric. The context would suggest that Westridge had always acted fairly and treated its teachers well. It, therefore, did not believe that its teachers should implement the N.U.T. sanctions of February, 1985. Arguably, it was nothing more than a subtle form of pressure.

It could be argued that despite claims about poor personal morale arising from the attitudes and actions of the L.E.A., the fact is that most of the teacher sample in this research have remained working in the area for all or for most of the span of their careers.

The L.E.A. Perspective

In the period of union sanctions, staff suffered no major penalties other than standard rate deductions for industrial action involving strikes and refusing to cover. Indeed, reductions from Bob's salary were not made when he was away from teaching duties to lobby local M.P.s over teachers' pay and conditions in 1985. In neighbouring L.E.A.s the deduction was made.

Contacts with advisors reveal that local politicians have been largely sympathetic to teachers in their action over pay and conditions and do recognise that there is a morale problem in their schools.

"At a time when the Secretary of State should be restoring morale among the teaching profession, he is undermining its confidence." (Chairman, Westridge L.E.A. -1987).

However, the L.E.A. officers I talked to indicated that the politicians themselves were experiencing similar problems of morale. This is to do with a loss of autonomy as a result of increasing interference from Central Authority. They see their traditional independence in maintaining a locally organised service under threat. They too are being submerged by national pronouncements (e.g. on Curriculum - 1987; following the General election success by the Conservative Party), and innundated with directives and new laws (e.g. the implementation of the 1986 Education Act).

"They pass legislation and say the local authorities have to pay a large proportion of the cost..... But when they do, they are threatened with rate capping."(Chairman, Westridge L.E.A. - 1987).

Such methods are viewed as insidious, and may lead ultimately to abolition of L.E.A. powers and centralised control of schools once all aspects of the 1986 Education Act have been implemented.

"Before our eyes the education service has rapidly moved along financially well oiled wheels towards making Lord Alexander's dictum come true and education a national service, locally administered rather than being locally governed" (Newsam, 1986).

This present crisis, a conflict with Central Government has served to unite L.E.A. politicians and administrators and the teachers. This is a new phenomenon. Old conflicts and antagonisms have been temporarily put aside. How long the truce will last is difficult to say, because the underlying tensions affecting teachers, e.g. career and status, are always there and will remain strong. It must be remembered however, that a crucial factor for teacher morale is the school in which he works. It is to do with the stresses he experiences, relationships and his position there. External factors to the school, such as relationships with the L.E.A., Central Government directives and initiatives, are important but are not fundamental to what happens to him in his daily routine.

C. MANAGEMENTMotivation

"In our view, good management could do much to improve the motivation of teachers."
 (Chilvers 1988, p.3).

An examination of the data from the interviewees indicates this importance of motivation and management for morale. Motivation refers to any influence that causes individuals consciously to select a course of action for themselves which is different from one they might have chosen in the absence of that influence. Motivation also implies three things; the need, the object or goal to satisfy that need, and the behaviour required to achieve the goal.

Generally, within the employment situation, management controls some of the goals, (the nature of the work itself, money, security, status,) which are sought by the employees, and defines the behaviour in terms of job performance that is expected of the employee if he is to achieve these goals.

The informants all acknowledged that there are problems about motivating teachers and producing desirable states of morale. This is probably true though for any other form of employment. The reward may not be relevant to the employees' needs, the reward may not be worth the expected behaviour, or the employee may be expected to behave in ways which prevent the adequate satisfaction of other needs.

If management is to motivate the managed, it is essential to create the situation, or provide incentives, which will allow them to maximise the satisfaction of all their needs. If this is done then morale may be safeguarded.

Motivation is a problem for the interviewees' morale. There are a variety of strategies which could be adopted but they recognise that management and in particular the leader and the role that he plays are crucial determinants - evidence which was borne out in the Blocker and Richardson review of morale research of 1962.

There is a common assumption in management theory that people dislike working and must be coerced into doing it. In response to this, management imposes tight controls from the top and encourages work by a ruthless deployment of rewards and sanctions. When applied to schools, such a theory creates a we/they relationship between heads and teachers and in time between teachers and pupils. On the positive side, it can produce a well-ordered organisation showing signs of efficiency in achieving well defined goals. However, it easily degenerates into clock-watching and the operation of learning processes inimical to education.

An alternative theory is one where staff are encouraged to enjoy work, responsibility and a sense of achievement. They can then play a part in setting their own standards and can come to share a commitment to the success of the enterprise. This can help morale.

Vroom and Deci (1971) indicated the importance of workers recognising that their pay and working conditions are good in order to stimulate motivation and morale. This is the first of their 'managerial or organisational strategies.'

The 'Order to Parliament to Regulate Teachers Pay and Conditions' (1987) may be viewed as maintaining the system of hierarchial rewards for the career teacher. Burns (1961) thought that such a system worked against any notions of professionalism or collegiality. Both of these notions formed keystones for the teachers' pay strategy agreed by the unions and the L.E.A. in Coventry and subsequently revised in Nottingham in 1986.^{1.}

However, 'Coventry' and 'Nottingham', together with the subsequent agreement negotiated through the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (A.C.A.S.) in 1987, were thought of by my respondents as eroding the career ladder and were counter-productive in concentrating on pay rather than promotion.

Had any of these negotiations, agreed between teachers' unions and their employers, the L.E.As., been implemented, then the 'carrot' of promotion would have been significantly reduced or even removed.

^{1.} See N.A.S. (1986a), N.U.T. (1986).

"In the long term, the majority of teachers after they had successfully completed their probationary year or years would achieve the same rates of pay and there would be no tangible incentive to seek additional responsibilities."

(Sarah)

In the event, a more hierarchical system of rewards has been imposed by the Government than was originally envisaged when Keith Joseph was Secretary of State for Education. When the interviews began the proposals that had come from the L.E.A. Panel of the Burnham Committee were very much phrased in these 'collegiate' terms. The teachers in this survey indicated their unease at the recommendations and thought that it removed the hierarchical system through which they had already progressed and through which they could seek further advancement. Their view consequently was that 'collegiality' put their career hopes at risk, caused them concern over their future status and affected their morale.

Shortly after the final interviews had taken place, the new Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, actually approved a system which contained many elements of the original 'hierarchical' system that they preferred. However, this change occurred too late for its discussion in the study.

In the event, Baker has stated;

"The Government's view is that school teachers' pay and conditions of service should be such as to enable the maintained school system to recruit retain and motivate sufficient teachers of the required quality both nationally and at local level within what can be afforded." (Chilvers, 1988).

Subsequent conversations with certain of the respondents find this statement dubious. They concur with Chilvers, (1988) that;

"there is still some doubt that teachers' motivation will be assured. Within our remit we have no power to resolve that problem and can do no more than urge the Secretary of State to consider further how much he is prepared to make available to secure the willing co-operation of teachers." (p. 26)

Vroom and Decis (1971) second strategy is the 'scientific management approach' which;

"is based on the assumption that a person will be motivated to work if rewards are conditional rather than unconditional. In short, they are attached to and made contingent upon effective performance"(p48).

This argument conflicts with the 'paternalistic' approach. The clearest application of this strategy occurs in the area of 'pay administration' where Kenneth Baker in his 1987 Order to Parliament on Teacher's Pay and Conditions has set out wage incentive plans and has previously indicated a wish to tie pay to performance.

"There is also growing concern among education administrators that the Government's new £500 incentive allowances for teachers will be linked to appraisal results when the main advocates of appraisal have set their face against direct 'merit' pay." (Meikle - 1987).

Vroom and Deci's (1971) third 'managerial or organisational strategy' is the 'participative approach'. This assumes that individuals derive job satisfaction from effective performances. There were rewards which were intrinsic to the individuals and which stemmed directly from successes, senses of achievement and the development of skills and abilities.

Sikes et al (1985) said additionally;

"It seems that participation can help to compensate for the lack of, and even reduce teachers' desire for scale post promotion." (p. 145)

In short, the emphasis is on creating conditions under which effective performance can be a goal rather than a means to the attainment of some other goal. The philosophy is one of self control or self regulation rather than excessive organisational control. It is the philosophy to which Sikes' (1985) 'mid-career' group subscribed and which my interviewees endorse;

"... all the teachers we talked to said that they believed that ideally every teacher in a school should be able to feel that everyone was working towards the same aims, that there was consensus of opinion, that there were no secrets, that staff were kept informed about things which were likely to affect them and that mutual support could be counted on." (p. 145)

In industry and commerce, the participation movement began decades ago. In education it is a relatively new phenomenon.

John (1980) describes the expectations of the general public. They believe that the heads of schools should be authoritarian leaders in many aspects of their roles. Approval is often expressed for heads who coerce and control by the use of power:

"No doubt the relative slowness with which there has developed a readiness to expect participation in schools is connected with reluctance by an older generation to trust the judgement of a younger generation. Schools are perceived as institutions entrusted with the control of young people. Management styles tend to reflect each other at different levels, so that what is deemed good for teacher/pupil relationships tends to be expected in head/staff relations too. When the predominant feeling is that teachers should manage children arbitrarily and coercively, there is a momentum for a similar style to be considered at middle and top management level."
(p. 102)

The interviewees were of the opinion that as many of the school staff as possible should be given some responsibility for part of the organisation of the school. House (1974) argued that this may create some form of intrinsic satisfaction.

"Interaction in a team of equal status workers makes teachers feel more influential, provides more chances for rewards from peers and increases job satisfaction." (p.249).

Herzberg (1968) felt that such participation in a job aided its performance. He called aspects of the job which encourage participation, motivators.

It is only in the last three decades that attention has been drawn to motivators as a means of influencing employees' performance and attitudes.¹

This is perhaps because the absence of motivators in a job does not produce complaints, only apathy, lack of interest and initiative, and sagging morale.

1. See McGregor (1960) and Duchi (1984).

These are all too easily attributable to the personality of the employee and all too frequently result in his being written off as being lazy or irresponsible. However, it is very difficult for a person to behave responsibly if he does not have any responsibility or know the satisfaction of achievement if he is given no opportunity to fail.

"If management in schools want more than just a fair day's work and want teachers with a good morale, committed, with initiative and enthusiasm, then they must be prepared to pass on responsibility and assume that it will be accepted responsibly."
(Terence).

Doreen voiced the opinion that increased participation by staff would not only generate an enthusiasm which would help their morale, but also that the life of the school and its ethos would benefit.

The participation movement in education is gaining strength.

"A... component of good management is to involve the employee in the wider aspects of his job." (Chilvers, 1988, p.22)

Certainly my sample accepted the idea as desirable. There were, however, reservations;

"Moves towards participation by the head aren't necessarily being approved or understood even by those who hold senior positions in the school." (Anna).

She was convinced, and Mary agreed, that many of those who held senior management positions were happy with the 'status quo'.

There is, perhaps, a readiness to equate leadership in schools with the 'power-coercive' or 'authoritarian' mode of action. Efforts to improve participation may well be unwelcome and interpreted, as in Blake's and Mac's previous school (South Street), as a weakness and abdication of leadership. No doubt, it could be argued also that not all teachers wanted the responsibility for making decisions.

Lack of Participation - an example

In considering one example of a lack of participation in decision-making which affected morale in Frank's school (Blackbarrow Comprehensive), it was reported that when the school was recently re-organised some initial decisions gave rise to many misgivings and token resistance.

Before these decisions were taken an evaluation of alternatives could have been made. It was decided that some system of sanctions was needed for pupils who abdicated their responsibilities and this was strongly linked with the pastoral system. A method of referral was introduced where pupils' misdemeanours were reported to the tutor, house head and through the deputy head or head if the matter was serious enough.

The system was introduced on an 'ad hoc' basis and details were never satisfactorily communicated. A set of written procedures had never been produced. Even if details had been explicit, the problem of availability of the necessary staff at the right time was an ever present feature of the scheme. This contributed to its total collapse. Delays and misinterpretations of a situation were common in this system.

One strategy employed by the head, and agreed at first by the staff, was to open the school at all times to fifth years. This was a ploy for allowing students to develop a sense of responsibility. A small core of pupils were disruptive and the system of sanctions clearly had little effect upon them. Two reasons for the apparent failure could be seen. The system had not been clearly elucidated from inception and the policy (such as it was), was not consistently applied by heads of house who had the task of managing the system delegated to them. As a result staff became increasingly demoralised.

A causative explanation of this phenomenon is attributed by Child (1977):

"Motivation and morale may be depressed because there is a lack of clarity as to what is expected of them, ... they are overloaded because the support systems are not adequate." (p.176).

The decision to organise the system thus was taken to improve flagging morale. It is likely that the fault lies with the way that the decision was implemented rather than on the decision itself and/or the type of structure.

The problem has now largely been solved by a system of sanctions demanded by staff and applied consistently by heads of house.

Criticisms from the staff have been recognised by Frank and these have been verified from other teachers in the school. However, it would be unfair, using the above example, to simply say that decision making at the school is either good or bad, effective or ineffective.

It probably illustrates, rather, a mismatch of decisions at the organisational level with those at the higher aims and objectives level. The role of the head may be regarded as critical in any situation and an assessment of his effectiveness as a manager may be highly subjective, especially to middle management who may well have the task of covering over the cracks caused by the mismatch of principle and practice.

Leadership

The role of the headteacher during this current period of contraction, (1980 to the present) is assuming greater significance. To provide effective management during this difficult period, my respondents felt that the headteacher must establish and maintain his credibility and build up between himself and his staff a relationship of trust.

"By establishing relationships of trust with his staff the head will discover that the job of delegating authority is much easier. He'll also find out that he and his staff are pulling together and not against each other." (Mac).

They also argued that management should begin to acknowledge, and acknowledge openly, that much of the responsibility for the poor morale in their schools lies at their own doors. Efforts have been defined too narrowly. Administration has been inconsistent and disjointed. Decisions have been made with too short a time horizon in mind. They have been arrived at with scant attention as to how they mesh with overall strategy and they are frequently implemented piecemeal in a less than wholehearted way by top management itself.

Alongside this, there was the opinion that their Heads did not take the views of their teachers into consideration when making a decision and failed to give them support when conflicts with parents and pupils arose.

"My Head will take the view that the parent is right just to get rid of him." (Terence).

Criticism too, was voiced that Heads did not set 'organisational clarity' regarding the goals of the school and failed to deal with problems at the onset by putting off the crucial decision. The result in Bob's school is that;

"nothing gets done and people get worked up about it."

It is argued here that the head is a vital factor in the success of his school. As he has progressed 'through the ranks' to his headship, he will have taken more decisions. Once he becomes a head, he may take all the important decisions himself. On the way, at every rung of his career ladder there will have been fellow professionals willing to, and with the ability to, share in the decision making process, and, not only willing to implement the decisions made, but also capable of thwarting any decision passed down from 'on high'.

The interviewees do not agree that all decisions should be put to the vote or that all matters require working parties or committees to solve them. Rather, they feel that decisions concerning the internal functioning of the school should be shared decisions based on sound educational principles:

"The sharing of decision making is not only important for the teachers who are involved but has repercussions throughout the curriculum for the kids. We have decisions passed down to us (the teachers). This means that decisions are passed down to the kids also. This means that the important and highly necessary training in participative government is lacking." (Doreen).

She feels that heads, like hers, who fail to establish a participative decision making process are not only failing in the provision of staff development, but in providing pupil development also.

'Person to Person'

It has already been established that the low quality of relationships with those in management positions, and especially the head teacher, figured as a major item of importance for the morale of the respondents.¹ Problems had been caused by 'critical incidents'. Their result for Grace and Sarah was great unhappiness and stress. For Grace, such a relationship was even cited as a reason to leave teaching.

Without doubt, a further great frustration for my teachers, and hence a great detriment to their morale, was the lack of voice or of having a role to play in their own professional destiny. One result was that they considered themselves underutilized by management. Both Anna and Grace offered the term, "underused."

My interviewees reckoned that they were either not consulted or consulted cursorily on topics where they as the practitioners had the knowledge. Feelings ranging from exhaustion and insecurity to frustration were mentioned when they talked about this lack of acceptance and recognition. Maslow (1970) recognised such attitudes as natural results of insecurities. Therefore, it should be a responsibility of management to look for such signs and try to remedy the conditions.

1. See pp. 89-91, 114-117, 124, 135, 154-160.

Bob argued that;

"the success of any innovations in the school curriculum depends on gaining staff approval."

It was agreed that the initiative and drive of top management were essential factors for innovation. If these were present, then the commitment and understanding of the staff would also be present.

"It could be brought about as part of a staff development programme... it needs to recognise that learning is a social process and that teachers gain more from group interchange, debate and where necessary disagreement than when they work by themselves."
(Bob).

He echoes Goodlad (1973):

"The concept of teachers helping each other in staff development has scarcely been exploited. Teachers learn a great deal from the demand of teaching each other and take readily to instructions by peers with whose experience they readily identify." (p.46)

Cohen (1981) held similar views. He expressed the opinion that a type of work environment where teachers helped each other with their staff development would increase professional ambition. He felt that ambitious teachers are important for innovation because the investment in re-learning is worthwhile for their future.

All interviewees displayed their ambitions for the future. All stated an interest in the principle of a formal staff development programme operating in their schools. However,

"I'm in favour of the idea, but at my school staff development has been 'ad hoc', depending on the need and response. The Head has no set way in organising the process. Usually this involves calling someone in as and when a situation arises. I would maintain that a head should be able to predict the needs of his school and to have the ability to operate and cater for staff development in responding to these needs.... If this was done then I'm sure we would be more effective."
(Terence).

and;

"the trouble is, the head doesn't really know what one, (a Staff Development Programme,) is. If he does he's keeping quiet about it because that would involve him in doing something about it."

(Bob).

The idea of 'negotiation' between the interviewees and senior management appeared to be the crucial factor in their staff development.

"Staff development must be negotiated between staff and top management. There needs to be a dialogue between heads, deputies, heads of department and staff. It would be attractive to be able to create a negotiated career linked in with whole school curriculum policies."

(Doreen).

and;

"there needs to be some sort of consensus and sense of purpose between a teacher and the school's aims." (Mary).

As we shall see later (p.228-233), the interviewees looked to the fulfilment of their aspirations through promotion. They realised that some teachers manage promotion unaided and recognise that generally the right qualifications, experience and being in the right place at the right time are also important. However, to achieve their goal of promotion they realise that sound advice and guidance are also essential.

"I would have liked to have been given the chance to evaluate my achievements and progress, as well as being allowed to widen my experience in other areas in the schools that I've worked... including their organisation." (Blake).

What added to the high level of dissatisfaction was the teacher's perception that the head frequently offered no recognition for good teaching and no recognition for extra work.

"We praise our pupils, but praise and encouragement are every bit as important for teachers as they are for pupils." (Doreen).

At the other end of the scale, but equally as vital, the revelation of weaknesses or the sharing of problems can lead to positive action. Effective counselling can only take place in an atmosphere in which the teacher is prepared to accept constructive criticism and take advice.

Here, education may learn from industrial and commercial practice. The concept of 'Management by Objectives' implies that the job to be done and the target to be aimed at are agreed between employer and employee. Performance can then be examined and discussed so that targets or methods may be reviewed and new objectives set. When applied to the teaching situation, or to a post which combines teaching with management advantages, should be recognised by a joint examination of what is being attempted and how far it is being achieved. If this is done, then a member of staff may be encouraged to define his needs and seek to attain full potential. The benefit will ultimately be to the school and to his own morale, or as Chilvers (1988) sees it;

"changes in the management of teachers could have highly beneficial effects upon teacher morale, leading directly to improved motivation, higher performance and hence a better education for school children." (p. 22)

Conclusions

If management in schools is to promote good levels of teacher morale, then the traditional solutions of improved work conditions, increased financial incentives and providing greater job security will continue to assume great importance. However, the interviewees have their 'eyes open' to the difficulties.

For them, the position of the headteacher remains crucial:

"A headteacher must be seen to be involved." (Mac).

"The headteacher needs to have a clear idea of what the problems are in his school and to have a whole-school plan." (Doreen).

"He needs to keep the staff vibrant." (Terence).

"Management must be positive in a falling roll and declining financial situation... Management must be accepted as a challenge." (Bob).

"You need to have good personal qualities established through successful dealings over the years." (Frank).

Yet they do realise that there are other influences and these the head will have no control over:

"Things like defining conditions of service and staff absentee cover are also affecting teacher morale."
(Sarah).

An understanding of the current plight of the headteacher was voiced by Terence:

"Many of the problems that a headteacher faces are tied up with the lowering of staff morale in general."

The views expressed here by these respondents have also been recognised by Weindling and Earley (1987). They make reference to the:

"useful summaries by Morgan, Hall and Mackay (1983), and Buckley (1985) which show that the heads' role has increased in complexity and scope and that heads are facing increased pressure from within and outside the school." (p. 1)

And, Chilvers (1988) comments;

"we found the impression that
the demands on both heads and
deputies are increasing significantly."

(p. 33)

D. CAREER1. The Current Context a) - a contracting situation.

Managing contraction is a further pressure faced by headteachers. The situation in Westridge is no different from that pictured by Wright (1980), when he considered the other L.E.A.'s in the country. Education is in transition. First, Secondary school rolls will have fallen nationally by over 30% from 1977 to 1992. Second, given little or no growth in the national economy, no government is likely to decide otherwise than to transfer public expenditure from the education of a declining number of children to the care of an increasing number of old people.

"Occurring singly, neither declining secondary rolls nor declining expenditure on secondary education necessarily creates major problems. But occurring together they will impose a contraction rate on the secondary sector which is unprecedented and which must strike at much that has been accepted as fundamental to the careers of its teachers." (Wright 1980, p. 166).

What has been fundamental to the careers of my interviewees was the possibility hitherto, of achieving tangible rewards in salary and status through the hierarchical scaled post system. A system which was extrinsic to the individual being part of the job situation and given by others e.g. the Headteacher, the L.E.A.

These traditional rewards of promotion together with the usual incremental and/or cost of living increase assumed great importance for my interviewees. However, the resulting change of political will affected as it is by financial consideration means that their future career patterns will change.

For the interviewees the emphasis is apparently undergoing a degree of transformation. Their careers are becoming more bound up with forces allied to wider economic and political events. Personal input and control over career development is becoming non-existent. As a result, morale is affected.

b) The Perspectives of Westridge Teachers.

The concept of career development as recognised in terms of a commitment to seek promotion over a long period of time was not uniform for all of the teachers in my study.

Some, like Terence and Bob, held clearly conceived career maps:

"I expect to be a Deputy Head within the next twelve months and to be a Head three years after that."

(Terence).

However, because of the contraction of the education service, such 'career time-tables', whereby a teacher might expect to be on a certain scale or hold a certain post by a certain age are no longer appropriate.

Others, like Grace, work towards more short-term objectives, such as getting to the end of a term, or moving up a scale (e.g. Frank). Still others, like Anna and Mac, regard their careers in the long term, not expecting rapid promotion from one post to another. They aspire to become no more than a head of department or year head - they are posts that Anna and Mac already hold, but they look towards the acquisition of greater status within their schools. They do not view their progress to this goal against recognised time-tables set by the progress of others from similar positions.

This is Bob's fear. He is becoming worried that he has lost out in the promotion race. He has seen colleagues, who obtained their promotions to Scale 2 and Scale 3 after him, achieve Scale 4 and beyond.

Anna, Mac and Grace also do not consider themselves in competition with their colleagues for the greatly reducing number of promotion opportunities.

It remains to be seen how far these perspectives will be modified in the sense of Hall's notions of 'career contingency' (Hall 1972) and how far morale will be further affected in an environment following further school closures and the removal of sixth forms from the schools. Unit totals, the means of which serve to determine the amount of above basic scale allowances, will be lower under the 1987 arrangements. The consequent promotion opportunities will be fewer. At the same time the 'skewed' age distribution of teachers, recognised by Wright (1980), with nearly half of them being below the age of thirty five, means that many promoted posts are locked away and will remain so for years to come. Frank refers to the example of many on his staff holding down such posts;

"the aunties and uncles who got their jobs (Scale 4 and Senior Teacher especially) who are just sitting there with no where to go and doing nothing apart from hanging on till the golden handshake (-early retirement scheme) comes along." (Frank)

- my brackets.

The interviewees, who are in 'mid-career', are in a slack of teachers. Some like Blake have lost status or like Mary and Anna are having to re-start their careers. They are vieing against those in the early stages of their careers for the fewer available posts. Blake, in fact, has only recently (September 1986) returned to the Scale 3 status which he last held in July 1978.

Blake, along with Terence and Bob, was promoted fast while young. Whilst Terence has moved on to a Deputy Headship the others may find in the future that what they thought was the intermediate step on their career ladder has turned out to be their top rung.

Sikes (1985) deals with this aspect and quotes Hunter and Heighway (1980);

"Teachers experience blockages, finding not just one avenue closed in the school they are in but also alternative ones. Those who suddenly find their promotion chances nullified no longer enjoy the option of changing schools. Many are stuck where they are, therefore, with all the escalators having broken down, facing frustration, lowered ambition, drive, and performance"(Sikes 1985,p.8).

She views the consequence that increasing numbers of teachers are now searching for alternative careers elsewhere. Terence spoke of his Mathematics Department as being "depleted" by people going into industry. He mentioned that he considered getting out of teaching himself.

However, these teachers (apart from Mary, and now Terence) are generally very 'parochial'. They are prepared to move from school to school within Westridge L.E.A. but no further, not even to neighbouring L.E.A. s. They may, like Grace, talk about;

"getting out,"
but they don't do it.

2. Women Teachers a) An Overview

The foregoing comments regarding the interviewees' conceptions of career has largely been considered from the traditional male perspective. For women teachers, this concept must be cast in less simplistic terms.

Marland (1983) thinks of them as disadvantaged when considering the small numbers who hold senior promoted posts throughout all parts of the education service. Arguably, the traditional sex-stereotyping of the female as the bearer of children and home-maker mitigates against them here.

Grace thought that the dilemma with her Head stemmed from a perspective which saw the woman's prime commitment to the family and not to a career.

Women are in the majority in the education service, but they operate largely at the lowest levels. Most part-time teachers are women. Their numbers and security have been affected by the current financial climate and falling rolls. For many full-time women teachers, the job is thought of purely as providing a second income. A few attain senior posts, but they remain outnumbered by the men at the level of senior teacher and above.

"Woman heads were seriously under-represented and accounted for only thirteen per cent of the cohort (i.e. those who took up Headship in 1982-83). As might be expected, many were heads of girls schools, and therefore the proportion of women heads in mixed schools was very low. On average, women were three years older and had spent about one-and-a-half years longer as a deputy than the men before obtaining their first headship. The differences did not seem to be simply explained by the time out for children, as the women had also taught an average of three years longer than the men." (Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.33).

b) Westridge Perspectives on Sexual Equality

The female teachers indicated that inequalities existed in Westridge and they felt that they do form a basis for discrimination. To what extent women view these inequalities generally, is uncertain and the current literature is scant on the subject. Suffice it to say that pronouncements against discrimination on the grounds of sex have formed a corner-stone of the Local Authority of Westridge's policy since its inception in 1974. However, the practice, through the eyes of several of the case studies, is seen still to continue.

From examples that my interviewees, both male and female, gave me regarding senior posts in Westridge Comprehensive Schools, women fare badly. Currently (1987), there is only one woman head and there are three deputies out of ten schools. Historically, Sarah's school (Brunswick Comprehensive) was formerly a Girls' Grammar School then a Girls' Comprehensive School, before becoming co-educational and this may account in part for the Head Teacher being female.

The move to co-educational schools may have served to limit women's careers in Westridge L.E.A. still further. There was no longer the provision for a group of women teachers to be afforded the opportunity of experiencing all levels of management in a school, albeit an all girls school. Consequently those who had achieved middle management expertise there could, and did, move on to deputy headships elsewhere.

Now 'Brunswick', which was formerly the Girls' Grammar School, is co-educational, all posts are open to men and are more attractive to men. Therefore, although the Head Teacher remains (traditionally) female, many of the senior positions are held by men.¹ However, in comparison with the other schools in the Borough, the proportion of women teachers holding senior positions is much greater than in other schools - in this case four women, one of whom is Sarah, hold posts at Scale Four and above, compared to Percival, where Doreen is the highest placed woman - on Scale Four .

1. In this case, Sarah is the only female House Head. There are two Senior Teachers, one of which is female. Both Deputy Heads are male.

(i) Male attitudes

One of the three women deputies in Westridge Comprehensive Schools is in Bob's school - (Williamson Comprehensive). He talks of her as ;

"the token woman who's had the job since the school opened."

He expects her to be replaced by a man when she retires. In Bob's eyes, she has not done the cause of women holding senior posts in schools much good:

"She's supposed to be in charge of girls' welfare and discipline but the boss and everyone else in the school knows she isn't up to it. ... she's lazy and becoming more inefficient by the day... her forte is making coffee for the boss."

Mac referred to the events surrounding his Head's desire to appoint a "token woman" to be Senior Pastoral Head in charge of girls' welfare and discipline, and to supervise Year Heads like himself. Before that he had been regarded as the Senior Year Head at South Street:

"She couldn't cope so
 we (the Year Heads) were expected to deal with the problems. Twelve months after her appointment she took early retirement and because of shrinking numbers and closure her "job disappeared".
 - my brackets.

Situations like these don't help the morale of the male career teacher, neither do they help to reduce the problem of discrimination for women teachers. The philosophy for the appointment of women to senior positions in schools must be maintained. However, the criteria of appointing someone who can fulfil the job requirement must always hold priority otherwise there will be ;

"discrimination in reverse," (Mac).

That occurred at South Street.

Fundamentally then, there appears to be considerable discrimination in Westridge schools. This discrimination has the effect of lowering women teachers' expectation as well as affecting their morale.

(ii) The 'Non-stop' Career Girls

Doreen agrees that cases such as those outlined;

"perpetuate the nature of the career structure of schools,"

which she says is;

"male oriented... women get the functions (social) and the coffee money to organise rather than being involved in curriculum innovation and the time-tabling."

The result, she argues, is that women don't get the opportunity for the same basic training in management as the men. This is necessary before they can move on to Senior Posts.

She asks for nothing more than that women should;

"be considered for jobs on equal basis with the men."

This does not happen when one considers that Doreen currently is the only woman in charge of a key department, such as Mathematics, English or Science in Westridge. She is Head of Mathematics .

Yet women are generally in the majority in schools and the proportion of female staff to male staff does not vary significantly apart from in those schools like Sarah's which were formerly single sex. In Doreen's school there is a 3 to 2 proportion in favour of women yet she has the highest status, Scale Four, and therefore is the;

"senior woman teacher."

Even then she does not feel considered the equal of those who hold the same status.

Grace and Anna spoke of this also, 'on paper' they have the same status, Scale 3 and 2 respectively, as their counterparts in the Boy's P.E. Departments. Yet, in reality, in matters such as allocation of resources they are not consulted. Other instances, such as;

"not being trusted with the photocopier,"

(Grace and Doreen)

and;

"not being allowed near the coffee machine in case I break it," (Doreen),

are regarded as irksome rather than affecting morale.

Sarah wonders whether the reality is that there was more discrimination against the appointment of women previously,

"there have always been women at the top (at deputy head level at least) of the schools where I've taught, particularly when I began my career. Now you look around and see very few women in senior posts."

Grace adds the example of her own school where posts previously filled by women have all been taken over by men.

Sarah's experience since 1977 was in an all girls' school, where most senior management were women. She referred to no cases of in-school discrimination apart from the indication that the Head;

"had her personable young men who she pushed into posts."

A concern for her were the prejudices she had met as a result of her personal circumstances - as an unmarried mother. She is sure that her avenues to promotion have been blocked in both Catholic and L.E.A. sectors.¹

1. - See also p.160.

(iii) The Re-Starters

Trown and Needham (1981) indicated the problem...

"would be returners, who cannot obtain part-time teaching posts, have either to delay re-entry until they can manage a full-time position (thus lengthening the 'gap' in their teaching experience) or accept temporary supply teaching with its insecurity and irregular demands. The more delayed the re-entry the less time the teacher has to build up sufficient experience to make her eligible for promotion."

(p. 42).

Mary and Anna have returned to teaching after breaks in service to have families. They truly regard themselves as having to start their careers again. Anna recalls the reaction of her colleagues when she applied for the Scale 2 at Bishop Tooley after a year in the school;

"they looked at me with raised eyebrows as much as to say she's only been here five minutes. I felt like a probationary teacher all over again."

Both insist that no account is taken for their past responsibilities. They were previously Heads of Department - Anna on Scale 4 and Mary on Scale 3. and agree that it unlikely that they will hold such status again. They are pessimistic but admit they are better off than most other 're-starters' in that they have gained additional qualifications (Open University Degrees), during their time away from the job. However;

"men have additional qualifications to women by this time also, not only in length of service but also quite often diplomas and further degrees which puts us to a double disadvantage." (Mary).

(iv) A 'Knock-on' Factor

By discriminating against women teachers in school, a 'Knock-On' factor for female morale becomes apparent. There is a perception of discrimination against that 50% of the school population - the girls who are not represented by their seniors - women teachers in authority positions.

Even then, Doreen, who is the senior female teacher in her school, maintains that she is never consulted about curriculum or welfare of the girls.

Mary argues that because only men occupy the key or authority positions in the school, only the male point of view predominates. In her school, the girls and female staff see men in leadership positions - for example, no women take school assemblies.

"I feel that the girls in the school get a very bad deal. They only see men in positions of authority. If they are in trouble or need help they have to go to a man. This must be bad for their morale especially for those where dad is the boss and what he says goes. So they never see anyone else other than a man as the authority figure. They don't get a balanced view of the world as it is or as it should be." (Mary).

Anna, Grace, Doreen as well as Mary mention the point that girls who have "problems" frequently choose to approach a female teacher with whom they have a good relationship.

"They, (the older girls) seem to like to talk to me, often about quite personal things." (Grace)
- my brackets.

This places the teacher in an awkward position, particularly if she has no status in the school to 'officially' deal with such problems though she probably had the ability to do so.

All the female interviewees stated that they were frequently asked for advice by female pupils and willingly offered help, although Sarah is the only one of my sample with the formally recognised pastoral status as Head of House. Certainly, the general educational view is that all teachers take on this sort of responsibility for welfare. However, at the back of the sample's minds was the feeling that when they offer help they might be seen as usurping counselling responsibility from the male House or Year Heads.

Anna says that she also tells the girls that the situation must be reported through the 'proper channels'. The 'proper channels' being 'Mr.' who the girls would not approach in the first place. Mac, as Year Head, indicates that this also happens in his school. He often receives referrals about girls and their problems from more junior female staff members. Anna expresses concern over the fact that when she is being forced to act through 'proper channels' she may be seen as betraying confidences and encourage the girls to live with rather than share and acknowledge their problems.

This position of male domination of posts in the pastoral systems in my interviewees' schools is true of other schools in the Borough.

Anna, Mary, Grace and Doreen indicate that this is a far from satisfactory situation for their morale and the morale of those girls who need the personal help and understanding that a woman can offer.

How far this concern was reflected back to the payment of an adequate basic salary and, therefore, to feel less under pressure to seek a more senior post, is difficult to ascertain. It could be that the teachers either desired a level of seniority which gave them status, authority and power as well as a level of satisfaction that the seniority brought or that they felt that by achieving a promotion with its ensuing financial advantage they were more able to satisfy their financial needs.

3) Salary and Status

a) Salary and Career Opportunity

Westridge is no different to other L.E.A.'s in the respect that its teaching force has been affected directly as a result of the economic cutbacks. The sample acknowledge that they have been left with diminished resources as a consequence.

Inflation has eroded salary increases awarded under Houghton and Clegg and salaries in 'real terms' for teachers have fallen substantially while they have increased in other jobs and professions.

A situation like this threatens a teacher's self-worth as well as his social location. The sample expressed great concern over their pay levels.

The men teachers indicated varying difficulties involved in living on a teacher's wage. Blake, who was the sole wage earner in his family, admitted to actual hardship;

"If we get an unexpected bill that means there'll be no Sunday joint... We haven't been able to afford to go on holiday for a few years now."

Sarah, because of her position as a single parent, also spoke of... "financial problems". (See also p.152).

With the exception of Grace who admitted;

"I'm not in teaching for the money ", the other women thought that pay levels are insufficient for the jobs that they do.

One strategy which all of the sample had adopted in an attempt to gain promotion and thence an increase in salary was to pursue extra qualifications. Whilst all had succeeded in achieving the qualifications none, apart from Terence, had succeeded in their aim of promotion.

"strategies employed by the individual teacher caught in these promotion blockages thus are only partly successful and a high level of frustration remains." (Sikes, 1985, p. 82).

Such frustration could be accounted for by the teachers and this was affecting their morale.

b) Equating Salary with Status

They also indicated that the salaries they received reflected a lowering of their status in society and that this too affected morale.

The reduction in social standing looks set to fall still further as a result of growing public dissatisfaction with education in general and with teachers in particular.

It was when they left their schools that the case studies said that they frequently became sensitive to assaults on their morale. In conversations, they mentioned remarks ranging from innuendo to hostility about their work. For example, jibes about short hours and long holidays.

The precise reasons for the decline in public confidence are matters for speculation.

However, from 'incidents' such as 'The Ruskin Speech', the ensuing 'Green Paper' and 'William Tyndale', and the various stances on education adopted by those of all political hues, aided no doubt by the recent increases in teacher militancy and by the 'mass media', this decline appears to have accelerated.

Concerns were expressed that views which were being presented by media and politicians were distorted and one sided. They felt that it had become incumbent on the press to further diminish the image of teachers.

The ensuing anxieties about salary and social standing together with an ensuing reduction of prestige, have eroded professional self esteem and commitment to the job. Chilvers (1988) indicates this also.

"Morale is a tender plant in any profession. It feeds on the employee's sense of his own worth: how he evaluates the job he does, and his own contribution to it. That sense of self-value is affected by the attitudes of managers, colleagues, employers, government, pupils, parents and the outside world. It is not only, and perhaps not principally, a matter of pay, though this is a matter of prime importance in any profession or occupation. Many teachers complain of a lack of public appreciation and recognition; they feel that they have been blamed for all the faults of the education system, and expected to implement a succession of initiatives for which resources and training are limited." (p. 21).

All of the sample were aware of this recent decline in prestige.

c) Leaving Teaching

All of the men interviewed said that if they could begin careers again they would not become teachers.

Blake and Terence expressed regrets about able teachers who had left teaching to go into other forms of employment.

Terence acknowledged that these people had been good at their jobs and could;

"ill be lost to the profession."

He indicated that;

"they have taken opportunities, chanced it, and left."

- to go to work in industry, to start a business, to become a salesman, in another case to join the armed forces.

Frank referred to others who had left as a result of accepting premature retirement schemes:

"These were teachers who were good at the job themselves and played a big part in the life of the school and had an interest in what was going on. They helped young teachers like me get sorted out. I was sorry when they went but they said that they'd had enough of the job and wanted to enjoy what was

left of their lives."

An additional reason for leaving, which was put forward by Bob and Sarah, was due to;

"the increasing pressures of the job."

4. Subject Status a) Introduction

Two groups of teachers were considered. Both groups had begun their teaching careers in secondary modern schools and were currently working in re-organised comprehensive schools. The sample consisted of mathematics and P.E. teachers. These two subjects were of contrasting importance in the schools.

The morale of the teachers of the two subjects indicated a difference. P.E. teachers were more affected. Largely this was due as a result of their career prospects.

b) P.E. Teachers' Careers.

D.E.S. statistics (published in March, 1982) pointed out that P.E. teachers were rarely to be found holding senior posts in schools. Glew (1981) quoted a variety of earlier researches which bore this out. He made special mention of a study by Palmer (1979) who had analysed;

"several thousand P.E. posts advertised in the Times Educational Supplement between 1975 and 1979 and found only seven scale 4 posts."
(p. 1)

In addition, Musgrove and Taylor (1969) ranked the P.E. teacher below those of Woodwork and Domestic Science at the bottom of the secondary school hierarchy.

Sarah soon realised that her career as a P.E. teacher would only take her to a certain level, to middle management as a Head of Department. She took an early opportunity to move out of P.E. into pastoral work where she reached Scale Four. Now she is appearing on shortlists for deputy head for the largest comprehensives.

More recently, Frank has 'swapped' his Scale Three Head of P.E. job for a comparable job as Head of History. In addition he has taken on the role of T.V.E.I. Co-ordinator for his school. He says he was able to do this because he;

"always maintained contact with the classrooms by teaching a few periods of History a week."

He says that he did this because he;

"didn't want to be a 50 year old
P.E. teacher with nothing else
that he could do."

He reckons that he;

"got out of P.E. just in time."

Recently, he too has appeared on shortlists for
deputy head, although for smaller schools.

The other P.E. Teachers see themselves stuck on
their scales. Whilst they have all successfully
pursued extra qualifications they realise that they
will never achieve promotion to executive positions
in schools unless they too move into another subject
area or take on pastoral responsibilities.

Blake, for instance, would like to do this. However,
the fact that he teaches only P.E. and holds no
pastoral responsibility adds to his difficulties.

Anna is involved in counselling girls of all ages in her school largely because of a shortage of women teachers in the pastoral system in Bishop Tooley. She hopes that her 'unofficial' work may be ultimately recognised in any subsequent re-organisation at the school.

Grace has established a good rapport with the senior girls of Selwyn, yet she doesn't see her future lying in pastoral work. She hopes to continue teaching aspects of P.E., especially dance-drama and keep fit in the new Tertiary College.

Apart from the low status of P.E. teachers in the hierarchy of school subjects other inhibiting factors for their good morale may be considered.

Glew (1980 - Diss) refers to Scotland (1964) and the low regard for P.E. teachers...

"they are hard put to it to think of subjects of conversation... he is professionally a second class citizen."
(p.12).

Glew's own sample (1980) echoed these sentiments in expressing the inferiority of P.E. staff;..

"they tend to be labelled as
rather stupid, unintellectual
who have taken the soft option
to get into the Teaching Profession."
(p. 91)

It is possibly for this reason that P.E. teachers are viewed as individuals who are not able to cope with administration and senior management tasks. Allied to this, one may account for a 'market forces' philosophy from Government which reduces the needs for schools to offer P.E. teachers the previous incentives to promotion or to remain in teaching.

c) Mathematics Teachers' Careers.

This notion of the 'market place' has led to the opposite effect for Mathematics teachers. It has produced from the D.E.S. (1986) its Enhanced Grants Scheme to encourage individuals to train in shortage subjects such as Mathematics which is;

"currently about 37% under target."

(Lodge, 1985, p. 6)

Chilvers (1988) indicated that the D.E.S. vacancies index for 1987 showed a 50% higher rate for Mathematics than for English.

Straker (1986) indicated that:

"By December 1985 recruitment for the 1986-7 P.G.C.E. courses was down by 32% on the corresponding figure of 12 months previously."

(p. 317)

and he remained sceptical about the future:

"To suggest that a one-off bribe of £1,200 (for Mathematics and Science trainee teachers will help in any way to overcome teacher supply difficulties... implies a lack of awareness of the magnitude of the problem."

Even if the prospects for promotion to the highest levels are greater for teachers of such subjects, Straker thought that the scheme may still fail to attract sufficient numbers.

A number of former Heads of Mathematics in Westridge now hold senior management positions there, (i.e. Senior Teacher and above). Two of these are Deputy Heads.

The Mathematics teachers in the sample are better positioned than their P.E. counterparts who only hold Scale Two or Three posts as Heads of Department. Both Doreen and Terence are Scale Four Heads of Mathematics. Bob and Mary have also held Head of Department responsibility for that subject, Bob at temporary Scale Four (up from Scale Three) and Mary at Scale Three. Mac also teaches Mathematics but his post is as Head of Year on Scale Three.

Discounting Mary, who has only recently returned to teaching after a break of seven years we can see that for comparable lengths of service the Mathematics teachers are at least at one scale higher. They also envisage themselves actually being able to achieve further promotions - in Terence's case to become a headteacher?

On the other hand, the P.E. teachers realized that their prospects were more limited and had lower aspirations - one of which was moving out of the subject in order to fulfil their ambitions.

Shortlists for Senior Teacher Scales, Deputy Head, and Second Master/Mistress in the larger Comprehensives in Westridge are drawn from applications from Scale 4 and above. Mathematics teachers, because they may reach Scale 4 as Head of Department, may aspire to these jobs. The P.E. teacher, who is at best on a Scale Three Post, will not even warrant consideration. Frank, who was a former Head of P.E., and who is now a Head of History can only look forward to making the shortlist for the deputy headship of a smaller comprehensive.

5. Conclusion

Presently, the scenario for the contraction of career prospects is being set. There will be fewer numbers of posts carrying increased salary status and responsibility. This is due to falling rolls and the consequent reduction in educational expenditure. It is exacerbated by the re-structuring proposals of 1987, together with a reduction in the numbers of those teachers able to offer themselves for early retirement schemes. In the early phases of their careers the interviewees found themselves in an expanding service. Opportunities existed for a momentum of promotion throughout their career and this helped their morale. Now that they are discovering that these career paths are being blocked, their morale is being affected.

Women teachers, who wished to pursue a career and reach middle and senior management positions, will find that the few existing opportunities have become further diminished.

CHAPTER SIX

MORALE FACTORS LINKED TO STRESS

1. CHANGE

a) Change of School/Responsibility

Reorganisations have meant changes of school and/or responsibilities for some of my case studies. This has meant adjustment problems for those involved. Dunham (1984 and 1986) identified various aspects. These have been experienced by some of my interviewees.

Mac expressed concerns about 'leaving the security of a known environment' when he went from South Street to Percival and agreed with Mary and Blake when they expressed reservations about working in a different (and larger) organisation. Doreen, along with Mac, had some doubts about working with children who have wider ranges of abilities, attitudes and behaviour than they had experienced for some time.

A change of responsibility for Frank, from P.E. to T.V.E.I. co-ordination and Pupil Profiling, has;

"Kept me under a great deal of pressure."

Sarah thought that the teacher's job was taking on an increasingly fragmented nature:

"When I started teaching I marked, tested had input in curriculum, prepared teaching aids, selected texts, counselled, handled discipline. Now these things are done by specialists in the school."

This has arisen largely because of the development of hierarchies in the school:

"Many jobs that teachers used to do are now the perogitives of management... they justify the scale posts and account for the lack of time and the priorities that teachers must now acknowledge." (Doreen).

Regarding the question of hierarchies, Burns (1966) mentioned a move away from this 'organic' style of professionalism of teachers to the 'mechanistic structure' of hierarchies which exist for the career teacher today.

Historically, the move was accelerated when the '5 Scale System' was set up in 1971. It has been perpetuated by the '1987 Pay and Conditions Settlement'. However, as Lacey (1983) points out, the hierarchical career model, allied to Teacher Union claims for greater professional recognition, would be fundamentally contradictory and counter-productive. (See also pp. 201-205, 249-252).

Mac and Terence hold an alternative view to Doreen and Sarah as to what the teacher's job has become:

"It has become a low status occupation and this low status is reflected in the way that we are valued by society." (Terence).

"Teaching is becoming a low grade occupation they don't want us to be professionals. We are being paid a technician's salary and will be expected to act within a rigid framework." (Mac).

"Patterns of innovation are gradually de-skilling the profession. Instead of being involved in curriculum developments central to their own school's needs, they are expected to take on board masses of circulars and documents handed down from Central Government to deal with their prescription for modern society's ills."

(Bob).

This echoes Lawn and Ozga (1981) who argue that teachers can be classed as workers rather than professionals and cite as evidence that they are now more likely to respond to calls from their unions for action over pay and conditions.

The imposed 'Contract', with its defined teacher year and duties (1987), followed by the responses of the three largest teacher unions at their annual conferences in 1987 instructing their members to begin a 'clockwatch' so that they work only their 1,265 hours over 195 days, serves to hasten further this demise of professionalism.

Such incidences are related to change of power structures. De-skilling and job fragmentation removes power vis a vis the differential of power between those 'at the bottom,' the teacher, the managed, and those 'at the top' - management and administration .

Chilvers (1988) speaks similarly:

"The teacher's professional life is also influenced powerfully by the decisions of Central Government. Teachers' pay and conditions have long been determined within a national framework which - almost uniquely among employees other than of Central Government,-requires the Secretary of State to lay an Order before Parliament each time an amendment is to be made. The teacher's work in the classroom is affected by Central Government decisions of various kinds on finance: in particular on overall levels of rate support to local authorities, but also on direct expenditure for capital projects and maintenance, and on an increasing range of educational specific grants. In addition, Central Government plays a direct role in determining the teaching framework, and under the reforms now before Parliament that role would be likely to increase substantially." (p. 45)

b) The Ideological Justification for Change

Arguments that the increasing revenue for the provision of education should produce value for money in all aspects have formed the groundswell for accountability since the Taylor Report of 1977.

Taylor looked to governing bodies to be responsible for;

"setting the aims of schools, considering the means by which they are pursued, for keeping progress under review, and for enabling such progress to occur." (p.8).

However, there has developed a wider scenario for accountability in the sense that more explicit forms of scrutiny of the whole education system are thought desirable, particularly by those to whom, they argue, such accounts be rendered - Central Authority.

But Roy (1983) argues:

"If you have direct control you cannot have accountability, for accountability implies the exercise of judgement and discretion. Control simply means that you do what you are told. Thus control of the educational process, and the accountability of teachers to the various interest groups are incompatible."
(p.97.)

The Government has applied a market forces ideology to education. It is regarded as a business and should be run as such. Efficiency is the criteria. Budgets are priorities and test results, throughout the time that the child attends school are seen as pointing to cost effectiveness.

The interviewees did not appear convinced by this philosophy:

"I can't understand why he (the Secretary of State) goes on about falling standards. If he bothered to look at the evidence he would see that more kids are getting 'O' and 'A' levels than ever before." (Doreen)

- my brackets.

Also, they held the belief that the quality of the product - the child - should be the priority and to achieve this the best resources and talent must be harnessed. Chilvers (1988) amplified this point;

"teachers should be regarded as professionals and given the support which they need."

c). Appraisal

The notion of 'appraisal' of teachers may be considered as 'fear of change'. McLoughlin (1978) reviewing an American Survey in Chicago pointed out that appraisal was perceived as the second most stressful point for teachers. Will appraisal prove an equally big concern for the morale of teachers in this country? The interviewees had firm ideas about this as is indicated in the section which follows (pp. 272-280).

(i) Function and Method

In order to evoke some of the characteristics of intrinsically rewarding jobs, the notion of an 'appraisal' process must find a central place in any strategy which seeks to estimate the value of an individual's contribution to the work of an organisation and of his potential contribution to its future work. Ideally, it would be necessary to individualise any motivation system with the staff concerned. Yet, apart from the amount of time this would consume, if attempted with all staff, it would prove difficult in practice as people differ in many ways and behaviour constantly changes.

Feedback through appraisal interviews may lead to the creation of modified work environments which would be valued by staff and be contingent on improvements in their task performance. Individualisation demands that a variety of work situations be created and in addition that school organisations should encourage teachers to design their own work situations.

As a Primary teacher, I recognise that this personalisation process does go on. It is manifest in the variety of decorations and layouts of our classrooms. It could be encouraged more and supported more by school management, particularly in the secondary sector, and if it was, it could have a beneficial effect on morale.

However, management should not fully expect to achieve the goal of total individualisation in practice, though it is worth the effort to travel the road towards it, in order to help the morale of the school staff, for it is they who are its most important and vital resource.

It was suggested by Sofer (1972) that the principal design function of a staff appraisal scheme is to assist and prepare members of organisations for promotions and re-deployment during periods of change. Such is the normal process of organisational regeneration. Feedback from the appraisal interview should lead the individual to learn about his work behaviour, enlist and receive support from his management authority in order to increase his competence, to discover and mobilise talents so that the contribution to the organisation is maximised, and to achieve and operate at the highest levels of job satisfaction and personal growth.

The 'spin off' should be that the staff so appraised and treated as unique and worthwhile individuals will pass on this approach to their pupils, and that morale in general throughout the school will be the beneficiary.

(ii) Job Characteristics

Argyris (1964) talks of three characteristics of jobs. The first is that the individual must receive meaningful feedback about his performance. Political leaders get this via opinion polls. Most of my interviewees referred to tensions being created by a lack of feedback about performance together with feelings of helplessness in influencing matters directly affecting them.

Such tensions may be due to an uncertainty as to how they, or incidents involving them, are actually perceived by those in authority over them.

Glew (1980) used the term 'meta-perception' to describe this phenomenon. The teacher, himself, may perhaps have a completely inaccurate view of the reality of the perception.

Uncertainties like these, together with attendant feelings about lack of control, goal setting and methodology, are seen by Argyris (1964) as elements acting against his third job characteristic; success. He wrote that they serve to increase distress levels. (see also p.49-51).

Argyris spoke of the need for the individual to experience psychological 'success' as a result of a good performance. This 'success' may be achieved despite great privation and, insists Smith (1976), will produce high morale. Military conflict in South East Asia in World War Two proved that this was so. (Slim, 1956).

Frequently the interviewees alluded to successes with sports' teams, with examination results or promotions which acted as boosts for their morale.

Argyris' second job characteristic is that the individual must perceive that the job requires him to use abilities he values in order to perform the job efficiently. He must not, as did several of the informants, notably Bob, Grace and Anna, feel 'under-used.'

Argyris' characteristics contain many of the elements that would be necessary to a fair and effective appraisal system.

(iii) Interviewee reaction

It is generally agreed by all parties concerned in education that some monitoring is necessary. Sargent expressed this view in 1976 and it is evident from discussions with L.E.A. Advisers that Westridge have recently begun to consider this issue. All of the interviewees were enthusiastic about the potential of appraisal. They echoed Blackburn's (1986) sentiments that:

"The primary purpose of staff appraisal is to contribute to the professional development of teachers." (p. 51).

"It gives us the chance to demonstrate our competence." (Bob).

"Appraisal will, if it is done properly, be beneficial to the individual teacher." (Sarah).

Sarah, along with others, also expressed reservations. These concerned the integrity of those who were doing the appraising, and how the appraisal was to be conducted.

There was a shared belief that what the teacher did in his job was a crucial determinant of whether the teacher thought that a good performance would lead to feelings of accomplishment, growth and self-esteem - pre-requisites for morale.

The majority of the sample agreed that one of the most difficult tasks for those involved in management is to take responsibility for the work of another professional. They recognised the difficulty of sharing perceptions of success and failure with the appraised. Frank thought that the inclinations, training and experience of appraisors as teachers may be detrimental to the task:

"Teachers are used to criticising or blaming young people but not assessing other professionals." (Frank).

Further reservations were expressed about the credentials and the credibility of those doing the appraising, (See also the Sample's Perspectives of Westridge Local Education Authority, pp.193-7), by all of the interviewees.

The 'how' of the process was also a problem for them. They would probably concur with Chilvers (1988) that this should involve;

"detailed knowledge of their individual strengths and weaknesses and the development of individual career planning."

(p. 47.)

The heart of the appraisal process will be the special interview. It was felt that its conduct required careful consideration.

Grace, Anna and Mac felt uncomfortable about the prospect of an appraisal interview. They expected to be criticised or assessed in a judgemental sense. All of the sample admitted that there were aspects of their work that could be improved but;

"there is a limit to what the conscientious teacher can actually achieve." (Doreen).

Such fears remain only to be dispelled - through the experience of a sympathetic and constructive appraisal interview.

"Leadership involves mobilising the members of the team in achieving the task. The appraisal interview gives the Leader an unique opportunity to form insights about team members - their ideas, their hopes, their fears, as well as their limitations - and to plan work with them so as to maximise what each is able to offer to the achievement of the task." (Terence).

If the appraisal interview is a regular feature it will provide the leader with an opportunity to keep pace with changes in the hopes and aspirations of those he leads.

Bob felt that alongside the daily work, the feeling of belonging to a team engendered through participation was important and beneficial. He recognised the potential of the appraisal process here:

"The staff appraisal machine should provide the leader with a key to input planning his (or her) own work and in creating a sense of co-hesion among team members." (Bob).

This being so, through this process of appraisal, morale could be strengthened.

The appraising of teacher effectiveness is just one aspect of evaluation that teachers must now face in this current climate of education debate and change.

d) Curriculum Change

Chilvers, (1988) indicated that,

"many of the reforms with which schools are now coping - for example T.V.E.I. and G.C.S.E. courses in secondary schools, fall to ordinary teachers to implement."
(p. 33).

The respondents expressed opinions on D.E.S. Circulars, Curriculum Documents and statements made by the Secretary of State. The fact that they were frequently mentioned indicates their importance for morale.

Bob talked about teachers;

"drowning in a sea of curriculum documents."

This is in line with Drummond's claim that:

"The plethora of documents from H.M.I., D.E.S., and L.E.A.'s degraded teachers and teaching and seemed to oppose directly the notion of teacher centred learning... On top of that, they seem to me to degrade good practice by treating it as a thing

instantly recognisable by the cognoscenti (of a certain rank and above), instead of regarding it as a series of actors and incidents between live human beings in real schools with all the attendant messiness and hurly-burly of classroom life. (Drummond, 1985).

These documents have sought nothing less than the standardisation of curriculum approach.

"The school curriculum is at the heart of education. In this paper, which comes at the end of several years of public discussion and government consultation with its education partners, the Secretaries of State for Education and Science... set out their views on the way forward and the action they believe is now needed on the part of the Education Departments, Local Education Authorities, teachers and schools in relation to the school curriculum for the 5-16 age range."
- D.E.S. (1981).

The implication that a "National Curriculum for England" will be imposed by the early 1990's has brought this prospect to reality. Additionally Mac regards the process as resulting from an ideological perspective which can be imposed because the Government holds the purse strings.

As early as 1977, Cox had referred to changes in teaching methods. He laid emphasis especially on the movement towards more active pupil involvement in learning and the consequent requirement of teachers to exercise more management skills, energy and flexibility in their teaching performance than when using the blackboard and text book approach.

"Curriculum is changing through things like T.V.E.I., where a modular or an individualistic type of organisation is coming in... Teaching style therefore has got to change... teachers will need to be more like consultants as well as needing to think more about the how as well as what the children are learning." (Frank).

Doreen and Sarah agree that many teachers will feel uneasy about this need to change their style of teaching and speculate that their morale will be affected because of their worries.

To further complicate the issue, ever since Plowden began to spread the gospel of 'child centred education', teachers have been confused, if not overwhelmed, in their searches for acceptable and desirable levels of informality, whilst still 'producing the goods'. This confusion has not helped morale. The sample were not clear as to the strategy or teaching style to adopt because they viewed some of the initiatives, for example, G.C.S.E. and T.V.E.I. in antithesis.

"The centralisation process typified through T.V.E.I. is contrary to the kind of localised teacher knowledge and expertise which goes into the construction and preparation of courses for G.C.S.E. as well as Pupil Profiling."
(Terence).

Similarly on 'Benchmark Testing' (1987).

"The more Mr. Baker, (Secretary of State for Education - 1987) boosts the idea of tests as a major device for monitoring his national curriculum, the more surely it will come to dominate the classroom and have exactly the kind of limiting effect on the work of teachers and pupils which he says he doesn't want."
(T.E.S. 1987b, p. 2)

With T.V.E.I., as a result of the cash injection from the Manpower Service Commission (M.S.C.), some schools are now better resourced than others. Bob and Terence work in non-T.V.E.I. schools. Besides expressing dissatisfaction that such finance was not equitably distributed, they were suspicious as to the motives of funding such a scheme via a body outside the D.E.S. They were of the opinion that education would eventually become an aspect of a larger Department of Employment. Doreen, Mac and Sarah expressed similar views. Such sentiments are obviously affecting their professional perspectives and their morale.

e) Summary

'Change' was recognised by the interviewees as producing adjustment difficulties and ensuing problems with personal morale.

Kennedy (1957) spoke of change thus;

"It is evidence of high morale in a human group that there is no mental set against the possibility of change, that new thought can be generated without having to overcome too much inertia of mind and that the capability to change has not been lost. In the same way continual change of staff and methods may have an adverse effect on morale." (p.261).

More recently Sikes (1985) pointed out that,

"Change of any sort, whether at work or in any other area of life provokes anxiety because it threatens a person's life world, their reality, their identity, their sense of security." (p.148).

This concept of change may be considered in two ways. There is the change that individuals have already experienced or are experiencing. This may be to do with aspects such as a change of school or responsibility. Secondly, there is the fear of change. This fear may have been generated as a result of ideological considerations and include such notions as appraisal and curriculum 'reform'.

It is evident that teachers have had to cope with many changes over the past few years. These have emanated from school management, the Local Education Authority, and more recently from central government. They have been greeted with varying degrees of resistance which has been aggravated by low morale. Despite this, the teaching force has adapted, but as has been seen from the case studies, adaptation has cost much in terms of commitment (pp. 182-3) efficiency (pp. 209-210) and personal health (pp. 100, 322-326).

Truly, education is, and should be, a dynamic process though the interviewees believe that not all change is for the good. The studies indicate that insecurity and low morale go hand in hand. Mac's experience showed this clearly. Therefore, for any positive change to take place morale should be accounted for, and steps taken, to remedy cases where it is low.

2. THE ROLE OF THE TEACHERa) Role conflict

Dunham (1986) pinpoints types of role conflict from his 'stress' researches. The first arises as a result of "contradictory expectations". (p.88).

For example, Deputy Heads may be regarded as team leaders by Heads, or as intermediaries between the Heads and the staff. If we take the roles of the Deputies and senior teachers in Doreen's school, they are regarded by the Head as his top management team. The staff regard them as linkmen between the staff-room and the Head's office. Doreen frequently referred to them as the... "Head's henchmen." They are regarded with suspicion as being the eyes and ears of the Head in the staffroom. This makes for inhibitions and reduces the opportunities when staff are able to say what they feel and... "let off steam." A 'them and us' situation is fostered thereby affecting morale. Sarah uses the same term to describe the top management team at Brunswick.

The second type of role conflict according to Dunham (1986) arises as a result of "conflicting demands." (p. 89)

For example, holding down more than one responsibility area in a school.

Terence as a Head of Department experienced this type of role conflict. He acted as intermediary between the Maths. Department and other departments in the school. He was also the link between his department and the Headmaster. He felt that it was important to put his views to the Head, whereas the Head saw Terence's function as a controlling one, principally to do with the day to day organisation of his subject.

Conflicting demands are present for Frank. He holds pastoral responsibilities as Deputy House Head as well as being Head of the History Department and T.V.E.I. Co-ordinator. Until two years ago - 1986, he was also Head of the P.E. Department. On the pastoral side, he is often presented with problems that require immediate attention. These often occur when he is time-tabled for teaching. They may also require him to be the mediator between pupils, the parents and staff. Frank says;...

"the availability of the right staff to deal with an incident at the right time - when it happens.",

is a problem in his school.

Additional pressures concerning their pastoral responsibilities exist for Mac and Sarah. They mentioned these occurring when, out of necessity, they became bound up with problems of a personal nature to a pupil or his family in the course of their teaching day:

"To them I'm sure I'm
just a shoulder to cry
on... someone to listen".

(Sarah).

b) Role confusion

Dunham (1986) reckons that management posts in schools are made up of an increasing number of parts of the other peoples' roles:

"These include counsellor, careers advisor, social worker, teacher, manager, resource provider, examiner, secretary, restaurant manager, librarian, education adviser." (p.92).

Through Frank's eyes his Head certainly fulfills some of these to the detriment of others:

"His sole concern over the time of the dispute was to maintain school meals."

"He is more interested in chasing lost property."

"He lacks basic skills in man management."

Frank's criticism is based on a belief that his Head's priorities in the school are wrong.

A further point to be considered here is that most of the interviewees regard themselves as operating with very imprecise job descriptions for their posts; for instance,

"I am Head of Mathematics. That's my job description. That's all that is written down.... It doesn't actually tell me what I should do.... I'd certainly prefer something a bit clearer."

(Doreen).

Anna, alone, and the most recent case appointed to a scale post, has received a fairly detailed job description compared to the others. She considers it advantageous to have her duties listed:

"I know what I'm supposed to do and the other staff know it as well."

Anna's case is an example of the comparatively recent shift in policy by Westridge L.E.A. in offering specific job descriptions in terms of responsibilities in schools. Earlier appointees, for example, Doreen who had taken up her post two years previously to this, did not have a job description.

A consequence for Doreen's morale was that the lack of job description provoked uncertainty for her and affected her morale. On the other hand, Anna felt secure in her understanding that she recognised what her duties were and her morale was boosted as a result.

The teachers' morale was inevitably affected when their responsibilities were not clearly designated. Terence, Frank and Bob felt that they had more responsibility than others on the same scale than their scale would seem to indicate. They also perceived that other staff on higher scales had less responsibilities than they did. Anna and Grace had felt this too.

The concern about matching scales and actual responsibilities and the varying policies between patterns of organisation within schools must be accounted problematic. Schools like Bishop Tooley and Brunswick had a more clearly designated responsibility than others. Teachers in Percival were expected to help out, although there was no formal recognition for so doing and they ended up feeling that they were doing it on a voluntary basis and became unsure of their position. This led to conflicts and anxieties and a crisis for personal morale.

c) Summary

The changes which were indicated previously have brought about the additional complications of role conflict and role uncertainty. Role conflicts and uncertainties exist in a variety of educational settings in any case. However, as has been indicated, (pp.120-9) these have been greater for the teachers in the case studies. This has been especially true for those who have had to experience upheaval, for instance in those cases where school re-organisation occurred (see Mac, pp.98-9, Blake pp.106-8). However, within the context of the school management structure conflicts and confusions exist also.

The imprecise nature of their posts, together with "contradictory expectations," and "conflicting demands," (Dunham 1986) had affected their morale.

3. PUPILS

Dunham (1986) quoted Lowenstein (1975);

"... disruption in class, while largely of a non-violent nature, is increasing in terms of insolence, disobedience and verbal abuse."

Such disruption can be disturbing and frightening for a teacher whose personal values and previous experience holds the belief that the correct way to deal with angry feelings should be to control them and hide them from others.

Dunham used the words of the Head of a large comprehensive school in the South of England to show this:

"The teacher's energy is drained by the necessity of being always alert to contain outbreaks of anti-social behaviour, to meet insolence without losing self-control and to cool the tempers of those whose frustrations drive them into conflict with their peers." (1976).

Some pupils are truly angelic, most of the time. They are kind, concerned, eager to do well, co-operate and please. Others are truly devilish, most of the time. They bully, irritate, harrass and aggravate. They seem compelled to make life miserable, especially for their teachers. Still others are sweet part of the time and surly part of the time.

"The blatant fact is that for most teachers discipline is a big headache. Good control techniques are very difficult skills for teachers to learn. Discipline is a tough problem for teachers. It can make them or break them." (Mac).

"Realistically, children misbehave, sometimes playfully, sometimes maliciously. When that misbehaviour significantly interferes with class learning, it must be stopped... And, if learning is also to continue for he who misbehaves, positive and productive corrections must be made." (Sarah).

Fortunately, the discipline matter may not be as hopeless as those who bemoan the passing of corporal punishment would have us believe. There are other techniques. No single one will work for all pupils but at least one of them will be effective for the great majority. That is why discipline should not be considered a single factor but a composite of many:

"Good teachers have learned that they need to use a variety of control techniques. They have also learned that good discipline is a non-ending series of small acts they carry out every day through the entire year." (Terence).

If all staff act together over a united code of conduct then what Doreen refers to as;

"esprit de corps,"

develops. She adds;

"good discipline is a pre-requisite to the ethos of the school."¹

1. See also Doreen, pp. 84-5 .

The interviewees believed that behaviour problems in their schools were on the increase and that some members of their staffs were under pressure. However, it was maintained that the generally worsening attitudes and motivation of pupils tended to be much more of a problem than misbehaviour per se.

Summary

On a more personal note, the sample felt that their job satisfaction as teachers was at its highest when they closed their classroom doors and were able to teach without interruption or distraction. It was at the job of teaching - 'at the chalk face' - and relating to the pupils that they built up reservoirs of positive morale through interactions with this important reference group.

"The pupils sustain me.", (Terence).

Here they echoed the sentiments of Sikes' teachers (1985);

"the centrepiece of the intrinsic rewards teachers say they get from their job-pupil response and progress." (p.8)

Conflicts with or about pupils are potential dangers to morale. Dunham (1986) isolated problems involving pupils as sources of stress for teachers. However, my sample are experienced career teachers and this perhaps accounts for them not indicating that they affect their morale adversely.

Generally, although a large amount of data has been generated about the subject of pupil-teacher relationships from the interviewees, the above comments indicated the positive nature in which these relationships were viewed by all of the teachers. In contrast to previous sections, where morale has been adversely affected, such a positive effect must be regarded as encouraging.

4. STAFF RELATIONSHIPS

Dunham (1984-1986) indicated that difficult and frustrating staff relationships are on the increase. This is borne out by the respondents. Much of the conflict has arisen as a result of differences expressed over the conduct of the recent teacher disputes. For example, conflicts have developed in staffrooms over taking industrial action or not. These have led to divided staffs and furthered disunity.

a) Industrial Action

(i) 'Disunity Without'

The long running teachers' disputes have proved to be a cause of dissatisfaction amongst my interviewees:

"Action is more demoralising for teachers than for anyone else"
(Terence).

None relished the thought of action though Grace said that she used the action to "get at her Head."
All however were prepared to go along with their unions - (N.U.T., NAS/UWT, AMMA) as they believed that:..

"Action was the only course we had left."
(Frank, Mary).

It was generally felt that the disunity of the main unions had hindered the achievement of a fair salary and conditions settlement:

"We could have had a fair and just settlement if the unions had worked with each other instead of stabbing each other in the back." (Anna).

Bob spoke of being;

"baffled by the unions' tactics or lack of them. No one (the Local Education Authorities or the Secretary of State) seems to be able to work out which union or group of unions is going to come up with the goods. (- deliver a settlement) - My brackets.

He says that he wasn't surprised when the Secretary of State argued that his only solution was to impose a deal as a result. Blake also talked of this;

"failure of the unions to get their act together."

Frank puts the reason for this as being due to the fact that;

"their major concern has been increasing or maintaining membership numbers rather than to pursue the interests of their members."

Certainly one consequence for the interviewees was that;

"self doubts (about the unions) are bound to add to the crisis in morale."
(Meikle - 1987).

Sarah argues that their inept strategy has meant:

"Teachers have failed to get a respectable pay award and conditions of service... they have succeeded in alienating each other and public sympathy."

Her last phrase is well illustrated by the T.E.S/MORI Poll on Attitudes towards the Teachers' Dispute (1987). An average of 54% thought that teachers no longer had justification to continue with the dispute.

Possibly the appeal by Giles Radice to the 1987 N.U.T. Easter Conference to end school disruption took these attitudes into consideration.

(ii) 'Disunity Within'

This conflict between the unions has been carried down to school levels. It has involved staff members in different unions and has largely concerned the argument over;

"the rights and wrongs of taking union action or the amount of action."

(Frank).

The interviewees are openly critical of the attitudes of certain colleagues in their schools who have not taken action. Mac was especially critical of members of the Professional Association of Teachers (P.A.T.):

"You have to think of them as the 'fifth column'. They have weakened us from within. The Government has used them as model teachers in their battles with us."

Frank is also scathing about P.A.T. members in his school:

"They are all working for a second income which pays for trips to the hairdressers and a second vehicle... basically they see industrial action as being inconvenient."

He considers that the dispute has been prolonged as a result of individuals such as these who have sought refuge in their conscience.

"Unfortunately that attitude does not pay the bills."

Mac also mentioned teachers from the other unions who did not obey the directives and instructions preferring instead to think of their own immediate self interest:

"Too many teachers have been prepared to let their colleagues down. As a result we've ended up with a very poor deal."

By this Mac meant that they have chosen to continue with extra curricular activities or not to go on strike:

"Some teachers won't stop their clubs because they think that it'll damage their promotion chances... some won't go on strike for half a day because they say they can't afford it.. don't they realise if they maintain that attitude they won't be able to afford to live properly in any case... Some won't go on strike when they've got free lessons. That's the sort of solidarity you've got in teaching." (Mary).

As a result, conflicts have arisen within staffrooms which previously did not exist:

"They have helped to destroy some good relationships and friendships within staffrooms... They have pitted staff against each other." (Doreen).

"Union action or inaction has caused bad feeling... Relationships with staff have deteriorated... we don't see each other as much through the action... many now leave the site at lunchtime." (Terence).

Morale has been a casualty of the increasing disunities brought about by the teachers' industrial action.

The respondents held the view that extra curricular activities were another casualty. All were involved in this work and expressed feelings of regret about ending them.

Frank recalls some of his most satisfying moments, particularly early in his school career, as being due to these activities. Now, however, several of the sample (e.g. Bob, Mac and Frank), say that they do not see themselves giving as much time to them:

"I don't think that they'll start again readily because teachers have got used to the free time and have filled it with something else." (Bob).

Blake gave another reason:

"We've had our commitment thrown back in our faces. Teachers did things in the past because they cared about their jobs. We've realised now that this hasn't been appreciated so we've stopped caring."

Furthermore, Frank speculated that extra-curricular activities were a;

"phenomena of those people who entered the profession in the 1960's and 1970's."

This was in the days when education was in its period of expansion and when entrants saw that organising a school team or a club would help them up the career ladder. However, this is a period of contraction. There are fewer opportunities for promotion, and even fewer people willing to give their time to extra curricular work. It is also the time when the interviewees are finding significant increases in their personal responsibilities, so it could be hypothesised that they are looking for a way out in any case. Usually by their age, they have found a younger teacher to pass the activity onto or have found an excuse to stop the activity altogether. With a dearth of young teachers ready to step into their extra curricular 'shoes', most, apart from those with formal P.E. responsibilities, have chosen the industrial action as the excuse.

(iii) Bishop Tooley - A contrasting view of Teacher Action.

Most of the interviewees had talked about one consequence of the sanctions being that teachers had begun to opt out of duties and extra curricular work. This had led to pupils being unsettled, increased cases of disruption and greater teacher apathy. Yet, Bishop Tooley Comprehensive, according to Anna and Mary, seemed to press on as before.

This may be due to an insular perspective caused by its geography and perpetuated by staff attitudes. Geographically, it is situated on the rural edge of Westridge where it serves a middle class area. The staff are not apparently interested in the upset and upheaval that sanctions may cause them:

"They are not happy about being told to come out on strike because it interferes with the way that they have done things over the years." (Mary).

The consequence is that the disputes have had little effect on the school. Much extra-curricular work has carried on as usual with key staff being either P.A.T. , switching to it or non-union.

One point that Anna considers here is that;

"there is no one on the staff who is keen to take on pushing his union policies against others or arguing that members should stay loyal and cause conflict as a result." (Anna).

It is possible that the traditions of the school in maintaining high standards and an attitude which puts the school and its pupils before teachers and unions may be discerned here.

(iv) The Head Teacher

Contrasting views of Head Teacher reaction during the industrial action were put forward by the interviewees.

All Head Teachers in Westridge were instructed by their unions (The Secondary Heads Association - S.H.A. and National Association of Head Teachers - N.A.H.T.) that they were to follow standard industrial disputes practices and do nothing to negate any action taken by the teachers on their staffs. Bob, however, felt that;

"their lack of action has helped still further to alienate Heads from their staffs."

A confidential memo to branch secretaries of N.A.H.T. (1987) gives advice on dealing with other teacher union officers in order to "prevent misunderstandings" and on maintaining "tact and diplomacy."

"It is useful to express sentiments of support and gives a good, but false impression of being 'all pals together,' which can be used to your advantage."

Frank's attitude was that had the Head Teachers been prepared to take a decisive role in supporting the case of teachers as a whole then the dispute would not have been so prolonged. He referred to his own Head who was seen to negate the action of those in dispute by taking on sole responsibility for dinner supervision when the teachers withdrew. He thinks that:

"He and others like him have let us down. Yet at the end of the day it's the Head Teachers that'll get the biggest slice of the cake" (largest pay award).
(Frank) - my brackets.

On the other hand, Blake and Mac recognise that the Head Teacher by trying to maintain education in his school throughout a period of prolonged dispute and beyond has;

"had to walk a tightrope between keeping things going and maintaining the goodwill of his staff." (Mac).

They sympathise with the plight of the Head Teachers who must see what is happening to their schools:

"They must now run schools with discontented and divided staffs, They're under pressures themselves from Local Education Authorities to keep facilities like dinners operating and are victims of increasing parental scepticism about what is going on in their schools." (Blake).

This pressure is reflected in the decreasing numbers of applications for headships, even though the 1987 award was particularly favourable to them. Mooney (1987) indicates that teachers no longer aspire to the position any more, yet Chilvers (1988) argues that they have found;

"no evidence of serious recruitment, retention and motivation or quality problems affecting heads and deputies." (p.33).

That they achieved the... "biggest slice of the cake," (Frank) without taking industrial action has reduced the credibility of their office in the eyes of their staffs still further.

A consensus emerged from the interviewees that heads are no longer considered teachers by those who are inferior to them. Their lack of leadership has affected the morale of those who they are supposed to lead. They have failed to lead or even to join in the teachers' struggle, and this lack of action has affected morale.

Bob was worried that if the Head Teacher Unions succeeded in their goal of securing separate negotiating rights about pay and conditions of service, then they might find themselves becoming further distanced from ordinary teachers.

"They will be thought of with greater suspicion (by their staffs) and what fragile unity remains amongst teachers will be further eroded."

(Bob) - my brackets .

b) Organisational Conflict

The interviewees recognised two other potential areas of conflict and concern which have affected morale to some extent. One was to do with resource allocation. The other was the time-table.

(1) Resources

Some departments were seen as being better funded than others. My interviewees were Maths. teachers and P.E. teachers and Westridge Local Education Authority likes to ensure that these subjects are well supported. This possibly accounts for the fact that all, apart from Mary, were reasonably satisfied with their departmental allocations. They, also, were either currently or partially responsible for how money was used in their departments. Mary thought that the requisition in her school (Bishop Tooley) greatly favoured examination work.

For Grace spending her requisition was a new phenomenon. Before Blake arrived at Selwyn, the Girls' P.E. needs had been determined by her co-Head of Department for Boys' P.E. and there had never been parity in what was awarded:

"I remember almost pleading with him (The Boys' Head of Department) to buy some hockey bibs for the girls one year... yet the boys got a new set of football strips every season."

Blake, before arriving at Selwyn in September 1986, had previously worked in old and badly equipped schools:

"At 'Lakeside' my room was a trunk in the corridor... there was no staff changing facilities... the changing facilities for the kids weren't much better... there was a hardboard partition open at the top between the boys' and girls'... our area was dirty and vermin ridden. South Street wasn't much better... particularly with the dirt, rats and fleas... the boys' showers were never connected up so we had to use the girls' showers alternatively with them."

He admitted that this had made his job more difficult particularly when he looked with envy at the other schools in the Borough with their masses of up to date facilities. He indicated that he was pleased at last to be working in a well equipped and resourced school.

Terence and Bob were also envious of other schools. This time it was because of T.V.E.I. resourcing. (See p. 284.).

Generally, it can be stated that when the question of resourcing arose the responses looked towards the personnel allocating the resources - the Head - rather than to look jealously across at other departments. The impression that their departments were not necessarily being fairly treated vis a vis the others was not given. Any conflict over resourcing was seen to be a consequence of decision making by the Head Teacher.

(ii) The Time Tables

The Formal Time Table also produced some problems for the morale of my interviewees.

Mac complained that when he went to Percival Comprehensive as Head of Fourth Year in September, 1986, he was given only pupils of low ability to teach and had to teach in seven different classrooms:

"I think I lost out somewhere, or offended someone when the time-table was drawn up."

Doreen sheds some light on the time-tabling at Percival.

"You never see it until the first day of term, even then only if you're lucky. For us the time table never arrives on time."

Doreen is Head of Mathematics, and Mac is now one of her department, yet she is not consulted about the time-table and does not decide which of her staff should teach which classes in which rooms.

Similar problems seem to exist in some of the other schools. Bob mentioned that the Deputy Head in his school had recently been relieved of her time-tabling duties because of her;

"inability to do the job without making a total mess of it... one year the head and the two senior teachers spent most of the first fortnight of term sorting the thing out from scratch."

He, along with others of the interviewees, said that they liked to be prepared and ready for the start of a new year:

"It's important to make a good start with your groups in September and to do that it's nice to know who your groups are." (Doreen).

Uncertainties and reservations like this about the time-table do not seem to have helped the morale of the sample.

Bishop Tooley does not appear to suffer such difficulties on this aspect. Even Mary admitted that;

"the time-table is sorted out well before the beginning of term and the Deputy Head will be available to discuss and amend where necessary."

The Substitution Time-Table.

Problems over the time table frequently concerned preparation periods - the so-called 'free periods'. Certain staff seemed to do better than others.

It was particularly felt that senior management, for instance, should appear more frequently on substitution rotas since they had lighter teaching loads.

Bob, when he was acting Head of Mathematics, was affected. He was unhappy that he was not given the parity with the Head of English which the regular Head of Maths. enjoyed.

It also seemed to most of the interviewees that they, in particular, were more likely to be called upon first when substitutions for cover were necessary.

"I'm sure that it's because they
(senior management) know that we're
the ones who can cope."

(Frank) - my brackets.

It was clear that having to cover for staff illness absences was causing problems for morale. There are two separate points to consider here. Staff absence may be an indication of low morale and the stress that teaching causes. This may help a teacher to justify or explain an absence. Secondly, those who are left to cover for them lose 'free' periods, become frustrated and tired and may in turn possibly suffer some depression and problems with personal morale.

Simpson (1976) and Lawley (1985) identified staff absence as one index of the state of morale in schools. Both Mac and Terence gave some indication that they had suffered stress related illness. Mac remembered experiencing palpitations during the uncertainties surrounding his career prospects following the announcement of the closure of his school - South Street - see also pp. 98, 100.

Truancy from schools is a well known problem, however, now the evidence seems to indicate that the teachers too are 'playing hookey'. Frank and Mac talked about members of their staffs whose absences could be "predicted", and about teachers who;

"don't turn in with regular frequency."

They were the teachers who could be guaranteed to be absent at certain times when they had problem classes. The consequence was that the same people ended up being called on for substitution. Latterly, (i.e. before the start of the 'no-cover action' in 1985) Frank, Mac and Terence all admitted to;

"having a go at these people."

An inspection of staff returns from Westridge Local Education Authority covering the five year period ending 31st December 1986 shows that total man hours lost through sickness have more than doubled.

year	male	female	total
1982	2210	3830	6040
1983	2159	3375	5534
1984	6046	6793	12839
1985	5228	9132	14660
1986	6462	8056	14518

Westridge L.E.A. - Man hours lost through sickness

Perhaps the ageing factor of teachers (despite the early retirement schemes) in static teaching establishments, within the parameters of a contracting teaching force having fewer new starters, plays a part in this.

Also, over this time Westridge embarked upon rationalisation of its primary and secondary establishments as a result of falling school rolls.

As we have seen from the sample, this involved amalgamations, closures, and ultimately the reduction of promotion opportunities, as well as the re-deployment of teachers (voluntarily and otherwise). Therefore, if staff absence is an indicator of teacher morale then teacher morale was significantly affected from 1982 to 1985.

A further factor may be attributed to changes in procedures in accounting for absences:

"I do maintain that teacher absence is on the increase. I don't know whether the new arrangements for statutory signing on and off have something to do with it."

(L.E.A. Adviser).

It was significant that changes in the arrangements for cover in 1986, following the imposition of 'no-cover action' by the larger teacher unions, may have had the effect of halting a decline in morale in a difficult situation. This is indicated when one considers that the absence figures stabilised between 1985 and 1986. In fact, on a national basis, Chilvers (1988) now argues that;

"rates of sickness compared well with the corresponding figures for other L.E.A. employees and for private industry." (p. 61).

And;

"absences from school in the current climate increased - or at least they did, before the no-cover action by the unions." (L.E.A. Adviser).

On a 'moralistic' basis, it could be argued that the teachers were showing a sense of duty to the children by not being willing to be responsible for sending children home.

Maybe the answer lies in the fact that teachers know exactly what their 'contract' commitments are when they come to school. They will not be losing their 'free periods' for preparation and marking time in order to take their turn in 'baby sitting', i.e. appearing on the cover time table :

"If you are not feeling 100% you know you will not be confronted with a possibly stressful situation of coping with an unknown class and difficult subject material." (Terence).

"The guarantee of a fixed time-table makes me more inclined to come into school, whereas the possibility of a difficult 'sit' when I am not feeling well might tip the balance of staying in bed." (Mac).

c) Other Incidences of Conflict

Few actual significant 'incidences' of conflict between my interviewees and their colleagues were mentioned. All indicated that they had occasionally experienced differences with certain colleagues but these had been swiftly resolved.

Frank expressed a need to;

"get on with people."

and said that he;

"made the effort to resolve any conflict by meeting my opponent half way."

Terence was held in some awe by colleagues and his authority/wisdom was seldom challenged. He also had the ability to logically argue his course of action and overcome opposition in that way.

One long-term conflict concerned Grace whose co-Head of P.E. expected her to be subordinate to him. This disgusted her. The animosity was resolved when Blake took over the Boys' Department when the former incumbent received an upgrading. Now she mentions him as;

"actually speaking civilly to me for the first time."

Mac, Blake, Doreen, Frank and Grace all alluded to the unease which was created in their staffrooms as a result of closure proposals.

Blake of course has endured the spectre of the closure of the school in which he is working on more than one occasion. (See p.105). He mentioned this tension and he also noted the gradual development of certain attitudes over the period of time from the closure threat, to the official announcement and implementation of closure. He said of these times that;

"envy (amongst the staff) turned to bitterness and bad feelings." - my brackets.

Blake's first experience of this was at Garden Lake School- see pp. 107-108.

Doreen confirmed this of Garden Lake:

"You were naturally envious of those who got good jobs (-jobs of comparable status or better) by getting out early. Those who stayed ended up back on the Basic Scale (Scale One), their careers in ruins. Fortunately, though, I got out reasonably early.... I was very sorry for those who were left... there were some very good people amongst them." - my brackets.

Having to begin a career again from Scale One status (although his salary was safeguarded), with the additional prospect of having to move on to restart his career for the third time once Selwyn closes in 1988, has undoubtedly taken toll of Blake's morale and of other staff in similar positions:

"I had seen other staff get fixed up with jobs that meant that their status was safeguarded as well as their salary... This has caused a lot of upset. Those like me who got left behind thought we were failures. It was especially bad when you saw some of those who got fixed up with the plum jobs. Some of them were obviously well in with someone in 'the office' or on the Council." (Blake).

Mac indicated his worries that this might happen to him, but at a late stage (July 1986) he found out that there was a comparable job for him as Head of Year at Percival from September, 1986. His status anxiety was somewhat relieved.

"I would have found it more difficult to go into a school where I didn't have the status that I'd had at South Street. It had been very hard. I like to think of myself as being reasonably conscientious. But I look at some of the staff at Percival, They've got problems in coping... At least going in as a Head of Year gives me a bit of standing with the kids and the other staff. That makes it easier to start again than if you were a nobody." (Mac).

Dunham (1984) also recognised the value of the need for communication and support of teachers with professional problems by colleagues and especially the senior staff.

Bashford (1985) regards this lack of support from senior staff as being crucial in avoiding stress among young teachers. He complained about a lack of praise and encouragement from superiors;

"There was no feed-back to how I was doing... There was no one to bring my problems to," (p.4.)

He called for a more supportive organisation and policy for probationary teachers.

Frank on the other hand pointed out:

"In some cases a younger member of staff will not admit to having difficulties."

Terence, Frank and Mac regarded such support as crucial to the development of their early careers.

"They (older and more experienced colleagues) would give you the time of day to help to sort out a problem... They appreciated being asked for help and gave you good advice." (Frank)

- my brackets.

They refer back to this time with nostalgia and make the point that they are prepared to offer similar help to their younger and more inexperienced colleagues - particularly with problems involving pupils or other staff.

(d) Summary

'Reference groups' have taken on an important significance for all of these teachers.

For the sample in general, their next sources of satisfaction after the pupils were their positive relationships with their colleagues - those who were their teaching peers. In staff rooms and during informal contacts with their colleagues, the teachers gained feelings of support and gratification which bolstered their morale.

"I've had some good times with them (the staff) both in school and outside ... without their warmth, support and sympathy I wouldn't have stuck it at Selwyn." (Grace).

Most of my interviewees recalled similar events when they had been involved in social gatherings outside school with fellow staff members. They looked back on them with feelings of nostalgia. Because of increasing family commitments, such occasions were fewer now, although they still occurred from time to time.

More rare now were the sporting events. This may be due to the ageing factor of the sample, together with their family responsibilities. However, Mac and Terence pointed out that these events frequently took place following their extra-curricular work at the end of school sessions or on Saturdays. With the reduction of teams and clubs as a result of teacher action, the excuses for meeting together for sports have also been reduced.

All involved in these staff social events recognised that it contributed to achieving not only cohesion between individuals, but that it was good for the morale of their schools. Unfortunately, the pattern of industrial action had probably taken its toll here. It had served to engender bitterness not only between individual members of staff but also between the staffs and the headteachers of their schools. The exception was Bishop Tooley, where, because of its peculiar nature, (pp.309-310) disruption had been minimal.

Conflicts of a more in-school organisational nature between members of staff had also affected the subjects' morale. These concerned resource allocation and time-tabling. The latter was particularly relevant when the 'relief' or 'cover' time-table was mentioned. Investigations here indicated a link between staff absence levels and morale.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Having considered the evidence from the case studies of ten 'mid-career' teachers in one northern L.E.A., it can be confirmed that a decline in their morale has been consistently reported. That this is simply related to a fall in salary in real terms and a reduction in promotion and career opportunity that has occurred at the same time is not conclusive. Rather, it is as a consequence of that complex inter-related series of variables which Ball et al (1985) conceptualised as being due to 'political', 'social' and 'economic' constraints. The changes brought about thereby have impinged both directly and indirectly upon the teaching force as a whole.

The morale of the ten teachers within their schools, either collectively or individually, was rarely static. The Smith studies (1966 and 1976), and the Williams and Lane study (1975) noted this also. The cyclical nature of morale which, Davis (1963) referred to, was recognised by several of my respondents. Rises and falls occurred for a number of reasons. As Lawley (1985) pointed out, these may be attributed to both 'external' and 'internal' school factors. As 'external' factors, the problems arising from the falling roll situation and 'national' initiatives provoked examples which were cited by my respondents.

Because of a falling roll situation, the teachers in the ten case studies are experiencing a radical change in their career expectations. Similarities may be noted here between these teachers and those in the Sikes (1985) survey. Both sets had entered a profession with a hierarchical model of achievement based on promotion. In the early part of their careers this model was not unrealistic. They were promoted to middle management posts in their late twenties and early thirties during a period of educational expansion. They held the strong assumption that further progress would follow.

Such assumptions for my teachers are currently under some re-examination and, as Sikes (1985) puts it, some 're-definition' may be taking place leading to difficulties with their personal morale. They are people whose early work experience was spent in a period of expansion where there was much greater scope of job availability in all local education authorities. Now, my teachers make references to the operation of 'ring-fence' policies, unadvertised vacancies and the severe competition for posts of all descriptions. The decreasing number of opportunities has resulted in my respondents becoming reconciled to remaining in Westridge and, probably, their present appointments.

As a consequence, because rewards for energy or initiative in the form of promotion or promotional opportunity were reduced, there was an increasing resentment of any 'passengers' on their staffs. On the other hand, there was an increasing reluctance to do more than "nine to four" or to participate in extra curricular activities. This began initially during the period of industrial action when sanctions were in operation and has continued subsequently.

Limited opportunity for staff development was identified by Chilvers (1988) as a problem. My respondents indicated this also. They stated that there was little or no connection between in-service training and career development. It was also argued that morale was adversely affected by a shortage of supply teachers to cover for those on I.N.S.E.T. or for those who were absent where non-contact time had been lost.

Ball and Goodson (1985) pointed out that teacher morale was significantly affected by the natural consequences of the falling roll situation. There was much support for these views in my own research. Comments were made about re-organisations, amalgamations, closures of schools, and teacher re-deployment. Such comments primarily concerned the Local Education Authority of Westridge itself. The attitudes and methods, as well as the policies of the L.E.A., were also seen to be affecting morale.

In the Borough, the widespread problems of the falling school rolls were emphasised by the specific conditions prevailing in the area, notably declining population and high unemployment.

The ten teachers in the survey also focussed on the role adopted by the Central Authority. Like Ball (1985) they saw that it was assuming greater importance for teachers and their morale. The Government's zeal for efficiency and economy has resulted in budget cuts, programme changes and changes in working practices. It voiced that 'Education was becoming part of an enlarged Department of Employment'. Fears were expressed about the imposition of the defined teachers' day and Conditions of Service (D.E.S. 1987). The sample concurred with Ball's and Goodson's views (1985) that the Government, by trying to systemise the curriculum through an almost endless stream of documents and H.M.I. sponsored reports, and by streamlining the education system on economic and political principles, had produced a decline in spirit and feelings against any innovation, be it locally initiated or centrally imposed.

What is apparently happening to our national education system seems at variance with a philosophy put forward by a previous Secretary of State for Education;

"There are basically two attitudes to organisation. One is to build up a structure which you believe is right - it might be called the architectural approach - and oblige people to work in it. The other is to go for a network of living institutions - call it the organic approach - where there is room for adaptation and experiment. I am myself convinced that the organic approach is better. It suits our way of life in this country. For the architectural approach, you must be sure you have all the right answers, whereas good ideas can come from any part of the service at any time."

(Margaret Thatcher, 1971).

All of the teachers interviewed remained to be convinced that the current Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, had right answers. Those who seemed to be on the threshold of senior management team positions stated that they were particularly worried. They saw both teachers (as individuals), and their unions as lacking in unity of purpose and action to cope with these proposals. The sample did not believe that change should be brought about other than via democratic systems of negotiation. They included changes in pay and working practices here. They now felt genuinely undervalued in all senses of the term. They were becoming alienated.

Individually, however, my sample maintained that they were attempting to remain effective at their work. They still reported elements of what Hoppock (1935) and McClusky and Strayer (1940) had termed 'job satisfaction'. As noted in these early researches on teacher morale, these were predominantly allied to interaction with 'reference groups'. In my study, 'job satisfaction' concerned interaction between pupils and fellow staff, although it did seem that the diminishing number of social events for staff allied to an increasing number of conflicts between staff over, for example, taking union action or not, had considerably affected morale.

Westridge Local Education Authority itself was being drastically affected by interference from central government. Conversations with senior personnel and recent publications and statements bear this out.¹ There were also certain interesting tensions between the Local Education Authority and the teachers. On the one hand, the teachers viewed the L.E.A. in terms of a 'them' and 'us' situation. On the other hand, they remained loyal to it. They were prepared to move, or be moved by the L.E.A., rather than seek jobs elsewhere. Certainly instances were reported where the L.E.A. had endeavoured to do its best for its teachers and supported them. Indeed, in the current climate of educational 'reform', they were becoming more readily cast together as allies in order to cope with the adversity of imposed change and the increasing centralisation of control. Fundamentally, the L.E.A. now recognises that the morale of its teachers is at a low ebb (see pp. 198-200).

¹ Westridge (1987b, 1988).

- See also Chapter Five.

That one half of those interviewed were teaching or had trained to teach P.E. and the other half were Mathematics teachers has produced an interesting point for morale comparison. Career-wise, the P.E. teachers echoed Glew's (1980) findings that they realised that their chances of achieving senior management status were small. This effected their morale. Although all of them had been successful in achieving one additional teaching qualification, it was evident that they believed that the low status of their subject handicapped their promotional prospects. This was not true of the mathematics teachers. As Weindling and Earley (1987) indicate, the notion of career advancement poses an additional major problem for the morale of female teachers. This was confirmed in my study. All five believed that they were at an overall disadvantage to their male counterparts and that this was as a consequence of prejudice and/or disadvantage. Especially disadvantaged were the 're-starters' - those who had left teaching to rear their children.

On an 'internal' or school basis, the personal morale levels of my sample were often clearly related to what Flanagan (1954) referred to as 'critical incidents'. These usually involved relationships with senior management. Blocker and Richardson (1962) in their review of morale research had already stated this. More recently, Sikes (1985), and Weindling and Earley (1987) noted its importance. Analytically, these problems may be considered in terms of conflict between a teacher in mid-career and management, usually the Head Teacher'. In this survey, it was frequently the case that as a consequence of such an 'incident', events which have taken place have not been forgotten, the subsequent relationship has been soured and further conflict often ensues.

There is a feeling that the Head bears a grudge or is prejudiced against that person and will be prepared to act in a discriminatory way towards him. A word of caution here must be expressed. Such 'incidents' are only as described by the teacher. There is, therefore, the limitation that the Head's perspective of the conflict was not sought. A Head who is viewed in negative terms by the teacher may in reality not be aware that any conflict exists.

The Weindling and Earley study (1987) shows that heads lay the blame for much of the poor morale of their staffs on teachers themselves, on union intransigence, lack of public support or government interference. Their comments indicate that their morale is also suffering at this time - to a great extent as a result of those factors just mentioned. As Mooney (1987) also indicates, they too are under pressures and these pressures are being reflected in the ways that they carry out their jobs and the roles that they assume in their schools.

The Secretary of State, Kenneth Baker, has stated, according to Chilvers (1988), that he seeks a motivated teaching force. My teachers concur with statements in Sikes (1985) that how teachers are managed is a crucial factor in this motivation. They believed that they themselves were capable of becoming more involved in the management process and thereby being more motivated; if only they were given the opportunity. Chilvers (1988) raised this as a central issue. In reality, the sharing of authority and responsibility has not improved. On the rare occasions where a teacher had been involved in planning and decision making within his school, personal morale had improved but where this did not happen, frustration was evident.

Leadership which is held in highest regard by the teachers, was where Heads had been prepared to involve them in such things as planning and decision making. This style of leadership was much less likely to result in unpopular decisions. Even where this was the case, they acted with more support than that accorded to other leaders.

As with Sikes (1985), it was clear that morale could be improved if the barriers between managed and managers could be lowered through more sympathetic two-way communication procedures which would account for managers becoming more aware of teachers' concerns. Less directive and more participative staff meetings, and greater and easier approachability were features that the sample suggested. Also, sensitising top management to the concerns of teachers might be fostered by managers spending some time in classrooms teaching children. The interviewees portray top management and their behaviour and attitudes in distancing themselves from class teachers and classrooms as one of the great causes of the decline in personal morale. Weindling and Earley (1987) and Williams (1982) expressed these sentiments also.

The review chapter (Chapter Two) indicated that morale and stress could be regarded as related concepts. Dunham's analysis (1984, 1986) proved useful in considering this. Dunham referred to 'change', the 'teacher's role' and aspects of the work environment itself.

All of my sample reported increased 'stresses' in their jobs. Changes, either already experienced, or anticipated, were factors. References were made to the increased accountability of teachers, appraisal, and the greater demands put on them as a result of curriculum reform. Other changes or additions that were noted included new forms of assessment and reporting, community involvement, parental liaison, pastoral care, multicultural and non-sexist educational initiatives, mixed ability teaching, and changes in teaching methods and styles.

The effects of these changes and additions had, in the view of those interviewed, been accompanied by extra paper work and administration, larger classes, less time for preparation and marking, and inadequacies in resources and support staff.

The teachers of the Sikes' study (1985) reported that, increasingly, they were beginning to recognise themselves as having to take on roles that were peripheral to their main role - teaching. Pressures like these, when allied to those encountered as a result of the imposed changes, such as re-organisation and or deployment, were taking their toll on the personal morale of my teachers. In addition, medical effects as a result of stress were indicated by them. These were borne out further when considering Westridge's Staff Absence Returns for 1983 and 1984. They showed a considerable increase and indicate that general teacher morale in the Borough has been affected.

The Chilvers Report (1988), although only addressing itself to the provision of a pay award within severe cash limits, recognised that the whole of the education service was operating under similar restrictions. This climate of financial restraint was acknowledged in my survey as adding to difficulties in achieving a fully satisfactory working environment. In some cases, there had been a shortage of resources, equipment and materials, resulting in inadequate services, needs for building repairs and maintenance, as well as problems with operating on a split site basis. This was especially true concerning South Street Comprehensive, where the obvious physical deterioration had produced adverse effects on the morale of both staff and pupils alike.

General morale in the schools was also affected by high rates of unemployment in the Borough and the ensuing disillusionment with education by many pupils and parents. This was not helped by the lowering of esteem for the teacher, hastened by the media, especially television and the non-educational press. There was an accompanying loss of confidence in the profession by local and national politicians. Its standing was now reflected in the low salary levels and by the fact that it was denied the basic human right of free collective bargaining to determine pay structure and conditions of service.

This decline in respect for the profession, together with the lack of recognition of the actual role of the teacher, has certainly affected the self confidence of my teachers and has culminated in their current state of morale.

How far these conclusions may be generalised and compared with teachers in other local education authorities remains a subject for speculation. Westridge has certain characteristics which are not necessarily found elsewhere and these may have affected my sample's perceptions unduly. It is necessary for further research projects on teacher 'morale' to be carried out before its precise state is determined. Only then, would it be possible to lend fuller support to Chilvers' (1988) conclusions that teacher morale throughout the country is low.

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