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**JOB SHARING: THE CAREER EXPERIENCES
OF WOMEN PRIMARY TEACHERS**

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For my dad, who would have been justly proud.

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Abstract

This study is an investigation of the career experiences of women primary teachers who job share. It explores how job sharing fits into overall working patterns and examines whether it fulfils the personal and professional needs of teachers. It investigates how successful job sharing is seen as being in practice and explores the potential advantages and disadvantages of job sharing for teachers and for schools. The study examines the claims made for job sharing as a means of advancing the cause of equality in the workplace.

Data were gathered through indepth interviews with twenty women primary teachers who job shared. The role of job sharing in their careers was examined and the extent to which it satisfied personal and professional expectations explored. The career experiences of job sharing teachers were further investigated through a questionnaire sent to a sample of teachers who had previously job shared. This provided a retrospective and longer term account. All of these experiences were then situated within the wider contexts in which teaching operates. For this, documentary and policy analysis were undertaken, and semi-structured interviews were conducted with headteachers and parents, and key informants at local and national level.

The research found that job sharing is successful in meeting the personal needs of the women primary teachers. Teachers spoke of the balance in their lives which this working arrangement helped them to achieve. In terms of the professional dimension, the study found that experiences of job sharing in practice were positive. For teachers the affective rewards of being with children and feeling competent and skilled in daily work were high. Feelings of acceptance within the workplace culture were positive; building and sustaining relationships with parents and, in particular, with colleagues, which was viewed as a salient part of the job of primary teaching, was possible whilst job sharing. As a result, schools were seen to be gaining by employing experienced and motivated individuals who were able to make positive contributions. However, some difficulties were found with the professional and career development of job sharing teachers.

The study concludes that job sharing is not deleterious to women teachers' careers. It is far less harmful than other forms of part-time teaching although, as yet, it is not challenging full-time teaching as the dominant work model.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, job sharing has been introduced as a form of flexible working in teaching. For this, the duties of one full-time post are shared voluntarily between two employees who, taken together, receive the terms and conditions of service as would one full-timer. As such, job sharing offers part-time teachers similar employment rights to full-time teachers.

Part-time work in teaching is not new. Supply teaching is a long established means of emergency cover. Fixed-term contracts are a common way of covering temporary vacancies. However, research has consistently shown that teachers (mainly women with family responsibilities) employed in this way experience low status, poor working conditions, little job security and few opportunities for promotion. In addition, they have diminished employment rights.

Job sharing, therefore, has widely been regarded as a potentially improved form of part-time teaching. Its proponents have argued that it is particularly important for women teachers as one of the greatest obstacles to their equal participation in senior level jobs has been the traditional way that work is organised (full-time continuous employment). Introduced as an equal opportunities (EOs) initiative, job sharing has been promoted as 'an innovative approach' (McRae, 1990, p6) which will allow women the opportunity to combine family life with successful occupational careers.

The first job sharing scheme for teachers in Scotland was introduced in 1987. This was in a large authority which many regarded as being in the forefront of equality moves. Benefits envisaged for the authority included the 'recruitment and retention of staff', and for teachers 'the ability to work in a way more appropriate to changing individual circumstances' (SRC, 1987, p1). Schemes introduced in other education authorities (EAs), from around the early 1990s, vary in scope with, for instance, some EAs limiting job sharing to only unpromoted posts. These restrictions are significant in that a key benefit of job sharing is its potential to allow career progression whilst working part-time. Currently (1998), all but two Scottish authorities provide job sharing opportunities for teachers. Because job sharing is not distinguished from part-time employment in official education statistics, it is not known how

many job sharing teachers there are. However, this study found that in one authority job sharers represented 7% of the teaching workforce with numbers continuing to grow.

A review of the literature on job sharing in teaching reveals that very little has been written. In England, a small number of pilot schemes have been evaluated using quantitative methods. In addition, the experiences of a few individual partnerships have been documented in biographical accounts. Although not extensive, all of their findings have been positive. They have demonstrated that this form of teaching can be of value. Pupils can gain from the wider range of specialisms and skills and the increased energy and enthusiasm of two teachers, and schools can retain experienced staff. However, the experiences of those who actually pursue this form of employment remain largely unexplored. No one has asked if job sharing meets the professional and personal needs of teachers. Does it allow teachers to feel valued and satisfied as professionals? Does it fulfil expectations in terms of improving the quality of the personal life? In addition, given the claims made for job sharing as a means of advancing the cause of equality in the workplace, no research has questioned whether this form of part-time teaching benefits women's occupational careers as has been suggested. Does it enable the career progression and development possible for full-time teachers? To what extent does job sharing deliver full-time benefits to part-time workers? Or is job sharing simply part-time work by another name?

This study investigates teachers' experiences of job sharing. It explores how job sharing fits into their overall working patterns and whether it appears to be fulfilling personal expectations. It examines how successful it is seen as being in practice and whether it is meeting professional needs. In order to do this it is important to explore how the teachers develop and interpret their work within the context of their lives as a whole; in other words, it is important to examine the teachers' career experiences.

Teachers' careers have been a constant source of interest amongst educational sociologists. Until relatively recently, views of teachers' careers were dominated by notions of formal hierarchies and upward, linear movement through these. According to this view, men typically had successful careers, whereas most women did not; their lack of 'success' was largely seen as a result of breaking service for childbirth and subsequent part-time working. Woods (1990) described this as 'teaching examined through the cold eye of the

commentator' who endeavoured to give a 'distanced, analytical, unemotional, scientific' (p101) account.

During the 1980s the emphasis changed and concern grew for how individuals made sense of their working experiences. The subjective experiences of teachers were explored and this comprised individuals' own changing perspectives towards their careers: how individuals actually experienced having careers. Moreover, from this viewpoint careers did not centre solely on paid employment, the impact of personal matters were recognised as valid. Thus, some writers have stressed the structural constraints that shape and limit careers, while others have conceived careers primarily as individual decisions.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s a small flourish of studies, focussing in particular on women's career experiences, began to indicate that both frames of reference were important; careers were where individual action and enterprise were worked out within wider contexts and conditions. Career contexts are the background factors against which individual careers are developed. The study reported here adopts this theoretical perspective. It examines the teachers' experiences of their work, what job sharing is like for them. It investigates how they integrate aspects of their personal and professional lives, and what they consider are the important factors and influences. It then goes beyond the individuals' perceptions and identifies and explains the impact of the wider structural contexts in which teaching operates. This includes political, economic and social features at the macro level, and at the intermediate level, aspects which operate within the profession of teaching, such as job share policy. This study, thus, links career actions with career structures.

The aim is to provide a full and detailed account of the career experiences of teachers who job share. My intention is to identify potential benefits and drawbacks of job sharing for teachers and for schools. Does job sharing enable teachers to combine successful occupational careers with family life (or other activities)? Does job sharing allow teachers to make positive contributions to schools? And subsequently, do schools gain from employing experienced and motivated professionals?

The research focuses on women primary teachers. The careers of teachers in separate educational sectors do not follow parallel pathways; the promotion opportunities for

primary, secondary and special teachers in Scotland all vary slightly. Similarly, differences in work cultures and working routines are greater across educational sectors than within. This study focuses on teachers in one sector to show the range among one group in itself. Primary teaching was selected as the sector mainly because I, as the researcher, had a personal knowledge, experience and interest in this area.

Statistics indicate that job sharing in teaching is clearly a female phenomenon, as indeed is primary teaching with more than nine out of ten teachers in Scotland being women. To date, little is known about job sharing teachers and it seems prudent to start with women - to explore the experiences of the majority. In addition, women primary teachers are under-represented in promoted posts. Given the claims made for job sharing as a means of breaking down gender inequality, women primary teachers seemed a worthy group for exploration.

Personal reflections

At this point it seems appropriate to provide an account of my personal interest in this area. In 1992, following the birth of my first child I returned to my full-time teaching post. Although I would have liked to spend a little more time with my daughter, I felt my options were either full-time employment or supply teaching - the disadvantages of which are well known. Therefore, I carried on as before. Some neighbouring authorities had introduced job sharing and I thought this presented an interesting possibility. I contacted my employers who said they did not yet have a policy. At this time I was in the final stages of completing a part-time MEd degree and as I was particularly interested in equality issues I decided to examine job sharing for my dissertation. For this I investigated the effectiveness of job sharing in primary teaching. In 1993 I resigned my full-time teaching post and started studying for a PhD with financial support from the ESRC. My MEd had opened up a range of issues I felt worthy of further investigation and I believed I would enjoy the task of undertaking more detailed research and putting together a thesis. In addition, I would have greater flexibility with my time. In 1994 my second daughter was born. In 1996 a former colleague contacted me saying she hoped to job share, would I be interested? I duly applied for the post and returned to my previous school. I also changed my studies to part-time. A year later, I gained a job share senior teacher post. In 1998 I completed my thesis.

This study, therefore, arose out of personal interest. As will become evident, my characteristics, experiences and concerns were very like those of many of the job sharing teachers who participated in the study. During the empirical work I often identified with the women and their problems, especially in terms of my own similar experiences. By the time I undertook the analysis, as a job sharing teacher I had an intimate knowledge of job sharing, some might suggest a vested interest. Over the course of the last five years it has been difficult at times to disentangle this thesis from my personal and professional life. However, what is clear is that this research had value for me personally and, broadly in line with my feminist principles, I believed it would benefit other women also, including the participants. Finally, I hope it may be of use to others involved in job sharing such as headteachers, parents and policy makers.

Research questions

Having outlined the areas of interest, the general aims and the motives of the study, the following research questions identify the specific focus of the investigation:

1. What are the career experiences of women primary teachers who job share?

(i) What are job sharing teachers' overall occupational experiences within the context of their lives as a whole? What do they identify as the key aspects of their professional and personal lives? In what ways have they negotiated a fit among these aspects throughout their careers? Has the commitment and the significance they attribute to these dimensions varied at different points in their careers?

(ii) Are distinct career patterns evident among job sharing primary teachers?

2. What is the role of job sharing in the careers of women primary teachers?

(i) What are job sharing teachers' reasons for choosing this mode of employment? Do the reasons given for job sharing fall into specific categories?

(ii) How does job sharing fit into the individuals' experience of and relationship with work throughout the course of their careers? What significance is job sharing accorded in the context of whole lives and careers? Do job sharing teachers form any distinguishable groupings in relation to the role of job sharing in their careers?

3. How does job sharing meet the personal needs of teachers?

(i) To what extent does job sharing meet individuals' needs? Does job sharing fulfil expectations in terms of improving the quality of personal lives? How does it compare with full-time and part-time teaching?

4. How does job sharing meet the professional needs of teachers?

(i) What degree of satisfaction is achieved in practice? What is the perceived impact of job sharing on others in the professional environment?

(ii) How does job sharing contribute to professional development?

(iii) To what extent does job sharing meet professional needs in comparison to full-time and part-time employment? To what extent does it deliver full-time benefits to part-time employees? To what extent does it enable the career progression and development possible for full-time teachers?

5. At the macro level what are the conditions affecting the careers of primary teachers?

(i) What influence does the supply and demand of teachers have on careers? How does this affect job sharing teachers?

(ii) What influence does the teachers' career structure have? How are job sharing teachers accommodated in the structure?

(iii) How does the legislative context affect teachers' careers? What are the consequences of management and curricular reforms for job sharing teachers?

(iv) What impact do beliefs about women and work, and social attitudes towards teachers have? How do these affect the careers of job sharers?

6. How do conditions at the intermediate level affect the careers of primary teachers?

(i) Within the hierarchy of posts and positions of the teaching profession, how are jobs allocated and gained? How are job sharing teachers accommodated in the system?

(ii) In what ways does the occupational culture of primary teaching offer opportunities for some teachers and not others? How does this relate to job sharers?

(iii) How is job sharing policy (national, local and school) defined, implemented and assessed? How do the different levels of policy relate to and affect one another?

It is important to note that in order to link career actions and career structures, the research is written up by incorporating the final two research questions into the others.

Research methodology

In relation to the research questions above, two areas were identified for detailed examination. These were the individual career experiences of women primary teachers who job share and the structural contexts and conditions within which these experiences occur.

In order to gain an insight into the career experiences of job sharing primary teachers, career history interviews were conducted. These are similar to life history methods (Faraday & Plummer, 1979; Bertaux, 1981) but focus on a particular aspect of an individual's life. Benyon (1985) has argued that the life history method is especially valuable in exploring career experiences because they are able to reveal the reality of lived events whilst throwing light on the individual's perceptions of the social and political context in which they occur. The sample consisted of twenty job sharing teachers employed within one Scottish authority. The sample size did not allow for statistical analysis of data but nonetheless by comparing the accounts it was possible to identify recurring themes, general issues and essential similarities and differences. The career experiences of job sharing primary teachers were further explored through questionnaires which were sent to a sample of teachers who had previously job shared in the same authority so that their career experiences and development since job sharing could be examined. This would provide a retrospective account drawing attention to the ways in which teachers felt job sharing had advantaged or disadvantaged their careers.

To explore the structural contexts and conditions of teaching careers other people's accounts were elicited and a range of documentary evidence was amassed. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with headteachers and parents to identify their views on job sharing and the way in which the existing scheme was operating. Key informants at national and local level were interviewed. This included the General Teaching Council (GTC), the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), the Scottish School Boards Association (SSBA) and EA officials. Combined with the analysis of official policy and other documents, this illuminated aspects of the contextual parameters which substantially impinge upon teachers' experiences. In addition, a postal survey of job sharing in schools within one Scottish EA

(the research location) was undertaken. This aimed to provide a background details of job sharing (number of job sharers, level of promotion and sex).

Structure of this thesis

This thesis explores the career experiences of women primary teachers who job share. Chapter 1 has provided the general rationale for the research and defined the precise areas of interest. An indication of the methodology has also been given.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 review the literature within the field of interest. Chapter 2 focuses on careers. First it examines the concept of career, then it surveys studies of careers which have examined gender differences and which have investigated women's experiences. Chapter 3 focuses on part-time working. It explores traditional forms of part-time work before examining job sharing in detail. In both chapters significant literature within occupational sociology is referred to; however, it is studies of teachers' careers which form the basis of the discussion.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 describe the methodology of the study. Chapter 4 provides a description of the research strategy and its relationship to the research questions. The techniques for gathering evidence are discussed and their nature, design and implementation outlined. In Chapter 5 I trace my approach to and engagement in the research and discuss a range of issues and tensions encountered. Chapter 5 provides a reflexive account which complements Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 outline the context for careers. Chapter 6 examines the political, economic and social features at the macro level. Chapter 7 explores aspects which operate at the intermediate level within the profession of teaching and within schools. My intention in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 is to provide some of the necessary descriptive information that will allow detailed analysis of career experiences in the remaining chapters.

In Chapters 8 to 12 the findings of the study are presented. Chapter 8 describes the overall career experiences of the job sharing teachers and examines the role of job sharing in these. Chapter 9 explores personal aspects of the teachers' lives and the extent to which job sharing meets needs in this respect. In Chapters 10 to 12 the focus is on how job sharing meets the

professional needs of teachers. Chapter 10 examines the degree of satisfaction achieved in practice, Chapter 11 the perceived impact of job sharing on others, and Chapter 12 the contribution of job sharing to professional development.

The final chapter draws together my thoughts on a number of issues, especially those introduced by the research questions, as conclusions. Potential benefits and drawbacks of job sharing for teachers and schools are identified. The role of job sharing as a means of advancing the cause of equality in the workplace is discussed. Pointers to future work are provided.

CHAPTER 2 - CAREER EXPERIENCES:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The study explores the career experiences of a group of women primary teachers who job shared. This chapter reviews literature on careers, in particular women's careers and teachers' careers. A substantial amount has been written in this area, particularly within occupational sociology. Indeed, research on women's careers and teachers' careers witnessed a small flourish during the 1980s and early 1990s. The chapter, therefore, focuses on only the literature most relevant to the study.

The first section examines the concept of career and its usage within social science research. The next two sections review studies of careers in terms of those which have investigated gender differences, and those which have focused on women's experiences. In all sections significant research within occupational sociology is referred to; however, it is studies of teachers' careers which form the basis of the discussion. The chapter concludes by outlining how the literature influenced the theoretical and methodological stance adopted in the study.

The concept of career

The concept of career has aroused a great deal of interest in social science research. The term has been applied in various ways and has undergone frequent redefinition. Gunz (1989), in an examination of the different applications used, identified two separate dimensions of enquiry: organisational and individual levels of analysis. He said:

At the organisational level, careers can be seen as part of a process of social reproduction, which points the way to linking organisational form and behaviour with comparatively stable career patterns characteristic of particular firms or kinds of firm. At the individual level careers are expressed as a sequence of work role transitions, representing choices between opportunities presented by organisations. (p225)

Studies of careers which adopt organisational levels of analysis focus on formal hierarchies and the ways in which employees move through these. They explore career structures and career routes. Studies of careers at the individual level of analysis are concerned with how individuals make sense of the events which happen to them during the course of their working life. They explore subjective careers and career strategies. Evetts (1992) added a third level of analysis to this grouping; 'linking action and system' (p3), where attempts are

made to combine organisational and individual frames of reference. In this section, these three approaches to research on careers are discussed.

Organisational levels of analysis

During the 1950s and 1960s careers' research concentrated on organisational levels of analysis by examining hierarchical promotion frameworks and modal career patterns. The term career became associated, almost exclusively, with progress through formal stages on a vertical continuum. For example, Wilensky (1960) claimed that a career was 'a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered predictable sequence' (p127). As such, careers could only be developed in certain occupations; typically professional ones, where there were formalised arrangements of positions up which individuals could move. Whilst researchers such as Wilensky focused on career structures and the achievements of employees within these, others examined career routes by investigating employees journeys through the hierarchy of posts and positions. For example, Slocum (1966) illustrated the different paths taken by individuals to arrive at particular promoted posts and defined a career as a 'sequence of developments extending over a period of years and involving more responsible roles within an occupation' (p5).

Studies of teachers' careers

Studies of teachers' careers adopting organisational levels of analysis included, most notable for their time, Hilsum & Start (1974) and Lyons (1981). Both relied on large scale surveys, for example, Hilsum & Start studied 963 headteachers and 6722 teachers throughout England and Wales. They concentrated their examination of teachers' careers on the promotions structure and the features that allowed movement up and within this. In their findings, they classified the teachers they studied into three groups: the 'normal' career group who had uninterrupted teaching experience, the 're-entrants' who had broken teaching service and then returned, and the 'late entrants' who had begun teaching after work experience elsewhere (p20). Most of their analysis was based on the teachers who had so called 'normal' careers. Although similarly organisational, Lyons focused his study of teachers' careers around career routes. He developed the concept of 'career maps' or pathways through the promotions structure and claimed that teachers who were successful had 'built in sequential compartments...a fast timetable...which enable them to acquire the relevant experience, qualifications and attitudes for each successive stage' (p134). The

analyses of both Hilsum & Start and Lyons had similarities not only in considering careers at the organisational level, but also in being preoccupied with upward movements through the hierarchy of posts and positions within the teaching occupation.

Criticisms of organisational levels of analysis

Research adopting organisational levels of analysis, examining career structures and career routes, has been the subject of some criticism. Stanley & Wise (1983) described it as 'malestream' (p13-16); Dex (1985) as 'unisex but male' (p24). Both argued that in assuming linear progression was the normative pattern, all other career experiences were automatically identified as abnormal or 'deficit' (Acker, 1983, p127), even if very typical. This was of particular relevance to women whose experiences were often not fully represented using such a notion of career. Dunlap (1994) suggested that this also included 'non-traditional men and members of ethnic and cultural minorities' (p171). The shortcomings of analyses at the organisational level, in their failure to acknowledge the individual, led to a quite different approach as discussed below.

Individual levels of analysis

Research at the individual level of analysis adopted a different theoretical stance by focusing on interactionist approaches which consider how people experience the social world and construct meanings within it. In this way, careers' studies began to examine the perspectives and understandings of individuals through an exploration of their subjective careers and career strategies.

Subjective careers and career strategies

Becker (1970) and Hughes (1971), amongst others, investigated the ways in which individuals negotiated the situations they encountered and subsequently made choices and decisions. They argued that the shape and content of a career depended on how the individual concerned experienced and made sense of it. They referred to this as the 'subjective career'. Promotion was not taken for granted and as a consequence subjective careers were not necessarily hierarchical. Moreover, studies began to demonstrate that subjective careers did not centre exclusively on events within the context of paid work. Pahl (1984) and Scase & Goffee (1989) indicated that amongst other factors, personal relationships, partnerships, marriages and families influenced experiences of career.

The concept of 'strategy' was also developed in research on careers at the individual level of analysis. A strategy, in the words of Woods (1983) is where 'individual intent and external constraint meet. Strategies are ways of achieving goals' (p9). The term emerged as a way to describe how individuals coped with outside structures and constraints. For example, Hargreaves (1979) developed the concept of a 'coping strategy' to describe how teachers managed events within their day to day working lives. Researchers claimed that the concept allowed one to go beyond the 'classic structure/ agency dichotomy' (Giddens, 1979, p 81-95) and enabled a clear recognition and understanding of 'process' (Morgan, 1989, p26). Limitations in its use were also demonstrated, however. For instance, Crow (1989) found differences in the extent to which they helped interpret social actions; 'some actions are more open to investigation in terms of strategies than others' (p1).

Studies of teachers' careers

During the 1980s there were many studies of teachers which analysed their careers from the individual level of analysis. The change in theoretical perspective involved a parallel change in research methods. In preference to the survey approach, life and career histories (Sikes, Measor & Woods, 1985; Benyon, 1985; Evetts, 1990; Goodson, 1992), in-depth interviews (Nias, 1989; Grant, 1989) and personal introspection (Chadwick, 1989; David, 1989) were applied. Using these methods, researchers examined the subjective careers and career strategies of teachers by investigating work histories and by exploring views of what had happened and what might happen in the future.

Studies of the subjective careers of teachers frequently illustrated that they were influenced by personal circumstances. Benyon (1985) found, for example, that some individuals defined a successful career as the management of other interests along with teaching, and Grant (1989a) noted how women continually evaluated their careers in terms of their 'role obligations as daughters, partners, wives and mothers' (p124). Indeed, Nias (1989) claimed that the teachers in her study appeared to move through career phases which were 'dominated and determined by personal concerns' (p78). As a consequence, the concept of career began to shift towards an image that was less linear. In their detailed investigation of teachers' careers in the 1980s, Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) took the view that:

The adult career is usually the product of a dialectical relationship between self and circumstances. As the result of meeting new circumstances, certain interests may be reformulated, certain aspects of the self changed or crystallised, and, in consequence new directions envisaged. (p2)

The structural dimension of careers was recognised in terms of how the individual concerned perceived, managed and negotiated it. This led some researchers to focus their analyses on career strategies. Evetts (1990), for example, in attempting to understand how women teachers experienced their careers, identified five different types of career strategy developed. According to Evetts these career strategies were:

..not to be understood only as clearly perceived and easily formulated life plans and career interactions. Strategies were developed and decisions made sometimes through deliberate planning, but just as often through chance and coincidence, procrastination and serendipity. (p15)

She argued that her repertoire of career strategies illustrated the ways in which individuals tried to achieve a balance between their work and family lives, emphasising that they were dependent on the contexts and conditions within which the occupation of teaching functioned.

Analysis of careers at the individual level using the concepts of the subjective career and career strategies, therefore, allowed researchers to explore the experiences of individuals and the meanings they attached to career. It also enabled an understanding of the things that were important to individuals in the development of their working and personal lives. However, it did not reveal the full extent to which individuals' lives were structurally shaped because of the concentration on the micro perspective.

Linking action and system - careers in context

It is now generally recognised that the two levels of analysis, organisational structure and individual action, are necessary and researchers have acknowledged the importance of both in career outcomes. Individuals can choose a career and plan career movements but these are worked out within a structural context. Acker (1992) said:

In one sense, a career clearly is an individual construction. Individuals have work histories, perspectives on the past and desired future, and the capacity to make choices. Yet at the same time there is inevitably a structural dimension. Structures are social arrangements largely outside our control. (p141)

The two dimensions of individual action and structural context, then, influence and interact closely with one another.

Studies of teachers' careers (Evetts, 1990; Acker, 1992) have suggested that these structural conditions function on two levels; the macro and the intermediate. At the macro level, political, economic and social features provide the context. At the intermediate level,

structural contexts operate whereby the occupation of teaching offers its own work culture, its own hierarchy of posts and positions with rules and conventions for their allocation.

Features of the macro level are most widely recognised. For example, in their careers' studies both Ball & Goodson (1985) and Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) described how the economic and political climate, together with prevailing demographic changes, resulted in a growing demand for teachers in the 1960s and 1970s, followed by a reduced demand in the 1980s. Goodson (1992) and Hill (1994) noted how changes in the approach to managing education, in the financing of schools and in the administrative control over teachers; 'the power of resurgent political bureaucracy' (Goodson, p6), had a significant impact on the ways in which teachers experienced their careers.

Exploration of structural conditions at the intermediate level has received far less attention; Acker (1992) said, 'there have been surprisingly few attempts to find such middle ground' (p147). In her ethnographic study of two English primary schools, Acker found workplace experience or culture to be crucial at this level. Headteachers were especially influential in providing advice, support and opportunities. Evetts (1990), who similarly described this level as 'neglected so far in research on teachers' careers' (p23), addressed intermediate conditions through her examination of the teaching labour market. She suggested that many studies described structures which affect careers at the macro level, then simply viewed these as providing the over arching situation within which teachers' careers developed. She argued that in order to explain fully how macro conditions were worked out in the lives of individual teachers, in-depth analyses of structural contexts at the intermediate level were required. Consequently, Evetts conducted an investigation of the internal labour market of primary teaching. She illustrated that through certain processes, the internal labour market filtered macro level conditions through to career opportunities or constraints which had to be taken up and managed by individual teachers. Both Evetts' and Acker's work will be discussed in greater detail later in the study.

Career structures and career actions - interdependence

In 1992 Evetts extended her understanding of the concept of career by examining not only how career structures influence career actions, but also how career actions affect career structures. She said:

We should be exploring how objectivisation results in particular subjective responses (strategies) and how subjectivisation results in the reproduction and sometimes the modification of objective career structures. Career experiences and career structures have an internal dynamic and a mutual interdependence. (p16)

Evetts argued that as individuals develop their careers, using the frameworks and formalities made available to them by organisations, particular career patterns emerge. If enough individuals follow the same pattern then this is accepted as the norm and 'career structures become real' or are 'reified'. In turn, the structures influence individuals who are 'convinced of its reality'. In order to understand fully the concept of career Evetts claimed that it was necessary to analyse the 'processes of change', which can be cultural (such as gender), political (legislative changes and ideological beliefs) and functional and strategic (for example, job specifications), as it is within these that individuals 'come to see their work, their lives and their careers' (p18). She said:

We need to have constantly in mind the mutually reinforcing processes of career structures and career actions, of how structures arise out of interactions and how actions are influenced by structures. Only by beginning to understand how change affects both career structures and career actions can we begin to devise strategies that will be appropriate for changing career structures. (p19)

Gender differences in careers

This next section begins to examine studies of careers. Many, particularly ones conducted during the 1980s, focused on the different achievements and experiences of men and women. They did this by exploring the gendered divisions within professions, and the individual career experiences of men and women. This section reviews literature within this area. First, a brief overview of the gendered divisions found in the labour market is provided as this forms a fundamental part of the functional and strategic context within which careers are constructed. Then, studies which have focused on gender differences in teachers' careers are examined.

Gender divisions in the labour market

Studies of employment in Britain and in other industrial societies (Hakim, 1979; Martin & Roberts, 1984) have indicated that labour market participation is partly dependent upon the way in which jobs are made available or deemed appropriate to different groups of people according to their personal or work-related characteristics (sex, race, age or qualifications, for example). In this way, all people do not compete on an equal basis for the same jobs and the labour market is, as a consequence, divided. This is referred to as occupational

segregation.

Occupational segregation on the grounds of sex has been identified as an important form of labour market division to the extent that sociologists such as Walby (1989) perceived it to be 'within the sphere of paid employment, the most concrete aspect of patriarchal relations' (p223). It occurs where men and women take part in different types of work and at different levels.

Horizontal and vertical occupational segregation

In 1979 Hakim carried out one of most extensive examinations of occupational segregation in the labour market in Britain. She evaluated patterns of male and female labour market participation and concluded that there were two types of labour market divisions; horizontal and vertical, which were quite distinct even if they often occurred together. Horizontal occupational segregation, she found, referred to the way in which women and men often worked in different kinds of jobs, and vertical occupational segregation explained the way men tended to occupy high level positions and women low level ones.

More recent research confirms that these horizontal and vertical occupational divisions remain visible in the 1990s. The EOC (1995, p39), in its Census of Employment of men and women in Britain, found that men were more likely to work in jobs relating to management and skilled trades, whilst women dominated clerical, secretarial, service and sales occupations. In its 1993 census the EOC (p25) also noted that women were concentrated in a smaller range of jobs and industries than men; that a minority of jobs were typically female (around 25%) whilst a majority were typically male (about 75%). In terms of vertical occupational segregation, the EOC found that men tended to be disproportionately concentrated in senior managerial, professional and skilled jobs whilst many women were lower professional, semi-skilled or unskilled workers. It is important to recognise here that within these overall patterns studies have found differences for black women and women from ethnic minorities (see Bruegel, 1994; Bhavnani, 1994; Owen, 1994) and for women with disabilities (see Lonsdale, 1990).

Both Hakim (1979) and the EOC (1991) argued that these horizontal and vertical gender divisions of the labour market had significant effects on the career experiences of men and

women. They resulted in different rates of employment and pay, and impacted their attitudes, perceptions and aspirations quite distinctly. Evidence suggests that occupational segregation on the basis of sex is apparent within teaching and that, similarly, it has a significant impact on the careers of individual male and female teachers. This forms the basis of the discussion in the remainder of this section.

Gender differences in teachers' careers

Teachers are often described in terms of one profession, yet there are differences and divisions between them (primary, secondary and special school teachers, for example). Gender differences have been shown to be significant and some studies of teachers' careers have examined the horizontal and vertical gender divisions which exist and mirror those found within the labour market more generally.

Vertical gender divisions

In Scotland women comprise 70% of the teaching workforce, however men hold 45% of promoted posts. Statistics (SOEID, 1996a, 1996b) indicate that broken down by sector the divisions become more acute. In 1994 out of a total teaching force of 970 nursery teachers there were 11 men, 9 of whom were headteachers. In primary schools 56% of male primary teachers were promoted compared with 28% of women and in secondary schools the majority of those in promoted posts were men varying from 97% of headteachers to 50% of assistant principal teachers. Many studies of teachers' careers have focused on these vertical divisions within the teaching profession whereby men dominate in higher level posts and women in the lower ones.

It is interesting to note that early studies of teachers' careers and their promotion achievements, adopting organisational levels of analysis, treated gender divisions simplistically and stereotypically. For example, Hilsum & Start (1974) found that men were promoted further and faster than women explaining this in terms of women's lower aspirations, whilst Lyons (1980) noted that more senior posts went to men because women simply did not want to apply for promotion. Indeed, in an evaluation of a number of studies Acker (1983) concluded that most researchers portrayed women teachers as 'damaging, deficient, distracted and sometimes even dim' (p124). As noted earlier in this chapter, the limitations of this kind of approach were gradually recognised.

During the mid to late 1980s studies of teachers' careers began to examine more critically the vertical gendered divisions in teaching. By adopting individual levels of analysis, they explored the actual experiences of men and women teachers and highlighted the ways in which these differed. Researchers started to unfold a number of interrelated factors to explain the gender divisions of the profession.

The impact of personal lives

Some studies found that personal circumstances affected the professional lives of teachers, in particular women teachers. Grant (1989a, 1989b) showed that the career experiences of women teachers were bound up with developments and commitments in their personal lives, so much so that women frequently developed their careers quite differently from men. The women in her study frequently adopted a 'pragmatic approach' so that they 'constructed a rather messy mosaic of life and work events, rather than following a clearly staged, well sign-posted career map' (1989a, p119). She found that women's aspirations and ambitions fluctuated so that 'there are times in the course of their careers when they are more- or less-career ambitious' (1989b, p41). Evetts (1988) also noted the impact of personal circumstances on professional lives. She found that this became especially intense for women teachers during the period when their family was young; when childcare was a task to be managed. Most of the women she studied broke service in order to care for young children and thus developed their careers quite differently from their male counterparts. Both Grant and Evetts argued that as a result of the different ways men and women developed their careers, many women were not considered as appropriate candidates for promotion. They were viewed as too old, not fully committed or did not have the required length of service to apply for and achieve promotion.

Promoted post structure

Evetts (1990) also believed that the hierarchy of posts in the teaching profession and their formal and informal rules for distribution explained gender differences in career experiences. In her research she found that characteristics, such as geographical mobility, and processes, such as sponsorship, enabled upward movement within the teaching hierarchy for some teachers. These characteristics and processes were modified according to macro level conditions and, as a result, affected the career experiences of men and women teachers quite differently. For example, in times of teacher shortage geographical mobility proved

insignificant and teachers who chose to stay in one location (often women) gained promotion. But when there was an over supply of teachers the characteristics and processes could form the basis of selection and women teachers, in particular, suffered. In this way, the openings and opportunities available to male and female teachers, Evetts argued, were not equal and this helped to explain gender divisions and differences.

Discrimination

Discriminatory practices in the promotion and organisation systems of teaching have also been explored. Legally speaking, discrimination consists of less favourable treatment of a person of one sex than would be accorded to a member of the other sex whose relevant circumstances are the same. Discrimination may be direct (unequal treatment because of one's sex) or indirect (unequal treatment using some other criterion that puts one's sex at a disadvantage and is not otherwise justified). Chadwick (1989) related her experiences of direct discrimination; her rise to deputy head, her postgraduate studies, her many applications for headships and her consistent failure to be shortlisted for headships despite better qualifications than many men who were. She took her employing authority to an industrial tribunal and became the first woman to win a sex discrimination case against a education authority. Chadwick subsequently resigned from teaching and commented that two years later she still felt 'cheated, disappointed, disillusioned...but with hindsight would do it all again' (p105). Cunnison (1989), on the other hand, described the indirect discrimination she witnessed during observation in the staffroom of a secondary school. She observed 'gender joking, for the most part initiated by men and aimed at women' (p151), and discussed how this aimed to preserve traditional stereotypes of women and notions of appropriate promotion destinations. Direct and indirect discrimination, Chadwick and Cunnison demonstrated, acted to block women's promotion aspirations and opportunities, and thus restricted vertical career success.

Accepted styles of leadership

Finally, some studies have explored the theory and practice of educational leadership in order to shed light upon why many senior posts in schools are held by men. They suggest that because images of leadership are so often linked to stereotypically defined male traits and behaviours, such as strength and detachment, that women are often not perceived as suitable candidates by both themselves and others. Coleman (1996), for instance, found that

the women headteachers she interviewed adopted styles of leadership in which relationships were important, as was communicating with staff, parents and pupils. Al-Khalifa (1989), however, noted that the image of management put across by practitioners and selectors alike was quite contrary to this. An emphasis on 'control rather than negotiation and the pursuit of competition rather than working together' (p89) was vastly different to women's preferences and talents. These studies claimed that some women were subsequently put off applying for promotion and this only served to open the way for male candidates. As a result men continued to reach the top and the system was perpetuated.

Horizontal gender divisions

Horizontal gender divisions have also been demonstrated within the teaching profession. These relate to the ages of pupils and subjects taught by teachers. For example, in Scotland (SOEID, 1996a, 1996b) women predominate as teachers of younger children and those with special needs; they are 99% of nursery teachers, 92% of primary teachers and 87% of special teachers. In secondary schools men and women are equal in number; 50% women, 50% men, but there are differences by subject, for example men account for most teachers of Technology, Physics, Chemistry and History, whilst women are the majority of teachers of Home Economics, Business Studies and Modern Languages. Studies of the horizontal gender divisions between teachers are fewer in number than those which focus on vertical differences. Nonetheless, they are interesting within the context of this study and show how careers are affected.

Reasons for horizontal gender divisions

Various explanations have been provided to account for the horizontal gender divisions in teaching. Firstly, there are those which point to socialisation which suggest that from childhood girls are encouraged to be caring and kind for instance, boys to be strong and ambitious, and as a consequence they emerge into adulthood perceived as being suited to different roles and occupations. In their study of primary teachers Aspinwall & Drummond (1989) found that teaching young children was considered 'natural' for women, as it required gentleness and patience, qualities women were assumed to have 'quite naturally and effortlessly' (p14-15). Secondly, there are explanations which attribute differences to gender reproduction. They suggest that gender divisions are perpetuated over time through the basic structures of society (family, home, school and work place) which reinforce the divisions

which exist and lead girls and women to accept their position in the home and in employment. In her study of secondary schooling, Cunnison (1988) found that the idea of women's occupational role as one of service to others and of her vocation as domestic and caring 'came across loud and clear' (p124). Riddell (1989), in her examination of the perpetuation of sex-typed option choices in secondary schools, found choices to be the product of sex socialisation, noting that teachers, both male and female, saw the school as a 'neutral institution' (p136). Thirdly, gender divisions are explained in terms of patriarchy, generally defined as 'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby, 1989, p214).

Impact on careers

Deem (1978) discussed how these horizontal gender divisions of teaching resulted in different career experiences for men and women. These related to status and salary and meant that women teachers remained 'separate and unequal'. She wrote (p115):

If teaching, then, does provide an occupation for women which has good pay, career prospects and high status, it does so only in comparison with other jobs for women.

Effects on the career experiences of men and women teachers in relation to status, promotion opportunities, pay potentials and day to day experiences are easily demonstrated. For instance, in Scotland 30% of primary teachers are promoted compared to 55% of secondary teachers (SOEID, 1996a), and a secondary headteacher of a school with a role of over 600 pupils earns £40 626 per annum compared to £36 420 per annum for a primary headteacher of the same size school (EIS, 1998). The latter is an issue of particular current interest and it is being considered in the Millennium Review. It is possible that in an occupation such as primary or nursery teaching where women are not only in the majority but also in positions of authority, they can acquire a degree of control over decisions to be taken and arrangements to be made with regard to women's careers. However, Skelton (1991) pointed out that it was probable that male control of the education system was so powerful that this was unlikely. In her investigation of the career perspectives of male teachers of young children, she noted the increase in recent years of the number of men opting to teach nursery and infant children and argued that this was not necessarily progress. 'Individual and institutional patterns of masculinity and femininity are so entrenched' (p279), she said, that slight number changes did little to challenge gender inequalities. Skelton concluded:

Equal opportunities policies do, at least, provide a basis for progress but unless there are accompanying changes in attitudes male power within education will become more deeply embedded. It is not enough for a school to simply 'put a man in the reception class' unless there is an awareness of why this is being done, what the aims are and how it will contribute towards a reduction in female inequalities in schooling. (p288)

Women's careers

In the previous section differences found between the career experiences of men and women were examined. This section explores studies which have focused on women's careers in an attempt to understand their experiences fully. First, the section looks at sociological analyses of women's relationship to work and their patterns of paid employment. Second, research which has focused women teachers' career experiences is examined in detail. Finally, Evetts' (1990) study of women's careers in primary teaching is described as this represents one of the most coherent pieces of research relevant to this study.

Women and work

One of the most important forces for social and economic change this century has been in women's participation in paid employment. Throughout this time, in particular since the Second World War, women's paid employment has increased markedly. In Britain the number of women employees grew from 6.7 million in 1948 (Dex, 1985, p3-4) to 12 million in 1994 (Central Statistical Office, 1995, p21). The proportion of women who were economically active rose from 30% in 1948 (Scott & Duncombe, 1992, p37) to 53% in 1996 (Office for National Statistics, 1998, p54), and is set to continue rising to 55% by 2000 (Central Statistical Office, 1995, p21).

Women's career patterns

Studies of women's careers have identified that this increase can be most significantly accounted for by the change in women's patterns of labour force participation during their lifetime. Research such as that conducted by Dex (1984), Brannen (1989) and McRae (1991) illustrated how the patterns of women's work have changed over the generations. They showed that until almost the middle of this century women typically left employment permanently upon marriage (the 'marriage career') or the birth of the first child (the 'family career' or 'domestic career'). During the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s women tended to leave employment upon childbirth and return when their family responsibilities eased, often

when their children went to school (the ‘two phase career’ or ‘interrupted career’) whilst more recently, a growing number of women have developed ‘continuous careers’, although the other career patterns remain apparent.

Dex’s (1984) Women and Employment Survey was one of the most thorough examinations of women’s relationship to paid employment and women’s career patterns. Although the study related to a particular moment in time (1980), the findings remain significant because of the scale and comprehensiveness of the analysis, and because there have been few more recent studies. Dex demonstrated the historical changes in women’s career patterns. In particular, she showed that the durations of time women spent not working had shortened considerably because progressively more women were returning to work soon after and between childbirth, often shifting from full-time employment beforehand to a mixture of part-time and full-time afterwards. She identified six different career patterns during which a woman’s relationship to employment was affected for varying periods (p33-35, p105). These are summarised on Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Career patterns over family formation (Dex, 1984)

Continuous	Works continuously throughout child bearing years.
Restricted	Has one child and returns to work.
Unexpected	Works after and between every birth. Works for a time during family formation.
Phased	One period out of the labour market for family formation.
Domestic	Never returns to work after the birth of a first child.

At a slightly later date, Brannen (1989) conducted a study in which she too analysed women’s career patterns. Using evidence from a longitudinal study of women in their first three years of motherhood she also found six career patterns after maternity leave evident amongst the women in her sample (p184). The patterns are described on Table 2.2

Table 2.2 **Career patterns after maternity leave (Brannen, 1989)**

Returner full-time	Returns to same job and employer and continues full-time.
Returner part-time	Returns to same job and employer and changes to part-time.
Returner new job	Returns to same job then finds a new job.
Returner resigned	Returns to same job then resigns.
Non-returner new job	Resigns during maternity leave then finds a new job.
Non-returner	Resigns during maternity leave and does not work again.

Although the samples do not correspond fully, it is worth noting how Brannen's six career patterns compare with and add to those described by Dex. For instance, Brannen's 'returner - full-time' and 'returner part-time' overlap with Dex's 'continuous career'. Similarly, Brannen's 'non-returners' who remained unemployed match Dex's women who never returned to work after childbirth ('domestic careers'). Lastly, Dex's career patterns where women worked during family formation and between births ('unexpected careers') were elaborated by Brannen's 'returners who changed to new jobs' and 'non-returners who found new jobs'.

Other research this decade has focussed on the growing popularity of continuous careers. McRae (1991) showed that women who had children were increasingly only leaving employment to take maternity leave. In her examination of data from a national postal survey of women in Britain who had a child, McRae showed that 45% of women in work during pregnancy had resumed employment within 9 months of the birth compared with 24% in 1979. Their returns were frequently on a part-time basis; of the 45% of women who returned to work in 1991 two thirds did so as part-timers (p595). Similarly, Jacobs (1997), in her examination of employment change over childbirth, concluded that her 'main finding' (p577) was that women were returning to the labour market earlier and earlier.

Studies of women teachers' careers

Studies of women teachers' careers have shown that their experiences are similar in many ways to the experiences of women workers in general. As in the labour market, the number of women in the teaching profession has increased; from 58% at the turn of the century (Corr, 1991) to 70% today (SOIED, 1996a). This growth is not as significant as the growth of women employees on the whole, as noted in the previous section, teaching, especially

young children, has always had strong associations with 'women's work', and thus a high proportion of female employees relative to other professions. Studies of women teachers' careers have demonstrated clearly the changes in their career patterns.

The marriage or family career pattern

As with the general population of women, the 'marriage' or 'family career' was the typical career pattern for women teachers throughout the earlier decades of this century (up until the 1940s and 1950s). Adams (1990), in her examination of women teachers in Scotland between 1915 and 1945, described how some women single-mindedly dedicated themselves to the profession for life, but many had a period of employment when they were young and single followed by a permanent withdrawal from teaching upon marriage. This was a practice maintained by employers who operated marriage bars forcing women to resign from teaching when they became married. In a similar study, Fewell (1990) argued that the effects of the marriage bar were still evident today. She viewed the bar as one of the many mechanisms introduced by people in positions of power and authority to create two separate teaching occupations, one for men and one for women. She said:

A divided labour force with men in control ensured the occupation of teaching by those who had vested interests in being in power. What we need to ask is to what extent two occupations exist in teaching today. From the contemporary papers in this book [Paterson & Fewell, 1990] it would seem that, in reality, little has changed. (p129)

Two-phase career patterns

During the 1970s and 1980s studies of women teachers, for example Ollernshaw & Flude (1974) and the NUT (1980), indicated that the two-phase career pattern had begun to emerge. This, these studies illustrated, involved a period of not working for childbirth and childrearing (often referred to as the career break) preceded and succeeded by employment. The employment following the break in service was frequently on a part-time basis. The survey by the NUT estimated that at that time approximately 60-70% (p45) of the female teaching population were developing two-phase careers.

This change in career patterns, where women opted to return to employment after resigning upon childbirth, has been examined and accounted for in various ways. Sociologists such as Sharpe (1984) and Gordon (1990) found that women returned to employment after childrearing quite simply because they wanted to, they enjoyed their job, liked getting out of

the house, and avoiding the boredom and frustration of daily housework and childcare; 'work provided a sense of purpose, status and self esteem' (Gordon, p69). Condy (1994) also found that the majority of women had a high financial dependence on working. Brannen (1987) suggested that changing attitudes towards women and employment facilitated women's returns, with Brook et al (1989) claiming that the proportion of women who agreed with the statement that 'a married woman with children under school age ought to stay at home' had decreased over twenty-five years from 78% in 1965 to 45% in 1987 (p19). However, in teaching the impact of labour market demands have repeatedly been demonstrated as an important factor in changing career patterns. Evetts (1988b) showed that because of a continued shortage of teachers in the 1960s and 1970s many married women who had broken service were actively encouraged to return to the classroom by local authorities who, 'in an attempt to staff their increasing and expanding schools' (p84), often created nurseries for women teachers' children and offered part-time teaching opportunities.

The career break

Studies of women teachers' two-phase career patterns consistently demonstrated downward occupational mobility related to career breaks. Turnbull & Williams (1974), in a lengthy statistical analysis, demonstrated the extent to which a break in service accounted for the imbalance of earnings between men and women teachers. Chessum (1989) detailed the effects of a break in service on the scale positions on women teachers, in her study 80% (p30) of the women interviewed lost points. Hill (1994) found that taking a break reduced women's chances of gaining a first headship and 'this undoubtedly explains part of the under-representation of women in the largest headships' (p203). Indeed, Grant (1989b) claimed that the disadvantage experienced by women who broke service and followed a traditional two-phase career pattern was 'too great for most to overcome' (p44). Other studies revealed that women's return to work was often on a part-time basis (Trown & Needham, 1980). Chessum (1990) estimated that up to 40% (p22) of women teachers worked part-time at some stage in their lives, most usually after breaking service.

Continuous career patterns

As early as the beginning of the 1980s researchers were suggesting that a decline in opportunities for re-entry to teaching caused by the labour market contraction of the 1980s was resulting in women developing continuous careers. Trown & Needham (1980) stated:

Re-entry opportunities are bleak: it is felt that to resign is virtually to abandon one's career. Consequently, there is a tendency for full-time women teachers to postpone pregnancy or return to teaching immediately after maternity leave out of necessity rather than choice. (p126)

I (McDaid, 1992) found the explanations to be more complex. Some women teachers were motivated by personal and financial need, whilst others were concerned to maintain their occupational standing and chances of future promotion. Continuous careers could involve full-time employment only, or a mixture of full-time and part-time work. However, women teachers' continuous career patterns remain to be fully explored, and trends and explanations have only been touched upon and hinted at.

Evetts' study (1990)

Evetts' work represents one of the most coherent studies of women primary teachers' careers and in the initial stages of this study it provided a great source of interest. Using the career histories of twenty-five women primary and infant headteachers, Evetts explored how individual women experienced and managed their careers within their professional and private lives, the existing external structural conditions and the internal labour market of primary teaching. She examined their subjective careers and their career patterns, paying particular attention to the influence of family commitments.

Career patterns

From the twenty-five women teachers' career accounts Evetts identified a range of career patterns followed. She developed a typology of career strategies which these women adopted during the course of their lives. She termed these as the accommodated, the antecedent, the two-stage, the subsequent and the compensatory career strategies and described and illustrated them in some detail (p67-83). Table 2.3 provides a summary of Evetts' typology of career strategies.

Internal labour market

What was interesting about Evetts' work was that she focussed much of her analysis of career strategies on the ways in which these developed and were shaped by the constraints imposed by the labour market which were in turn shaped by macro level political and economic conditions. This she referred to as an examination of the internal labour market of primary teaching. She demonstrated that for promotion certain characteristics (geographical mobility, continuous service and post-entry qualifications) were required in teachers.

Table 2.3 **Career strategies (Evetts, 1990)**

Antecedent	Career ambitious from beginning. Personal goals fit around career goals. Self image and identity derived from occupational role.
Two-stage	Climbs lower levels then devotes time to family before returning to career.
Subsequent	Early in working life family are main priority. Promotion aspirations only form once these are completed.
Compensatory	Motivation to achieve promotion associated with failure in personal sphere. At start of career is it possible that one of the other strategies is adopted - only later does career become a source of satisfaction and identity.
Accommodated	Strategy of those who have never sought promotion nor are actively seeking it.

Additionally, processes operated to facilitate the promotion of some teachers. These were sponsorship, where certain teachers were recognised and encouraged to go for promotion especially by headteachers, and the functioning of an occupational community where colleagues helped one another out. Evetts found that these characteristics and processes were modified under different external conditions, such as expansion and contraction of the teaching workforce and this often affected men and women teachers quite differently. For instance, when there was a shortfall of teachers she found the occupational community worked to bring women teachers back into work and to help them in negotiating family and teaching strategies. On the other hand, when there was a plentiful supply of teachers there were fewer examples of the occupational network supporting women teachers.

Evetts' research and her analytical framework, then, was based on a recognition that the career experiences of individual women developed within wider structural conditions and contexts. She demonstrated in some detail the distinct career patterns of women acknowledging the relevance of both personal and professional factors in women's working lives and the importance of external conditions. She said:

Women's personal accounts of their careers in primary and infant teaching and their interpretations and understanding of their experiences can be important sources of data in analyses of women and career. These have to be situated in the wider contexts of changes in external conditions and of different labour market mechanisms and processes. At the same time women's accounts can give preliminary interpretations of how they considered such factors affected their careers. Then their interpretations of contexts can be viewed in the light of other sorts of data which may or may not confirm their understandings. (p164)

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature on careers. It began by examining the concept of career. This initially developed in the sociologies of occupations and organisations, and it is from such settings that the hierarchical assumptions of promotion progress originated. At this level, careers are linear, mono-dimensional and linked to structures. A later rise in interest in the individual was characterised by a concentration on subjective aspects of career. At this level, concern is with how each person makes sense of the events which happen to them during the course of their working life; how they negotiate, manage and experience having a career. Most recent research has acknowledged that careers are a combination of these levels. They are where individual action and enterprise are worked out within organisations and structures.

This chapter has explored studies of careers which have focussed on gender differences. These studies have shown the divisions which exist, whereby men and women are concentrated in different areas of work and at different levels (and this is evident within teaching). They have demonstrated how this impacts career experiences, particularly in relation to opportunities, achievements and rewards. Women are generally disadvantaged in comparison to their male counterparts. This chapter has also examined studies which have focussed on women's careers by examining their relationship to paid employment. These studies have demonstrated the patterns of women's work, establishing a connection with family responsibilities, and the changes in these patterns over the decades. They have shown that, increasingly, women are taking shorter spells out of employment for child bearing and family formation, indeed, some women are now developing continuous careers. This is reflected in teaching.

The theoretical and methodological stance adopted in this study explores careers by locating individual experiences of work within the context of the life as a whole and within the wider

structural contexts in which teaching operates. The study focuses on teachers who have job shared and questions whether this form of employment helps break down the gender divisions which exist. This chapter has reviewed the literature on careers, Chapter 3 will review the literature on part-time working, in particular job sharing.

CHAPTER 3 - PART-TIME WORKING:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This study examines the career experiences of a group of women primary teachers who job shared. Chapter 2 reviewed the literature on careers, in particular women's careers and teachers' careers. This chapter focuses on research which has examined part-time working, with specific reference to job sharing.

The chapter is in two sections. In the first, literature on traditional forms of part-time working is explored, and the development and organisation of part-time work and the experiences of those (mainly women) who have pursued it is examined. The second section explores recent innovations in relation to part-time work which includes a range of flexible working arrangements. Job sharing is focused upon. The section also discusses the relationship between flexible working arrangements and gender role attitudes. As with the previous chapter, significant research within occupational sociology is referred to; however, it is studies within teaching which form the basis of the discussion.

Part-time work

Since the middle of this century part-time work has grown faster than any other type of employment in Britain. Figures indicate that over the period 1951 to 1991 the number of part-time jobs increased by approximately 4 million (Hewitt, 1993, p14). 25% of the total workforce now work part-time (Office for National Statistics, 1998, p70). This growth in part-time working correlates with women's increasing participation in the labour market and their changing career patterns. Indeed, part-time work is overwhelmingly women's work. Over 80% of all part-time workers are women (Office for National Statistics, 1998, p70), and 45% of women who are employees work part-time (Central Statistical Office, 1995, p25). It is reasonable to assert, therefore, that when we refer to part-time employees we are discussing predominantly women workers.

The development and organisation of part-time work

Explaining the continued growth of part-time employment is important and many studies have considered this. In the 1950s and 1960s the literature largely advocated the 'women's

two roles' approach. For example, Myrdal & Klein (1956) argued that part-time work had been developed in order to accommodate women with maternal responsibilities. They viewed certain jobs as appropriate to part-time working, 'some types of work lend themselves by their nature to part-time employment' (p113) and gave as examples catering, homehelping and childminding. Thus, part-time work and married women's work was viewed as the same thing, and part-time work was perceived as work developed with the interests of women in mind.

During the 1970s and 1980s there was a growing interest in, and awareness of part-time work. In 1987 Beechy criticised the women's two roles perspective for its 'overly optimistic view of progress' (p151), its emphasis on the family and its acceptance of the sexual division of labour. Beechy & Perkins (1987) claimed that many of the characteristics of part-time work stemmed from employment strategies related to occupational segregation:

Gender enters into the construction of part-time jobs and that the division between full-time and part-time work is one crucial contemporary manifestation of gender within the sphere of production. (p8-9)

Beechy & Perkins found that employers created part-time jobs for two main reasons. First, to attract women with domestic responsibilities who were already qualified and experienced back into employment when there was a labour demand and their skills were in short supply, and second, when flexibility was needed within workforces that were predominantly female. Therefore, part-time jobs were created for women when this met the needs of employers. Other factors have been shown to play a role in the construction of part-time work. Crompton & Sanderson (1990) demonstrated that in Britain state policies made it attractive for employers to offer part-time jobs. They found that part-timers who worked less than 16 hours a week were not covered by the Employment Protection Act and were not usually eligible for benefits such as paid holidays, pension schemes, maternity leave and sickness pay. This resulted in lower staffing costs for employers. Procter & Ratcliffe (1992) found that state policies in relation to women and the family (which emphasised the responsibility of individual mothers for the welfare of their children) was another important reason. In comparing France and Britain they showed how policies in France (which has overall similar rates of female labour force participation to Britain but much smaller levels of female part-time working) encouraged better childcare provision which enabled more women to work full-time.

Experiences of part-time work

Finally and importantly, most studies which considered part-time working have highlighted it as a particularly exploitative form of employment characterised by low pay, job insecurity, inferior fringe benefits and poor promotion prospects (EOC, 1981; Beechy & Perkins, 1987; Beechy, 1987). Elias (1990), in a paper which examined whether part-time working was a mechanism that kept women 'in or out' of employment, concluded that although it created opportunities for paid work, it offered little else. He asked:

Does it provide the vehicle for keeping women in? And the answer must be: yes, it does, because part-time jobs are women's jobs. Does it provide them with the opportunities to advance in terms of careers? The answer is an unreserved no...What we have is a widening of the expectations gap - the gap between the kinds of career that women are trained for and the kinds of jobs that they will end up in in their late thirties and early forties. We seem so far to have got away, is the only way I can describe it, without there being too much clamour. Certainly there is not the clamour at the political level to do something about that, but I wonder how long that situation will go on. I hope not for too long. (p81)

Part-time teaching

Statistics (SOEID, 1996a) indicate that in Scotland at any one time about 10% of all teachers are employed on a part-time basis. In addition, they indicate that females are more likely than males to be working on a part-time basis (approximately 80-90% of part-time teachers are women). Chessum (1990) estimated that at some stage, part-time work was a feature in the careers of up to 40% (p22) of women teachers. Nonetheless, studies of part-time teaching are scarce. Their findings, however, are consistent.

The development of part-time teaching

Some studies of part-time teaching demonstrated that it developed because of concerns about teacher shortages. Trown & Needham (1981), for example, described how a lack of teachers in the 1960s produced an attempt by the government to recruit married women returners through the extension of part-time teaching opportunities. Towards the end of the 1980s, Blackburne et al (1989) described an authority which, in order to maintain a workforce, was providing creche places for teachers' children in an attempt to attract women to part-time posts. Other studies have focused on employers' demands for a flexible workforce. Chessum (1989), for instance, explained how local authorities expanded and contracted the number of teachers through the employment of part-timers. She referred to this as quantitative flexibility and described how part-timers were taken on when required and then paid off when surplus. In addition, Chessum noted how part-timers were used to provide

qualitative flexibility, which she described as ‘the ability of employers to control the nature of the actual work done by employees, particularly in the ability to change and vary the work when so required’ (p10). In this way, part-time teachers were generally expected to fit into the needs of many different schools as and when needed. Thus, part-time teaching has developed for reasons similar to those given for part-time employment more generally.

Types of part-time teaching

Research has shown that part-time teaching is not restricted to a single pattern of usage. Nias (1989) found that ‘part-time teachers’ referred to ‘people who do not have full-time permanent posts’ (p126), however, there are important distinctions within this. Official documents (SJNC, 1988, SJNC, 1990) use the categories ‘permanent part-time teachers’, ‘temporary teachers’ and ‘supply teachers’ for the purposes of applying conditions of service and paying part-time teachers, and this is the terminology adopted in the study.

Permanent part-time teachers

Permanent part-time teachers have the same terms and conditions of service as their full-time colleagues. By definition they work fewer hours than the full-time teacher. Chessum (1989) noted that because of the different patterns of teaching times and intervals between individual schools there were ‘enormous variations’ (p20) in the total number of hours worked by permanent part-timers. In a previous study I (McDaid, 1992) demonstrated that in Scotland job sharers fell into this category. With the exception of a small number of learning support, curriculum support and peripatetic teachers I found few other permanent part-time teachers.

Temporary teachers

Temporary teachers were described by Nias (1989) as those who ‘filled gaps in a school’s permanent teacher staffing’ (p126) caused by secondments, maternity leave or other absences. Chessum (1989) further sub-divided temporary teachers into two groups. Some had fixed term contracts such as the teacher in her study who filled a vacancy in a school because the school roll had risen. At the end of the fixed term the roll was reassessed and because it had not fallen again a permanent post was offered. Other temporary teachers had a period of employment which had no hard and fast finishing date, such as those in her study who were used to cover for teachers absent due to long term illness. Although temporary teachers have some rights they are much weaker than those of permanent part-timers.

Supply teachers

Shilling (1991a) described supply teachers as the 'pool of occasional labour which has traditionally been organised by EAs as a way of equipping schools with short-term cover' (p61). Chessum (1989) described supply teachers as those employed on a daily or hourly basis to cover for teachers absent due to illness or attendance at in-service courses. She found that they often taught in more than one school in one week, sometimes even in one day. Supply teachers have the poorest terms and conditions of service of all teachers. It is worth noting at this point, that many teachers move regularly between temporary and supply work, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them.

Experiences of part-time teaching

Research on the experiences of permanent part-time teachers is minimal; the little available has focused on job sharers (Atherly, 1989; McDaid, 1992) and this will be discussed later. Studies which have examined the experiences of part-time temporary and supply teachers, although greater in number, are also few. As their titles suggest ('The Part-time Nobody', 'Out of Sight, Out of Mind', 'Working on the Margins'), the part-time temporary and supply teaching experience is found to be unfulfilling.

Part-time teaching

'The Part-time Nobody' (Chessum, 1989) was a small but comprehensive study which examined part-time temporary and supply teaching. It involved twenty-four indepth interviews with part-time teachers in primary, middle and secondary schools, who were asked questions to elicit their reasons for working part-time as opposed to full-time, and to compare their experiences with those of full-time teachers. Chessum discovered that most of the teachers had chosen part-time teaching because of the demands of childcare responsibilities, or as a feasible means of reentering full-time teaching after a career break. She found that every teacher interviewed felt that part-time teachers had the 'lowest status of all teachers' (p38). Some felt that having such a low standing allowed them to be given the worst equipment and classes, and their working hours to be arranged to suit the requirements of the school with little thought for their needs. Others noted discrimination against part-timers when they applied for full-time or promoted posts. One woman said:

A big variety of experience doesn't seem to enhance one's career at all. I've had almost 20 years experience in education in a variety of work...and I can't seem to apply for a scale two. (1990, p22)

Chessum concluded that part-time teachers experienced low status, poor working conditions and few opportunities for promotion.

Supply teaching

The early 1990s saw a slight upsurge in research on supply teaching (Loveys, 1988; Trotter & Wragg, 1990; Shilling, 1991a, 1991b; Galloway, 1993), although it must be noted that this still represented only a small interest in the subject. Most usually, these studies demonstrated the many negative aspects related to supply teaching.

Trotter & Wragg (1990) found that most of the supply teachers they investigated listed disadvantages of the job which far outweighed the advantages. Negative aspects related to the unfamiliarity of different classrooms, children and schools, to the lack of status given and to the lack of support provided. 'Feelings of loneliness and isolation' were often mentioned arising from both the 'nature of the job' and the 'occasionally negative, occasionally resentful and occasionally simply thoughtless' (p273) attitudes of those in full-time employment. The lack of support and the isolation also featured in Shilling (1991b). He found that supply teachers did not feel that they benefited from the satisfactions that came with working full-time with colleagues and many had difficulties gaining access to training and courses. Shilling found that 'the future for casual supply teachers looked bleak' (p8) and that many were, in fact, planning to leave the profession. Loveys (1988), who analysed his own daily life as a supply teacher which he combined with part-time study for a degree, argued that huge amounts were expected from supply teachers who gained little. He highlighted the different types of schools and management approaches encountered, and relationships formed, and emphasised the demands made of and pressures exerted on supply teachers. He said, 'the supply teacher is expected to operate as a full-time teacher on the one hand, but is rewarded as a casual worker by staff, schools and employers' (p193). He offered an interesting insight on gender:

From my own experience in schools, it quickly became apparent that supply teaching was regarded as a woman's job, and being a male in a normally female role attracted a large degree of curiosity and suspicion. Without exception I was probed by heads and teachers as to why I was supply teaching and not engaged in the traditional struggle for promotion within the system. When my reasons became clear, my role became accepted since I was then regarded as sensibly investing in my future as a teacher through the sacrifice of a year's full-time work. Female supply teachers appeared to experience no such expectations. (p180)

Improving part-time work

The shortcomings inherent in traditional forms of part-time working were recognised gradually, and throughout the 1980s arguments in favour of improving the situation of part-time workers developed. These formed part of the 'flexibility debate', which questioned the full-time life-time model of employment, and advocated that ways had to be found to ensure that women (and men) had a range of working options available to meet their particular needs. This section discusses the flexibility debate and examines some of the policies which have developed as a result. Particular attention is paid to policies which grant part-time workers pro rata terms and conditions with full-time workers, of which job sharing is a major development. It is important to note that some commentators have questioned the value of introducing flexible modes of working without seeking to change gender role attitudes, and this is an issue to which I will return at the end of the chapter.

The flexibility debate

In 1981 the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) claimed that providing greater flexibility in working was probably the best way of bringing about improvements in women's opportunities. It examined the effect of conventional working patterns ('40 hours a week over an unbroken period of 40 to 50 years', p1) on women's employment and showed the problems it created for those with responsibilities (usually family) outside of paid work. The Commission believed that if these were to be overcome working arrangements would have to be varied enough to allow choice in the way women (and men) managed their personal and professional lives, and that, in particular, policies were required which allowed parents who wished to combine work with family life to do so. Ten years on, flexible working arrangements were still being discussed. For example, Crompton & Sanderson (1990) argued that flexibility was significant in relation to women in order to allow almost continuous employment, which McRae (1990) added was 'an important pre-condition for equality of access to higher level and professional jobs' (p3). Others (Syrett, 1983; Elias & Purcell, 1988; Hewitt, 1993) claimed that flexibility was an important means of reducing unemployment and making a more efficient use of the nation's human resources.

Gradually employers in the public, private and voluntary sectors began to show an interest. Although the flexibility debate and related expectations of EOs groups and demands of employees were found to influence employers in their initial pursuit of flexible working

options, Clark (1982) showed that high unemployment was also important, whilst Elias & Purcell (1988) and Bamford (1995) noted how European Community legislation and pressure had an impact. The main methods promoted to achieve more flexible working arrangements include part-time hours, flexitime, school term-time working, homeworking and career break/retainer schemes. The introduction of job sharing is a major development in this field. It is the main type of flexible working on offer to teachers.

Job sharing

Syrett (1983) found that job sharing typically involved:

Two (or possibly more) employees sharing the responsibilities of one full-time position, with the salary, paid leave, pension rights and fringe benefits divided between them. (p45)

The EOC (1981) clarified that job sharing was a voluntary arrangement, where benefits were 'proportionate to the hours each sharer worked' (p1). The essential common features of job sharing, then, are that a single full-time job is shared through choice by two or more individuals, who taken together, receive the conditions of service as would one full-time employee.

Although job sharing in teaching is a relatively recent development, the concept is not new and in Britain dates back as far as World War II. The idea was first used in banking institutions in the 1940s where it was used to encourage women with family and domestic commitments to work in areas where their labour was required, and many secretarial and administrative workers were employed on a system of alternate weeks known as 'twinning'. However, it was not until the 1980s, when the debate surrounding flexible working picked up, that job sharing was given serious consideration.

Studies of job sharing within employment generally have given positive evaluations, especially in terms of 'woman-friendliness'. For example, the EOC (1981) described it as an 'imaginative variant on the 40 hour working week' (p6), particularly relevant to women as it enabled them to move into higher level part-time jobs which were well paid and protected. McRae (1990) described it as an 'innovative approach to part-time work' which allowed women 'continuity of employment' (p6) and the opportunity to combine family and working life.

Job sharing in teaching

Studies of job sharing in teaching (Angier, 1984; ILEA, 1986; McDaid, 1992) have found that it is almost always between two individuals; that posts are shared on the basis of time rather than duties or responsibilities; and that benefits attributed to each sharer are pro-rata (proportionate to time worked). They have generally noted that job sharing in teaching is a progressive development related, in particular, to equal opportunities initiatives. For example, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA, 1986) described job sharing as having the potential to allow more women to return to teaching after maternity leave rather than opting for a longer career break, thus minimising difficulties associated with updating and re-entry, and enabling teachers to have promoted responsibilities at a time when they did not want to work full-time. However, little evidence has been provided to substantiate these claims.

A review of literature on job sharing in teaching reveals that in Britain very little has been written. Two reports were produced in the 1980s, Angier (1984) and ILEA (1986), evaluating pilot job share schemes in Sheffield and London respectively. In addition, a small number of articles have documented the experiences of individual job share partnerships. These include Rogers (1983), Atherly (1989), Bennet & Rump (1995), and Ormell (1996). In the context of this research it is important to note that all of these reports and studies focused on the practical experiences of job sharing, and not job sharing within the context of teachers' careers. The studies will now be discussed.

Pilot job share schemes - two evaluations

ILEA monitored its pilot job share scheme for teachers over a period of more than a year producing a report in 1986. This was a large scale study of all the job share posts in the authority (seventy in total) and information was collected in a variety of ways. Questionnaires were sent to all job sharers, as well as to the headteachers of schools where there was a job share partnership, and a smaller number of sharers and headteachers were interviewed. The study focussed on the perceived advantages and disadvantages of this form of teaching for schools and found that generally the job sharers believed the scheme was a success. Individuals talked about benefits including the opportunity for pupils to relate to two teachers instead of one, the greater time and energy that sharers could give to teaching and the chance to work part-time while holding a promoted position. Although less so,

disadvantages were mentioned, such as the difficulties involved in establishing a joint approach to one post, and the need for liaison and overlap time. The headteachers' responses also provided a positive view of the job sharing. They commented that job sharers provided a welcome change for pupils during the week, who also gained by being taught by teachers with more energy and enthusiasm. Some headteachers mentioned that job sharing enabled two qualified and committed teachers, often with young children, to remain in teaching. The report concluded that if minor adjustments were made to the scheme (improving awareness raising and advertising procedures, and providing recognised overlap time) job sharing should be made a permanent option for ILEA teachers.

In 1984 Angier assessed a pilot job sharing scheme for teachers introduced by Sheffield City Council. This constituted part of her M.Ed degree and the study was much smaller in scale than ILEA's. Angier focused on job sharers' and headteachers' views on the benefits and problems of job sharing, and used questionnaires to investigate these. Angier discovered that for success 'a high degree of compatibility' between partners in terms of 'educational philosophies and ideas about discipline, along with an acceptance of each others strengths, weaknesses and needs' (p55) were particularly important. Where this occurred perceptions were that pupils, teachers and schools gained. She noted, on the other hand, that difficulties were experienced where there was a lack of compatibility or communication between partners, or in relation to future promotion prospects. Most headteachers agreed they would have this working arrangement again, although none anticipated 'across the board' applications. Angier concluded:

Job sharing was seen to be a feasible and flexible employment pattern for a teacher who wished to combine part-time work and other activities. It permitted a greater variety of working patterns and domestic arrangements...Job sharing was seen to alleviate stress and provide higher energy on the job. Sharers found it easier to stay fresh energetic and creative during working hours. This can be a critical advantage in a highly demanding job such as teaching. (p56)

Documenting the experiences of individual partnerships

Rogers (1983) and Bennet & Rump (1995) documented the experiences of two promoted job shares partnerships in secondary schools in England. Rogers described two teachers working within the ILEA scheme. They were spouses who wanted to share the care of their first child. With the support from most of their colleagues, they rescinded their scale 3 posts and began job sharing a post under scale 2 responsibility. Similarly, Bennet & Rump, two

women with childcare responsibilities, worked together as the assistant head of a PE department. Both reports commented on the success of the partnerships, which was in part due to good communication between the job sharers. In addition, commitment to their school was enhanced by the organisation's recognition of personal need. Headteachers in both schools were described as supportive and enthusiastic.

Atherly (1989) published a paper detailing the experience of one unpromoted job share partnership which occurred in an English primary school. Atherly described the job share where two teachers worked on a one-week-on, one-week-off basis, sharing the teaching of the children completely. Both teachers had been full-time in the school previously but the school was forced to lose one teacher and both teachers were keen to work for half a job. Atherly found that this partnership involved 'a great deal of negotiation since the teachers favoured very different teaching strategies - one being orientated towards goal and reward structures, the other favouring a more co-operative humanistic approach' (p131). She explained that although the partnership had problems in its early stages it resulted in a positive experience for both teachers and pupils. The teachers developed trust and respect for one another which enabled them to communicate as necessary and even led to a 'mellowing of attitudes' (p139) in both teachers, who agreed that job sharing had been an experience which had enhanced their professional development. The pupils, Atherly found, also responded positively to the initiative. She commented:

By the end of the year 20 of the 25 remaining children wrote independently that the 'best thing' about Class 3 had been 'having two teachers...you do more things'. (p137)

Atherly concluded that this job share, between two quite different teachers in terms of approach and personality, had through a process of negotiation and communication resulted in a rewarding experience for both pupils and teachers.

Finally, Ormell (1996) described a range of interesting job share situations in primary schools in England. There was Bodiam, a small school where all the teachers job shared. The headteacher noted several advantages. For instance, she felt she had more people to cover the breadth of the national curriculum. She believed staff gave their all because they were 'thrilled to be working and able to spend time with their families and not exhausted by doing both' (p4). Also, the budget used for supply cover was tiny because of so few absences. Ormell also discussed two teachers who had shared three acting headships over

two years. Their partnership began when they were both offered and forced to turn down (because of 'other commitments') separate temporary headteacher posts. They met and 'it just came together like a jigsaw'. Although they noted initial concerns on the part of teachers and governors, success soon took over and people began to see them as 'almost one quite ordinary person' (p4).

These studies of job sharing in teaching, then, found that this form of teaching can be of value. Taken together they suggest that pupils can benefit from interacting with two teachers in place of one and the enhanced time, energy and enthusiasm of job sharing teachers. Schools gain by retaining experienced and committed staff. In addition, individual job share teachers are able to combine personal and work responsibilities. The studies also highlight the significance of compatibility and communication between job sharing partners.

Gender role attitudes

Finally in this chapter, I want to review briefly some of the literature which has suggested that employment strategies advocating flexibility will be of limited success unless beliefs about gender roles within the family change. In short, some researchers have argued that women will not achieve equality in careers whilst dominant ideologies emphasise women's primary responsibility as mothers.

Literature examining experiences of motherhood has demonstrated the often onerous and time consuming nature of the tasks involved (Piachaud, 1984; Sharpe, 1984). It has shown that although women define expectations about mothering and set their own standards, they are guided by cultural ideologies (Brannen, 1992; Richardson, 1993). The literature has also shown that some of the most striking changes in women's working lives occur as a result of motherhood (Joshi, 1984; EOC, 1993). This includes the pursuit of part-time employment and downward occupational mobility. Researchers have argued that the introduction of flexible working arrangements, including job sharing, will only be of value if experiences of motherhood change also, so that women and men have an equal share in, and responsibility for, all aspects of family care.

For example, Scott & Duncombe (1992), using observations of gender differences in patterns of employment in the UK and the USA, demonstrated that in both countries women

were still defined as mainly responsible for domestic life and childcare. They found that in Britain there have been a growing number of incentives for married women to return to work because of gaps in the labour market. However, social pressures in recent years had been working in the opposite direction as 'the rhetoric of politicians emphasises the virtues of traditional roles in family life, and as the media insists that motherhood is once again fashionable' (p36). They concluded that although social and employment policies had an important effect on women's labour market decisions, opportunities depended 'at least as much' (p36) on attitudes, particularly traditional ones regarding women's roles in domestic and paid work spheres.

Brannen (1992) also examined this issue by focussing on 'dual earner households'. She investigated families where both parents worked full-time in order to analyse whether this facilitated greater equality between partners in both employment and domestic life. She found the pervasiveness of traditional ideologies and attitudes lingered on. She showed that even in these households where both partners worked full-time, women did not redefine the domestic division of labour in the home, rather they accommodated it. Thus, 'the ideologies of motherhood and marriage remained powerful forces inhibiting change' (p9).

Truman (1992) took up this theme in her examination of flexible working, job shares, career breaks, and re-entry and retainer schemes. She found that because these developments were aimed at women they held a common assumption that women do and should bear most of the responsibility for home life. As such, they did not challenge the gendered division of labour in the home and perpetuated traditional ideologies about gender roles. She claimed that therefore women gained no long term benefits from flexible employment practices. She believed that as long as individual employers defined these initiatives and primarily aimed them at mothers, women would continue to have few options within the labour market because they would then be controlled not only by their family responsibilities, but also by the particular terms and type of flexible working their employer chose to make available. In this way, the sexual division of labour and inequalities between men and women would only be reinforced. She said:

In practical terms, the policies represent little more than opportunities for a small group of women to derive short-term benefit from variations in employers' career structures. Even where this is the case, it is possible that women will follow the new career paths, whilst those of men remain as they have always been. If this is the case, the dominant concept of a career may remain largely unchallenged...For

the debate to be of ultimate benefit to women, it is essential that women define the parameters of the discussion. The consequences of demographic change should not be limited to how employers or individual women might respond, but how the ideological, economic and social relations between men and women might change to give women real choice (p116-117)

Improving childcare provision is probably the best publicised method of achieving this. A survey for the Policy Studies Institute (McRae & Daniels, 1991) found that half of all mothers when asked in an open ended question what changes would make it easier for them to continue working suggested improved childcare facilities. The EOC (1990) noted in its policy document 'The Key to Real Choice':

Women cannot enjoy equality of opportunity unless they have access to daycare facilities for their children. The complete inadequacy of current provision for both the under fives and dependent school age children is probably one of the most important factors restricting many women's opportunities. (p4)

This decade has witnessed an improvement in childcare provision, with the current government making commitments towards it. However, much of the focus has been on children from single parent families and children in their pre-school year only.

Summary

Studies have revealed that almost half of the women who are employed in Britain work on a part-time basis, and that part-time work is overwhelmingly carried out by women. The benefits of part-time work to employers have been found to include reduced labour costs and the flexibility to manage levels of staffing in relation to product or service demand. Disadvantages of part-time working for women have also been found: part-time workers have been shown to be marginal members of the workforce, enjoying little employment protection, and performing work which is frequently low status and poorly paid. Research on part-time teachers (temporary and supply) has, similarly, found that they are an exploited group who find their work to be unsatisfying and unfulfilling.

Since the 1980s, flexible working has been promoted as a way of improving the situation of part-time/ women workers. A range of initiatives have been considered including flexitime, school term-time working and career break/ retainer schemes. Job sharing, which offers part-time hours with full-time benefits and conditions of service, is the main form of flexible working on offer to teachers. It has been advocated as having the potential to improve the situation of many women teachers. A small number of studies have focussed on job sharing

at a practical level and found it can be of value to pupils and schools. However, few have examined what job sharing means to the individual teacher and its advantages and disadvantages remain to be explored fully.

This study addresses this gap in the literature. It examines the careers of a group of women primary teachers who job share and evaluates the effectiveness of job sharing as a way of working. This chapter and the last have reviewed the literature within the field of interest. In the following chapter the aims of the research will be made explicit and the means of data gathering will be described.

CHAPTER 4 - AN ACCOUNT OF METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Job sharing has been advocated as one way of improving the quality and availability of part-time work. For women, it has been identified as an innovative approach which will allow the opportunity to combine family life with successful occupational careers. However, as Chapter 3 concluded there is, as yet, little evidence to support these claims. This study examines the careers of a group of women primary teachers who job shared. As revealed in Chapter 2, this involves locating individual experiences within the context of the life as a whole, and within the wider structural conditions in which teaching operates. This will enable an evaluation the effectiveness of job sharing as a career option.

This chapter defines the precise areas of interest in the study and gives these as the research questions. The techniques for gathering evidence are then discussed and their nature, design and implementation outlined. This chapter focuses on technical concerns and is primarily descriptive. In the next chapter I trace my approach to and engagement in the research. Embedded in this are a range of ethical issues relating to, for example, the choice of methods and analysis of data. In the next chapter I attempt to articulate my thoughts and feelings regarding the methodology and to provide a commentary which complements this chapter.

Research questions

Before embarking upon the enquiry, the purpose of the investigation was identified and the specific nature of the project made explicit. This directed towards the kinds of information required and the best methods of collection. Within the area of general concern, then, particular aspects of interest were identified and translated into the following research questions:

1. What are the career experiences of women primary teachers who job share?

(i) What are job sharing teachers' overall occupational experiences within the context of their lives as a whole? What do they identify as the key aspects of their professional and personal lives? In what ways have they negotiated a fit among these aspects throughout their careers? Has the commitment and the significance they attribute to these dimensions

varied at different points in their careers?

(ii) Are distinct career patterns evident among job sharing primary teachers?

2. What is the role of job sharing in the careers of women primary teachers?

(i) What are job sharing teachers' reasons for choosing this mode of employment? Do the reasons given for job sharing fall into specific categories?

(ii) How does job sharing fit into the individuals' experience of and relationship with work throughout the course of their careers? What significance is job sharing accorded in the context of whole lives and careers? Do job sharing teachers form any distinguishable groupings in relation to the role of job sharing in their careers?

3. How does job sharing meet the personal needs of teachers?

(i) To what extent does job sharing meet individual needs? Does job sharing fulfil expectations in terms of improving the quality of the personal life? How does it compare with full-time and part-time teaching?

4. How does job sharing meet the professional needs of teachers?

(i) What degree of satisfaction is achieved in practice? What is the perceived impact of job sharing on others in the professional environment?

(ii) How does job sharing contribute to professional development?

(iii) To what extent does job sharing meet professional needs in comparison to full-time and part-time employment? To what extent does it deliver full-time benefits to part-time employees? To what extent does it enable the career progression and development possible for full-time teachers?

5. At the macro level what are the conditions affecting the careers of primary teachers?

(i) What influence does the supply and demand of teachers have on careers? How does this affect job sharing teachers?

(ii) What influence does the teachers' career structure have? How are job sharing teachers accommodated in the structure?

(iii) How does the legislative context affect teachers' careers? What are the consequences

of management and curricular reforms for job sharing teachers?

(iv) What impact do beliefs about women and work, and social attitudes towards teachers have? How do these affect the careers of job sharers?

6. How do conditions at the intermediate level affect the careers of primary teachers?

(i) Within the hierarchy of posts and positions of the teaching profession, how are jobs allocated and gained? How are job sharing teachers accommodated in the system?

(ii) In what ways does the occupational culture of primary teaching offer opportunities for some teachers and not others? How does this relate to job sharers?

(iii) How is job sharing policy (national, local and school) defined, implemented and assessed? How do the different levels of policy relate to and affect one another?

Research methods

Two areas central to the research and worthy of detailed examination, then, were the individual career experiences of women primary teachers who job shared and the structural contexts and conditions within which these occurred. To explore and examine these areas four methodological phases of research were employed:

(1) In the first phase data about job sharing primary teachers was collected through a postal survey of schools. This limited quantitatively based approach had two purposes; to provide a description of the job sharing situation in one geographical area (contextual information), and to aid identification of a sample for the second phase of the research.

(2) The second phase consisted of conducting in-depth career history interviews with twenty women primary teachers who job shared. This stage sought to explore the career experiences of this group of teachers, was qualitatively based, and formed the bulk of the research in terms of work and findings.

(3) The career experiences of women primary teachers who job shared were further explored in the third phase through questionnaires which were sent to a sample of teachers who had previously job shared so that their career experiences and development since job sharing could be identified and examined.

(4) In the fourth phase semi-structured interviews were carried out with key informants at national, local and school level. This included representatives of the GTC, EIS, SSBA,

EA officials, and headteachers and parents. Combined with analysis of official policy and other documents, this aimed to illuminate the context in which job sharing teachers were developing their careers.

Research location

The research was located within one Scottish EA for empirical and practical reasons. Firstly, if the research was based within one authority the teachers, headteachers and other individuals who participated would be associated with job sharing operating under the terms, conditions and practicalities of one policy. Secondly, in order to arrange travel to and from the research site it was felt best to locate the work within one geographical area. At the time of the study only one Scottish EA had operated a large scale and comprehensive job share scheme for teachers for more than two years. Teachers who job shared within this authority, therefore, would have the widest range of experiences for exploration. In addition, this area was accessible to the researcher who lived and worked outwith the region.

From a demographic perspective the authority was (between 1973 and 1996) the largest education authority in Western Europe, responsible for the schooling of almost four hundred thousand 5 to 16 year olds. Its eleven hundred plus schools ranged from one teacher primaries in rural areas to city comprehensives with well over a thousand pupils. Because of its vast size, for administrative purposes, the authority was split into six divisions. One division, the largest, was chosen to focus upon in the expectation that this would achieve some consistency in relation to working conditions, management and resourcing. The division was the most populous of the authority and had over one hundred nursery schools, two hundred and twenty primary schools, almost fifty secondary schools and forty special educational establishments. It covered Scotland's biggest city, from the inner city to the city suburbs and included pupils from diverse social, economic and cultural backgrounds. The research location, therefore, encompassed a wide range of schools, pupils and teachers.

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, on 1 April 1996 at local government reorganisation, the authority was split into nineteen new authorities. In the main the research division/ location formed one new authority, although a small number of schools fell into other authorities, and this included two of the ten involved in this study. This is given as a point of interest as it did not affect the empirical work.

Research design and implementation

The four methodological phases of the research are now discussed in detail. Their nature, method and implementation are outlined, and limitations identified. The account given is mainly descriptive, addressing technical concerns.

The first phase

In May 1994 a questionnaire about job sharing teaching staff was sent to all primary schools in the research location. The aim of this exercise was two-fold. Firstly, the current situation in terms of job sharing primary teachers was sought. Identification of certain key characteristics would provide invaluable background information which would help establish the context in which job sharing teachers were developing their careers. Secondly, the details would assist in the process of sample selection for the next phase of the research.

The questionnaire to primary schools

The job sharer details ascertained as essential were; number, sex, level of promotion, current teaching stage and responsibilities. With the exception of number, such information was either not held or not available from regional and divisional headquarters; headteachers of schools were identified, therefore, as the best source of this information. A questionnaire was selected as the research instrument because a small amount of factual information was required from a relatively large number of respondents.

A series of questionnaire items were drawn up, scrutinised with colleagues to ensure they were clear, precise and acceptable, and put together to form the first draft of the questionnaire. At this stage, a computer database was designed for the early stages of data processing. The questionnaire was piloted with three headteachers from another division in the same authority, and minor alterations were made before the final draft of the questionnaire (Appendix 4.1) was produced. This with a cover note, was sent to all headteachers of primary schools in the research location.

An initial response rate of 89% (n=203) was achieved. A slightly different cover note was then sent to those headteachers who had not responded in the first round and a final return rate of 99% (n=226) was accomplished by June 1994. The data were entered into the database and a description of job sharing teachers in the research location was produced.

This was subsequently used as contextual and background information throughout the study, and helped identify the sample of job sharing teachers for phase two of the research.

The second phase

In the second phase of the research interviews were conducted with twenty women primary teachers who job shared. This stage sought to explore their career experiences in detail. It was focussed on the teacher, in that it was their experiences and, in particular, their perceptions of them that were significant. Both professional and personal issues were of interest. Current concerns formed an important element of the exploration; in order fully to understand each individual's experiences, however, it was felt that past events with some views towards the future, would be useful. A career history interview was selected as the research instrument for this phase.

The career and life history method

The career history method focuses on an individual's experiences at work during adulthood within the context of his or her life as a whole. Evetts (1990), in her investigation of the experiences of a group of women primary and infant headteachers, adopted this technique. She found that it enabled her to explore the 'subjective careers' (p9-13) of teachers because it focused on the meaning of work and career in the individual life. In addition, it demonstrated the significance of characteristics at the structural level of analysis by showing responses to external contexts.

The career history is a form of the life history. After flourishing briefly in sociological studies during the 1920s and 1930s (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927; Shaw, 1930), use of the life history approach declined. It reemerged in the 1970s following the growth of ethnography. Within education, researchers began to use it to investigate school processes (for example, Smith et al, 1985, in their examination of curriculum innovators) and teachers' careers (for example, Ball & Goodson , 1985; Sikes, Measor & Woods, 1985; Aspinwall, 1986). Its main characteristics are 'a narrative interview' distinguished by the retelling of a life story succeeded by questions to draw out 'more narrative detail' (Bertaux & Kholi, 1984, p224). Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) defined it as a 'prolonged interview' in which the subject and researcher 'probed and reflected' upon the subject's life experiences (p13). Although disadvantages have been noted relating to validity (the method provides few wider

links or theoretical understandings), generalisability (due to the small number of participants usually involved) and the time consuming nature of data collection (Faraday & Plummer, 1979), the method has proved valuable for those studying careers. Holly & Maclure (1990) and Woods (1993) found that it enabled researchers to document the inner experiences of individuals, how they interpreted, understood and defined their work within the framework of their whole life alongside wider contextual structures. Benyon (1985) said:

The life history is uniquely placed to grapple with the individual's subjective reality, assumptions and beliefs. It emphasises the interpretations people place on their everyday experiences as an explanation of behaviour...It grounds the individual life in both the context of lived experience as well as within the broader social and economic system in which s/ he lives...The life history holds out the prospect of exploring the relationship between the cultural, social structural and individually lived experience (p164)

A modified life history approach, therefore, in the form of a career history interview was selected as the research tool for this phase. It seemed that this could illustrate the variety of meanings that attach to 'having' a career and illuminate links which exist between the personal and professional lives of individual teachers. In addition, through extended investigations using other methods, it could demonstrate the complex inter-relationship of factors at different structural levels.

The career history interview

The career history approach took the form of a research interview - 'a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information' (Cohen & Mannion, 1980, p241). It did not follow a neatly preplanned format, but revolved around topics of conversation building on one another. While the researcher decided the main topics to be covered, through a consideration of the research aims and questions, the actual direction of the conversation was partially determined by the interviewee. In a sense the career history interview resembled 'a conversation with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984, p102).

The interview consisted of:

- (i) researcher defined themes to be discussed by asking;
- (ii) opening questions which were open ended, general and provided the framework for discussion. These would enable each interviewee to develop the conversation as desired, relating what had been and was significant to them and in their view, and:

(iii) probes if necessary, particularly where an area had not been covered in the discussion arising from opening questions. Not all probes would be relevant to all interviews and it was considered that it might be more appropriate in first instance to say 'You mentioned...', 'Can you tell me some more about...' or 'I would like to talk a bit more about...'

The research questions were used as the starting point; from these the themes were developed and opening questions and probes drafted (see Appendix 4.2).

Next, I considered the advice of other researchers who suggested that particular skills would be required on my part. Burgess (1984), for example, commented that in this type of interview it was essential for the interviewer to listen carefully in order to take part in the conversation and pose questions on aspects that had not been covered or needed developing - in short researchers had to continually assess the 'direction, depth and detail' (p120) of the interview. Woods (1985) suggested that researchers had to create an 'informal' (p14) atmosphere, where the interviewee felt sufficiently at ease to recount details centred around their own experiences, whilst Oakley (1981) believed that in order to establish warmth and trust the interviewer had to reveal some of their own personality and concerns, being distant and non-responsive simply did not work. These aspects were given careful consideration and several 'practice runs' were conducted with colleagues. A draft interview schedule was piloted with four job sharing teachers from another division of the same authority. In each case discussion about the interview content, structure, practical organisation and general approach took place after the interview, and in some cases during the interview also, and recommendations were made. The interview schedule was then rewritten into its final form (Appendix 4.3), with themes or groups of themes printed on separate cards.

Sample selection

In order to respond to the aims of the second phase of the research a sample of twenty job sharing teachers was selected for the career history interviews. Bertaux (1981), in his life history research on bakery workers, found that collating twenty-five life stories was sufficient:

The first life story taught us a great deal, so did the second and the third. By the 15th we had begun to understand the pattern of socio-structural relations. By the 25th...we knew we had it, a clear picture of this structural pattern. (p37)

However, following the pilot interviews in this study it was decided that twenty was manageable and had the potential to reveal what was desired.

The sample of job sharing teachers was not random. The limits imposed on the kinds of individual to be interviewed derived from the research aims and questions, the phase 1 questionnaire data, and efforts to keep the study feasible. Three aspects were considered. Firstly, several comments made by headteachers in phase 1 suggested that they perceived differences in the experiences of job sharing teachers who were promoted and those who were not. This was supported by findings of previous research (McDaid, 1992). Phase 1 data also showed that in terms of promoted level job sharing primary teachers were under represented compared with all primary teachers and this seemed a point worthy of greater investigation in itself. Additionally, the research was interested in the perceived and actual opportunities for job sharing teachers within the formal/ vertical career structure and clearly an exploration of the experiences of both promoted and unpromoted teachers could illuminate this. As such, ten of the sample were unpromoted and ten were promoted (senior teachers). Secondly, phase 1 data revealed that headteachers believed that the experiences of both job sharing teachers themselves, and of others who worked with them in the school environment (pupils, other teachers and management) varied according to the job sharers' responsibilities. There was clearly a perception that there were more difficulties and problems in relation to job sharers who had class teaching responsibilities as compared to those who had other responsibilities (learning support and curriculum support). Indeed, some headteachers pointed out that they had given their job sharing teachers 'other' responsibilities simply because of the job sharing element of their employment. It seemed sensible, therefore, to include job share teachers with classroom responsibilities and 'other' responsibilities. Finally, phase 1 data indicated that job sharing teachers taught a range of stages in the primary school. It was felt that this could be explored further through the interviews and teachers working at various stages were selected for the sample.

Only one pair of job sharers per school was identified so that school specific factors, such as headteacher, staff relationships or pupil conditions would not control the whole data set. In addition, a decision was made to interview both job sharers in a partnership as this might give a clearer insight into specific job share experiences. The selection criteria is summarised below:

- level ten unpromoted and ten promoted teachers
 - responsibilities class teaching or other (learning support, curriculum support)
 - teaching stage range of stages from nursery, P1 to P7
 - school only one partnership per school
- interview both job share partners

Job sharing teachers were accordingly selected and asked to participate by letter via their headteacher. After ten refusals a sample of twenty was compiled (Appendix 4.4).

Interviews were offered during July - October 1994 so that the participants had the option of giving of their time in the school holidays or during the school term. They were also given a choice of location. Once arrangements had been made each interviewee was sent an outline of the broad aims of the research, the areas of interest and possible outcomes with reassurances about confidentiality, so that they had a clear idea of what was expected of them. The headteachers of the interviewees were also notified of the interview arrangements.

The interviews lasting 60 - 150 minutes were carried out between August and October 1994 in the interviewees' homes (n=19) or schools (n=1) as they had chosen. Each was tape recorded and later transcribed. All interviewees showed a willingness to talk, to listen and to relate their stories and experiences. The approach enabled the collection of data on the areas required by providing the researcher with flexibility to follow up ideas, probe deeper and investigate motives and feelings. At the same time it allowed the interviewee to elaborate where necessary or desired. The method also provided opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to clarify any matters of doubt over, for instance, explanations, as well as allowing the interviewee to ask questions if desired. Each interview was a valuable and worthwhile experience.

The third phase

In order that a full and comprehensive account of the careers of job sharing teachers be developed, the third phase of the research examined post job share experiences. Of interest were actions taken by individuals, such as moves into full-time employment, promotion gains, breaks in service or retirement, and the circumstances in which these occurred. Because a general description with some quantitative measures and some qualitative responses was sought, a questionnaire was administered with twenty individuals who had

previously worked as job sharing teachers.

The questionnaire to former job sharing teachers

As with phase 2 of the study, the research aims and questions, and data gained in previous stages were used to identify the precise areas of interest for this phase (see Appendix 4.5). Questionnaire items were drawn up and examined critically with the help of colleagues. This was a vigorous and valuable exercise involving lengthy discussion and questioning. Careful consideration was given to aspects such as questions' wording, type and order, and attempts were made to ensure clarity and precision. The approach to processing and analysis was considered at this stage and this had an impact on the final form of the instrument. A first questionnaire was produced and piloted with two former job sharers in another division of the same authority as the research was conducted in. Each completed the questionnaire in my presence before we went through each question in turn discussing what it meant and what the response meant. Amendments were made and the questionnaire was then piloted with two other former job sharing teachers. Further amendments were made before the final questionnaire (Appendix 4.6) was produced.

The research population was defined as individuals who had previously been employed on a permanent basis as job share teachers in primary schools within the research location. However, no data was available on this group and this made distribution difficult. Two methods were used. First, twelve former job share teachers known through personal contacts were asked to participate. Second, headteachers in schools thought to have had job share teachers on staff were asked for help. Estimates were made of the size of the research population and eighty was agreed as an approximate but probably generous figure. A decision was made to aim for around twenty completed and returned questionnaires representing approximately one quarter of the population. Twenty questionnaires were received with a response rate of 53%. As the questionnaires were returned the data was coded and transferred onto a computer database to aid later analysis. This phase of the research was conducted between February and April 1995.

The fourth phase

Phases 2 and 3 of the research provided rich and detailed evidence on the career experiences of women primary teachers who job shared. Although some contextual factors were

illuminated, the extent to which the careers were structurally patterned was not revealed. The fourth phase sought to explore in more depth the structural contexts and conditions. The aim was not simply to ‘fill in the gaps’, this phase formed a substantial part of the research and explored a range of contextual factors at several levels and through various sources. Two methods were adopted; semi-structured interviews with key informants and documentary analysis.

Sources of evidence

Research questions 5 and 6 defined the specific areas of interest for this phase of the research. To examine these fully sources at national, local and school level were identified. This is outlined on Table 4.1 and described in more detail below.

Table 4.1. Sources of evidence (Phase 4)

	National	Local	School
5. At the macro level, what are the conditions affecting the careers of primary teachers?			
(i) supply and demand	*		
(ii) teachers’ career structure	*		
(iii) legislative context	*	*	
(iv) beliefs about women and teachers	*	*	*
6. How do conditions at the intermediate level affect the careers of primary teachers?			
(i) jobs allocated and gained		*	*
(ii) occupational culture			*
(iii) job sharing policy	*	*	*

National level

In Scotland several national bodies exercise control over the education system. Some of these, for instance, the SOEID and HMI (Her Majesty’s Inspectors), the SCCC (Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum) and SQA (Scottish Qualifications Authority) influence teaching and learning and the curriculum. A smaller number are involved more directly with teachers, namely the GTC and the teacher unions, and these two were identified as important sources of evidence at national level.

The GTC is a statutory non governmental body which monitors professional standards. The majority of its members are teachers elected by their colleagues although the wider

educational community and the public are also represented. There are three full-time executive staff; a registrar and two deputies. The Council maintains a register of qualified teachers and exercises disciplinary powers in relation to this. It oversees standards of entry to the profession, monitors the training and qualifications of teachers, and advises on the supply of teachers. Given these roles the GTC was identified as an important source of information on the supply of and demand for teachers in Scotland, particularly job opportunities across the various sectors (nursery, primary, secondary and special) and for different groups of teachers (new entrants, returners, full-timers, part-timers and job sharers). In addition, because the Council oversees the two year probationary period for teachers, how job sharing is implemented and assessed during this time could be examined.

A small number of teacher unions are active in Scotland, however, around 80% of teachers are members of one union, the EIS, and this includes the overwhelming majority of primary teachers. As such this union was identified as the most appropriate source of information. The EIS, like the other teacher unions, has many roles which include negotiating on all matters of pay and conditions of service on behalf of teachers, and related policies. It also represents teachers in grievance procedures and at disciplinary hearings. The EIS, then, was an ideal source of information on the development of job sharing policy, and on problems and difficulties that have emerged and solutions that have been reached. In addition, the Union would have a perspective on the legislative context and an understanding of attitudes towards women and work and towards teachers.

Local level

Although Scottish education has been administered locally for over a century (since 1872 when schools were passed from church control) a series of Education (Scotland) Acts (1919 and 1929) and Local Government (Scotland) Acts (1973 and 1996) have caused control to change and evolve. This study was conducted between 1993 and 1998 - a time of upheaval in this respect. In 1996 the existing twelve local authorities (nine regional and three island councils) were reorganised to form thirty-two new single tier councils. This change formed part of the legislative context for careers and had to be examined. EAs were identified as the best source of this information. In addition and importantly, teachers are employed at local level and various factors relating to this could also be investigated. This included the development, implementation and evaluation of job share policy and appointments and

selection procedures.

School level

Phase 2 of the research revealed that job sharing teachers found headteachers to be influential in their careers. They were often sources of advice and information, encouragement and support. They are also involved in matters relating to finance, property and employees in their schools, more so since the introduction of devolved school management (DSM) in 1996. In terms of job sharing, headteachers participate in the application process, select partners, monitor effectiveness and arrange planned activity time, inservice and absence cover. They were identified, therefore, as essential sources of information in this phase. They would have experiences of how job sharing is implemented and would be aware of the impact of job sharing on others in schools, especially pupils, teachers and management. They would have an understanding of how teaching posts are allocated and gained, and they would have an appreciation of the occupational culture of primary teaching, of how formal and informal networks and support groups form and operate. Headteachers with direct experience of job sharing were identified as the best source of information.

Parents are also influential at this level. Parental involvement in education and schools has been encouraged by governments throughout the 1980s and 1990s and parents are now, more than ever before, part of the educational community and agenda. Their increased participation began with the Parent's Charter of 1981 which extended and clarified parents' rights and allowed them the choice of school for their child. More notably the School Board (Scotland) Act of 1988 allowed each primary and secondary school a school board, consisting of a majority of parents, to be a part of educational decision making. Amongst other powers, school boards approve headteachers' proposals on capitation budgets and, important in this study, 'make representation' on staffing matters. They approve short lists for senior management and provide half the members of an appointment committee for a headteacher, depute and assistant headteacher. They can also, if they choose, become involved in other appointments. Parents through school boards, therefore, can influence various aspects of education, including staffing and which teachers to employ. It seemed essential, therefore, to seek the views of parents. Their attitudes to teachers and women, and in particular whether they should be able to work part-time or job share, would be relevant to this study as would their views on which teachers should gain jobs and promotion.

Importantly, they would be valuable sources of evidence on the impact of job sharing on others, especially themselves and their children. Like headteachers, parents who had direct experience of a child with job sharing teachers were identified as the most appropriate sources of information. Parents with school board experience would be particularly appropriate. In addition, the SSBA, an organisation which represents school boards in Scotland, was recognised as having the potential to provide relevant information.

Documents

Documents were identified as sources of evidence at all three levels. Materials produced by the process of central and local government and from everyday workings of the education system such as records of legislative bodies, government departments, trade unions, local authorities, working parties, and schools were of interest. Those relating to women teachers, part-time working and job sharing were identified as important. Others relating to appointments and selection procedures, supply and demand characteristics and break downs of promotional levels were considered relevant also.

Methods

In order to elicit the evidence from these sources at national, local and school level two methods were adopted; semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis.

Semi structured interviews

The semi-structured interview was identified as the most appropriate method because it would provide opportunities to collate the information required by offering enough shape and structure to ensure all topics crucial to this phase of the study were covered, whilst allowing the various respondents to express themselves at some length. In addition, the semi-structured interview would enable the researcher to follow up points raised which were of particular interest and clarify any matters of doubt.

Six interview schedules were required; one for the GTC, EIS, SSBA (national level), one for education officers at local level and one for headteachers and parents at school level. The research questions of interest in each interview were located according to Table 4.1. A series of themes and interview questions (with prompts) were then developed and ordered into a logical and coherent framework for each interview. Although some parts of the six schedules

were broadly similar each differed according to the information sought and to reflect the perspective, area of expertise and experience of each individual or group. A primary school in another division was used to pilot the school level interviews. Amendments were made and final interview schedules were drawn up (Appendix 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12).

The Depute Registrar of the GTC, the General Secretary of the EIS and the Vice President of the SSBA acceded to interviews which were conducted in the offices of the organisations and took approximately 25 minutes. Likewise at local level, two senior education officers in the research authority were interviewed jointly for approximately 40 minutes. All five individuals were helpful and informative. They were interested in job sharing and asked as well as answered questions. At school level the headteachers of the job sharing teachers in phase 2 were contacted by letter and all ten consented to an interview. These interviews were conducted in schools lasting 20-30 minutes. Parents in five of these schools were then contacted via the headteachers or school board and asked to take part. The schools were selected to include those with and without school boards, with varying degrees of APT (Area of Priority Treatment) status and to ensure that parents had experienced job sharing teachers who were class committed and non class committed, promoted and unpromoted. Two parents in each school were interviewed in their own homes. Each interview took 20-25 minutes, was tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. All of the headteachers and parents were welcoming and many interesting comments were made. Several individuals explained that they were pleased to have an opportunity to relate their experiences and to express their views on job sharing, an issue they believed was important for schools and for pupils. All interviews were conducted from July 1995 to December 1995.

Documentary analysis

A document search was undertaken and relevant sources were identified. At the national level these included the records of the SOEID, EOC, GTC and trade unions. At local level policy documents and circulars outlining job share schemes were requested from all the EAs and documents relating to women teachers, part-time working and appointments and selection were collated from the research authority. At school level relevant materials, although few in number, were collated from the schools where interviews were conducted. Location and selection of documents was undertaken during 1994 and 1995, although updates were made in 1998. Analysis was conducted throughout 1995 and added to in 1998.

Summary

The aims of this study and the methodology applied have been described in detail in this chapter. In Chapter 5 I will discuss some of the tensions encountered in implementing the methods within the piece of research.

CHAPTER 5 - THE PLACE OF THE RESEARCHER IN THE STUDY

Introduction

Chapter 4 gave an account of the empirical work undertaken in the study. This was presented as a carefully planned and executed series of actions. However, the research was dominated and shaped by opportunity, circumstance and institutional contexts. A combination of moral, political and personal questions arose, surrounding not only the major decisions but also the daily experiences of an educational investigation. This chapter documents my engagement in the research and discusses my thoughts and feelings regarding a range of issues encountered. In short, I outline my perceptions of the influence of my presence on the research. The aim is to provide a fuller understanding of the strengths and limitations of the claims made in the study. Harding (1987) wrote:

The best feminist analysis...insists that the inquirer her/ himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny in the results of research. That is, the class, race, culture, and gender assumptions, beliefs, and behaviours of the researcher her/ himself must be placed within the frame of the picture that she/ he attempts to paint. This does not mean that the first half of a research report should engage in soul searching (although a little soul searching by researchers now and then can't be all bad!). Instead, as we will see, we are told by the researcher what her/ his gender, race and culture is, and sometimes how she/ he suspects this has shaped the research project - though of course we are free to arrive at contrary hypotheses. Thus the researcher appears to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests. (p9)

Choice of methods

The study sought to build up a detailed understanding of the career experiences of teachers who job shared. I believed that a qualitative approach would allow a full exploration by linking professional experiences, personal life and social structure. In addition, on account of my feminism, I felt this approach would facilitate research which had value for me personally, and for other women including the participants. However, some quantitative techniques were used. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods has received substantial attention. Some authors, like Bogdan & Bilken (1982), claimed that it was 'likely to produce a big headache...and a piece of research that does not meet the criteria for good work in either approach' (p41). Others suggested that much was to be gained when both traditions were used. Bryman (1988, 1992) commented that such a strategy could be rigorous because the researcher had to be precise in the formulation of the research problems

and the most appropriate ways in which these could be theorised and studied. He argued that researchers ought to be flexible in method selection basing this on 'the appropriateness of the particular methods (or combination of methods) for particular issues' (1988, p173).

Feminist analyses have also debated the choice of research methods. A belief in the value of one's experience, 'the personal is the political', meant that for some feminism was associated solely with qualitative techniques, especially in-depth interviews with women respondents. This can be seen in the work of Finch (1984) and Sharpe (1984). Scott (1984) challenged this approach by pointing out that it was possible to research and 'display women's lives without placing them within a feminist framework' (p80). Thus, some feminists, including Stanley & Wise (1993) and Lloyd & Padfield (1994), argued that there was no one set of methods which were specifically feminist, more important was the notion that society does not treat men and women as equals, and that feminist research must be research of use to women. In this way, Riddell (1989) found that it was possible to use both quantitative and qualitative tools, that 'no method is intrinsically more or less feminist, and what matters is how the research is carried out and the data interpreted' (p96).

In this study I took the view that what was important was that the methods selected addressed the research aims and questions and provided relevant and useful data. Moreover, from a feminist perspective, the methods adopted had to make the research valuable to women, and throughout I had to acknowledge my values and assumptions and review approaches in the light of these. This resulted in the development of research that was predominantly qualitative in nature, but which employed both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Each phase of the research was important in its own right and also complementary to the others. Careful consideration was given to this at all times and involved a process of continual rethinking and reexamination.

Choice of subjects

Another issue many feminist analyses have debated is whether feminist research should focus specifically on the experiences of women. As Chapter 2 demonstrated, women as a subject for study have been neglected. Consequently, a central concern of much feminist research has been the portrayal of women's views and opinions. A widely accepted approach was to conduct and present research in which women spoke for themselves about

women's issues. An early classic of this type was Oakley's (1974) study of domestic labour which explored housework from the perspective of women.

Other have argued against this. Dex (1985) took the view that a feminist methodology should seek as far as possible a correct understanding of women's position, but that it should aim at researching men as much as women because it cannot be satisfied with 'simply adding on an extra dimension to social science; it must seek to transform it' (p12). Purvis (1985) noted that 'one may write about women without adopting a feminist perspective' (p80) and Scott (1985) pointed out that in continuing to research the 'relatively powerless' (p81) it might be possible partly to reemphasise commonly held perceptions. In this way, Brannen (1993), in her longitudinal research project investigating mothers' returns to work after maternity leave, found that focusing on mothers and children had strong theoretical implications. In interviewing mothers only, because of the taken for granted assumption that the mother was the spokesperson for the household, their role as the main carer of children was reinforced. Through the process of researching the views of mothers only, the project constructed parenthood as mainly 'women's business' (p343). By excluding men an opportunity was lost through which to challenge traditional ideologies of male roles. Clearly there was a possibility that if this research was to focus specifically on women teachers who job shared, traditional ideologies of women and part-time workers could be reinforced. There were, however, other factors to consider.

Statistics issued to the researcher from the authority where this research was conducted indicated that in 1992, prior to the beginning of the study, of four hundred and fifty-two job sharing teachers only two were male (<0.5%). Therefore, from the outset of the project there was an awareness that if there were any male job sharers currently working they would be few in number and this could pose difficulties. Firstly, there could be problems associated with ensuring the anonymity of male participants, although it was felt that if anonymity was not a problem for the participants then it need not cause the researcher concern. However, if anonymity could not be guaranteed to male participants their willingness to participate could be reduced. Secondly, the statistics along with others studies (ILEA, 1986; McDaid, 1992), demonstrated that job sharing was clearly a female phenomenon. They showed that the overwhelming majority (between 95-100%) of job sharing teachers were female. To date little was known about this group of teachers and it seemed prudent to start here - to explore

the experiences of the majority. The experiences of male job sharers would be very interesting, in particular because they formed a very small minority, but it was felt this line of investigation was one to be explored elsewhere. Essentially however, the question of the sex of the sample proved to be a personal tension. I saw the study as providing an opportunity for a group of teachers (previously neglected, in research terms at least) to relate their experiences, to tell of their perceptions and views, essentially providing a platform for discussion that had not been available before. I thus felt uneasy about giving a substantial part of this opportunity to a very small group of teacher-job sharers (males). Ultimately, the questionnaire data in phase 1 revealed that in 1994 100% of the job sharing teachers within the research location were women and the question of the sex of the sample was somewhat taken out of my hands. However, had there been a small number of male job sharers the sample would still have been composed entirely of women. Had there been a more substantial number of male job sharing teachers, although still a minority, the final decision may have been different. Therefore, phases 2 and 3 of the research, which explored the experiences of job sharing teachers, focussed on women only.

Primary teachers

In addition, the research focused on teachers within one specific educational sector (primary schools). As was noted in Chapter 2, there are important differences between teachers in different sectors in relation to working conditions, work cultures and promotion opportunities. Therefore, to include teachers from various sectors could lead to huge diversities. Focusing on one sector of teachers would show the range among one group in itself. Primary teaching was selected as the sector because I, as the researcher, was a primary teacher and had an interest and personal knowledge of this area.

Negotiating access

From a methodological perspective the success of research is dependent on the willingness of people to take part and their understanding of what this means. In an examination of the ethics of feminist educational research, Riddell (1989) described how she had partially concealed the purpose of her study in the process of gaining access and ensuring participation. In this study, I believe I was, on the whole, genuine and straight forward about the aims of the research and initially I encountered few problems gaining access. However, as I undertook the analysis I realised that my means of negotiating access had

affected response rates and the kinds of individuals who had agreed to take part. In turn, these aspects had an impact on the findings of the study.

Questionnaire response rates

The high response rate (99.5%) in phase 1 was probably facilitated by the fact that the questionnaire (to headteachers) was brief, straight forward, sought mainly factual details and went directly to the respondent. Only one questionnaire was never returned, whilst one other came back with the following comment: 'I wanted to do research in this authority but was refused permission. I will not provide this information'! The former constituted non-response, therefore, the latter non-participation. In the third phase (questionnaires to teachers who had previously job shared) the response rate was lower (53%). Twelve questionnaires sent to teachers known through personal contacts were all returned promptly. However, fifteen more had to be sent out via headteachers to schools thought to have had job sharing teachers in the past, before a further eight were attained. At the time, I was reasonably satisfied, though, as I acknowledged some former job sharers would have moved on. This stage demonstrated, however, that where the means of negotiating access were personal (through friends/ colleagues) a much higher response rate was achieved than when it was detached and indirect (through headteachers). This, of course, affected the sample.

Interview participants

In phases 2 and 4 of the research, methods of negotiating access affected the kinds of individuals who agreed to participate. The second phase consisted of interviewing twenty women primary teachers who job shared. They were contacted by letter via their headteacher. Of thirty approached, three refused to participate whilst seven did not respond. At the time, given the commitment I requested (one to two hours of personal time) and the nature of the enquiry (details of the professional life within the context of the whole life) I was quite happy with the response rate. However, as I began the analysis I realised that I had probably unwittingly constructed the sample. Each job sharer who agreed to participate was working in a job share partnership considered successful by themselves, their job share partner, their headteacher and, where asked, the parents of the pupils they taught. It occurred to me that teachers working in unsuccessful job share partnerships might choose not to volunteer for a research project such as this. They might be concerned about saying negative things regarding their job share partner. Some might consider it unprofessional. It could

prove to be an unpleasant experience, some fault might have to be admitted, at the least it could be implied. As such the research focused on a group of women teachers working in successful job share partnerships. In a similar way, most of the parents who agreed to participate in the interviews in phase 4 were involved in the life and work of their child's school. I asked headteachers or school boards to approach parents, and although I provided a large number of letters for this purpose, it appears that most contacted a small number of individuals who they knew would help out. Thus, most of the parents had a good understanding of schools and a reasonable knowledge of the workings of a job share partnership. These two aspects affected the findings of the study. Particularly significant was the fact that all of the job sharing teachers were working in partnerships perceived to be successful. As will be discussed in more detail later, this had an impact on career experiences and subsequently the claims advanced in the findings.

Relationships with the researched

As the methods differed between the phases so too did the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The questionnaires (phases 1 and 3) were administered by mail and no real associations were formed. On the other hand, the interviews involved face to face meetings. In the fourth phase the relationships were generally distant and professional. In the second, close contact was made between the researcher and the researched who had brief but intimate encounters. Several authors (see, for instance, those in the collections by Bell & Roberts, 1984 and Burgess, 1989) have examined features of research relationships by looking at their own experiences. Three aspects discussed, relevant to this study, in particular phase 2, were; the characteristics of the researcher and the researched, relationships during interviews, and issues of power and control.

Characteristics of the researcher and researched

This study focussed on the experiences of women teachers who job shared, and as outlined in Chapter 1, there were many similarities between the characteristics of the researcher and the researched. In common were their sex (female), race (white), family roles (mothers) and occupation (primary teachers). They also had a similar concern - job sharing. At the time of the conduct of the career history interviews I was pregnant and, often, as the interviewees first observed me they passed comments which suggested that they believed they understood the reasons for my interest in the subject. One woman said, 'Now I can see why you're

doing this', another, 'I take it you're thinking about job sharing yourself'.

In an examination of the effects of research on participants, Brannen (1993) found that circumstances in which there was a 'close match between the concerns and characteristics of the researchers and the researched' (p328) were likely to promote certain benefits for the project and participants alike. Likewise, Oakley (1981) found resemblances to be important. In her projects on motherhood she noted how her personal experience allowed her to answer questions about birth and babies that many women asked. I too found that similarities in the characteristics of the researcher and the researched were beneficial. I often identified with the women and their problems, especially in terms of my own similar experiences. I felt the rapport established during interviews was good. Many of the job sharing teachers talked in detail and with ease about personal concerns, such as husband and wife relationships, unplanned pregnancies and financial worries. Indeed, I found that even as people with much in common, my relationship with the researched was sometimes weak and I would suggest that for people with less in common, the possibilities for misunderstandings would be greater. However, there were also disadvantages. For example, I was aware that interviewees might feel that certain things did not have to be said as I would already know or understand. In addition, I might avoid asking basic but necessary questions for fear of showing myself up. I had to be continually conscious of these aspects and found discussions with colleagues and supervisors helpful.

Relationships during interviews

Relationships during interviews have received much attention. Oakley (1981) was one of the first to criticise the standard approach advocated: establishing rapport, but avoiding making a response to interviewees' enquiries in case this influenced their answers. She found that as an interviewer it was vital to develop the trust and confidence of interviewees, especially when exploring individual experiences. Measor (1985) went further saying that the quality of the data gained was linked to the quality of the relationship between researcher and researched; an idea she noted as having 'no credence at all within positivist sociology, which is full of warnings against over rapport and recommends maintaining a proper distance' (p57). I certainly chatted about myself and shared interests and experiences with interviewees. I answered questions and gave advice. I am conscious of doing this in order to build rapport, but frequently this was simply in the usual way of making acquaintances. I am

aware that I adopted a stance in which I could very easily have conveyed my expectations to the interviewees (for example, by giving advice) and this probably influenced what they reported to me. I sometimes experienced tensions in the research relationship when an individual commented on a colleague (job share partner) in a way that was not entirely positive. Although such information might reveal what made a partnership work or not, I tended to hold back. I believe I was wary of ruining the rapport established by appearing to pry or be 'nosy', and acknowledge I may have lost some valuable data.

Measor (1985) also noted that where research involves interviews which examine personal experiences being a woman researcher is an advantage. She commented that people find it 'easier, more acceptable, more proper' (p74) to talk about subjective aspects of their life with a female rather than a male. Similarly, Padfield & Proctor (1996), as a male and female researcher, found that interviewees revealed information of a more intimate nature when the interviewer was a woman. On the other hand, Finch (1984) took up the point of women being, paradoxically, more open to exploitation when interviewed by other women. She suggested that women give more information to other women because they are women, and that this can allow advantage to be taken of them. In the career history interviews I made explicit the purposes of the research and tried not to probe outside the areas of interest. I made an effort not to press women, especially in emotive and intimate areas, allowing them to talk at length and as they wished. I encountered difficulties on a small number of occasions, however. For example, one woman began to explain how problems in her marriage had caused her to consider job sharing. Although I was interested in individuals' reasons for choosing to job share, I responded with no more than a nod and the line of conversation ended. Was I, as a woman, conscious of the possibilities of exploiting another woman, or was I morally uneasy about discussing in a research interview an area I considered sensitive?

Power and control

I was always younger and usually a slightly less experienced teacher than all of the job sharing teachers researched in the study. As such I found it difficult to imagine that I would appear threatening to any of the interviewees. Young & Tardiff (1992) discussed the power relationships which occurred during a doctoral study that explored the life histories of women who had completed doctorates in educational administration and who were now

educational administrators. Their report, where Young was the researcher/ interviewer and Tardiff the researched/ interviewee, was a personal account which provided a reconstruction of and reflection on their relationship. Tardiff commented that although she was more powerful in terms of professional status, she found that in handing over information about herself to Young she felt vulnerable and less powerful. Young found that while Tardiff was in control of making any disclosures, once done the power shifted to her and thus made her distinctly uncomfortable at times. Consequently she tried to share power with her interviewee - by talking about herself and by 'telling back' (p143) what had been told to her. On reflection, I too may have talked about myself, albeit briefly, during and after the interviews in order to balance power. In addition, a personal experience of being 'researched' allowed me to understand better some issues of power and control. Following the birth of my first daughter an MSc student asked to interview me as a part of a study on women's experiences of childbirth. I agreed, and we talked on two occasions for at least an hour. Afterwards, I found myself contemplating what had been revealed and, more precisely, how exactly the researcher would use it. I suspect many of the my interviewees shared this feeling, wondering what they had got themselves into. Clearly the ways in which women can relate to and identify with each other is important, but women can also exert power over one another and this must not be dismissed.

In summary, I believe that the relationship with the researched was positive and that a wealth of interesting and relevant data was collected. Nonetheless, the factors described above were likely to have had an impact overall on the data. My characteristics, interests and approach resulted in the collection of a particular set of data and this affects the claims of the research.

Analysis and interpretation of data

The research had arisen out of personal interest and this was intrinsic to the study. As noted in Chapter 1, I undertook the research partly because I was unable to convert my full-time teaching post to part-time. Less than three years later I gained a job share position. Thus, at the time of conducting the analysis I was, as a job sharing teacher, intimately involved in the subject matter and had a clear commitment to it. As a result, I was aware that problems might arise if I found data which were potentially damaging towards job sharers. In addition, I might only look for or find what I expected to see; I might fit the data to my 'own pre-existing categories and theories' (Powney & Watts, 1987, p39). To minimise difficulties, I

constantly referred to the research questions. During the analysis I tried to explore all possible interpretations and seek out contradictions. The comments and advice of colleagues and supervisors were most valuable.

Other issues were considered with particular reference to the analysis and interpretation of phase 2 data. Several authors have discussed the process of reconstruction involved in the retelling a life study. Maclure (1993) found that individuals used 'arguments' (p320) to make sense of themselves; to understand their life experiences. This process, or reconstruction, was selective with some occurrences focussed upon, whilst others may have been deeper or less structured than those described in the research interview. Connelly & Clandinin (1990) expressed it this way:

The central task is evident when it is grasped that people are both living their stories in an ongoing experiential text and telling of their stories on words as they reflect upon life and explain themselves to others. For the researcher, this is a portion of the complexity of narrative, because a life is also a matter of growth toward an imagined future and therefore involves retelling stories and attempts at reliving stories. A person is at once engaged in living, retelling and reliving stories. (p4)

Another important aspect in career history interviewing is that the reconstruction is not a lone experience. The interview both adds to and complicates the process. As Becker (1970) pointed out, the researcher is interested in the 'person's own story but has certain sociological (or psychological) questions in mind as well' (p420). Thus, the researcher will bring their own interests and concerns to the construction. They will at least, Grumet (1987) noted, give direction to a joint investigation through posing questions. In addition, it must be acknowledged that during the analysis, data passes through the researcher's own perspectives and language. Thus, the final research account is really the researcher's story of the researched's story. On account of these factors, an attempt was made throughout the analysis to retain, where possible, the teacher's own language, and the level of importance given by the teacher to it. However, I am fully aware that the career histories accounts were collaborative and complex. This was eloquently described by Connelly & Clandinin (1990) who said:

We restory earlier experiences as we reflect upon later experiences so the stories and their meanings change over time. As we engage in a reflective research process, our stories are restoried and changed as we, as teachers and/or researchers 'give back' to each other ways of seeing our stories. You tell me what...it meant to you. I tell you a researcher's story. (p9)

Both points considered, I found that one of the main difficulties in the analysis of the qualitative career history data was the tension between focussing on the meanings and perceptions that individuals attributed to their experiences (as collected in the empirical work), and in my analysis looking for common saliences. As such, although I tried to use the categories which people chose in order to explain themselves (as a way of justifying, explaining and making sense of their careers), I did attempt to identify the common meanings in these across all the teachers.

Disseminating findings

As noted, on account of my feminism I believed that the study had to be of value to women, including myself and the participants. This involved ensuring it was accessible in terms of style and presentation (it should be noted pseudonyms are used throughout this thesis). In addition, I feel some responsibility to disseminate the findings to the participants as well as a wider audience. During the course of the research several teachers and headteachers, and one school board approached me regarding information on the effectiveness of job sharing, and solicitors representing a woman teacher who wanted to job share asked me to provide evidence at a tribunal. This demonstrated to me some of the ways in which the claims made in the study have meaning.

Summary

In any investigation the values, related emotions and behaviour of the researcher define and structure the project and, as a result, influence the claims advanced in the findings. I was central to this study as the means by which topics were chosen, information collected, data analysed and conclusions reached and presented. In this chapter I have documented my engagement in the research and discussed my thoughts and feelings regarding a range of issues encountered. I have also outlined some of the ways in which I tried to overcome the tensions experienced.

In Chapters 6 and 7 I will outline the context for careers. Then I will present the findings of the research in Chapters 8 to 12 which, as this chapter has discussed, were strengthened and limited by my presence in the study.

CHAPTER 6 - CAREER CONTEXTS: MACRO LEVEL

Introduction

The study examines the career experiences of a group of women primary teachers who job shared. As Chapter 4 specified this involves investigating individual experiences (key events, turning points, choices and decisions) within the structural constraints and conditions that shape and limit teaching careers. Chapter 2 demonstrated that the structural dimension functions on two levels; the macro and the intermediate. At the macro level political, economic and social features of a given historical era provide the context. At the intermediate level structural contexts operate whereby the occupation of teaching offers its own work culture, and its own hierarchy of posts and positions with specific rules and conventions for their allocation. This chapter and the next examine these structural factors and assess their importance in providing the context for teachers' careers. My intention is to give a 'feel' for career contexts; to supply some of the necessary descriptive information that will allow detailed analysis of career experiences in later chapters. A variety of sources will be consulted throughout the two chapters, including data from interviews conducted at national, local and school level, and official statistics and documentation.

This first chapter examines career conditions at the macro level. In her investigation, Evetts (1990) explored factors at this level and grouped them into two areas:

Career conditions include economic prosperity or decline, political optimism or pessimism, the expansion or contraction of the education service (and particularly of the teaching profession itself). The promotion structure is the salary and career ladder by means of which all teachers have a post and position relative to other teachers. (p17)

In a later study, Evetts (1994a) introduced a third category; legislative changes, which she considered in relation to educational provision, finance and administration. Using a similar framework, this chapter focuses on three areas: the supply and demand characteristics of the teaching profession, the teachers' career structure, and the legislative context. An historical perspective will be provided, recognising, for example, the movement of teachers in and out of the profession, and changes in schools and local authorities. Failure to do so, Ozga & Lawn (1988) have argued, produces a tendency towards viewing 'current, perhaps temporary, trends as signifying inevitability or dominance' (p334).

Supply and demand characteristics

The teachers in this study experienced their careers during different times throughout the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The availability of teaching jobs, or the supply and demand characteristics of the profession, are well documented over this period and substantial changes have been recorded. This section outlines these changing characteristics and indicates some of the ways in which they have affected the context for teachers' careers.

1960s - 1970s

Evetts (1990) described the 1960s as the 'halcyon days' (p28). There was an expansion of educational provision with teacher shortages and good promotion prospects. This was due to a combination of factors. A rise in the birth rate altered demographics, class sizes had been reduced and the school leaving age had been raised. Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) found that many of the teachers in their study had career experiences during the 1960s and 1970s which were 'inconceivable' by the 1980s:

Promotions were comparatively plentiful, over half of those in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulting from the creation of new posts. During this whole growth period, some teachers just walked into jobs. (p5)

Married women teachers who had broken service were encouraged to return to the profession. Chessum (1989), Grant (1989b) and Evetts (1988b, 1989) provided examples of the measures used to entice women teachers back to schools south of the border (part-time posts, childcare assistance, for instance). Likewise, Harris (1996) described the experiences of Rosemary McKenna, a former primary school teacher and president of COSLA (Convention of Scottish Local Authorities), during the early 1970s in Scotland:

Her career in teaching began in Croy largely because the primary school there was prepared to take her 4 year old son in a year early if she would take the job. 'They were so desperate for teachers,' she recalls, 'that sort of thing happened. Young teachers reading this might be surprised to know we were sought after then. My own niece started teaching this year and has only managed to get a temporary post. It shows the quite dramatic change in 20 years.' (p4)

One teacher interviewed in this study described how she entered the profession with similar ease. She said:

It was all so different then. When I qualified someone from the council came to the college and you had an interview. Afterwards I can remember waiting outside the room with everyone else and they literally came out, called your name and said, 'Here is the list of schools where do you want to go?' Really. It's quite amazing when you look at the situation now. (Frances)

The expansion began to ease off after pupil and teacher numbers peaked around the mid to late 1970s. Table 6.1 details the number of pupils, teachers and schools in the primary sector in Scotland 1960-1995. It should be noted that the patterns of growth and decline across the secondary and special sectors were very similar. There has, of course, been a recent expansion in nursery provision.

Table 6.1 Primary pupils, teachers and schools in Scotland 1960-1995

Year	Pupils	Teachers	Schools
1960	582 600	18 233	
1965-66	609 400	18 868	2 280
1970-71	692 700	22 555	2 497
1975-76	621 070	27 748	2 507
1979-80	545 200	26 870	2 530
1984-85	437 583	21 448	2 443
1990-91	440 591	22 633	2 372
1991-92	440 808	22 652	2 364
1992-93	439 974	22 728	2 347
1993-94	439 401	22 452	2 341
1994-95	438 010	22 638	2 336

Sources: SED (1975, 1982a, 1982b, 1988, 1996b)

1980s

According to Table 6.1, between 1979 and 1987 pupil numbers decreased by 20% in Scotland. As a result, fewer teachers were required. However, although the numbers being trained initially fell slightly, subsequently they continued to grow (SED, 1989). A generation of new teachers began to experience difficulties attaining their first post and there were fewer opportunities for those returning to the profession. Public spending controls resulted in lower levels of funding for education and there was a series of strikes over pay and conditions in Scotland during the early 1980s. The generally optimistic climate of the 1960s and 1970s was in decline. Two of the largest studies of teachers' careers at this time drew attention to the growing restrictions in England. Ball & Goodson (1985) pointed to 'a situation of teacher unemployment and a contraction in provision' (p2), whilst Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) claimed there was a 'crisis of morale and motivation within the teaching profession, stilted promotion opportunities and diminished material resources'

(p79). Some studies noted particular difficulties for women returners. Trown & Needham (1981) commented:

Falling rolls, cuts in public expenditure and an over supply of the newly qualified have led to a decline in career prospects for almost all teachers. There has been general sympathy for the difficulties encountered by those looking for first appointments but rather less awareness of the problems of women teachers who are seeking reentry to the profession after spending a number of years caring for their families. (p41)

As will be discussed in Chapter 8, the experiences of the women in this study confirm this. Most of the teachers who attempted to enter or re-enter the profession in the 1980s experienced difficulties. However, although virtually all of the newly qualified teachers secured full-time permanent contracts after 1 or 2 years, the women returners continued in temporary and supply work for up to 13 years (average 6 years).

1990s

Although pupil numbers stabilised during the early 1990s (see Table 6.1) and slight increases were projected (SOEID, 1995), concerns were raised regarding the growing number of newly qualified teachers unable to secure jobs and the increasing number of teachers on temporary contracts (Wilson, 1995). In 1995 the EIS alleged that there was an oversupply of teachers and this was acknowledged by the government; 'We are aware that some newly qualified teachers are facing difficulties in finding jobs, certainly in the primary sector' (Education Minister, in Wilson, 1995). For most teaching vacancies there were exceptional levels of interest and competition was fierce. The then Principal Staffing Officer in the research authority explained that in 1996 most schools were receiving up to 100 applications per vacant post. Subsequently, many teachers entering or re-entering the profession resigned themselves to long term temporary or supply work. This study also found that some new graduates and some returners were accepting contracts, such as job sharing, which they would have refused in better circumstances. The former Depute Registrar of the GTC explained:

There are a growing number of probationers accepting job sharing because it is all they can get. Now I don't mean women in their 30s and 40s who, say, want to job share because they have family commitments, I mean young teachers in their 20s. Now my impression is that the job situation is pretty awful at the moment. Now my evidence is that every year the registrar or myself talks to graduating students at the five teacher education institutions. This year by a mixture of coincidence and circumstance I did most of them and it was how many of you have jobs, no hands, how many of you have had an interview, a scatter of hands, very, very few of them. They had nothing, nor were they expecting anything. They were asking me questions like do you know what the supply situation is like in this region. Their expectations were very low and that's why some are

accepting job sharing when it's not what they want.

An example of this was provided by one young woman who responded to the questionnaire in phase 3 of this research. She explained how after 5 years of temporary work (during which time she gained acting senior teacher experience) she accepted a job share post:

I only took up job sharing as a way of getting a permanent job and I was one of the lucky ones. I would have liked full-time work at that time but there was just none. The job share eventually led to a full-time post in the school. Now I would like promotion. Maybe I should just be thankful that I have a job!

Several of the job sharing teachers asserted that this view was held widely; that job share teachers should be grateful for having some form of permanent contract in a climate of restricted job opportunities. This of course made gaining full-time work very difficult. For example, one woman had applied for various full-time posts to no avail. When she asked her headteacher for advice she was told that although she was amply qualified and experienced, other headteachers might feel 'more sympathetic' to the needs of those teachers with no contract at all. Some of the headteachers interviewed indicated that this was indeed their perception, one said:

It's really difficult. There are so many teachers looking for jobs at the moment. And yes, you see someone is a job sharer and you think it probably suits their family and then you have all these young girls with nothing and I have to say I feel they have the greater need.

Traditional ideologies of women's primary responsibility being for the family were evident, perhaps highlighted, when their labour was not in demand. These are themes to which I will return in later chapters.

The career structure of teaching

The sequence of posts in the professional hierarchy (and the relative salary levels) constitute the formal career structure of teaching. This has been analysed in England and Wales (Hilsum & Start, 1974; Turnbull & Williams, 1974; Saran, 1992). However, the structure in Scotland, which is quite distinct, has received little attention (see McPherson & Raab, 1988 for a detailed account). This section outlines the career structure of teaching in Scotland and examines how this impacts on the context for careers.

The career structure, 1998

The career structure of teaching in Scotland as at 1998 was put in place in 1987. It consists of a common unpromoted scale with ten points/ increments which teachers gain on an annual

basis, starting points being dependent on level of qualification. There are separate scales for promoted staff which accord to level (headteacher, depute headteacher, assistant headteacher, principal teacher, assistant principal teacher and senior teacher) and sector (nursery, primary, secondary or special). As noted in Chapter 2, there are gender differences between teachers in terms of their achievements within this formal structure. While a variety of reasons have been provided for these differences, the deep historical roots of the structure have been shown to play a significant part. These are now discussed.

Historical background

Before 1919 schools were governed by school boards which, among other duties, set their own salary scales. Fewell (1990) found that the pattern of salaries before 1919 was characterised by marked wage differentials between the sexes; although women made up three quarters of the teaching workforce their salaries were on average only 75% of those of men with the same qualification and status (p112). In 1919 a National Minimum Scale (NMS) for pay was introduced. However, this built on the existing differentials with separate salary scales for men and women teachers where men were in receipt of higher starting and higher maximum salaries. Teachers in secondary schools (mainly male honours and ordinary graduates) also received better wages on the grounds of their qualification. The only better paid promoted positions open to teachers were headships and posts of special responsibility. Women were sometimes in charge of small rural schools and often received the title of infant mistress in primary schools, however, men dominated in the larger and more senior schools. The argument that men required more money because they had 'wives and a family to care for' was used to support the discrimination against women teachers, as were 'contemporary notions of women's roles' (Oram, 1989, p29).

It was not until 1961 that women teachers achieved equal pay as part of overall government strategy towards pay in the public services. However, salary distinctions between the different sectors (secondary/ special and primary) and different initial qualifications (graduate and non-graduate) remained. This continued to represent indirect discrimination against women who constituted the vast majority of primary and non graduates teachers; those on the lowest scales. For example, in 1974 a secondary honours graduate started on a salary of £2265 and after 10 years earned £3720, whereas a primary non-graduate started by earning £1677 and after 10 years earned £2727 (Houghton, 1974, p98). At this time, a new

structure of promoted posts was introduced. The existing proliferation of responsibility allowances were restructured to produce five in secondary schools (headteacher, deputy headteacher, assistant headteacher, principal teacher, assistant principal teacher) and two in primary schools (headteacher and assistant headteacher). The additional payments for each of these new posts increased with the number of pupils in the school and, for secondary schools, the number of classes and the number in the fourth or later years of secondary courses. Once again, primary teachers (mainly women) were at a disadvantage.

In 1986 a report into the pay and conditions of service of teachers (Main, 1986) recommended that all unpromoted teachers were to be paid according to one scale; however, it suggested the different entry points should continue. Primary teachers qualifying with the new BEd (Ordinary) degree or primary post graduate certificate were to enter at point 1 of the new scale, whilst a secondary ordinary graduate would enter no lower than point 2 and a secondary honours graduate no lower than point 3. Qualifications were not used to justify these differentials; the report concluded that this was 'in recognition of the greater demands generally made on teachers in secondary schools' (p119). It was not until 1990 with the first BEd (Honours) Primary graduates that it became possible for primary teachers to enter the profession on an equal footing with secondary teachers. The Main Report also called for a radical simplification of the promoted post system and a structure was introduced with various pay bandings dependent upon level and pupil roll. However, primary and secondary schools were kept on separate scales with those for secondary teachers containing more layers of management and higher salaries. Thus secondary teachers had access to better pay and promotion prospects than their predominantly female primary counterparts. It is important to note that in 1989 the post of senior teacher was introduced to recognise the work of good classroom teachers and this improved the career prospects of all teachers. The system put in place by Main in 1987 is the one in operation today in the late 1990s. It is noteworthy that the pay distinctions between primary and secondary headteachers is one of the issues being considered in the current Millennium Review.

Impact on careers' context

The career structure of teaching constitutes part of the structural context for careers. The gender differentials that pervade the structure clearly have a long history. The opportunities available to teachers, in terms of promotion, status and salary, are shaped and limited by the

structure and thus by gender. Even today, the poorer opportunities for primary teachers (predominantly women) remain. In this sector, there are fewer promoted posts - four levels (senior teacher, assistant headteacher, depute headteacher and headteacher) compared to six in secondary and special schools. Only 30% of primary teachers are promoted compared to 55% of their secondary counterparts (SOEID, 1996a). Promoted teachers in secondary schools earn more than those at the same level in primary schools (EIS, 1998). These features of the system represent a hidden disadvantage for women teachers who are 92% of primary teachers and 50% of secondary teachers.

In addition, the career structure of teaching interacts with aspects at the intermediate level to constrain opportunities for particular groups of teachers, including job share teachers. Some EA policies disallow job sharing at promoted level. This means that job sharing teachers are restricted within the formal career structure. Unfortunately, the reasons offered for this are vague. I will discuss this issue in more detail in the next chapter.

Legislative changes

The mid to late 1980s and the 1990s witnessed a series of management and curricular reforms in education in Scotland. Most relevant to primary school teachers' careers and work, school boards and devolved school management were introduced, and national curriculum initiatives were implemented. In addition to this, local government was reorganised. In this section each of the above reforms is briefly overviewed and its impact on the context for teachers' careers highlighted.

School boards

The School Boards Act of 1988 provided for all EA schools in Scotland to have their own board, apart from nursery schools and some very small schools. Membership was to be divided between elected parents (the majority), elected staff and co-opted members, with the headteacher being given the role of principal professional advisor. Although parental lack of interest in some places was clear, take up rates gradually improved and 74% of primary schools, 92% of secondary schools and 46% of special schools have now formed boards (SOEID, 1996b).

School boards' powers are limited; from the outset, however, they allowed parents greater impact on teachers' careers. For example, parent members are involved in staff appointments at senior promoted level, participating in the leeting and interviewing process. They can also, if they choose, become involved in other appointments. The consequences for teachers' careers are speculative; particular issues have been raised, however, with regard to women teachers. Training, covering staff selection, interviewing and equal opportunities is provided for parent members of boards but not all aspects are compulsory. In their study of the impact of recent educational reforms on gender equality in Scottish schools Turner, Riddell and Brown (1995) found:

The vestiges that notions of school boards should be chaired by men and that men were needed as headteachers if discipline was to be maintained, were still apparent in the education authorities' images of the operation of school boards. A further important concern (expressed by one respondent) was that some male headteachers' references for women members of staff applying for promoted posts, which could significantly influence school board members' thinking, tended to reflect the male power structures and value bases of the education system. (p62)

A parent interviewed in this study who had sat on a school board recounted a situation where school board members had made assumptions about candidates for a promoted post based on gender:

We were talking about the leet for the headteacher post and some people made quite clear they wanted a man, you know strong discipline and all of that. And some of us said, 'Look we've got to be careful here. We want to get the best person for the job and that might be a man and it might be a woman. We could get into hot water here if we just choose someone because they are a man'. I think you have to be careful with these sorts of things, it's quite a responsibility and you have to be aware of that.

The vice president of the SSBA acknowledged the importance of training on issues including gender for board members, particularly if they were 'to become involved selecting staff at all levels right down to non teaching staff, it's felt that this might happen'. Given that some of the parents in the study reported in this thesis viewed job share teachers as lacking commitment, as will be discussed, it is possible that some boards could judge job sharers quite differently from their full-time counterparts.

Devolved school management

In 1996 DSM was introduced in Scotland. This involved both money and real decision making powers being placed in the hands of schools (prior to this the education authority, in most matters, decided on the level of funding and in effect managed schools). In terms of teachers' careers, headteachers were given greater say over all staffing issues (selection,

deployment, cover, for example) relating to permanent, temporary and supply posts. The General Secretary of the EIS considered that this would result in headteachers becoming increasingly significant 'players' in teachers' careers and that this could work against job sharers. He explained:

I think a negative force might be devolved school management because if you have an authority which at least nominally has a commitment to job sharing, then you will see a reasonable uptake. If you move into this new environment where directors are more strategic planners and not involved in the nitty gritty of staffing, I anticipate that more and more of the actual decision making with regard to job sharing will be taken at school level and you'll be much more subject to the vagaries, if you like, of the individual preferences of headteachers. And again I think it will take a wee while before all become accustomed to the fact that jobs can be shared successfully.

As will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, this study found that headteachers were most receptive towards job sharing when they had experience of it in their own school. The growth and development of job sharing, thus, is very important.

Curricular reforms

During the late 1980s government policy advocated greater central control of the curriculum and a series of important reforms were put in place. Although a national curriculum was not enacted in legislation, as was the case in England, the reforms in Scotland essentially amounted to this. The 5-14 curriculum and assessment programme, Standard Grade and Higher Still were developed to guide teaching and learning for all pupils of formal education age. For example, the 5-14 programme is aimed at pupils from P1 to S2. Over a number of years documents have been produced, consulted on, revised and finally published as guidelines and although they remain as guidance and schools are not legally required to follow them, all maintained schools have adopted the programme.

Although responses to many of the reforms were on the whole positive, throughout the developments the unions raised concerns over workload. 'Innovation fatigue' was found to affect the careers of some teachers who turned away from full-time work or promotion because of the pressure and anxiety (Munro, 1995; Wilson, 1995). This study will show that some teachers, particularly those nearing retirement age, were opting to job share partly because of the curricular changes and related workload. It is possible that this might also be a problem for women who already have heavy family responsibilities.

Local authority reorganisation

On April 1 1996 the structure of local authorities in Scotland - 9 Regional Councils and 3 Island Councils - was replaced with 29 unitary authorities and 3 Island Councils. Although some regions like Borders and Fife altered little, others changed dramatically; Strathclyde, for instance, was split into 19 new authorities. This disaggregation resulted in more councils (32 compared to 12) which were for the most part smaller in size than the old regions. Although it was suggested that this would facilitate stronger professional networks with teachers closer to their directorate and vice versa, concerns were immediately raised that it would be more difficult to uphold teachers' national conditions of service as the smaller authorities would prove weaker. Also, as will be discussed in the next chapter, job sharing policy has been negotiated locally, and the former Principal Staffing Officer in the authority where this research was undertaken, felt this might result in some changes:

The new authorities, a lot of the new directors might take the opportunity to review their policy. My view is that job sharing over the next few years will go through a transition. Because it is not a national agreement all of the 32 new authorities could decide to do different things, maybe the introduction of permanent part-time and less job sharers in some places.

In addition, in the run up to and following local government reorganisation many of the councils experienced financial difficulties. Some, including the research authority which employed over half of Scotland's teachers, froze the advertising of vacant unpromoted posts. This resulted in a large number of teachers accepting temporary work with, of course, diminished statutory rights. Unfortunately at the changeover to the new councils many ('hundreds') of these temporary teachers were dismissed, 80% of whom, it was estimated, were women (Munro, 1997).

Summary

This chapter has examined career contexts at the macro level. It has provided some of the necessary descriptive information that will allow detailed analysis of career experiences in later chapters. This chapter has demonstrated factors at the macro level which have an impact on women and job sharers. These are:

- The supply and demand characteristics of the teaching profession. For example, during the 1980s when an oversupply of teachers dominated some women accepted job share contracts which in better circumstances they would have refused.

- The career structure of teaching. This chapter has demonstrated how features of the career structure represent a hidden disadvantage for women. For example, in the sector where women dominate (primary) only one third of posts are promoted compared to one half of posts in the secondary sector where men and women are equal in number.
- Legislative changes. For example, the introduction of school boards has given parents influence in the selection of teachers. This is important for women and job sharers as the views of some of the parents reported in this thesis indicated that they viewed them differently from their male and full-time counterparts.

The next chapter will explore career contexts at the intermediate level.

CHAPTER 7 - CAREER CONTEXTS: INTERMEDIATE LEVEL

Introduction

Conditions at the intermediate level form a further layer of context for teachers' careers. Aspects of the teaching profession such as the rules and conventions for moving between posts, and features of the workplace culture of schools are significant. The strategies of employers are also important as these have the capacity to shape the meanings teachers attach to their careers.

This chapter considers a range of factors at the intermediate level. First, the formal and informal processes through which teaching jobs are allocated and gained are examined. The occupational culture of primary teaching and the nature of schools as workplaces are then explored. Finally, job sharing policy at EA level is analysed and a statistical overview of job sharing within the research division is provided. My intention is to provide some of the necessary background information that will allow detailed examination of career experiences in later chapters.

The allocation of teaching posts

This section examines the processes through which jobs are allocated and gained in primary teaching. It examines formal EA procedures (generally referred to as selection procedures), and informal processes/ criteria such as attributes and qualities regarded as necessary for promotion. This will provide an understanding of how teachers are distributed between jobs; this forms part of the context for careers.

Selection procedures

In the authority where this research was carried out, up until the early 1990s most selection procedures were dealt with centrally. For promoted post appointments there were, in general, internal advertisements and competitive interviews at school level. At unpromoted level anyone seeking employment had to complete an application form before being called for interview at regional headquarters, although many teachers who had previously worked for the authority, for example women who had taken career breaks, were not reinterviewed. All appropriate applicants were then placed on a list and offered employment depending upon their position on this list and the particular requirements of individual posts. The

fortuitous nature of selection procedures of this kind was identified by Morgan et al (1983) who claimed that it was often difficult to explain why some individuals were selected and others were not. A headteacher interviewed in the study gave an insight into some of the factors at work at unpromoted level prior to 1990:

It was when a vacancy arose in the school and you might already have someone in the school or know someone who would suit the class and you would contact the office and they would be given the post. Other times you were notified of who you were getting, particularly with new teachers, and you would get their forms and so on and you just had to hope you were getting someone who was near the top of the list, someone who was good.

From the headteacher accounts, these factors appeared to apply equally to job share posts:

I phoned up and said I have a teacher who is returning from maternity leave and wants to job share. I also have a teacher who has been working very successfully in the school for a year, in fact she has been covering the maternity leave. She is keen to take up the other half of the job share. I said I think it would all work well. I phoned up staffing and they said we'll have to see and then they phoned back and confirmed she could have the job.

At first I wasn't sure we'd get anyone to fill the job share. I asked some people I knew, but no one was interested. Anyway I phoned staffing and they said we'll look at the list and they came back to me with a name and it worked out well from there.

From around the early 1990s many EAs began to take steps to improve staff selection by introducing more systematic procedures. In the research authority external advertisements and competitive interviews at school level were gradually introduced. By August 1995 a system was in place with all posts advertised nationally and selected at school level. Most of the headteachers perceived that, although more time consuming, the new procedures were fairer and applied equally well to job share, full-time, unpromoted and promoted posts. Some of the job share teachers, however, believed that the new procedures made it more difficult to move on from job sharing (this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 12).

Informal processes

The headteachers in this study also gave an indication of some of the informal processes at work to help distribute jobs to teachers. For example, at unpromoted level for a permanent full-time position many of the heads felt that, with the exception of newly qualified teachers, applicants should already be working (permanent or temporary) as teachers. One headteacher explained:

I would expect, I suppose I would prefer to interview someone who is already teaching. I think they would be more involved if they were working. I think if you come back to teaching you really need to do some supply first before applying for jobs.

However, this was not the case for job share positions. Although some headteachers asserted that applicants for job share posts had to be as 'well qualified' as applicants for full-time positions, several believed that job share posts were easier to secure because the quantity of applicants was fewer and, thus, the quality poorer:

It's only part-time, you see, and people who apply, a lot of them wouldn't apply for full-time jobs and when I had the job share vacancy I only got, it was four or five application forms. Now I'm not sure I should say this, but some I wouldn't even consider for interview, and others, well they wouldn't have a chance for a full-time job. But it's a job share and you have to accept less. Admittedly one or two were good, no problem, and the teacher I appointed was excellent.

Individual teachers' interpretations of the ease or difficulty encountered in gaining job share employment will be examined in later chapters.

At promoted level, for both full-time and job share posts the same criteria appeared to be applied. Acting experience in a senior position was considered to put candidates at an advantage and some headteachers thought varied experience, for example, a secondment, was important. Age was a factor which could interplay with experience. A headteacher described one applicant for promotion as 'excellent, she did the job extremely well but she was too young for an AHT'. Involvement in some form of staff development was viewed positively. While most heads suggested that this demonstrated that an individual was willing to improve themselves and their classroom practice, two headteachers saw it more mechanistically, 'it's added brownie points' one quipped. Three headteachers explained that they had found it necessary to re-advertise promoted job share posts, sometimes on several occasions, because applicants were not meeting their criteria for appointment to a promoted post:

The applicants first two times round were really just not suitable...I felt that just wasn't the quality I was looking for. Nothing personal, but not good for the school. I wasn't getting a lot of applicants, maybe two or three and once I even went as far as interviewing but really it was no good at all. I said to myself, no, this is a senior teacher post and certain experience or qualities are required. So anyway this went on and on and in June this year there was another advertisement and this time I got four quality applicants which surprised me and also thrilled me...It really had paid off in the long run.

The heads with promoted job shares had not been prepared to take 'second best' and all were very satisfied with the calibre of the successful applicant. Nonetheless, because the pool of

applicants for promoted job share posts was smaller than that for promoted full-time posts one headteacher still regarded job share senior teachers as a 'back door to promotion'.

Workplace culture

Studies of teachers' careers have noted how features of the workplace influence careers. For example, Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) found that the organisation of a school and the views and values of its headteacher were 'profoundly important' (p232). Nias (1989) noted a range of aspects that made schools as workplaces significant to teachers:

Buildings and equipment affected physical comfort, levels of tension, and states of health. Headteachers and colleagues could offer kindness, laughter, friendship and sometimes, love; or could fail to notice and respond to their colleagues' needs for acceptance and belonging. Staffrooms could be reassuring, relaxing places, or riven with interpersonal competition and unresolved tensions. Similarly, teachers could enhance or undermine one another's self-esteem by giving or withholding praise and recognition. (p206)

This section describes some of the prominent features of the workplace culture of primary schools, such as generally accepted ways of behaving in classrooms and staffrooms, and the nature of relationships between colleagues. Although the subtleties of individual establishments are highly significant, this section does not seek to define the culture of each school in the study. Rather it aims to identify some of the common features of primary schools as places of work, particularly those that have an impact on career experiences.

Workplace culture in primary schools

A small number of studies have examined the workplace culture of primary schools in England. Acker (1995), in a series of ethnographic observations of two schools, noted a range of positive features. For example, in the schools in her study 'the style was collegial' (p30). Teachers worked closely together and professional experiences were frequently exchanged. In one school, Hillview, the atmosphere was 'familial' (p30) with preferences for equality and trust evident. Especially influential were the headteachers; they provided encouragement, backing and opportunities for teachers on a regular basis. Nias et al's (1989) participant observation work in primary schools supports this view. In their schools teachers considered themselves team members. Relationships were important and both group and individual were valued. The cultures were 'collaborative' (p48), discussions were frequent, open and constructive. Headteachers were, similarly, significant in defining the culture. (From a national perspective the schools in this study had a different context, however, more similarities than differences have been found between primary schools in

Scotland and England and Wales.)

Primary schools in this study

Variations in culture across the schools in this study were evident. For instance, some schools were described as progressive, others more traditional. One headteacher claimed her school (Roman Catholic) had an 'ethos based on moral values', another head said her school (in an APT) adopted a 'highly child centred approach - we strive for the children to be secure and happy in this school'.

In relation to the schools as places of work all were viewed in a positive light (on the whole) by both the job sharing teachers and headteachers. It is possible that the teachers and, perhaps in particular, the headteachers were keen to portray the best image of their schools. On the other hand, features such as the ones they described might constitute some of the good things about primary schools as places of work that relate to careers (although negative aspects were also discussed). Two themes emerged in the interviews with the job sharing teachers and headteachers; cooperating and caring, of which frequent examples were given.

Cooperation

Headteachers described how staff worked together on planning and in the preparation of resources. This was done through formal channels, such as working parties, and informal processes, such as teachers meeting together in classrooms at the end of the school day.

Two headteachers said:

Most of the staff work closely together, the two teachers at primary 6 and so on. It helps them, they can pool ideas...I have a very hard working staff and working together obviously cuts down on what they have to take home. Sometimes two teachers work so well together that I keep them together at the same stage, that seems to suit. I would say the teachers in this school work really well together.

We have several working parties in the school now....I have to look at my staff and think who has something to give there and who would work well with who. On a working party teachers can have their say and I think they can learn quite a lot from one another. They get to contribute to the school. It's a normal way of working in schools now.

The nature of primary teaching, therefore, encouraged teamwork and cooperation. However, most of the headteachers viewed its promotion as an important managerial duty. They believed schools gained in terms of sharing skills and teacher workload was lessened. Job sharers tended to be viewed as part of the overall team. One headteacher believed that job

share partnerships could provide 'role models of cooperation' and this benefited schools greatly.

The relatively small size of the schools in this study (they varied from one stream schools to those with two classes at each stage) meant that many of the teachers knew each other well and felt at ease together. Headteachers claimed to know their teachers in terms of both professional strengths and weaknesses and personal satisfactions and disappointments and this helped too. The relatively flat hierarchical structure of primary schools also meant that, with the exception of the headteachers, most teachers in the schools in the study had teaching commitments. On a day-to-day basis most had similar roles; often status and salary too. As noted in the previous chapter, the career structure for primary teaching is less extensive than that for secondary and special school teachers and competition was not a theme which emerged overtly in the workplace culture of the schools.

Caring

Examples of staff supporting, sharing and empathising with one another were often given. Personal predicaments such as the problems involved in being a working mother or a parent of teenage children were discussed, and teachers sometimes worked together to provide solutions. A headteacher explained how she had suggested to a teacher, who was experiencing difficulties with childcare, that a local parent who was a registered childminder might help out. Professional difficulties, such as lack of teacher expertise, were sometimes openly discussed. In several of the schools where pupils had many emotional and social problems and within which teachers were perceived to be working under considerable strain, the need for staff to talk and provide mutual support was considered paramount. The demands of the job were such that it helped if staff could 'laugh and sometimes cry together' one headteacher said. A job share teacher and a headteacher commented:

Some of my closest friendships are with other teachers at this school and I think a lot of the staff would say the same. Sometimes on a really bad day, they are the kind of people you can turn to. We all understand each other and we are always there for each other. I wouldn't say there is any bitchiness or the likes. (Nicola)

I mean you may have picked up from being in the school that I don't claim to have the best teachers in this division but I've got the nicest staff.

The numerical predominance of women may have played a part here. Six schools in the study had all female staff, four had male teachers (one per school). In her study, Acker

(1995) found that the 'communal caring culture' she witnessed seemed more likely to occur in environments that were 'female-dominated' (p30). Values traditionally associated with women, in particular caring, tended to emerge. Similarly, Evetts (1990) suggested that workplaces with a majority of women had different characteristics to those with a majority of males. She found that women were more likely than men to bring aspects of their private lives to school. They shared and co-operated over these and worked together to find 'coping strategies' (p46). Certainly, many of the job share teachers perceived that their workplaces were conducive to and accepting of their job sharing. Several of the women talked about other staff understanding their family and work dilemmas and supporting their choices.

Divisions and resentments

The account provided so far should not be taken to indicate that there were no difficulties or divisions in these schools. Two headteachers mentioned situations where members of staff had not 'fitted in' and subsequently moved on of their own accord or following advice from the head. In one of these instances the teacher had been a job sharer but this appeared to have little bearing on the encounter. Interestingly neither of the headteachers involved was keen to dwell upon these matters. The repercussions of personal differences or disagreements were clearly significant in these socially cohesive workplace cultures. Nias (1989) claimed that teachers' values are central to their self-image as people and as teachers, and therefore form the basis of their practice, 'so, they cannot work closely together with others who have different educational goals or views on how to achieve these, for to do this would create an uncomfortable dissonance between their actions and their views of themselves' (p160). As in this study, Nias found the solution to problems such as these was often for individual teachers to move on. The small size of these schools as workplaces sometimes compounded problems. Personal animosities and ill will between individual members of staff became very obvious. For instance, a headteacher described how two members of her staff did not get on, 'the feeling of dislike is mutual, I think'. Because there were only ten teachers in the school, the headteacher felt that it was often difficult for the two women to avoid one another and at times this could lead to friction and unease. However, the overall image portrayed by teachers and headteachers in the ten primary schools in this study was that disagreements were, where possible, kept at bay or perhaps even avoided. Being non-confrontational may, of course, be another interesting aspect of the culture of these schools.

Role of the headteacher

It was also evident that the headteachers in the schools in the study were crucial in determining the workplace culture. Parents said, for example:

It's a good school. The headteacher, she's nice but a strong person. I think she sets a good example. I think the school has a nice feel about it because of her.

She has made a lot of changes. All those things after school and at lunchtime. It's a different place, very welcoming now, in fact the whole staff are much more welcoming now. I'm really pleased with how she's changed things.

Comments made by the headteachers indicated that they, too, considered their role in creating the culture of the school an important one. One headteacher talked about 'running the show, keeping the balance, being if you like the stage person'. However, differences in overall headteacher approach or style were visible and this led to differences in the workplace culture. In one school the headteacher believed that if the day to day management of a school was sound then effective learning and teaching could occur. She explained:

If I can have the policies in place, and people are on working parties and feeling involved and the discipline is taken care of and so on, then all the teachers should be able to work hard and the pupils will benefit.

Some headteachers felt that staff ought to be aware of one another as people not simply work colleagues. The welfare of children, two headteachers argued, was closely related to the well-being of adults. If the latter did not feel accepted in their schools they would not feel at ease in the classroom. One said:

I believe if the staff are happy then I can get the best out of them... You have to recognise that different people can give different things and work within that. If the teachers are happy then so are the children and they have the best chances of learning. I view that as an important part of my job, creating the right atmosphere for that to happen.

In only two of the schools in this study was there evidence of headteachers not being supportive of teachers or job sharing. The role of headteachers in affecting the career experiences of the teachers in this study is an issue which will be returned to in later chapters.

Job share policy

Employers are one of the main agents in terms of structuring the system of employment and the policies they create have a major role in determining individual career chances. As such, job share policy forms part of the context for careers at the intermediate level. This final section examines the EA job share policies which have developed for teachers in Scotland. It

considers the sources of policies, the processes through which they were made, their content and the opportunities they offer. My intention is to supply background information on job share policy and to outline the implications for teachers' careers.

Policy development

The Scottish EAs were relatively slow off the mark in their introduction of job sharing for teachers. The research authority led the way putting a scheme in place in 1987, with the other authorities following on from around 1992-93. By 1995 job share policies for teachers had been produced and implemented in all but one EA. In 1996 at local government reorganisation, the new authorities assumed the job share policies of their predecessors. Some new policies have since been developed; however, most are similar or identical to the pre 1996 documents (see Appendix 7.1).

All of the job share policies evolved out of joint negotiations between employers and unions. The EIS played a major role actively pursuing job sharing 'in the general area of equal opportunities' because it found 'a considerable demand, mainly but not exclusively from women teachers, to be able to work on a less than full-time basis'. The General Secretary of the union described his perception of the situation many members found themselves in:

There was really nothing on offer to a group of teachers who didn't want to work full-time. The choice was work full-time or not at all or otherwise on a temporary basis. That is an important distinction as well, there was part-time work but it tended to be fixed term or temporary with no security of tenure.

He noted 'no terrible enthusiasm amongst most authorities for job sharing', but once one of the 'big' EAs (the research authority) agreed to set up its scheme other local EIS groups 'realised that there were opportunities that they could work on' and talks gradually began with most EAs. Breitenbach (1995) found that the role of trade unions in 'promoting, developing and negotiating for equality in local government' (p5) has been a significant one. She described how since the last reorganisation of local government in 1975, trade unions have formed an important partnership with employers that has seen the introduction of many EOs initiatives, particularly in the area of employment related agreements. The EAs played their part, of course. For example, in the research site, where job sharing was embedded in the authority's over-arching Social Strategy ('ensure that no job applicant or employee receives less favourable treatment than any other on the ground of race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins, religion, sex, sexuality, marital status or disability', SRC, 1993,

Sheet 7) the then Principal Staffing Officer said 'we were trying to be a good employer and there was a demand for it, it's all part of our equal opportunities policy'. An education officer in the authority provided an interesting insight into job sharing's initial development:

I was on a different side then, if you like, with the Union and not in management and administration...but it started between the unions at a national and regional level and the authorities, who both recognised the potential value of job sharing and therefore seeking to implement it. I mean certainly the Union, the EIS, had a big hand in it in wanting to realise job sharing possibilities for members of the Union. They were well aware that there were teachers who didn't want to work full-time but there were few other good options for them...but I don't recall any real resistance from management at that point, they were willing to go ahead and see what could be done. They were aware of the need for it from a teacher's point and also I think it was in line with their overall equal opportunities approach. And what was set up was the initial basis of the scheme.

The former Depute Registrar of the GTC, however, felt that the Scottish EAs had to be 'pushed' into considering 'more women friendly employment measures':

A few years ago one authority was taken to the industrial tribunal by a woman seeking to return to teaching because their stated policy was to give preference to graduating students which was not unlawful. So the Equal Opportunities Commission supported her case and she won. Now Scotland is a very small country and the 12 Directors of Education all know one another very well and I think they realised that some practices would have to change so as to comply with the law. I think they began to realise more was going to have to be done and job sharing was just one route to that.

Therefore, job share policy making occurred at local level between unions and employers (EAs) and it was their values that were 'validated' (Ball, 1990, p3) in policy. As noted, employers viewed job sharing as one means of providing equal opportunities. West & Lyon (1995) found that where equal opportunities had been management led, they were likely to be governed 'less by moral commitment than by argument for good management practice, improved working relations, or better use of resources' (p58). The employers in this study were certainly concerned about 'any additional financial costs of job sharing' and about maintaining 'consistency of management'. As will be discussed, they adopted equal opportunities policies but were sometimes unable or unwilling to make the necessary resources (often monetary) available. The EIS on the other hand, was concerned, according to the General Secretary, with pursuing the 'needs of their members within the context of the education system as a whole'. They were interested in the individual. Therefore, a complex range of factors were involved in the policy making process.

It is also important to note at this point that most other terms and conditions of teachers'

service are negotiated nationally at the SJNC. So, for instance, the duties of teachers, their working year and working hours, their rights to sickness leave, maternity provision and redundancy pay are the same throughout Scotland. Similarly, all are paid according to one set of salary scales. The reasons for regional and not national negotiations on job sharing are two-fold. The then Principal Staffing Officer in the research authority explained how over recent years EAs had tended to adopt 'a more business orientated' type of approach. Meanwhile the unions recognised that for issues likely to be met with some resistance, local negotiations, which are on a smaller scale, could prove more successful. The General Secretary of the EIS explained:

There is no rhyme or reason to it. It's part of a trend that's been going on for four or five years now. Authorities are increasingly irked by nationally agreed, uniform terms and conditions for teachers and we've been caught in a dilemma. You could go to the SJNC with a claim and they could just say no. So you have to ask yourself do we try to negotiate something locally on the premise that something is better than nothing and that's really the basis on which that has happened.

Policy content

Although local negotiations on job sharing resulted in variations in policy content across the 12 (and then 32) EAs, common aspects are addressed. Typically, the EA policy documents specify the conditions of service for job sharing teachers and provide instructions and guidance for implementing partnerships. The main contents of the job share policy documents are outlined on Appendix 7.2. In the following paragraphs I examine some of the opportunities (and restrictions) they provide.

The then Principal Staffing Officer in the research authority believed that job sharing policy offered much to teachers:

There are all sorts of benefits; part-time hours but with all the terms and conditions of full-time work, that is important, that was never available before. Also job security, again, with other part-time work you don't get that. Also, I'd say, there is also a bit push that it, that job sharing won't ruin as much the promotion chances of some people. I mean it's coming in from the equal opportunities angle, that for women they can go part time and they won't have ruined their promotion chances.

As will become evident, the job share teachers in this study recognised (and on the whole accepted) the claims that job sharing employment offered part-time hours with the conditions of service and job security of full-time work. In addition, opportunities for promotion were possible. However, there are a range of restrictions within the policies which are important in this study because they affect the context for careers.

For example, as outlined on Appendix 7.2 there are policy exclusions on temporary and promoted posts which limit job sharing. In addition, in practice the research authority, which was viewed by the EIS as ‘most reasonable and liberal in that respect’, job sharing had been denied at headteacher level where in policy it was permissible. The then Principal Staffing Officer explained:

There was a degree of resistance to having a carte blanche on anybody being allowed to job share, so the policy definitely has caveats about promoted persons, it doesn't specifically exclude anybody but it does have real caveats. Really if a senior promoted person wants to job share it does cause problems. I mean I know for a fact that when a headteacher asked to job share it was not allowed to go forward and there have been concerns voiced for deputies and assistant heads too. We have a range of things to think about - how will this be managed, extra costs and so on.

Given that job sharing is advocated as a means of enabling individuals to pursue promotion whilst working part-time some policies are working in opposition to this.

Application procedures are similarly restrictive. Few policies give details of how teachers can apply for vacant full-time posts on a job share basis, it is assumed that most applicants will want to apply to share their own full-time post or to apply for job shares created in this way. At the GTC, the former Depute Registrar noted this shortcoming. She said:

I have recently seen a couple of advertisements that said this job is open to job sharing and that is good. If teachers can only apply for a job made available by other teachers, by other teachers choosing to job share their own post then my impression would be that this would hold job sharing back and indeed limit it.

Job sharing will not be accepted as a norm for ways of working until individuals can apply for suitable vacant posts on a job share basis if they wish. Where the vast majority of permanent posts are advertised as full-time it is likely that job sharing will be marginalised and this does little for individual career prospects.

The then Principal Staffing Officer in the authority asserted that monetary and administrative difficulties were the cause of both of these restrictive practices. He acknowledged the problems but argued job sharing had to operate within a wider management context. It seems that, as with many other EOs initiatives, there are ‘costs’ with job sharing. These may relate to finances or resources. The costs may also be in terms of willingness to question and change existing policy and practice. It is clear that job sharing will be restricted unless authorities are prepared to bear some form of costs.

Finally, it is important in this section to note that the job security of teachers is diminished by job sharing. Some teachers have found themselves being compulsory transferred as a result of job sharing. As noted, when a post becomes surplus to requirement in a school most EAs operate a 'last in first out' procedure. This is based on length of continuous teaching service with the employing authority. For job sharers, most policies advocate that the service of the two shares is aggregated and halved. In 1995 the research authority was challenged that this procedure was indirect discrimination on the grounds that most job sharers are women. The authority, after seeking advice from its legal department conceded this. The then Principal Staffing Officer explained:

Simply put it is often the case that one of the sharers has substantial service and on an individual basis would not be liable to transfer, but has to move because their partner's service is minimal. For example, one teacher could have 16 years continuous service whilst her partner less than a year. Aggregated and halved this calculates to 8 years and could easily lead to compulsory transfer...I think we are now in the mind if we do what the policy says then that's discriminatory against one of the sharers and could lead to sex discrimination because most job sharers are women. We've now come to that conclusion, we've been challenged, we've not gone to an industrial tribunal but we've accepted it after discussions with our legal department.

Ultimately the case was referred to a tribunal. It found that the authority was trying to put workers off job sharing and that affected women more than men as they had primary responsibility for childcare. The tribunal also recommended that the council should review its job sharing policy with a view to removing the possible discriminatory effect.

Job sharing statistics

In phase 1 of the research a questionnaire was sent to all primary schools in the division where this study was carried out. The information provided, along with other statistical data, demonstrates the extent and nature of job sharing within the research location and this constitutes part of the context for careers.

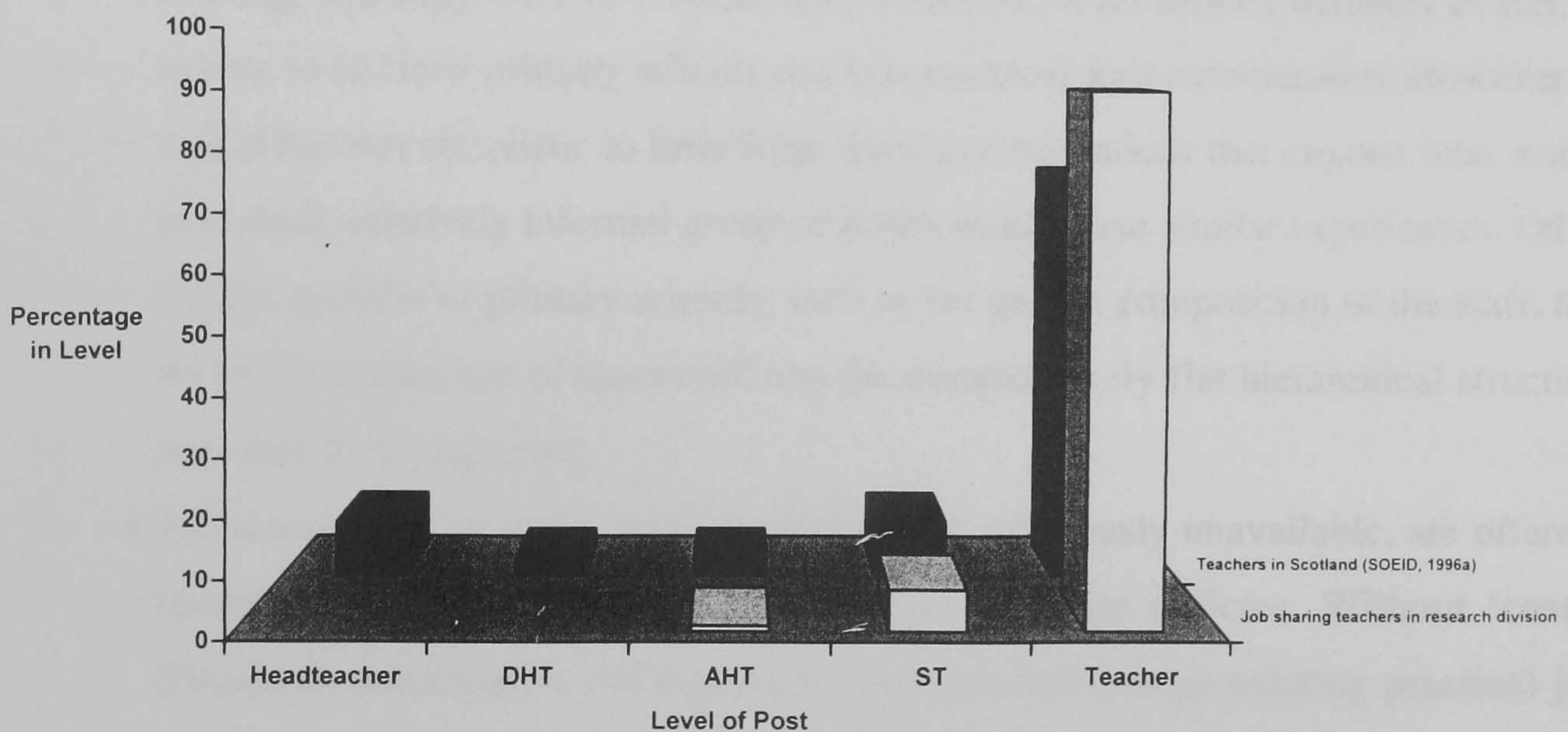
Statistical overview

There were 206 job sharing primary teachers in the division where this research was undertaken. This represented 7% of the division's primary teaching force (SOED, 1994). All of these job sharing primary teachers were women. This statistic is perhaps unsurprising as a sector where 92% of the workforce is female. In secondary schools in the authority where the research was undertaken, where women make up 50% of teachers, they accounted for 97% of job sharers (SRC, 1992). Job sharing in the research division and its authority was

therefore an overwhelmingly female phenomenon.

Of the 206 job sharing primary teachers in the division, there were 2 AHTs, 14 senior teachers and 190 (92%) unpromoted teachers. When compared with national statistics, it is evident that the job sharing teachers were under represented at all promoted levels, in particular, the uppermost echelons of headteacher and depute headteacher (see Figure 7.1). Even when gender (female) and age (30-49 years, as were all of the job sharers in phase 2) were taken into consideration the picture changed little.

Figure 7.1 Primary teachers in Scotland - Levels of promotion



Therefore, in the research location, job sharing teachers constituted a minority group of the teaching workforce (note, however, that almost 40% of primary schools within the research division had job sharing teachers on staff, usually 2, and thus many headteachers and teachers would have regular contact with job sharers). The group of job sharing teachers was entirely female and predominantly unpromoted. These factors form part of the context for careers at the intermediate level.

Summary

This chapter has outlined career contexts at the intermediate level. It has supplied some of the necessary descriptive information that will allow a full analysis of career experiences in the remaining chapters. This chapter has demonstrated factors at the intermediate level which

have an impact on women and job sharers. These are:

- The processes through which teaching jobs are allocated and gained. This chapter has described how the former practice in local government of always advertising posts internally in the first instance has been changed in most authorities in favour of open advertising as this gives wider access to women, minority ethnic groups and people with disabilities. This chapter has also outlined some of the informal processes at work to allocate jobs to teachers and has indicated that job sharers and full-timers are not always treated equally.
- The workplace culture of primary schools. In the schools in this study the workplace cultures were remarkably similar. They were generally regarded as open and trusting, and supportive of women and job sharers. With smaller numbers of staff it is easy to see how primary schools can become close knit communities. However, it would be over simplistic to infer from these generalisations that anyone who works in a small, relatively informal group of adults would have similar experiences. Other factors specific to primary schools, such as the gender composition of the staff, the widely accepted use of teamwork and the comparatively flat hierarchical structure appeared to be important.
- Job sharing policy at EA level. Opportunities, previously unavailable, are offered, however, there are restrictions within the job share policies. Without 'costs' (financial, resources, a willingness to question and change existing practice) job sharing policy, as it stands, limits career opportunities.
- Job sharing statistics. In the research location job sharing teachers form a minority group within the workforce. They are predominantly female and unpromoted.

In the remaining chapters I will present the findings of the study, establishing a link with career contexts.

CHAPTER 8 - CAREER EXPERIENCES OF JOB SHARING TEACHERS

Introduction

During the study each job sharing teacher contributed an account of what they considered important factors in their career. They identified key aspects of their personal and professional lives and explained how they negotiated a fit between these. They described the role of job sharing in their careers, and how it met personal and professional needs. In the remaining chapters, I provide an analysis of these career experiences establishing a link with career contexts. The framework of themes in these chapters is organised by the researcher on the basis of the research questions and analysis of the perceptions and perspectives of the job sharing teachers. Data is taken from the interviews with the job sharing teachers and supplemented by evidence from other sources, including headteachers, parents, key informants and former job sharing teachers.

In this chapter the overall career experiences of the job sharing teachers are explored. Factual information about the job sharing teachers' personal and professional characteristics, such as age, marital status and experience, is presented first. Then, the work histories of the teachers are described, and the women's reasons for choosing to job share are explored. Throughout, I draw out commonalities and critical points of difference.

Personal and professional characteristics

A summary of the key personal and professional characteristics of the twenty job sharing teachers is provided in Appendix 8.1. It was not possible to compare this group with the profile of job sharing teachers in the research authority or Scotland since data were unobtainable. In addition, because specific criteria, for example level of promotion, were used in the process of selection the sample cannot be regarded as representative of job sharing teachers in general. Nonetheless, an examination of the job sharers' personal and professional characteristics revealed interesting similarities and differences and these are described and discussed in this section.

Age

The age distribution of the job sharing teachers is given in Figure 8.1. If we take the younger age bands as 30-39 years, this had nearly two thirds of the job sharing teachers; the

older age bands (40-49 years) one third. None of the job sharers in the study were amongst the youngest (<29 years) or oldest (>50 years) groups of teachers in Scotland. The distribution of the unpromoted and promoted teachers was reasonably balanced; about half of the younger and half of the older age groups were promoted, half unpromoted.

Figure 8.1 Job sharing teachers - Age distribution



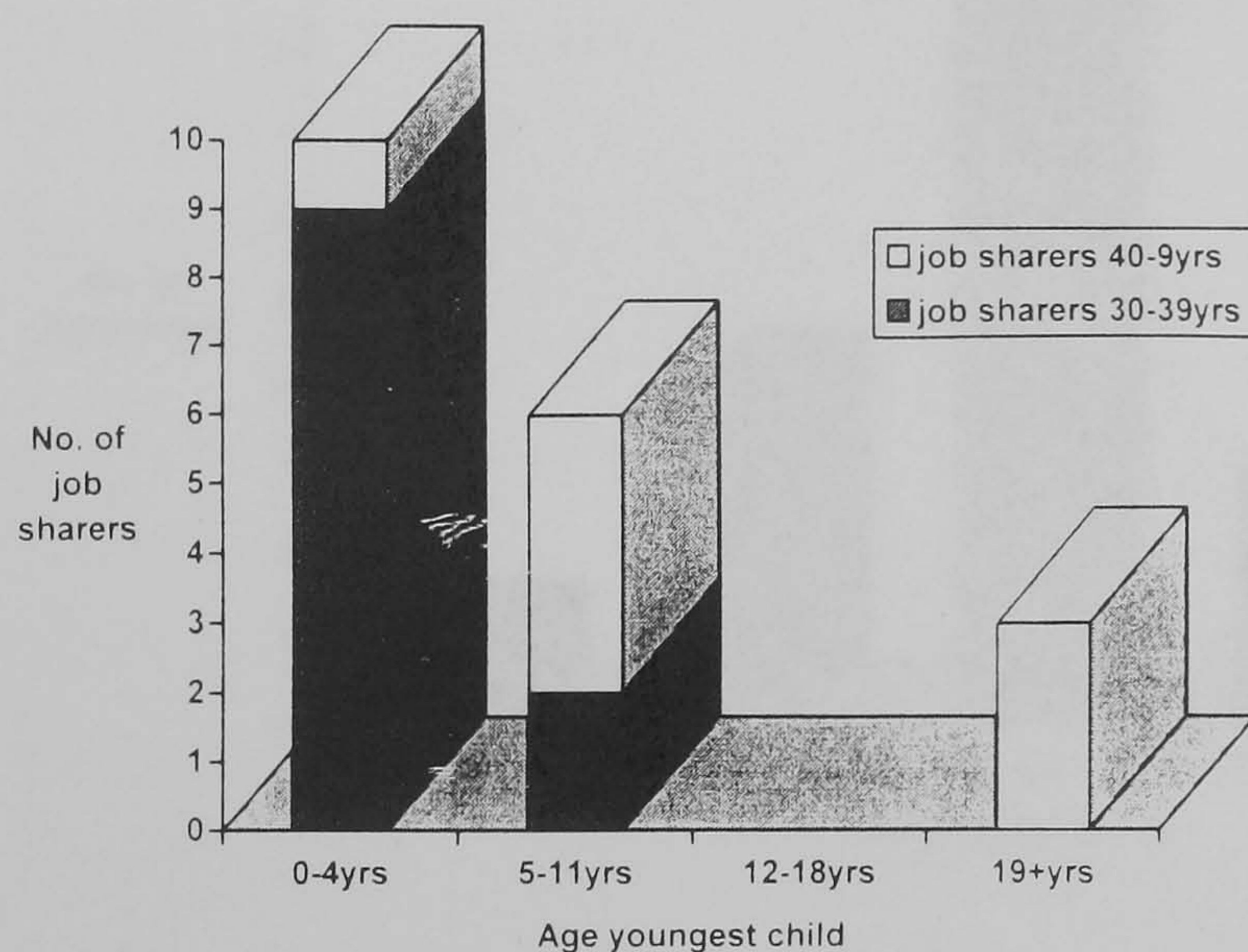
Marital status and dependents

Nineteen of the women were married and one was separated. In the UK 58% of people over 16 are married, 15% are widowed, divorced or separated, and 37% are single (Condy, 1994). A higher proportion than in the general population of the job sharing teachers were married, therefore. It may be the case that the financial implications of job sharing in part explain why few single people had opted to job share. This issue will be explored in more detail elsewhere.

All nineteen married women had dependent children. Although the number of children each woman had ranged from one to five, half had two children (and many of those with one child said that they planned to have another). This would suggest that after family formation most of the women in the study would have two children, in line with the national average (General Household Survey, 1994).

The children ranged from one year of age to those in their early twenties. The age of the youngest child has been found to be an important factor for many women in terms of their employment status (EOC, 1994). Figure 8.2 illustrates that ten of the women, all aged 30-39 years, had a youngest child who was of pre-school age, and six women (aged 30-39 years, 40-49 years) had a youngest child of primary school age. As will be discussed later, a strong relationship emerged between having young children and choosing to job share.

Figure 8.2 Job sharing teachers - Age of youngest child



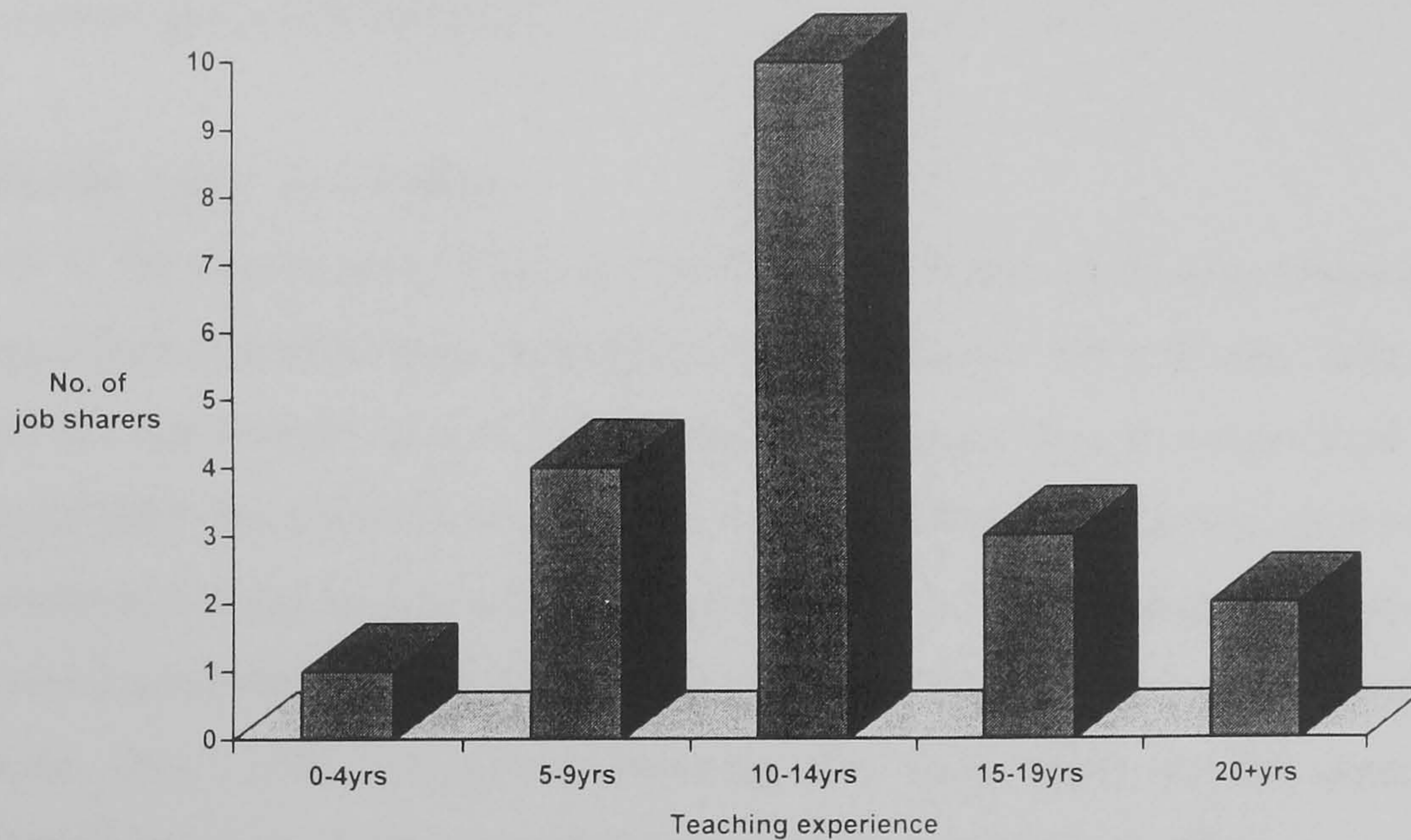
Teaching experience

The job sharers had varied lengths of teaching service including one woman with 4 years experience and another who had worked as a teacher for over 28 years. Half of the job sharers had between 10 and 14 years teaching experience (Figure 8.3).

It is important to note that teaching experience was calculated for each woman on the basis of how long she had been involved in teaching whether on a full-time, part-time or supply basis. This was how each woman viewed her experience, full-time equivalent (FTE) service was not referred to. However, FTE figures are frequently used by employers for calculating individual teachers' salary scales, rights to permanent employment and in some authorities as indicators for promoted post applications. FTE service varied significantly from the length of time each teacher had been involved in teaching for just two of the women and this was because they had worked for long periods on a supply and part-time temporary basis. For

the majority of the teachers their FTE service was only one to three years less than their total years in teaching employment. Consequently, service calculated in this way (FTE) produced a picture of teaching experience similar to that if service had been calculated in terms of time spent in teaching.

Figure 8.3 Job sharing teachers - Teaching experience



Relationship with level and age

The relationships between experience, level of promotion and age were examined. This indicated, as would be expected, that the most experienced teachers represented a high proportion of the promoted and the oldest teachers. Beyond this, however, the situation became more complex, for instance, the teacher with the least experience (4 years) was not, as might be expected, one of the youngest teachers although she was unpromoted, and the second least experienced teacher (7 years) although the youngest was promoted.

Predominant characteristics

Examination of the personal and professional characteristics of the job sharing teachers, then, indicate that this was a group of mainly married women with children, in particular young children. All were aged between 30-49 years and many had around 10-14 years teaching experience. These women were not, in general, amongst the youngest or oldest, or most or least experienced of their profession.

Work histories

The work histories of each job sharing teacher in the study are detailed on Appendix 8.2. Each history is given from the completion of teacher training up to the time of the interview. Analysis of the work histories revealed distinct career stages experienced by most of the women, namely; initial entry, early days/ stability, family formation, returning after family formation and job sharing. Two types of career pattern were also evident; one typical of the women in the older age bands (40-49 years) and one more usual for the women in the younger group (30-39 years).

Initial entry to teaching

All of the women in the older age group started teacher training as school leavers and after qualifying gained permanent employment immediately and with ease. In the younger group all but one woman entered higher education straight after leaving school, however, most faced difficulties when they attempted to enter teaching employment. Of the thirteen younger teachers looking for jobs after qualifying only five initially gained permanent contracts. Six started teaching on a temporary basis and two entered other forms of employment after a time. One, Lorna, returned to teaching after three years and the other, Toni, worked elsewhere for almost ten years before eventually re-entering teaching.

The ease or difficulty encountered in gaining permanent teaching employment can in part be accounted for by time of entry to the profession. Those who started their careers between the mid 1960s and mid 1970s (all of those in the older group and one from the younger group) secured work as soon as they had qualified because at this time teaching opportunities were many; one woman said, 'Then the jobs were very easy, "which school would you like to go to?" you were asked.' However, the women who were looking for posts in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s found it more difficult because the teaching job market was contracting throughout this time. As described in Chapter 6, the economic and political climate, together with prevailing demographic factors, resulted in a growing demand for teachers in the 1960s and 1970s followed by a reduced demand in the late 1970s and 1980s. However, other factors also played a part for the women in this study. For instance, two of the younger women who managed to gain permanent contracts in the 1980s did so in independent schools and this would suggest differences in job opportunities at the time between state and independent schools. Personal circumstances such as marriage, illness and

the needs of elderly parents also affected career choices and decisions. Toni described how her entry to teaching was affected by a range of these factors initially and over the years:

I qualified in 1979, no jobs so I went down south. I had worked down there as a student so I went down there to try my luck. Nothing doing, so I came back around about 1981, did some temporary work and there was still nothing permanent and I was being married and stuff so I ended up going into other things, that was basically it. So I spent four years in the careers service...Then I went into the private sector where I was a training officer and then the picture started to change... Things were picking up, my personal circumstances changed and I was separated and I found myself in a situation where I could look to something that wasn't just, you know, so sure, look at supply and that was it, that was 1990. It was always something that I really wanted to do, it was what I'd always wanted to do, trained for but your life can take over, you have responsibilities. I went into the careers service, I took that as a temporary post and that was me permanent and all of a sudden I was there for four years because you have a mortgage and things like that but teaching never left me...So the minute I felt there was an opening there and I was in a position at that moment in time to do it and my life was changing so much in other more personal ways I jumped at the chance. I thought yes this is it, I must do it now.

Early days/ stability

With the exception of Toni who is discussed individually at the end of this section, once permanent full-time work had been secured a period of relative stability followed involving continuous full-time employment. For the women in the older age group this averaged six years with few professional changes except the occasional move between schools. For the younger group teachers the average was nine years and, for some, there were also minor changes. The two women who entered teaching via independent schools moved into the state sector, and they, along with two others, gained their first promotion to senior teacher level. Amongst these four women, however, there was considerable variation in length of service before gaining first promotion (4-11 years). Two of the younger women also resigned posts because of moves related to their husbands' employment, although both returned to full-time continuous work within a 2 year period.

The women in the younger group, therefore, generally had longer and slightly more varied early careers. Events in personal lives and labour market opportunities played a part here. Also, changes in the promotion structure of teaching were important. As Chapter 6 indicated in 1989 the post of senior teacher was introduced and this created new opportunities. Although initially introduced as a reward for good classroom practice and substantial teaching experience the position soon became viewed as the first step on the career ladder. As such there were more appropriate (less senior) promoted posts available to the teachers in

the younger group and this may help explain their greater incidence of achievement.

Family formation

Around the time of family formation the period of stable full-time continuous employment ended. The women in the older age group broke service at the birth of their first child. Four completed their families during this break of between 6 and 13 years and three returned to supply or part-time temporary work before they had all their children. Only two younger women broke service for family formation, all the other younger women moved from permanent full-time to permanent job share employment .

Several factors help explain these patterns. The women in the older age group, those who broke service, appear to have been influenced by more traditional ideologies which reinforced the notion that a mother should care for her young children on a full-time basis. Many had at least their first child in the 1970s when attitudes to women and work were quite different from those in the 1980s and 1990s. One woman explained:

When I had my first child I left teaching because there was no point staying on, it was either full-time or nothing. It was just what you did then, you had a family, you gave it up, no one expected you to go back. (Frances)

The women in the younger age group, on the other hand, were forming their families in the late 1980s and early 1990s by which time ideological beliefs and expectations had changed and full-time maternal care was no longer implied as the only option (see Richardson, 1993, p43-61, for a discussion of changing ideological beliefs 1950-1990). However, many of the younger women felt that although leaving employment was unnecessary, being with their young children at least some of the time was important in order to be a good mother. It is also possible that the difficulties encountered by the younger women in initially securing employment and their personal experiences of a constrained job market meant that they were unwilling to resign their posts. Evetts (1990) suggested that contraction in the number of teachers from the late 1970s left women teachers reluctant to give up their work as they were uncertain of how and when they would be able to return. She found that when the number of teachers decreased, there was less individual movement. Teachers secured a post and then stayed put. Consequently the teaching labour force became more static with less opportunities for movement in and out and this directly reduced the options available for women teachers.

Finally, the availability of job sharing policy affected some of the women's choices over family formation. For example, one of the younger women who broke service, had her first child before the introduction of the job share scheme in the research authority, whereas, another, who did not break service, waited to start her family until after this time. Wendy and Shona explained:

I left in '86 to have the first of my children and I didn't go back, I didn't get the option...It was either you went back full-time or you didn't at all. The job sharing was just about to come in and I think if I'd got the option that is what I would have done. But I didn't. So I went into the community education which was a couple of hours in the afternoon and that was really good experience but in a way I felt like I had just missed out, if only it had come in 6 months earlier.

I put off having children till the job sharing came in. I knew I wanted to do this, so it was available in other fields, so it came in, I had heard it was on the way. So I hung off then I got pregnant, had Kenneth, applied and got a partner.

This illustrates the importance of employers' policies in impacting the career experiences of individual teachers. The job sharing policy in the authority offered women a greater choice in relation to their labour market participation, particularly during the period of family formation. This is a theme to which I will return in later chapters.

Returning after family formation

The women who broke service (all those in the older age bands and two from the younger group) re-entered teaching via a period of supply and temporary full-time and part-time work. Only Val and Iris went onto permanent full-time contracts after 3-4 years, the others continued to work as supply and temporary teachers for between 1 and 13 years. For some this was through choice, they did not want to work full-time and supply and temporary were the only forms of part-time teaching on offer. However, some of the women said they would have considered permanent full-time work but found little was available and that which was 'went to new teachers':

I had four years of supply on and off, but it was very on and off...The chances of getting a full-time job were, well it was something I didn't even consider would happen to me. I think if you were coming back to teaching you really only got offered supply work. There were lots of young girls out there and many of them couldn't even get jobs, so you were way down the list. (Rose)

By the time I decided to go back things were very tight and they weren't giving out jobs. So I put my name down and they actually phoned me, I wasn't expecting a phone call, so I went and got supply work. But there was no chance of a full-time work you just had to keep doing supply and hope it might work out. (Frances)

This provides an example of supply and demand characteristics (macro level) interacting

with the procedures for allocating jobs (intermediate level) to affect the individual careers of teachers.

Job sharing

For the women who remained in supply and temporary posts after family formation job sharing was their first permanent contract since returning. As such, seven women used job sharing as a means of securing permanent work and in doing so three women also gained promotion (this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 12). All of the other women moved from full-time permanent contracts to job share employment. For those women who were younger this was following the birth of their first child and almost all had their second child whilst job sharing or suggested it was their intention to do so. The younger women, thus, tended to view job sharing as a transitional phase for family formation whilst the older women adopted it because it was a suitable and available mode of re-entry and form of part-time work.

Toni

Toni was the one woman in the sample who did not have children. She fell into the younger group and was the least experienced of all the teachers. As outlined earlier, she encountered difficulties trying initially to enter teaching and ended up following another career. Ten years on she decided to begin teaching again because she perceived the job market had improved and her personal circumstances allowed her to. She took up supply and temporary work before being offered a job share post which she accepted and had been doing for three years. As such her career pattern was unique; a delayed entry via supply and temporary work then permanent job share employment.

Overall career patterns

Examination of the work histories of the job sharing teachers revealed two different career patterns. The teachers in the older age group (aged 40-49 years) had an easy entry to the profession followed by a short period of continuous full-time employment. They then broke service at childbirth and returned to teaching as supply and temporary teachers before securing permanent work as a job sharer or as a full-timer before changing to job share. The younger group teachers (30-39 years), on the other hand, experienced difficulties entering teaching, most working on a supply and temporary basis first. They then had a longer period

of full-time teaching before moving to job sharing around family formation. One younger woman, Toni, had a very individual career pattern which to date was short.

In Chapter 2 (p23-25), career patterns found by Dex (1984) and Brannen (1989) were described. I now use these to examine the career patterns of the women job sharers, and discuss any similarities and differences. The career patterns of the job sharing teachers are defined according to Dex and Brannen on Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Job sharing teachers - Career patterns using Dex & Brannen

Job sharer	Dex (1984)	Brannen (1989)
Lorna	continuous	returner part-time
Marjory	unexpected	non-returner new job
Kath	continuous	returner part-time
Shona	continuous	returner part-time
Nicola	continuous	returner part-time
Val	phased	non-returner new job
Iris	phased	non-returner new job
Wendy	unexpected	non-returner new job
Pamela	continuous	returner part-time
Bernie	unexpected	returner resigned
June	continuous	returner part-time
Ailsa	phased	non-returner new job
Yvonne	unexpected	non-returner new job
Toni	-	-
Gemma	continuous	returner part-time
Rose	unexpected	non-returner new job
Eileen	continuous	returner part-time
Frances	phased	non-returner new job
Hilary	continuous	returner part-time
Diane	continuous	returner part-time

Using Dex's categories all of the job sharers in the older group had phased careers having one period out of the labour market during which their families were completed, or unexpected careers, working for some time during family formation. On the other hand, most of the younger women had continuous careers working throughout their childbearing years. Dex noted the changes in women's career patterns over the decades, and this applied

to these women too; careers with a break were becoming less common, continuous careers more so. Brannen's framework helps highlight some quite distinct characteristics of the job sharing teachers. For example, most of the younger teachers were continuous returners part-time. Brannen's categories offer a distinction between those going back to the same jobs and employers after maternity leave and continuing as before, and those who subsequently reduced their hours. There is a recognition that continuous careers can involve a combination of full-time and part-time work. My examination of the women's careers in this study highlighted the importance of contextual factors in these changing patterns. At the macro level, supply and demand characteristics and the teaching career structure were important; at the intermediate, procedures for allocating jobs and the introduction of job share policy. In addition, the ideological context proved significant.

It is interesting that both Dex and Brannen identified six career patterns followed by women. The women in this study, however, followed only three of each. Dex wrote, 'women are far from being a homogeneous group of marginalised workers' (p1), and whilst each woman in this study had an individual career pattern, similarities rather than diversities emerged across the group. Although it is not possible to make any sort of generalisations, the job sharing teachers, as a group, had some distinctive characteristics.

Reasons for job sharing

When the job sharing stage of each teacher's career was explored it became evident that the teachers in the study had decided to job share for a range of reasons. These were different for the teachers in the younger and older age groups and are considered separately.

Women in younger age group

For the women in the younger age group family commitments and a desire to remain in employment were the main factors influencing their decision to job share.

Family commitments

All of the younger women with children evinced a strong commitment to teaching but felt that for a period of time when their family was young it was difficult to dedicate themselves single-mindedly to work. Two aspects were highlighted. Firstly, these women wanted to spend time with their young children, something they felt they should do. This desire was

reinforced by ideologies of what constitutes being a good mother:

I believe that in having a family you have to give up something, and I felt, you know, I've got to go part-time and get the right combination. I wanted to spend time with my daughter, I just felt it was something I had to do. It's what being a good mother is all about. (June)

Chapter 2 demonstrated that primary teaching remains a female dominated area partly because of ongoing beliefs concerning women's natural affinity with young children. It is, therefore, unsurprising that female primary teachers should be acutely aware of the ideological beliefs surrounding motherhood and be willing to act upon them. Some of the women expressed conflict and confusion between what they felt ought to be and how they were actually acting and feeling; they believed that a mother should be the main carer of her young children but found it difficult to envisage themselves in that situation:

I had a terrible fear of becoming just a mummy, I'm not that kind of person, I felt the house would begin to close in on me. I admire women who do stay at home and bring up their families, I think they're great. I would just get a wee bit scared that things would get on top of me. (Nicola)

Women who stay at home to care for their families are rarely given credit for this (Green, 1993) and many of the younger women were clearly reluctant to be seen in this way. The second feature of family commitments which led many of the women to choose to job share was the practical aspect of managing a young family whilst holding down a job which absorbed a great deal of time and energies. The work involved in mothering is well documented (see Piachaud, 1984; Sharpe, 1984) and some of the women discussed the difficulties they experienced and 'the perfect solution' job sharing offered:

I found it far too much, my life was just hectic with having two children, you know, and having to transport them to childminders or wherever they were going to, and then do a full day's work, a full week's work. At the end of the day I was absolutely shattered, I felt I wasn't coping with everything too well, in fact I started to get really quite ill...But when I heard about the Murray job share I felt I could make a commitment to the job because I didn't ever want to go back to being absolutely wrecked. It was just too exhausting. (Bernie)

Thus, many of the women experienced internal as well as external pressures to change their mode of employment after becoming mothers. Interestingly, the role of fathers was rarely questioned. Most of the women accepted the imbalance of family responsibilities, which job sharing in some ways compounded. This is an issue which is developed in the next chapter.

Continued teaching employment

All of the women in the younger age bands made it clear that although their families made full-time work difficult, they positively wanted to continue teaching. A desire to remain in

employment and maintain personal independence and, in particular, to gain the stimulation and rewards teaching provides were identified as important. One woman was particularly concerned not to lose touch 'because so much has been happening in the last few years' and all of the teachers who were promoted before they entered job sharing were reluctant to relinquish their hard earned achievements. In addition, for three of the promoted teachers (Nicola, Pamela and Kath) who had already started to develop 'successful' careers, job sharing represented a 'damage limitation' exercise in that they believed it was less likely to harm their future promotion prospects than leaving altogether. Studies (Grant, 1989b; Chessum, 1989 see p27) have found that the promotions structure in teaching tends to assume unbroken full-time service. While many teachers/ mothers do climb the promotions ladder, a return to full-time work after a break in service generally finds them lagging behind single women and those without children.

The financial implications of remaining in employment were also important and most of the younger women discussed how financial matters had played a part in their decision to job share. Several explained how they had juggled monetary considerations with those of choice and convenience, whilst others said they 'had to work' .

Inter-connected reasons

In their accounts, all of the younger women inter-wove the various factors which caused them to choose job sharing. The reasons were closely related and the women did not compartmentalise them. Diane's description provides a good example of this:

I was having a family and I decided that it would be better for me and my husband and better for the kids if I was working part-time rather than full-time and we could afford for me to have half the salary, so we did. I knew that was what I would like to do because I felt going back full-time would be too much. I have done a bit of full-time since I've been job sharing, I have filled in for people and it is a lot, you know, the house is a complete state and the washing doesn't get done and I just don't like leaving the kids five days a week with somebody else looking after them. I prefer if I'm looking after them most of the time and that I only go out two and a half days. I couldn't have afforded to give up completely and I wouldn't have wanted to anyway because I wanted to keep my job and keep up with what was going on, so it just seemed an ideal solution.

Toni

For Toni, the younger women in the study who did not have children, her reasons for job sharing were unique. She had recently started teaching after a career elsewhere and initially

believed that job sharing would be a better, more stable entry point than supply or temporary work; 'the main thing was that it was a foot in the door'. However, once working in this way she found the situation suited her well because of her personal circumstances and was content to continue working as a job sharer.

Women in older age group

The women who formed the older age group had rather different reasons for job sharing. Although family commitments featured prominently, for most job sharing offered the job security and/ or satisfaction they desired.

Family commitments

Some of the women had young primary school age children who they felt 'still needed' them, whilst others believed job sharing allowed them to cope well with the demands of running a home. Two of the women, Val and Iris, said job sharing allowed them to provide support for their husbands who had 'demanding' jobs.

Improved job security and satisfaction

Five of the women, after their breaks for family formation, had returned to teaching because their children were older, they felt they could manage and they wanted to. They were offered supply and temporary work and generally this suited as they did not want full-time posts. Family commitments were still heavy and they were apprehensive about returning full-time because of the apparently growing demands of the job:

A lot of my friends who had their children before me had gone back to full-time work and they were in a terrible state. They were permanently exhausted, they kept saying to me don't do it, they were warning me off, they were saying the job, the pressure is terrible. It all seemed to have got a lot worse, the workload and the responsibility seemed to have increased an awful lot. (Ailsa)

However, when job share posts were made available all of these women decided to move in this direction as it offered permanent employment. This was important from the point of view of job security and because of the unrewarding nature of supply and temporary work:

The fact of being permanently job share appealed to me and in a way it was because I thought that this would be the first time I'll know over the summer holidays, I've actually got a job, I know where I am. Very often you didn't know till the schools went back, sometimes October before they got round to giving out any part-time jobs. I was actually glad of having the permanent security and I know I have got a salary coming every month and I know exactly where I'm going to be and I was ready for that but I don't think, I wouldn't have wanted it full-time as yet because of the family, obviously I've got the children at

home. (Marjory)

I wanted more satisfaction than the 0.4 that I was doing...I wasn't really getting to relate to the children at all, I was filling in an awful lot, parts of the time I was doing resources and I was relieving senior teachers and the rest of the time I was just filling in for absences and so on and it was pathetic. I wanted, actually, continuity. I still didn't want to go full-time with the children still being quite young but I wanted to, more satisfaction at work. (Ailsa)

Indeed for one woman, Marjory, who had gained promotion in moving from part-time temporary teacher to job sharing senior teacher this was incidental; the job security and satisfaction were far more important. Studies (Loveys, 1988; Trotter & Wragg, 1990; Shilling, 1991a, 1991b; Galloway, 1993, see p34-37) of supply and temporary teaching have consistently demonstrated its many negative aspects and the teachers in this study experienced them to the extent of wanting to move into another form of teaching employment.

The other two older women, Val and Iris, both senior teachers, also took up job sharing to improve job satisfaction. Both explained that they had grown dissatisfied with full-time teaching. For Val this was a result of prolonged illness, whereas Iris said that recent developments within education had changed the nature of her job and its workload. She had felt under increasing pressure to the extent that she was giving almost all of her time and energies to work. When her family circumstances changed this provided the final impetus to start job sharing, something she had been considering for a few years. She said:

Between the changes, the workload, the forward planning, my senior teacher remit, a full class commitment and all my other domestic duties it was just becoming one perpetual circle of tiredness. I realised that I was letting more and more of my social life go, I wasn't, I was giving this and that up and I wouldn't go and I thought this is absolutely ridiculous...On the domestic side two years before that my husband had been very ill and I thought at that point I'll never give that much to teaching as I have done, I've let so many things go and I've put teaching first, I'll never do that again....My family were finishing their university careers and I thought they'd be moving away and I really want to enjoy the last year or two I'll have them at home. And my mother who is in her mid eighties, she was needing more help, she said one Sunday, 'You know I really shouldn't come on a Sunday, you don't have time' and I thought and that really was it, no, no, this is getting ridiculous when my mother is saying I don't have time for her. So I just decided to go for it.

In addition, Iris and Val hoped job sharing would allow them to come to terms with the imminent prospect of retirement. Sikes, Measor & Woods (1985) found that the need to prepare mentally for retirement was the major task facing teachers nearing the end of their careers. These women clearly intended to use job sharing in the process of readjustment. Both of these women were not quite 50 years old and this would seem young to retire.

Throughout the 1990s a trend developed whereby a growing number of teachers were offered and accepted early retirement packages. Retirement as an issue is addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

Like the younger women, many of the women in the older group mentioned that financial matters influenced their decision to job share to some extent. The women who had been supply and temporary saw their new income as 'a bonus', it was stable and generally greater than before, whilst the two women who had been full-time said their financial situations were secure and sufficient. Financial considerations were not as important to the women in the older age bands as they were to the younger women.

Summary

In summary, then, the overall career experiences of the job sharing teachers have been explored. This chapter has demonstrated that:

- This was a group of predominantly married women with children, in particular young children. All of the women were aged between 30-49 years and many had around 10-14 years teaching experience.
- The older (40-49 years) and younger teachers (30-39 years) had different career patterns. The older teachers had an easy entry to the profession followed by a short period of continuous full-time employment. They then broke service at childbirth and returned to teaching on a supply and/ or temporary basis before securing permanent work, often as a job sharer. The younger group teachers experienced difficulties entering teaching, and a majority worked as supply and temporary teachers first. Once they secured permanent full-time employment they had a longer period of full-time teaching before moving to job sharing around family formation. One younger woman, Toni, had a very individual career pattern which to date was short.
- The older and younger teachers had chosen to job share for different reasons. The younger teachers with children used job sharing as a means of balancing family and work commitments during the period of family formation. Toni, the younger woman without children had used job sharing as a means of entering the profession and then found it suited her well because of her personal situation. The older group of teachers recognised that job sharing was a secure and satisfying form of teaching that was part-time. They did not want to work full-time because of continued family

responsibilities and the demands of full-time teaching.

Examination of the overall career experiences of the job sharing teachers, therefore, has revealed that these evolved as a result of professional and personal circumstances, and contextual factors. For instance, childbearing (a personal circumstance) affected almost all of the teachers' career patterns as did the availability of teaching posts at different times (a contextual factor - macro level). In Chapter 9 I will explore personal aspects of the job sharing teachers' lives in detail before considering the professional dimension.

CHAPTER 9 - PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF JOB SHARING TEACHERS

Introduction

Chapter 8 described the overall career experiences of the job sharing teachers. It demonstrated some of the ways in which employment decisions were influenced by personal circumstances. It was evident that in order fully to understand the careers of the women teachers who job shared it was essential to take account of the personal dimension of their lives. This chapter explores personal aspects of the teachers' lives, in particular the impact of job sharing on this. It focusses on experiences in relation to four areas; motherhood, partners, financial needs and other interests. Data is drawn primarily from the job sharing teacher interviews because of the focus on personal experiences.

Experiences of motherhood

In her study of 'Becoming a Mother', Oakley (1980) found that motherhood had an immense impact on women's lives. She said:

Producing a baby is re-producing, looking differently at one's body, one's identity, one's way of living in the society of which one is part. And in becoming a mother a woman takes her place among all women, conscious in a new way of the divisions between men and women, more sharply aware of the ties of human kinship and of the special solidarity of sisterhood. Motherhood is a handicap but also a strength; a trial and an error; an achievement and a prize. (p308)

With the exception of Toni, all of the job sharing teachers in the study were mothers and this experience had changed their lives in immeasurable ways. This was so in relation to how the women perceived themselves as individuals and, especially important in terms of this study, in the nature of their relationship with employment.

Relationship with employment

Motherhood altered the nature of the women teachers' relationship with employment. It changed the way in which the women viewed themselves in terms of their work. Many considered that they had been single-mindedly dedicated to their profession and their daily employment at the beginning of their careers:

When I was single with no family my job was everything. I've always loved teaching, but then when I was young I just gave everything to it. I can remember working to all hours in the evening and taking a great deal of pleasure from doing things for school. (Frances)

Following childbirth, however, most of the teachers explained how they reevaluated themselves by considering how their new roles and responsibilities could be combined with their existing ones. All of the women in the study took action in relation to their employment in order to provide a solution to their newly acquired situation. As Chapter 8 noted, they all left full-time work; some took a break in service then returned gradually, others changed to part-time teaching or job sharing. For most this was one of the most striking moves they would take in their working lives.

Thus, motherhood was a central aspect in these women's lives. With the exception of Toni, all of the women, to varying degrees, constructed their working lives around their roles as mothers, and all had taken up job share employment, at least partly, to help manage their responsibilities as mothers. But how, in fact, did job sharing affect their experiences in this respect?

Women with older children

Three of the women in the older age bands (Iris, Val and Yvonne) had children aged 16 years or more, some of whom no longer lived in the family home. None of these women talked in detail about the impact of job sharing on their experiences of motherhood. Iris mentioned that it allowed her to visit her son who was at university in Edinburgh and Val said she had more time to go shopping with her daughter. Although these women supported their children physically, emotionally and financially (to differing extents), all three mothers commented that their children were in many ways independent. Thus, job sharing impacted their experiences of motherhood, but not significantly.

Women with school age children

Six women (four older, two younger) had all children of primary and secondary school age. Although quick to assert that 'it's not easy all of a sudden just because your children go to school' (Rose), most believed that the demands of the mother role lessened as children grew older. Their accounts suggested, however, that they continued to perform numerous tasks for and with their children; daily caring activities, taking them places, uplifting and dropping them off by car and so on, and what had in fact decreased was their need, their belief that they should be with their children constantly or at least most of the time.

It was interesting to note that five of the six women in this group had worked as supply teachers prior to job sharing and commented that they were now able to cope better with their responsibilities as mothers, in terms of arranging visits to the doctor, hospital appointments, meetings with their children's teachers and so on because of the fixed hours and location of their job sharing employment. From a personal perspective job sharing was 'much better' than supply teaching and this added to job satisfaction:

To be honest, the two [job sharing and supply teaching] don't compare. I had to go into my son's school last week and I was able to arrange this well in advance. When you do supply you have to refuse work on some days and that can be a bit difficult in some situations. You know, if you're in a school on Tuesday and they say please come back in tomorrow and you have to say no because you've arranged something personal. It makes me much happier at work knowing I'm able to arrange all of these things around my work now. I know where I am. (Marjory)

Women with pre-school age children

Ten of the women, all in the younger age bands, had at least one child of pre-school age. They were the group most enthusiastic and satisfied with the impact of job sharing on their experiences of motherhood, and this tied up with their reasons for choosing to job share. They emphasised that they carried a double burden of responsibility for work and family and that the temporary lifting of some of this responsibility was very much welcomed. Some discussed the childcare tasks they performed daily and these were very similar to those identified by other research (see Piachaud, 1984; Sharpe, 1984). Often these absorbed much time and energies and job sharing appeared to 'free' some time in which to perform these tasks. Several of the women had returned to full-time teaching, albeit briefly, after the birth of their first child. They explained that during this time they did not feel that they were doing either 'job' (mothering or teaching) to their satisfaction and this led to feelings of frustration, guilt and exhaustion. For some it led to a sense of personal failure and resignation at not being able to meet what were, in reality, very likely difficult demands:

I went back full-time from August till January and just found it hard going basically and I didn't feel I was doing my job well nor did I feel my home life was particularly wonderful. I was too exhausted all the time. (Pamela)

I went back in the June after my wee girl was born in the February, I went back in the June for three weeks, it was nearly the month actually full-time - a nightmare, absolute nightmare. My mum certainly came in and looked after her, so I didn't have to take her anywhere, but I realised, it hit me then. She was certainly very young, she was still a baby and people kept saying it would get easier. But on the whole the Monday to Friday thing, I just thought how am I supposed to do this? I mean that sounds really bad but I just couldn't cope. (Nicola)

Bernie had similar experiences and more severe consequences:

I found it far too much. My life was just hectic with having children you know, and having to transport them to childminders or wherever they were going to and then do a full day's work, a full week's work. At the end of the day I was absolutely shattered, I felt I wasn't coping with everything too well, in fact I started to get really quite ill.

There was little doubt that the prevailing ideological context within which motherhood and childcare are defined was affecting these women's levels of satisfaction with the impact of job sharing on their personal lives. However, levels of satisfaction varied and this was dependent on a wider range of factors. For example, one woman was extremely satisfied with the impact of job sharing on her personal experiences of motherhood, but she had waited for a long time to have a baby and was very satisfied in her job share and these seemed to be important factors. Another woman, although positive about the impact of job sharing on her experiences of motherhood, was not as enthusiastic, but her job share was a little strained at times and she was concerned, in the long run, about advancing her career vertically (she was one of the promoted teachers). As before, it was impossible for the women to separate personal experiences from professional and vice versa and, in addition, features of the context for careers were affecting experiences.

Dominant ideologies

Although women define their own expectations about mothering and set their own standards of childcare, research (see Brannen, 1992; Richardson, 1993) has shown that they are guided by cultural ideologies. Women's self perceptions are inextricably bound up with social norms about women's roles and women's work. Certainly, the women with pre-school age children not only wanted to be at home with their children at least part of the time, but felt they should be. Working full-time just 'didn't feel right'. The women assumed that they would be the main carers of their children, that this was the proper thing to do, and moreover, that bearing most of the responsibility for their children's up bringing was something they wanted to do. These women were influenced by ideologies that suggest maternal care is normal, desirable and socially acceptable with children of pre-school age. Complementary to this, however, some of the younger women noted that full-time mothering was not for them. They were anxious about losing their identity, and being at home and with 'non adults' all the time. In addition, they wanted success in their work. It seemed that many of the women were able to balance up ideology and expectation by mothering part-time and equally by working part-time. Of course, many women teachers

remain in full-time employment following the birth of their children. It would seem likely that they too note these ideologies of motherhood (although it is possible that some people are influenced more by some ideologies than others). However, for the women in this study job sharing was the strategy they developed in order to enable them to cope. Other women, those who remain in full-time employment for example, develop other strategies, often far more complex than job sharing, to manage their situation.

The women with primary and secondary school aged children, on the other hand, did not express feelings of guilt related to going out to work; they perceived that once their children went to school resuming employment was acceptable. This was significant as many of these women had stopped working completely when their children were of pre-school age. Statistics indicate that this is a common practice. The EOC (1993) found that among mothers with children under the age of five, 50% were in paid employment, whilst among those with a youngest child aged between five and twelve, 67% were working (p47).

Childcare arrangements

All of the women with pre-school and school age children required childcare and all had private arrangements; relatives, friends, childminders and nurseries, these being the main forms of childcare for young children in Britain (see Cohen & Strachan, 1993, Melhuish & Moss, 1991). Several indicated that good quality childcare was essential in supporting them as working mothers, since their experiences at work were affected by how they felt their children were being cared for. As noted in Chapter 3, improved childcare provision is probably the most publicised means of facilitating women's participation in paid employment and has been found to be considered most useful by women with young children (EOC, 1990; McRae & Daniels, 1991, see p45).

For several of the women, working part-time suited these childcare arrangements. Relatives, particularly grandmothers, could look after children for the half weeks worked, when whole weeks may have proved too much. One woman who had initially returned to work full-time expressed feelings of guilt and worries about her childcare arrangements at this time. She was also anxious about her personal identity, about what she appeared to others to be. By moving to job share employment she had been able to resolve this situation:

Full-time I found...I was very sad, there's no allowances I was sad...I was worried about my wee boy. He was with a childminder, I didn't particularly like my childminder an awful lot...That was upsetting me. Other teachers could see I was upset, I think some of them thought I shouldn't be doing it. So that was on my mind a lot and that's not good. I should be able to get on with the job like I do now. When I'm with the children now I'm with the children. When I go on the Wednesday afternoon I'm the teacher and the children are with my in-laws, they can manage them 3 days a week. I know they are safe and happy and I can largely put them out of my mind, if you know what I mean, never completely, but they are largely out of my mind and Wednesday afternoon, Thursday and Friday as a teacher, that's teaching time. (Gemma)

For the women in this study quality childcare was important but so was the opportunity to secure good part-time work. In particular, the younger women believed that they benefited from their authority providing a job share policy. Most wanted to spend time with their children yet continue working, during which time it was important that they had good childcare facilities.

Managing domestic responsibilities

None of the women separated their domestic tasks from the duties they performed as mothers. Doing housework went hand in hand with caring for and looking after children and husbands, too. All of the women felt that job sharing enabled them to cope better with domestic demands.

Partners

Nineteen of the job sharing teachers were married and lived with their husbands. Toni was separated and lived with her parents. On the whole, only a few of the women talked in detail about their partners; given the personal nature of marital relationships this was not surprising. However, the importance of gender roles within the family emerged to some extent during the analysis. On reflection, in the interviews I did not address it as fully as I would do so now. Four women did, however, describe how they supported and accommodated their husbands' careers and this included women from the younger and older age bands. None of the women spoke of husbands supporting or accommodating their work.

Supporting/ accommodating husbands' careers

Val and Iris had husbands with jobs requiring business away from home and attendance at various functions. By job sharing both women believed they were able to support their

husbands better. In turn this meant they were able to perform their roles as wives more fully and this was important to them. The way in which women are prepared to give of themselves to support their husbands has been identified before (Bird & West, 1987). It is interesting to note that both these women were promoted and successful in their own rights, however, they justified their actions by asserting that their husbands held more powerful and well paid positions than they did. Indeed both women underplayed their earnings and financial contribution to the home. The women's lack of success in their careers in comparison to their husbands' was probably partly due, however, to their work histories, both women had a career break and taught supply and part-time when their families were young. Their husbands had not.

One of the younger teachers conceded that currently she was not pursuing promotion because of her husband's aspirations. She said that although she was ambitious early in her career she had changed, initially with some reluctance:

Graham has a good job, I suppose, and he is doing well. He's quite sort of ambitious in his career and really, in a lot of ways, I think it would make life far too complicated with two of us covering our careers. I realised that then and I must say I was a little disappointed. I had sort of applied for a couple of senior teachers but I decided against it and anyway it leaves me more time to spend with Alice [daughter]. (June)

Another of the young teachers, had also given of herself to accommodate her husband's career. After qualifying and initial difficulties in securing permanent work she gained a post in a 'great wee school'. She was there for three years before marrying and then leaving to go to America for two years because of her husband's job. She described her feelings at this time:

It was tough you know. I had waited to get a permanent job and was lucky. It was a great school and I was very happy there and then not long after we got married I had to leave it all because of John's work. I mean I had a good job too but really John's came first. (Gemma)

Relationships with husbands

A small number of women discussed how by job sharing their relationship with their partner had improved. Two talked about feeling better in themselves which subsequently helped personal relationships. One woman explained how her relationship with her partner had been 'struggling, we were only just staying together', however, by job sharing she was able to give more time to her home and family and this helped. These women felt that although

improving relationships with partners had not been significant when choosing to job share, it was one result.

Maintaining gender roles within the family

A strong theme arising from the women's accounts was their acceptance of the central responsibility for the maintenance of the emotional and physical equilibrium of the home and family, and their implicit assumption that their male partners would adopt the role of the major breadwinner. Many of the women commented that their partners were generally supportive with respect to childcare and domestic work. Although they helped rather than shared, most women were positive about their partner's contributions and few were critical of their husband's failure to share the workload. From one woman's account it was evident that her husband made only the barest contribution to practical commitments in the home, yet she seemed, on the whole, accepting of this. For the most part there seemed to be an unspoken acknowledgement by these women that their husbands had been brought up within a framework where expectations for men as fathers and husbands were quite different from those for women as mothers and wives. Research (see for example Lewis, 1988; Moss & Melhuish, 1991) has found that men tend to regard their involvement in parenting and household work as helping and supportive and as financial and moral.

As discussed in Chapter 3, one of the main arguments against developing part-time work opportunities stems from this. It advocates that part-time employment puts a hold on any real reorganisation of gender roles within the home, for as long as female partners work part-time and male partners more typically work full-time then the ideologies underpinning the sexual division of domestic labour and childcare remain unchallenged. In the households in this study, according to the women's accounts, responsibilities were not evenly split between husband and wife, father and mother, and it could be argued that traditional gender roles were not being opposed, and that the part-time employment of the women was reinforcing this. One of the job sharers, who was considering returning to full-time work said:

I think job sharing has worked out really well at home. If I want to go back full-time I have to weigh all things up; who will look after the children, who will pick them up, paying for that, will it be worth going out to work full-time, not falling out with my husband over this, he'll have to be prepared to take on some responsibilities at home. So far job sharing has really helped here and I'll have to weigh up the pros and cons of going full-time. (Rose)

The success of job sharing is dependent on it being accepted as a norm way of working, not just a norm way of working for some women, and this will require changes in gender roles within the family. However, the accounts of the women in this study suggested that whilst job sharing gender roles within their families were maintained, in some cases they were compounded. The women's perspectives reflected little change in beliefs and social norms regarding women and unpaid work in the home. However, the views of the women, especially the younger ones, indicated greater change in beliefs and social norms regarding women and paid work.

Financial needs

As described in Chapter 7, job sharers' salaries are pro rata to the hours they work and as such most of the women in this study earned approximately half of that of an equally experienced full-time teacher. Those women who were full-time immediately prior to job sharing, then, took a drop in salary and a few commented that budgets had to be tightened and that the salary on return to full-time would be 'great'. On the other hand those women who had taken career breaks and who were supply teachers previous to their job share employment explained that they now had a steady, secure monthly income:

I didn't have to give up a full-time salary, I had done that anyway when I left to have Steven and it was then that we felt the drop in salary, anything I got after that was a bonus. (Wendy)

None of the women talked of financial hardship, as noted earlier almost all had taken their financial situation into consideration when contemplating job sharing (see p114, p117). Although details were not sought, it emerged that many of these women's husbands were the main earners in their family. Indeed, some of the women viewed their salaries as supplementary to the household income. It appeared that this group of women were, on the whole, financially secure. In addition, a small number of the women took on occasional supply work in order to earn 'a little extra'. Two women described how they worked a few extra days 'on the run up to Christmas', and another two covered for one another's maternity leave .

Pensions

Job sharing affects pensions because employers' contributions are pro rata (see Appendix 7.2), a fact which all of the job sharers were aware of. None of the women in their thirties were overly concerned about this and often justified it by arguing that job sharing was better

than leaving teaching altogether (although only a few women indicated that they would have considered leaving teaching had job sharing not been available). It was apparent that the women in these age groups found it difficult to look two or three decades on, some appreciated they should, but the immediate future was more pressing.

The women in their forties voiced a few more concerns. Two women were considering taking out AVCs (Additional Voluntary Contributions) and the two most mature women in the study, Val and Iris, had already done so. They were the people most concerned about the impact of job sharing on pensions. It seemed that as the prospect of retirement neared, pensions became increasingly important issues. For the purpose of pension rights, service is superannuated on a pro rata basis for job share teachers. Therefore, if a teacher retires whilst job sharing, having been job sharing for the three years immediately preceding retirement, their pension and lump sum will be based on the highest salary received over 365 days actually worked which may not be the same as the full-time equivalent salary in any one of these years, but it will be close. Up to the mid 1990s most of the Scottish authorities made use of teachers' premature retirement schemes in order to assist with effective personnel planning. In the research authority, for example, in 1994-95 and 1995-96 a scheme was available for teachers over 50 years of age. Those who were unpromoted or senior teachers were offered enhancements to superannuated service up to a maximum of 4 years; those in management positions up to 7 years. For job sharing teachers the enhancements were pro rata. Both Val and Iris had always been fully aware of this, but noted that they knew of colleagues who had not been and were bitterly disappointed that job sharing had affected their pensions. Since 1997 opportunities for premature retirement have declined. It is possible that as teachers continue working until age 60, more will consider job sharing.

Other interests

Job sharing had slotted into the women's lives easily and well, affording some the opportunity to develop interests which many said they would not have pursued had they remained in full-time employment.

For the younger women these were almost entirely related to their roles as mothers; being there on their children's sports day and school concerts, taking their children to swimming classes and gymnastic clubs, visits to libraries and places of interest and other excursions.

For Shona one experience was particularly memorable:

I'll never forget my son's first day at school. I mean I know its probably an emotional experience for every mother but I can still remember it all so clearly. You know, the nice new uniform, Kenneth skipping off and waving..I'm really glad I could be there.

It was in respect to other interests that Toni, the younger job sharer who was separated and had no children, felt the greatest impact on her personal life. She sang in a choir and was heavily involved in the life of her church and working part-time allowed her the time to pursue these aspects of her life quite fully. She explained that this brought her a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction, and although working full-time would reward her financially she was reluctant to instigate change.

The older women had, similarly, taken the opportunity to develop interests and hobbies, more for themselves than for their children, golf, bowling and swimming were all mentioned. Iris described how she was taking a greater interest in her music, teaching piano a little, attending concerts more regularly and she had even been principal boy in the pantomime for the first time, something she had always wanted to do and clearly provided her with a lot of pleasure.

Summary

The discussion in this chapter has examined the personal dimensions of the women primary teachers' lives. This chapter has found that:

- For the women with pre and primary school age children job sharing was particularly effective in meeting personal needs. As mothers, it allowed them more time to care for and spend with their young children. As a result, life became more manageable and feelings of guilt related to working full-time were sufficiently eased. For some of the younger women job sharing resolved dilemmas and fears about becoming a mother full-time and losing contact with the adult world of work.
- For some women job sharing improved relationships with husbands, sometimes by allowing them to support or accommodate their husbands' careers. For others (especially the older women with grown up children) job sharing allowed the opportunity to develop wider interests.

- From the women's accounts it was clear that within their personal lives all assumed the main responsibility for ensuring the physical and emotional well being of the home. Husbands were supportive and helpful with childcaring and domestic tasks, but there was little evidence of sharing. The women accepted this with little question. The women's perspectives reflected little change in beliefs and social norms regarding women and unpaid work. It is interesting to note that the views of the women, especially the younger ones, indicated a greater change in beliefs regarding women and paid work.

In this chapter I have explored personal aspects of the job sharing teachers' lives. In the next chapter I begin to examine professional features.

CHAPTER 10 - PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES OF JOB SHARING

Introduction

The study investigates the career experiences of a group of women teachers who job shared. The previous chapter discussed how job sharing met personal needs. The extent to which job sharing met professional needs was also of interest in the study. Experiences at a practical level and perceptions of the effects of job sharing on others were found to be significant in this respect. This chapter focuses on practical experiences of job sharing; the next chapter examines the impact of job sharing on others.

This chapter begins by providing some background information on the practical arrangements of the job share partnerships. Next, day to day experiences for planning, teaching and assessing are examined. These related closely to the job sharing teachers' responsibilities; the effects of whether they were learning support, classroom teachers or promoted are discussed separately. Perceptions about common features for success in practice are then outlined, before reasons for lack of success in practice are explored. Data is taken from the interviews with job sharing teachers and supplemented by evidence from headteachers, parents, key informants and former job sharers.

It is important to note that all of the job sharing teachers, headteachers, and parents regarded the ten partnerships in this study as successful in practice. As outlined in Chapter 5, it is possible that in the process of sample selection unsuccessful partnerships chose not to become involved. However, one of the headteachers had previously encountered an unsuccessful partnership, and one of the job sharers and three former job sharers in phase 3 of the study had briefly been involved in unsatisfactory pairings. The range of these experiences will be discussed in this chapter, but the focus is on success in practice as this is where most data was collected.

Practical arrangements

One job share was set up when two unpromoted teachers applied to job share together. They were both working in the same school and following the birth of their first children (at around the same time) they jointly asked to job share. The remaining nine partnerships were created when existing permanent full-time teachers applied to job share their posts. The four

unpromoted partnerships were advertised in the research authority's internal circular as open to applicants who were already permanent teachers (pre 1994 procedures) and when none applied temporary teachers were contacted. Three of the teachers had recently worked in the schools where the job shares were vacant and initially discussed the matter with the headteacher. One woman explained:

I had been working in the school temporary for as a 0.2 which grew to a 0.4 and it was the end of the contract, at the end of June. And one of the teachers was wanting to come back in August job share so I asked if I could apply for it but I wasn't allowed to apply because I didn't have a permanent contract. The headteacher was keen for me to get it and so were other teachers in the school. I had to wait, the job was advertised and I had to wait and see if any permanent applied for it. So that's what happened. No permanent teacher applied for this job, the headteacher wrote a nice letter to the staffing office asking if I could be considered and in the summer they contacted me and said I'd got it. (Ailsa)

Another woman heard of the vacancy through a teaching friend and expressed an interest to regional headquarters:

I met a friend of mine who had taught with...She said there was a girl in Toryburn Primary who was full-time but wanted to job share and they were having difficulty finding someone and she said I should go for it. Now I knew that you had to be permanent before you could apply to job share, well you did then, so I phoned up staffing and said, 'I know I can't actually apply for this job but can I express an interest' and they said, 'Oh well, we'll put you on the list'. So very shortly after that they phoned back and said, 'We can offer it to you'. (Rose)

The five promoted posts were advertised externally as open to suitably qualified, experienced and registered teachers (pre 1994 procedures). All of the headteachers explained that there had been few applicants and three of the posts were re-advertised (see p89-90). All posts were then filled by competitive interview at school level. The five women who applied and gained these posts were encouraged to do so: three were approached by their headteachers and this initiated their interest, and the other two women were contacted by colleagues working in the schools where the job share vacancies had arisen. Both the latter two had previously worked in the schools, one on a temporary and one on a permanent basis.

Informal processes, in the form of occupational networks were clearly important in the set up of all the job share partnerships. Bernie, who moved from temporary unpromoted work to permanent job share senior teacher explained how previously she had worked in the school on a permanent basis. Following the birth of her first child she indicated to the former headteacher that she would like to job share her post. However, the authority's job share policy was new and her former headteacher refused to back her. Soon after she resigned.

She returned to temporary work within the year, and when the job share vacancy arose in her old school, several teachers contacted her:

I'd kept in touch with everybody and when the position came up three or four of them phoned and asked if I would be interested...They were delighted when they heard I was applying for it and pleased that I got it. They said I should never have had to leave in the first place.

There appeared to be a sense of shared identity and fellow feeling among some of the women staff members. Some had similar sets of personal and professional commitments, and when problems were experienced they pulled together to find solutions. This was one example of caring within the workplace culture as described in Chapter 7. The role of headteachers in influencing individual career moves was also evident. Wendy, who moved from unpromoted job share teacher to job share senior teacher explained that her headteacher had come to her with a photocopy of the advertisement. He said he was not trying to push her out, but that she had much to offer and this seemed like an ideal opportunity. When Wendy agreed to apply for the post, her headteacher provided advice on filling in the application form and later gave her a mock interview.

Patterns of hours

All of the job share partnerships in the study operated split week arrangements. For eight pairs this was where one partner worked all day Monday, all day Tuesday and Wednesday morning, whilst her partner did Wednesday afternoon, all day Thursday, all day Friday. In two partnerships one partner worked all day Monday, all day Tuesday and alternate Wednesdays, her partner alternate Wednesdays, all day Thursday, all day Friday. The days each sharer worked were fixed, except in one partnership where they rotated the part of the week worked at the end of each term. The fixed pattern of hours suited the personal needs of most of the women, particularly childcare arrangements. The two women who rotated the part of the week worked were Yvonne, whose children were grown up, and Toni, who did not have children. In all partnerships the existing post holder had specified their preferred pattern of hours and the new teacher had agreed to this. Most had specified the first half of the week which was considered better from a professional perspective. The pupils were fresher and ready to learn, new skills and concepts were often introduced in class, and the general mood of the school was more work orientated. In addition, from a personal perspective the teachers felt it was easier to relax at the end of the week once work was finished.

Practical experiences - responsibilities

Experiences in practice related closely to the responsibilities of the job sharing teachers. In the study eight job sharers had learning support responsibilities and twelve were classroom teachers. Ten also held senior teacher remits. The responsibilities of the job sharing teachers are given on Table 10.1. The practical experiences of each of these groups of job sharing teachers are discussed below.

Table 10.1 Job sharing teachers - Responsibilities

Job sharer	Responsibilities	Senior teacher remit
Lorna	CT & MM	timetabling
Marjory	CT & MM	resources
Kath	CT & MM	science and technology
Shona	CT & MM	music
Nicola	LS & MM	extra curricular
Val	LS & MM	ICT
Iris	LS & MM	environmental studies
Wendy	LS & MM	expressive arts
Pamela	LS & MM	pastoral P6-7
Bernie	LS & MM	pastoral P4-5
June	CT	-
Ailsa	CT	-
Yvonne	CT	-
Toni	CT	-
Gemma	CT	-
Rose	CT	-
Eileen	CT	-
Frances	CT	-
Hilary	LS	-
Diane	LS	-

CT - classroom teacher; LS - learning support; MM - management duties

Learning support job share teachers

Eight of the job share teachers had learning support remits. This absorbed all of the timetable of the two teachers who were unpromoted and most of the timetable of the six teachers who were promoted and had short periods of time allocated for senior teacher duties.

Splitting responsibilities

In all of these partnerships responsibilities were split and not shared. Each teacher worked with particular classes and teachers and, on the whole, supported a set of pupils quite distinct from those of her partner, 'you've really got your own pupils for your two and a half days'. Consultation between the two job share partners, although worthwhile, was not viewed as essential, as was consultation within the whole school learning support team. In two schools both job sharers conferred with all learning support staff at a weekly meeting, whilst in the other two schools this occurred on a less formal basis. As a result of this all of the teachers, five of whom had previously job shared as classroom teachers, commented that they felt job sharing out of class was easier and more relaxed than being in the classroom. However, several said that they felt a bit like a 'wandering soul' in their learning support role and, all said and done, six would have preferred to be in class:

The job share I'm in just now being out of the class is less like a job share because it's really, there's not really a lot of sharing involved in it other than the initial deciding who's going where and what the areas of responsibility are going to be and your timetabling. There really is little sharing of tasks. Whereas when you're in the classroom there really is, it really is a proper share because you've got to work together in the classroom or it just wouldn't work. It's probably more difficult, it is more difficult but I did enjoy it. (Wendy)

These job share partnerships were perceived by their headteachers to be successful in practice. When asked why this was most headteachers said that splitting responsibilities was a crucial factor. The response given by one headteacher was typical:

Well they are both very good teachers and, well, they do different things, you know, they see different children and work in different classes each. They are job sharers but they have slightly different jobs to do, so in a lot of ways it's not like they are really sharing one job and I think that helps a lot.

Indeed three of the four heads interviewed with learning support job sharers in their schools and a number who completed questionnaires in phase 1 said they had specifically allocated their job sharers 'non class teaching commitments', believing this was in the 'best interests of the pupils':

I would have to be honest and say that personally I don't think job sharing is the best thing when it comes to children in a class. I know you can get two very compatible people, but if I can prevent my job sharers having a class of children then I will do.

Two headteachers also commented that there were fewer parental concerns where job sharers were not classroom teachers, and this was an important factor when allocating staff responsibilities. One said:

As far as my two job sharers are concerned, the parents would hardly be aware of the fact that they are, you know, job sharing. I'm sure some of them think they are both here full-time. So it isn't a problem with parents and if they are happy that makes me be happy.

No parent who had a child taught by learning support job share teachers came forward for interview and this may have been because they were unaware of the situation or did not consider it to be important to their child's education.

Thus, many headteachers and job share teachers viewed partnerships such as these as 'not like a real job share'. Although the individual teachers were deemed job sharers in respect of their terms and conditions of employment, in relation to working in practice because they split their responsibilities they were generally regarded as two separate entities who worked along side one another to perform one job, rather than together. In this way, these job shares may resemble permanent part-time work. As the literature review revealed (see p34-37) most part-time work in teaching has traditionally been temporary and supply and found to be difficult and unrewarding in practice. As noted there are, unfortunately, no studies of permanent part-time work; however, these findings would suggest that job sharing which resembles permanent part-time work is more satisfactory than the traditional forms of part-time teaching.

In the research location at the time of the empirical work, areas of the city were designated Areas of Priority Treatment (APT). Six of the schools in the study had a majority of pupils from APTs, two had around 50% and two almost no children from APTs. This had an impact on the schools in many ways, including staff numbers. Those schools in the study with APT status had been allocated between 0.5 and 2.0 additional teachers. It was common practice in the research authority to use these teachers to provide extra learning support and this accounted for three of the learning support job share partnerships. However, following local government reorganisation and the ensuing financial restrictions (see p84-85) many of these posts were withdrawn and the three job share partnerships were returned to the classroom. It meant that many headteachers no longer had the option of giving job sharing teachers 'non classroom commitments'. Some of the possible repercussions of this will be discussed.

Classroom job share teachers

Twelve job sharers were classroom teachers. Eight, who were unpromoted, worked with their classes continually and four, who were promoted, did so most of the time, being released occasionally to perform senior teacher duties. In each partnership the two teachers generally worked closely together sharing all the responsibilities for one class, and higher levels of cooperation were required than in the learning support partnerships. As they discussed their practical experiences, these teachers talked in detail about sharing three areas; the curriculum, learning and teaching, and planning and preparation.

Sharing the curriculum

In all partnerships language and mathematics were taught jointly. Two reasons were given for this. Firstly, in each classroom the routine standard in many primary schools (mornings generally given over to language work and mathematics, afternoons when other studies are undertaken) was used as a justification. Two of the job sharing teachers explained:

In our school everyone does language and maths in the mornings so we both do it on the mornings we're there. (Ailsa)

We decided to keep to the maths and language in the morning pattern and to share that completely between us. (Yvonne)

Secondly, these areas form a significant part of the primary school curriculum (at least one third in terms of time is recommended, SED, 1989) and the teachers in this study clearly viewed them as important. Five of the job sharers suggested that to feel they were meeting their responsibilities, to feel like a 'good teacher', they needed to teach these areas:

I wouldn't like not to teach them. That's what it's all about really, isn't it? (Shona)

We share teaching them simply because we both think they're both so important. I think we need to go back to the basics a bit more, spend more time teaching them. (Frances)

A slightly different approach to teaching the remaining curricular areas, namely, environmental studies, expressive arts and religious and moral education was adopted. Here some subjects were shared and others were split depending on individual teacher aptitudes and abilities. In four partnerships, specialisms were complementary and split accordingly. For example, in their job share June did most of the music while Ailsa took charge of PE and, likewise, Shona taught most of the music and Kath technology in their partnership. The teachers felt this was in the best interests of their pupils who 'got a good deal there'. The

utilisation of individual skills and strengths have been found in other studies of job sharing (Angier, 1984; McDaid, 1992) and this would suggest that it is not an uncommon practice. In two of the partnerships where specialisms overlapped, other curricular areas were split. For example, Lorna and Marjory taught music jointly; both were competent musicians. They split PE and RE, 'we tossed for them' Lorna joked, 'we felt it would be easier if we didn't have to communicate on everything'. Thus, splitting the curriculum occurred for the benefit of teachers as well as for pupils. Only non-core subjects were split.

One or two worries were raised in relation to this, however. One woman commented:

Splitting parts of the curriculum probably troubles me a little bit because if inspectors or quality assurance came in they would probably want me to know about the subjects that I don't cover and have experience doing them and I don't.
(Ailsa)

The former Depute Registrar of GTC also voiced concerns about this with particular regards to probationer teachers. For the probationary period teachers have to 'cover the whole range of the primary curriculum' and the GTC had already found in some instances of job sharing this was not occurring. The former Depute Registrar explained:

Job sharing during probationary service, that does pose a problem particularly in the primary sector with covering the whole curriculum. It's easy to count the days, right if you are half time job sharing your probationary period is 4 years instead of 2, that is the easy bit. The hard bit can be the way they divide the responsibilities for delivering the curriculum. You see I have the impression that there are a growing number of them [probationers] accepting job sharing because it is all they can get and I can recall a recent one where my probationer was being responsible for environmental studies and expressive arts whereas the other teacher, who was not a probationer, had the real work to do, you know what I mean. Now that is perhaps just one example but it seems to me that this is not an isolated problem. There were bad messages coming through and I had to make it clear to the authority that they would have to reorganise otherwise the probationary service would be in doubt, it could certainly not be counted in full because they have to cover the whole range of the curriculum.

Toni, who had completed her probation whilst job sharing, worked in a partnership where specialisms complemented and curricular areas were split. She discussed this in some detail commenting on the benefits for pupils. Only when directly asked if not teaching particular areas affected her development in any ways did she consider it. She said:

Well, yes, I suppose it does. I means I've been able to hone in on music and art and get to grips with teaching them. But, yes, up until now I hadn't really worried about not teaching geography and history and maybe I should have. Yes, that's a good point. I think it's something I have to think about, do something about.

This, of course, does not relate solely to probationer teachers. Other teachers could restrict their professional development by not partaking in all curricular areas. The professional

development of job sharing teachers is addressed in detail in Chapter 12.

Sharing learning and teaching

The teachers perceived that learning opportunities for pupils in job shared classes were similar to those who had full-time teachers. Between job share partners most noted only slight variations in pedagogic style, and it seemed that as long as overall educational aims and philosophies were similar the result was seen by them as a good joint contribution. Many teachers described ways in which they accommodated the subtle differences between partners, sometimes by adopting one another's practices. No significant changes in approach were made, however, and all the women were comfortable in what they did. In one partnership the teachers noted their styles varied more; but they perceived that they were effective in different ways: a lively cooperative approach complemented a quieter, more traditional one. Their headteacher agreed with this although she pointed out that their opposing approaches had caused her initial concerns:

I would say that here we've got the basics teaching and the correctness and the pattern and discipline and the tidiness in writing and the presentation in one job sharer and the creative aspect of the person in the other sharer. And then discipline, if you have a child who is, has personal difficulties and they are getting a little space with one teacher and then has to get into the routine with the other, I would think that they have quite differing views on discipline. I leave it where possible to the job share teachers to work out and I would say that is what these two have done. I could see some problems at the start but they ironed them out themselves...I think they came to accept their differences, neither was ever going to change that much to make them that similar.

Disparities between two job sharing teachers in terms of learning and teaching was an initial concern of many parents interviewed. However, once their child's job share was up and running most found it had not been borne out in practice. Parents said:

I was just concerned about the continuity and how the teachers would work together. I mean two teachers can't have the same methods and discipline and I think problems could easily come up...They are different, I think, but I think they must try to work the same and they get the same sort of homework and so on.

I was worried, you know, how would one teacher know what the other had done and would they expect them to behave the same but, to be honest, there haven't been problems, they seem to have it pretty well together. The left hand seems to know what the right hand is doing.

Nonetheless, many parents worried that the different approaches of two teachers could pose a problem in some job share partnerships. Parental views are considered in more detail in the next chapter.

In order to manage learning and teaching all partnerships adopted specific strategies. In most of the partnerships teachers explained that they reached agreement on classroom routines, the organisation of materials and resources, room tidiness, marking procedures and so on at the start of the set-up. In five partnerships a fairly structured weekly timetable was used to help each teacher have a better idea of the areas being covered throughout the week and to avoid any repetition. Four partnerships also used daily diaries as records of work and as a way of communicating other relevant school matters to one another:

We write down exactly what we've done every day, it really is very detailed, you know, what we've covered, taught, anything that happens in the class or in the school or with pupils. We also jot down anything that has happened in the school that the other needs to know about. (Eileen)

The theme of compromise persistently arose in the discussions of managing job sharing on a practical level. Many of the job sharers believed that although two teachers could be similar, they would have different ways of doing things; it seemed that what was important in a job share partnership was an acceptance of this and a willingness to overcome it. Compromise is an issue I pick up later in this chapter.

Sharing planning and preparation

Planning is regarded as an important and essential feature of the learning and teaching process (SOED, 1994) and the classroom job sharing teachers gave a great deal of time and energies to it. In all partnerships it was a joint practice which operated on two levels; planning for a topic or block of work, usually for six to eight weeks, and planning on a weekly/ daily basis.

For block planning all sharers said that they came together for a preliminary discussion, talking through the areas they intended to cover, aspects of language and mathematics, practical work, art work, projects and so on. They would then complete a written detailed plan for each curricular area through either a joint process or by allocating specific areas to each partner. Where a job sharer took responsibility for teaching a curricular area it was also usual for her to take responsibility for planning this area. Several of the teachers commented that the sharing of ideas, experiences and resources in planning benefited themselves as teachers and also the pupils they taught:

So we actually built on one another's ideas and we found that best. It was good to have two people's ideas, you know, their knowledge from doing it before or doing something similar before and also worksheets and books and so on. The other thing we found that, was say I was teaching something and mentioned

something to the children and they would say, oh Mrs Murray [job share partner] said this, so they got you know, the input from two people, my reading of the subject and her reading of the subject. So it was quite good actually because the children got a really rounded picture of the topic in terms of what I was telling them and building on what Rose had told them. (Gemma)

Weekly or daily planning generally occurred during the teachers' liaison or overlap time. At this level it was clear that a great deal of consultation and cooperation was involved. Several of the teachers commented that although they had planned on a weekly/ daily basis when full-time or temporary, job sharing encouraged them to think things through more carefully because if plans were too ambitious or under ambitious and were not followed through, then when their job share partner came in on her part of the week the plan she had expected to put into action was disrupted and this was unfair:

Your partner comes in the second half of the week or the next week, all geared up, got the worksheets ready to go and of course it wasn't on and that can cause tension, then your partner is angry because they are just seeing the fact that they have done all their preparation and they can't do the work. (Wendy)

Many of the teachers explained that one of the great stresses of job sharing was indeed carrying out the work as planned on a short term weekly basis, something that was not as essential when you had a class to yourself:

You know how it can be like, so okay you haven't finished your maths, you just slot it in for tomorrow morning. But when you job share you can't just do that. Your partner is coming in and is expecting that to be done, has planned for that to be done. (Shona)

If you're in your class and you think I'm not going to do environmental studies this afternoon, I'll do it another time, that's fair enough, but if you've got somebody else coming in to follow on you've got to stick to it. (Lorna)

One result of this, some job sharers commented, was that it made them more organised and disciplined, in their view, than when they were working full-time.

Senior teacher remits

Ten of the job sharing teachers were promoted to senior teacher level, and this included some who were learning support and some who were classroom teachers. All ten senior teachers had management duties as part of their remit, as would be expected, and these had been allocated by their headteachers. These included involvement in policy development, school discipline, promoting specific curricular areas, organising resources and absence cover.

Splitting responsibilities

In terms of their specific senior teacher duties none of the teachers shared these, instead they split them. For instance, with Kath and Shona one was responsible for music in the school whilst the other was in charge of science and technology. Likewise, Val took charge of computers and technology whilst Nicola organised extra curricular activities. A result of this was that, in most cases, the job sharers felt that they were jointly fulfilling more than the responsibilities of one senior teacher post. Two teachers described their situations:

I do all the timetabling for PE and the gym, for the computer and all these sort of things. I did all that when I was full-time but I'm still doing that now I'm part-time. It doesn't bother me. Marjory has resources which is quite different. I don't mind that, but you don't half it, all that happens is that there are more jobs, you know, that get allocated. (Lorna)

I find I've had to do a lot of work on my own whereas if Wendy and I had got together well that would have halved the time wouldn't it and I feel that she is sent on expressive arts policy and I was sent on environmental studies and I think it would have been much better if we'd both have gone together, if we've to come up, I don't think one senior teacher would have gone to both. It's a big vast remit for one person to do, I feel we should have gone together and be working on it together, we're working too much on separate remits. (Iris)

On the other hand the sharers acknowledged that these arrangements meant that they could make any decisions concerning their remit without having to consult their partner and so keep communications brief in this respect.

Difficulties experienced

Although all of the teachers found that job sharing a promoted post could be managed effectively, two problems were consistently mentioned. Firstly, some believed that as members of their school's management team they should be aware of all ongoing matters and issues in school, but as one woman said:

It is difficult, especially as senior teacher, to make sure you know what is going on in school when you're not there all the time. (Pamela)

Secondly, some commented that finding time to perform senior teacher duties was hard enough without being absent from the school environment for half the week:

I don't think I'm getting a real chance to do any senior teacher duties, to be senior teacher...I mean things weren't great when I was full-time senior teacher but I think it was better than it is now. It's just that we, I never seem to get anytime to do anything senior teacher. If you've got resources to set up then you need time to do it and it's very difficult to do when you're only in school half the week. (Kath)

With being in charge of computers it is more difficult when you're job sharing. It's not just that I'm still doing all I was doing before, it's that I've only got a

couple of days in school to do it. It's that a lot of time when you're in charge of computers, in fact most of your time, is spent fixing machines or copying discs for people, you know the set-up, and it's not exactly the kind of thing you can take home to do. So I really find it hard to fit in my remit in the two or three days I'm there. In fact I never really do. (Val)

It is possible that if the senior teachers shared their remits rather than splitting them, some of the difficulties could be avoided or at least kept minimal. This possibility only occurred to one teacher, Iris, the rest were content to continue as they were because on the whole job sharing a promoted post was working for them. In fact, some of the women openly expressed a view that they were lucky to be job sharing at their level and could not have everything just so.

Most of their headteachers noted these problems, in particular communication difficulties. There were two members of staff in place of one and because both were not in school at some point during the week breakdowns in the transfer of information could occur. This happened in most job share partnerships but was particularly worrying in promoted situations. Headteachers explained:

When it's a senior teacher it is easier if it's one person, yes it is simply because it is the same person that is here all week, whereas if something happens at the end of the week and I want to discuss it with Mrs Nicol [job share senior teacher] and I won't see her till the following Monday by which time 86 other things have come up. Also, as far as staff meetings or stage meetings or even inservice days, if they are not both here that's difficult.

I mean the main problems have been managerial, having to give the teachers remits that are consistent and I really feel I've got to jolt myself to the days they are here and try to remember what I have and haven't mentioned to each teacher so that they know what is going on in school because I think from a staff point of view it doesn't look good if the senior teachers don't know what is going on.

This suggests that job sharing promoted positions can be problematic. These teachers were job sharing at the most junior of the promoted levels, that of senior teacher, yet difficulties were experienced.

Common features of successful partnerships

As noted, all of the partnerships in this study were considered successful by the job share teachers themselves, their headteachers and the parents of the pupils they taught. A range of factors were considered to be important for success in practice - good communications, compatibility between partners, and individual teacher competence and commitment.

Communication

Communication between job sharers in a partnership was considered to be valuable and all of the teachers in the study talked about their job sharer communications, formal and informal. The teachers with learning support remits viewed these as 'worthwhile where it's possible, but you don't need to discuss everything' whilst the classroom teachers saw communications as essential, describing a need to be 'constantly' in touch:

When you've got a class you've got to communicate with each other and you must, I don't know how people could do it if they didn't discuss things together...I just couldn't imagine how they manage it. (Shona)

Communication between partners was highly valued by headteachers. They indicated that in their view a formal overlap time and informal communications were essential for planning and consultation, to the extent that one headteacher felt that 'job sharers had to be willing to liaise during their own time'. Most believed that where a class was shared communication had to be ongoing, however, where job share teachers provided learning support it was less significant. One headteacher explained:

When they had a class I know they were on the phone to each other all the time. I can't see how it could work if the two teachers didn't pass on information. Now they are learning support working together closely is not so important because they are not teaching the same pupils.

Where parents were aware that job share teachers had an overlap time together they viewed this positively, it appeared to reassure them. However, it was interesting that some parents were unaware that formal liaisons occurred.

Formal overlap time

Eight of the ten partnerships, including all of those who were based in class, had a formal overlap time in school where both job sharers came together for discussions. This occurred on a Wednesday lunchtime when it was suitable for both partners to be in school (the end of one partner's week and at the beginning of the other's). These times varied from forty-five minutes to an hour in duration, generally the length of the respective school's lunch break.

Some job sharers believed that these overlap periods were a contractual obligation, others thought they were optional, some said they were paid for these whilst others believed they were not. In its job share policy the research site states:

Overlap periods between sharers are seen as being highly desirable. After consultation any overlap periods between sharers should be arranged within the sharers' contractual time. Such arrangements will be confirmed by the divisional

education officer...having regard to cost, the needs of the job and the sharing arrangement.

Thus, if overlap periods are written into a sharer's contract they are paid for; however there is an element of option as to whether a job share partnership has an overlap. None of the job sharers in this study had an overlap time in their contract of employment.

The use job sharers made of their overlap time varied somewhat. In the learning support partnerships ongoing work was discussed; in two partnerships this occurred at a weekly learning support team meeting. For classroom job sharing teachers, their overlap times were clearly very busy. One woman described it as 'non stop talk' about a range of issues including work that had been covered in class in the previous week or part of week: how this had gone, any problems or difficulties that had arisen, arrangements for the next week or part week, aspects of reading and mathematics schemes to be followed including pages to be covered, areas of topics to be taught including tasks and activities to be set up and so on. Thus curricular progress was evaluated and plans were made for the days and week ahead and individual pupils and groups, their attainment and behaviour, were discussed. In addition, in both learning support and classroom job shares partners often took the opportunity to inform one another of occurrences within the school and its wider community:

Now we also, I have to say, at that time try to work it so that any, all these things come around the school, notes about things that have come up, courses that are up, things that are just happening in the school. It is also a time that we spend talking about that sort of thing. (Gemma)

Other methods of communicating

In many of the job shares other methods of communicating were used; a daily diary, writing notes and leaving these in class, meetings in their homes outside of school hours and regular phone calls. Again the classroom job sharing teachers spoke of using such methods much more frequently.

The two partnerships which did not have a formal overlap time said they communicated in these ways. Both were learning support partnerships and advocated that because of this a formal overlap was not essential. These partnerships operated a three day/ two day split, which was more convenient personally. It also meant that the teachers were never in school together at any one time during the week. As noted earlier, however, both of these

partnerships were returned to the classroom following local government reorganisation. Given the importance attributed to communications by the classroom job sharers, the impact of having none would seem significant.

Compatibility

The partnership between two job share teachers, its level of success and its importance to the practical job share experience became evident during the study. Many of the job share teachers found a blend of affective and occupational satisfaction in their partnerships as they cooperated and worked as one. They spoke enthusiastically of working as a team or of supporting and guiding one another. Only two partnerships (Wendy and Iris, and Shona and Kath) mentioned a lack of compatibility in their partnership. In both cases it was referred to as minor and appeared possible to overcome.

Personal and professional similarities

The job share teachers gave various reasons to explain why they felt compatible with their partner. First and foremost, similarities between the two teachers were highlighted. These included similarities between the teachers as individuals, in their personalities, family circumstances, and more usually, and importantly, similarities between the partners as teachers, their approach, teaching styles, organisation, discipline, pupil expectations, and level of commitment to teaching:

I knew Bernie for a year before she left and I knew her teaching style and I knew her approach to kids and it was very similar to mine. I knew instantly that we would be able to work together because we have a similar outlook to teaching, just the way she acted to the children and again seeing her in action and her sense of humour with them and I could see us working together. (Pamela)

We are both prepared to work, neither of us is slacking in that sense. If you were working with somebody who wasn't prepared to work it would be difficult. So I think that you've got to be similar in what you give. Can you imagine if you did all the hard work and seemed to be carrying the other person. I've heard it happens. I just think we're both working hard and trying to do a good job for the pupils and the school. (Lorna)

For some, similarities professionally were simply coincidental, however, three of the teachers suggested that when they had joined their partnership they had found it easiest to fit into the existing teacher's practice. For one teacher this was because she had little experience at the primary stage at which she was required to job share and for the other two, having spent some years away from teaching, this just seemed a sensible approach. One woman explained:

I suppose I kind of followed on. I had been away from teaching, so I really was very happy to let June kind of take the lead. She is not that way naturally, she is not a bossy or in a way like that. But she had been teaching infants in that school for the last five or six years so I was quite happy to follow on from her. I didn't know where anything was or whatever, so she took the lead and I followed on and I've just sort of fallen into her way of doing things, which is great. (Ailsa)

Finally, many of the women felt that important in the success of their partnership was the fact that on both a personal and a professional level they were two people who 'got on', they had 'just sort of clicked' and this seemed to ease all aspects of their working relationship. Importantly, most felt that as job sharers they had to be willing to negotiate with one another, to 'come and go a bit', to be reasonable and to try to work as a team. Many job sharers gave examples of compromise in their partnerships. This ranged from choice of projects to methods of dealing with behavioural problems in class. One woman said:

If you're going to be self centred and dogmatic and say this is the way I'm doing things, the way I do it, that's the end of it, you might just as well end it. You have to be able to be flexible I suppose, to accept what the other person is doing and not say but this is how I want to do it. At times you might say 'No I'm not sure' but you have to recognise you are two people working together and you have to be flexible, sometimes tactful too. (Yvonne)

There were no significant differences in levels of compatibility in partnerships between those where both teachers were younger, and those where one teacher was younger and one older.

Atherly (1984, see p42) found that compatibility between partners had a serious effect on the job share experience. In a list of eight possible difficulties in job sharing, ranging from timetabling to promotion, she placed incompatibility first. She suggested that in a job share partnership teachers need to learn interpersonal skills, out of which compatibility would arise and in turn lead to developments in communication and collaboration. The teachers in this study agreed that compatibility between partners was of the utmost importance, they found it difficult to envisage a successful job share with a partner to whom they could not relate.

All of the headteachers interviewed also believed that compatibility was an important factor for success. One headteacher explained:

I think they also have to be compatible. I've had to interview for two of the job share posts and that's one of the things I've had to look for, not only the experience of the person but would they be compatible with the person they were going to work with...They have to have similar styles of teaching and that's the kind of thing I'd question at an interview and also personalities.

Interestingly, four of the headteachers commented that compatibility in terms of ability between the two teachers was very important. They said:

Both my girls are super teachers, they really are. They continue to do things individually and as a pair that I look at and say fantastic, they just keep on doing it. The thing is that as job sharers they can keep up with each other. I don't feel they are competitive about it, and they really do work together on most things but in some ways I think they, together they push for high standards and that is why their classes keep on achieving it. Now what I've wondered is if one of them leaves and I then have a very talented teacher sharing with a more ordinary teacher. I think that could put the pressure on. For some teachers it's difficult to work with someone who does everything so well. I've seen it before with maybe two teachers working at the same stage. So I think sharing a class would be even more difficult.

Yes...I've seen several job share partnerships now and I've come to realise that similarities in ability can be important. I mean there are all the other things like communication, personality but I believe ability plays a part too.

Competence and commitment

Finally, many of the headteachers in phases 1 and 4 considered that the quality of the individual teachers involved in a job share was highly significant, perhaps the most important aspect for success in practice. Where both partners were competent teachers, experiences were positive and few difficulties arose. Three factors; good teaching, good discipline and good pupil-teacher relationships were frequently mentioned and these give us some important insights into headteacher priorities for teachers. Commitment to the job was also highlighted, hard work and application were valuable assets. Of the comments made in this respect by the headteachers in phase 1 the majority were positive. For example one headteacher said:

Both sets of sharers...have demonstrated professionalism and dedication, spending more than the basic amount of time on planning and discussion. They have high standards in behaviour and work and are very good teachers...It has proved very successful.

Similarly, typical comments made by other headteachers interviewed included:

I have been remarkably surprised at how well it works, I really have been pleased. But then again I have been very fortunate that the two teachers that I have are both very good teachers and very caring and really have the best interests of the children at heart.

Really my experience has been a very positive one. I have had two very good teachers who have worked well together and there have been no problems. They both work very hard and always strive to do their best for the children and the school.

I have always had very positive views on job sharing but I think it depends very much on the people. My job sharers are all good teachers who work hard.

It is important to note that all of these positive comments were specific to particular job sharing partnerships rather than job sharing in general, for example, after commending the

partnership in her school a headteacher added, 'however, I shudder to think what it would be like with less conscientious or competent teachers'.

Lack of success in practice

Following on from this, where details of job sharing failing in practice were given, difficulties were generally attributed to shortcomings in the competence or commitment of individual teachers. Sometimes, incompatibility between teachers in a partnership was a factor also.

Low levels of competence of commitment

The headteacher who had a bad experience of job sharing considered that lack of commitment on the part of one of the job sharers was the cause of the problem in that instance. She explained:

One was an excellent teacher and one was simply here to pick up the pay cheque for private school fees. One teacher carried the other one who wasn't pulling her weight at all. The girl who wasn't pulling her weight wasn't doing her planning or preparation and she wrote nothing in their daily planning book. She wasn't doing anything in the forward plan, if she did it was less than minimal...Now this was something we saw happening and we tried to sort it out...Eventually the girl who was carrying all the weight got fed up and applied for another job share nearer home and got that and I suggested to the other one that she might volunteer to look for a transfer...It was a job share on paper but all of the work was being done by one sharer, the other was just in it for the money.

One former job share teacher in phase 3 described her job share experience as 'a nightmare situation' stemming, she believed, from the lack of competence of her partner. She felt her partner had 'major disciplinary problems with P7' which the headteacher and depute headteacher were 'very aware of' and subsequently kept her 'under strict supervision and instruction'. Ultimately her partner left following stress related illness. The remaining job sharer said:

I was delighted to get back to full-time employment. Life is so much easier now. I think in some circumstances job sharing can work but if one of you turns out to be inept it is disastrous.

Incompatibility

Two of the former job share teachers in phase 3 of the research had encountered difficulties in partnerships primarily, they believed, because of incompatibility caused by a range of differences. One woman said:

My job sharing experience was not a success because of various factors the most important being that my job share partner and I had different ideas in discipline and standards of work and there was a breakdown in communication at times.

Whilst another said:

In my opinion complete compatibility with you partner is essential. Your standards ie. children's behaviour, presentation of work etc. need to be very similar, as does your classroom organisation. I was not satisfied with job sharing and was happy to have a class on my own again.

As noted, two of the partnerships in this study described some stresses in their relationship. In one pair (learning support) there were personality differences (one was extrovert, the other far quieter) as well as differences as teachers (one was easy going and the other very disciplined). Angier (1984, see p41) in her study of one job share experience explored the working relationship between two teachers quite different in terms of approach and temperament. The teachers had encountered problems initially, but through a process of appraisal, communication and negotiation resolved many of their differences, to the benefit of the experience. They taught one class and as a result had to learn to cooperate and adjust. The teachers in the learning support partnership in this study were promoted and did not have classroom responsibilities. To some extent they avoided discussion of major issues because they could cope in their situation without having to. As noted earlier, this pair of job sharers returned to the classroom in 1996; it would be interesting to see if this caused them to confront their differences.

In one other partnership in this study friction between the two individual teachers was evident. Their headteacher felt that at times the similarly strong personalities of both teachers could 'clash'. When interviewed the job share teachers mentioned problems but both were careful not to be over critical of one another, perhaps in a self protective sense. It seemed that both these women found it difficult to compromise at times. Nonetheless, they seemed willing and able to overcome their difficulties:

We've had our moments but we are both grown ups and professionals. We have to remember that we are both there to do a job as best we can and we shouldn't let our differences get in the way of that. (Shona)

It was also clear that for Kath working as a job sharer was important in terms of personal needs and this, too, had an impact on their approach to daily employment. She said:

Now sometimes if it's a wee bit tricky at school we have to just get on with it and put our differences aside. Obviously for me job sharing really works at home with childcare and so on. It's the only way I can see myself working at the moment, so

we have to get on with it.

For Kath, like many of the other women, personal needs had a significant impact on professional experiences.

Summary

Experiences of job sharing in practice were found to be crucial in terms of professional needs and all of the job sharing teachers displayed adequate to high levels of satisfaction. As noted, all of the job sharing teachers, headteachers and parents regarded the ten partnerships in this study as successful and this was very significant. Where instances of job sharing failing to succeed in practice were recounted, the situation appeared to become so intolerable that the partnership soon dissolved. This chapter has demonstrated that:

- Practical experiences of job sharing related closely to responsibilities. Sharing learning support responsibilities was easiest, there was a tendency to split duties rather than share them and few problems arose. Sharing the responsibility for a class was more complicated, most things quite literally had to be shared, however, with a little compromise and effort this could work and subsequently provide the individuals involved with strong feelings of success; ‘a sense of a job really well done’.
- Sharing promoted post responsibilities, although manageable, could prove difficult. In general, the women split their senior teacher duties, however, this seemed to cause problems as well as solve them, particularly in relation to workloads. This suggests that job sharing promoted posts could prove problematic. These teachers were job sharing at the most junior of promoted levels, yet difficulties were experienced.
- Common conditions for success in practice emerged. All of the teachers considered good communications, compatibility and a readiness to compromise to be the key to success in their job shares. Headteachers acknowledged the importance of these aspects, however, they tended to view the competence and commitment of the two individual teachers involved in the partnership as the crucial element for success.

In order to examine how job sharing meets the professional needs of teachers, this chapter has explored practical experiences of job sharing. The next chapter will continue in this vein by focussing on the impact of job sharing on others.

CHAPTER 11 - IMPACT OF JOB SHARING ON OTHERS

Introduction

Nias (1989) found that a central issue for teachers as they experienced their careers was a sense of effectiveness in relation to the children they taught and the schools where they worked. For many women in the study this had been a major consideration when contemplating job sharing. Iris, for example, explained:

I was really worried that job sharing might upset the school and the children and I gave that lots of thought, what effect will it have on the children and the other members of staff. I thought I don't want the children to suffer and I really had to think that through well. Also the school, I'd been there for a lot of years, I suppose I felt a certain responsibility to the headteacher and the staff and the parents. I'd got to know a lot of families over the years. I just didn't want to let anyone down. So it was in my mind for about a year or so before I really decided to do it. I knew I wouldn't be happy doing it if it was going to have a negative effect on anyone.

In teaching, job sharing provides two sets of values and beliefs, abilities and skills, and personality and temperament where it has been usual for there to be one. The impact this has on others in the professional environment (pupils, parents, teachers, headteachers and employers) is of interest in its own right. It was also significant for the job sharing teachers in terms of their professional needs.

This chapter investigates the impact of job sharing on others in the professional environment. It explores a variety of perceptions of how job sharing affects pupils, parents, school staff and employers. The views of the job sharing teachers are considered and the opinions of the headteachers, parents and employers are consulted. The chapter examines the sense of effectiveness achieved by the job sharing teachers in relation to others and analyses the extent to which this meets professional needs.

Pupils

It was to children that the job sharers most often owed their sense of personal worth as teachers. Frequent references were made to helping children learn and develop emotionally and socially. Receiving positive feedback was highly valued. How job sharing affected the pupils was a prime concern of the job share teachers; 'I wouldn't do it if I thought it would harm the children' was a typical remark. When asked about the impact of job sharing on pupils the comments made in response related to how it enabled effective learning and teaching to take place, and how it facilitated the development of good pupil-teacher

relationships.

Learning and teaching

There is a strong tradition in Scottish schools of teacher autonomy and the quality of learning and teaching provided is regarded, first and foremost, as the responsibility of the classroom teacher(s). For pupils in job shared classes gains, rather than losses, were most usually noted by the job share teachers and their headteachers.

Gains

The job sharing teachers perceived gains for pupils within two areas. Firstly, there was often a greater pool of talent and expertise available to pupils. As outlined in Chapter 10, where one partner had a weakness it was possible for the other to have a strength and so two partners could work to complement and compensate one another:

You'll know yourself there are things that you're not, you don't feel strong in or you don't have a lot of knowledge in...We can divide it, that's a big plus about job sharing. I will tackle that and I'll deal with that because it's something that I can do with a greater ease if you like. Yvonne is the same. So that's certainly a plus because the children are getting the best of two people so therefore they get a more, all rounded picture. (Toni)

This meant that pupils received a quality of teaching in some curricular areas which would not have happened otherwise:

Toni is a beautiful singer and a beautiful artist so I mean they've got these qualities from her which they would never ever get from me. (Yvonne)

Examples of using individual specialisms in other partnerships included June teaching music and Ailsa PE, Kath science and technology and Shona music, and Gemma drama and Rose problem solving.

Secondly, the teachers detected that pupils gained from being taught by well organised teachers who had ample energy and enthusiasm. Several commented that as full-time teachers they had been 'flagging' by the end of a week, however, over half a week they could sustain high energy levels. As a result of this pupils received more stimulation. One woman explained how the pupils in her class benefited from experiences that consumed much time and thought in preparation:

I did a lot more like practical activities that were a nightmare for a teacher to organise but I did it because I thought I've only got half a day more to work whereas full-time you can sometimes just think I just can't face doing that. I know, we both said that, we both definitely felt that we pushed the boat out for a

lot of things like that. (Lorna)

Most headteachers noted the same gains for pupils. They said the different strengths and talents of the two teachers could benefit pupils as could the energy and enthusiasm of a teacher who worked only half a week. One commented:

Once it's established I think the children gain, I think especially from the teacher who works the second part of the week because they're not tiring and that teacher never has enough time, they always want to do so much. So Friday afternoon doesn't become, you know, Friday afternoon. Also the children can gain from the two sets of expertise, if the two sharers have different and complementary strengths.

Intellectually headteachers noted that pupils progressed as they would have done in non job shared classes. In two schools where the national test results of pupils in job shared classes were compared with the results of pupils in non job shared classes, no significant differences were found.

In addition, a small number of job share teachers and headteachers felt that pupils gained because they had a role model of cooperation between two adults and that this provided opportunities for children to learn social skills, such as collaboration and team work.

Losses

The headteacher who had previously experienced an unsuccessful job share partnership believed that in this instance the pupils' academic progress had been hindered. She explained:

It wasn't ideal for pupils, not at all. Basically one half of the week for them was not good and it, I felt this must have made things really difficult for the other girl who was trying her best to work on. So the pupils were not getting the best and I don't think they made the progress they should have.

Likewise, Val, one of the job share teachers, said of a former partnership:

That was not the greatest year that class ever had. The job share just didn't work and no matter how hard I tried it was difficult do my best for the children. I don't mean they had a hopeless year but I've always brought other classes on better, I think.

There were few other mentions of losses for pupils in terms of learning and teaching. All of the partnerships in this study were regarded as 'successful' and this offers a partial explanation. It is also possible that the job share teachers were avoiding opening up their partnership to criticism, given the level of importance they attributed to the well being of the pupils they taught. There was, however, a clear perception that where a partnership was

successful the impact on pupils' progress was not detrimental. As noted in Chapter 3, most studies of job sharing have found that it can prove effective in relation to pupils.

Pupil-teacher relationship

The quality of the relationship between pupil and teacher has long been acknowledged as central to effective learning in any classroom (SED, 1965; SED, 1989). Several headteachers suggested that this is particularly important in primary schools where, usually, one teacher is responsible for the learning experiences of a class of pupils throughout a year. A headteacher wrote on the questionnaire in phase 1 of the study:

Primary aged children need one adult as the major relationship outside the family - this is particularly so in the primary school. The relationship between teacher and pupil is very important.

The job sharing teachers all felt that the pupils they taught were secure, comfortable and at ease with their two teachers and none felt the quality of their relationship with pupils was affected by their job sharing. However, potential difficulties were acknowledged.

Young pupils

A small number of job sharing teachers (four) suggested that problems could occur with very young children. The two job sharers who were currently teaching primary 1 had also job shared a primary 3. They both agreed that although everything was working well, job sharing older pupils was probably better. Confusion arose more easily with the youngest pupils and as job sharers the two teachers said they had to ensure that they worked exactly the same routines and taught using methods as similar as possible. In the upper school pupils adapted to having more than one teacher with greater ease, it was suggested, and this helped prepare them for the situation soon to be encountered at secondary school.

Pupils with SEN

Six of the job sharers also suggested that children with social and emotional needs might require the security of a full-time teacher and a headteacher explained that this was why she had decided not to place in a job shared class a child who 'had been physically sick at the idea of a supply teacher'. However, many of these teachers taught in schools where there was a higher than average number of pupils with emotional needs and few said they had come across problems. Indeed, some said that they were often more tolerant with particularly demanding or difficult pupils because they did not have to cope with them for a

full week, things did not get out of hand and their partner could offer a sympathetic ear. Similarly, a headteacher noted how pupils with behavioural difficulties could benefit from a new start mid week in the changeover of teachers:

Here we have children with a lot of personal difficulties, home problems and behavioural problems so it gives them a great start in the middle of the week whereas a week's bad behaviour can deteriorate right down. So it gives them a wee uplift at the start of the second half of the week.

Another head commented that children with emotional needs are often already used to working with various adults in school, for example, the class teacher(s), headteacher, educational psychologist, learning support teacher and so on. Atherly (1989) described the experience of one child in the job shared class she studied who 'appeared to suffer' (p137) on an emotional level. This she attributed to the vastly different teaching approaches and styles of the two teachers involved and it may be that in this study few problems arose because within partnerships similar strategies and approaches were adopted.

Parents

Legislative changes from the late 1980s encouraged parents to become more involved in the schooling of their children and parents are now regarded as one of the important groups of people with whom a school has to relate. A major survey of parents' views on school education in Scotland (MacBeath et al, 1989) found that parents were, on the whole, very positive about the relationship between themselves and their child's school. This section examines parental views on job sharing and its impact on the parent-teacher relationship. As indicated in Chapter 5, it is important to note that because of the process of sample selection many of the parents interviewed in the study were actively involved in the work of their child's school. In addition, none indicated that their child experienced difficulties at school intellectual, emotional, social or physical.

Parental views

Only one parent felt that job sharing did not work well for her child. She believed that her son's progress 'just hadn't been as good' and put this down to the practical difficulties of sharing the teaching of one class. Her son was 'mature and bright' and so 'able to cope' but she was concerned about how job sharing might affect other children.

All other parents said that following initial concerns, once the job share was up and running

they were satisfied with the set-up. They did not believe that their child's progress had been hindered and a small number noted benefits for pupils in having access to two sets of teacher talents and skills. The job share teachers were generally viewed positively and seen by the majority of parents to be in tune with the needs of pupils. These views were, in the main, derived from what their child told them or from what they heard from friends and neighbours. All parents felt that their child related well to both job share teachers although several were aware of preferences for one teacher. This was not a cause for concern; one parent explained:

I don't know whether he actually realises it but I notice it when Wednesday afternoon comes, it's a kind of down for him. I can see it, he's just not generally as happy for his school work. I couldn't say he's drastically unhappy and I couldn't say he doesn't get on with them both, just one better than the other. He thinks one is great and the other ok but that doesn't worry me, he gets on with them both and is still happy at school. I mean for all children they have some teachers they think are great and others are ok. As long as he can get on well enough with them both I'm not worried and it doesn't seem to bother him.

Nonetheless, none of the parents in the study were enthusiastic about job sharing. It was assumed that at primary school children would be taught by one teacher for one year. This was based on a traditional notion, no one questioned its value, and few sought out advantages in having more than one teacher. Thus, although few parents felt job sharing had a detrimental impact on their child, most remained wary. No substantive reasons were given for this except occasional comments which indicated that parents were uncertain simply because job sharing was not the norm. Parents said:

Don't get me wrong they are both good teachers but I think it should be one teacher to one class like it always has been.

I feel it had worked out really well but I can't help thinking it should be one teacher only, whichever teacher it is.

You get your stint of job sharers. You put up with it when it all works out...It's just not what we're used to.

In addition, a small number of parents believed that job sharing teachers as a group were less committed to their work than full-time teachers. This was closely tied up with perceptions of part-time workers as predominantly women with family commitments. The influence of traditional ideologies was evident. Parents said:

The type of person who does job sharing is a woman with young children and the time they can devote to the job is, it's just not the same. They are struggling to do the job and to get out at the end of the day and home to their children as quickly as possible.

She [job share teacher] had originally said that she would, she was coming back full-time and then decided to go job share. To me that smacked of what any

mother feels and it's quite natural, she wanted to be at home with the baby. I know what it's like, you have a baby and you want to be with it. She was coming back as a job sharer and to me that sounded like she wasn't for it 100%. I mean I'm a mother myself with three children and I know the ties that mothers have at home and I know the pressures emotional and otherwise and I don't see how you can give your all to teaching or any other job.

Involved and non-involved parents

On the whole, the job share teachers believed that most of the parents of the pupils they taught were happy with job sharing. The headteachers, on the other hand, were more aware of the actual views of the parents; as one headteacher said, 'satisfied but ever skeptical'. Several headteachers and job sharing teachers suggested that parental views on job sharing could vary from school to school. Comments made included:

The parents here, they don't complain about teaching things on the whole, they leave that to the school, other things they might say something about but not teaching things like job sharing...They don't expect to be highly involved. I don't think that all parents are like that but they tend to be like that here.

These distinctions were based around social class differences. In the school with the predominance of pupils from middle class backgrounds, one of the job share teachers, commented:

In our area they are all very concerned about their children's education...that's just the kind of school it is. They are always very concerned. (Hilary)

Whereas a teacher in a school which had pupils from mainly working class backgrounds, said of the parents of her pupils:

They are not the kind of people that come up and complain about sort of official things. (June)

Whilst a headteacher in a school with a similar catchment area commented:

Although I've been aware of a bit of concern none of the parents have approached me, they're not like that here. They would come and see me if their child was being bullied, say, but they leave educational issues to the school.

However, evidence from the study indicated few significant differences in parental views of job sharing between social classes. Individual attitudes, beliefs and experiences were important. For example, both the parents who doubted the commitment of job sharing teachers (as quoted above) had themselves left employment following the birth of their own children. On the other hand, one of the parents who worked part-time recognised the many difficulties working women face when they have children and understood that job sharing was intended as one solution to this. She said:

I know that not every teacher might want to work full-time. We have children and you can't just get rid of a teacher, maybe a very good teacher, just because of that and so if they can job share that might work for them.

She had worked full-time until her first child was born and then changed to part-time employment. As a GP she had been able to maintain what she considered to be a highly satisfying job on a part-time basis and indicated that she hoped this might be possible for other women too. Levels of involvement in the life and work of the school also played a part. Many parents who were able or chose to become involved in school activities or educational matters had a greater understanding and knowledge of the day to day workings of a job share and were generally more positive about the concept and had higher opinions of job sharing teachers. Parents who were not as involved in the life of the school knew less about job sharing, for example, two were unaware that job share teachers had an overlap time together, and tended to be less enthusiastic about their child having job share teachers. In the absence of specific information about job sharing from schools some of the parents in this study were relying on their children's accounts of what happened, and these were often impressionistic rather than factual. In three schools in the study parents had been invited to meet with both job share teachers, and the headteacher, to discuss the job share and to raise any concerns. In two schools parental turnout had been fairly good and both parents and teachers viewed the exercise as a success. However, in the other school turnout had been very low and the idea was not used again.

Parent-teacher relationships

Neither parents nor the job share teachers felt that the parent-teacher relationship was greatly affected by job sharing. Parents explained that the most likely form of contact between parent and teacher was the formal parents' evening. MacBeath et al (1989) found that parents' evenings were seen by parents as important occasions and this was the view of the parents in the study. At parents' evenings most parents had met with both job share teachers. This helped ascertain their child's progress and it provided a further insight into the job share partnership and its workings. Two parents, in the same school, had met with only one of the job share teachers and both were unhappy about this. They would have liked to talk with the two teachers, to develop a relationship with each and, if nothing else, 'put a face to the name'. The two teachers involved were unaware of these wishes. Otherwise the parents said they had few contacts with their child's teacher. If they had a concern or question to be answered they would approach teachers at the beginning or end of the school day or by

telephone. Where teachers were job sharers all parents felt able to approach either teacher, 'just whoever was there on that day'.

Teaching colleagues

Chapter 7 demonstrated that the relationships teachers form with other adults in school are crucial in terms of everyday working experiences. This section explores the relationships between the job sharers and their teaching colleagues, and examines the extent to which they met the professional needs of the job sharing teachers.

The job sharers, particularly those who had previously worked full-time in their schools, considered that their relationships with fellow teachers were generally strong and purposeful. One job sharer, new to her school, commented that, 'going into a new staff as a job sharer obviously takes you longer to get to know people than if you are full-time' and this was echoed by others who were in the same position. Although teaching colleagues were not interviewed the headteachers were generally in agreement with this. A majority felt that relationships were no different from other teacher/ teacher relationships. One headteacher explained:

I think relationships between members of staff can be affected by school work, you know, two teachers working at the same stage often become friendly, but also I think relationships are as much affected by personalities and the likes. I mean one of our job sharers is, gets on with people well but I wouldn't say she was particularly friendly with any one or two people, whereas the other distinctly belongs to one group she is very close to.

However, a small number of headteachers felt that job share teachers were slightly distanced from other staff, if not least because they had less time in school to develop friendships.

Staffroom interaction was an important part of most of the job share teachers' experience of work and most enjoyed the 'comradeship' this involved. Many, however, commented that no matter how hard they tried it was sometimes easy to miss out on staffroom discussions, personal and professional, formal and informal. One woman said:

You definitely miss out. You miss out on information, you miss out on some of the social chit chat, so the next week that you're in maybe people are talking about something that you've missed the first part of the story or whatever, you know.
(June)

As noted in the previous chapter, this was particularly problematic for those job sharers who were promoted and had responsibility for pastoral, curricular and managerial matters and

where good relationships with, and understandings of, other staff were essential. Four said that they made attempts to ensure these by working closely with their partner and keeping one another up to date on all staff issues and maintaining regular contacts with all staff members:

I think that you've just got to again just try and push the boat out a wee bit to make sure that people know that you're still going to do what you did before although you're only going to be in two and a half days and, you now, share your job with someone else. But you know, if somebody is wanting a few words of help with their topic or something like that, you know, maybe, hopefully you've got something up your sleeve and you've got to make sure you help. You've just got to try a wee bit extra to help and to build relationships when you're there...I think there must be an effect, the fact you're not there all the time, it's just not as easy to build the relationships, to make sure every one finds you approachable, know they can come to you. (Lorna)

Often, where job sharing created slight distance from full-time colleagues, greater dependence on the job share partner resulted.

Nonetheless, from the job sharing teachers' accounts overall it would appear that a majority found a blend of affective and occupational satisfactions in their relationship with colleagues. Many spoke enthusiastically of being part of a group and spending time with other adults and alternative sources of job satisfaction, derived from influencing or relating to adults rather than (or, as well as) children were evident. On the whole, the job sharing teachers were able to develop relationships which met their professional needs. Several believed that many of their teaching colleagues, as women and mothers, understood their reasons for choosing to job share and, therefore, it was not seen as some sort of easy option. This facilitated their acceptance within the workplace culture. In a less female environment, for example a secondary school, it is possible that teachers would have contrasting experiences. Toni, the probationary teacher, attached least importance to her relationships with other staff. It may be that once teachers are assured of their professional competence, they look to other adults in their schools to increase their sense of personal effectiveness and it is possible that, at the time of the research, Toni was preoccupied with her role in the classroom.

Headteachers

Chapter 7 also discussed how headteachers have been found to be important and powerful within primary schools, particularly in the context of this study, in terms of school culture and teachers' careers. Because of this their views on job sharing are important. As noted, most of the headteachers viewed job sharing teachers positively, they were seen as

competent and committed teachers. However, some other perceptions were less positive. For instance, one headteacher considered that job share teachers were unambitious and this was backed up by her general reticence to accept the value of job sharing promoted posts. She said:

I think really you have got to make a choice, if you want promotion then you don't choose to job share. I wouldn't be at all keen to have promoted job sharers in this school. I think they have to make a choice. Job sharing is all very well and I can see how it can help some girls when they have young children but if you want a career in teaching you have to be prepared to stick at it.

The two job share teachers in this school felt their headteacher was sometimes awkward and indifferent towards them because of her personal views on job sharing which related to her personal experiences and beliefs:

I don't know if it has anything to do with it, but she doesn't have children herself and I suppose she has dedicated much of her life to her work. And I think she thinks if we want to spend time with our families what are we doing coming to work half of the week. She once said to me, 'Young women nowadays seem to want it all'. I know she's of a different generation, I suppose, but sometimes, it gets me down and she can be a real, she can be unhelpful.

This affected these teachers' relationship with their headteacher, both considered it to be strained and in turn this affected their job satisfaction. One, Eileen, had decided not to apply for promotion because 'I don't think she'll give me a good enough reference because I'm only a job sharer'. This provided an example of how the values, attitudes and beliefs of headteachers are an important source of variant from one primary school to another and have the ability to influence the career experiences of their teaching staff.

Certainly, two of the headteachers who were most positive about the concept of job sharing related to it on a very personal level. One considered that had job sharing been available when her family were young she would have opted for it herself, whilst the other had a daughter (a teacher) who had recently chosen to job share following the birth of her first child. Obviously heads are only one of the participants in 'micro-political' activities in schools. Other managers and teachers also have spheres of influence; however, according to the accounts of the job sharing teachers in this study, headteachers were most influential in their primary schools.

Impact of job sharing on headteachers

In most primary schools the headteacher works with a management team, the size and composition of which is dependent upon pupil roll. In a large school the headteacher may

share duties with two or more promoted members of staff and in a small school the headteacher may work with one promoted teacher or have sole responsibility for management duties. Ten of the job sharers in this study formed part of their school's management team (as senior teachers) and ten did not, and this affected the impact of job sharing on headteachers.

Unpromoted job sharing

None of the unpromoted job sharers perceived that their job sharing had any substantial impact on the headteacher role. They saw themselves as two parts of one teacher, each responsible for the whole job, for informing one another of all school matters and sharing all things. However, most of the headteachers felt job sharing did add to their workload, generally in terms of extra administrative duties. There were two teachers in place of one and because both were not in school at some point during the week extra communications were often required. All headteachers put some responsibility for this onto job share teachers and this appeared to work well. Headteachers said:

It means I've got to be aware that I've got members of staff coming in at different times in the week so communications are important. You can't always speak to them both just when you want to. Having said that I have to put a responsibility onto them, there's a limit to my time and I've got to ensure that if I pass something onto them they pass that onto their partner. They have to take some responsibility for that.

I think one of the problems can be remembering to tell people things because something can come into your head on a Monday and it's the wrong person that is here. What I often do is tell the other job sharer who leaves word for them and it is their responsibility.

Indeed, for one headteacher the advent of job sharing in her school had encouraged her to appraise communications and this had proved beneficial for all. She explained:

It caused me to review my communications, but that doesn't do any harm. I thought if I can't get to both of them are there other people I'm not getting to, are the ways I'm doing things necessarily the best. I suppose I questioned what, how I was doing things and it made me see some possible improvements.

Promoted job sharing

Almost all of the promoted job sharers, on the other hand, recognised some of the difficulties that their headteachers faced. Some noted that their headteacher found it 'frustrating' that they were not in school half of the week, perhaps at a time when their special aptitudes and knowledge were required. Others felt that their headteacher found it

difficult to keep them fully informed of all that was happening in school and this could be problematic because they were part of the school's management team. As a result, in three of the schools where job sharers appeared to be highly valued members of the management team, meetings had been rearranged so that job sharers could attend.

The additional responsibilities created by job sharing tended to be viewed by the headteachers as just one of the many aspects of their role. In her study Angier (1984, see p41) found increased administration for headteachers as a consequence of job sharing was usually anticipated but in practice most headteachers spoke of no increase and those that did described it as minimal. In this study increased administration was experienced by headteachers; however, this they accepted as simply another facet of their job.

Specific advantages/ disadvantages

Three headteachers pointed to one quite specific way that job sharing added to their workload in terms of staff management. Because job sharing was a phase generally taken up during family formation they said frequent maternity leaves had to be managed and this proved troublesome. In one school over the past two years a patchwork of job share teachers had presided. Initially an existing full-time senior teacher returned from maternity leave and requested to job share her post. The post was advertised and filled and as the new post holder started the existing teacher took a second maternity leave. When she returned she rescinded her promoted position and took up an unpromoted job share in another school. Her part post was then advertised and filled by a teacher who then just before her starting date, took a maternity leave of absence. Meantime various temporary teachers had filled the vacant half positions and the headteacher felt this had added to management duties. The extent to which this disadvantage related to job sharing rather than maternity leave was questionable, however, the perception was that it was a job sharing problem.

Four headteachers also mentioned one specific way that having job share teachers as members of staff could ease management duties. In several schools job share teachers were often used to provide cover for absent members of staff. This was particularly useful when supply teachers were hard to come by and, in addition, job share teachers knew the school and its pupils well. Where they were non class committed, and in particular promoted, job sharers were sometimes used to provide short term cover thus avoiding extra costs. One

headteacher explained:

The other thing, but we don't like to use it too often, is that we have instant absence cover and you don't need to depend too often on your budget for one day. You have a wee bit more freedom in catering for staff going to funerals, graduations, hospital meetings. They're not the kind of people here to take advantage of that so for the school there are spin off benefits. Really we are able not to eat into our budget so much.

Six of the promoted job share teachers felt that their headteachers benefited in another way from their job sharing. As explained earlier, in each promoted partnership the job sharers had different senior teacher remits. For headteachers this meant they could have one senior teacher job sharer in charge of one curricular area with her partner responsible for another. Most of the job sharers believed that as a result they and their partner were performing more duties than would have been or was usually expected of one full-time senior teacher. Indeed the existing members of staff usually continued with their full-time responsibilities whilst their new partner was given a new remit:

I think in ways she has definitely, it has been advantageous because in a way she has got an extra body and my workload is not put on someone else. Pamela has her remit which she did before anyway and I've taken on a new area...I think as two half-time senior teachers we must do more than one full-time senior teacher.
(Bernie)

This was acknowledged by some headteachers who justified it by arguing that sharing remits would simply add to an already abundant set of communications.

Employers

Teachers in Scotland are employed by the local authorities (twelve at the time of the empirical work, thirty two authorities now). Studies (IRRR, 1980; EOC, 1981) have demonstrated that, within other fields, when employers make job sharing available its likely impact on themselves is a prime consideration. Analysis of the EA policy documentation revealed an ambivalent attitude towards job sharing's introduction; although benefits for the employer were noted (for instance, 'the recruitment and retention of staff'), a somewhat hesitant approach was adopted (for example, 'promoted posts must be shared only if an appropriately qualified experienced partner can be found').

Interviews with Staffing Officers in the research authority revealed attitudes which mirrored this ambivalence. When directly asked about the pros and cons of job sharing for the authority, the then Principal Staffing Officer responded, 'a whole lot of problems, where do

we start'. After outlining many of the difficulties encountered he concluded:

All the types of problem that come here, for me job sharing gives an inordinate amount of problems and I don't just deal with job sharing I deal with staffing. There is a filtering system here and if there's a solution in policy or an easy solution then it would be solved at divisional level, higher than that it would be referred to [Depute Director of authority] or me or the team here...but for me in the 3 or 4 months I've been here I've dealt with, a lot of my time is taken up with job sharing.

His colleague, a senior advisor, was quick to add however:

I would agree, I think there are a lot of individual problems but whether that amounts to job sharing being a problem is another thing. I think there would be some people here who would say it'd be easier if we didn't have it but then you have got to look at the people on the ground level and see if it's working for them.

For the employing authority, then, job sharing created administrative and legal difficulties but these were coupled with a recognition that job sharing offered benefits to individual teachers. However, these EA officials explained that introducing permanent part-time contracts to gradually replace job sharing was a consideration, and were it not for the then imminent reorganisation of local government it would 'almost certainly be the path taken'. It is interesting to note that the then Depute Director of the research authority went on to become the Director of one of the new authorities; an authority which no longer offers job share contracts. In 1998 in a letter to the researcher this Director wrote:

In theory, this authority operates a job sharing policy inherited from [its predecessor] Regional Council. In practice, however, new job sharing contracts have not been issued instead, permanent part-time contracts have been issued where necessary.

Job sharer and headteacher views

Job sharing teachers and headteachers had mixed views about the impact of job sharing on employers. In the questionnaire in phase 1 three heads said that they believed schools and the education service lost out because the sum total of the efforts of two job sharers were less than that of one full-time teacher. One commented:

The nature of job sharing is that there is a situation where the teacher cannot work full-time ie. children, family commitments etc. This also means that the level of commitment to the job is also reduced which is unfair to all involved. The Region should reconsider.

However, the same number of headteachers pointed out that their sharers gave more than half a job in terms of time and effort. One said:

Both of our job sharers work extremely hard and although paid for half a week, they both work far in excess of that.

Whilst another explained:

We had two job sharers who are now working full-time for the following reasons - the amount of work put in for half a week was not much less than for a week - their phone bills were enormous.

Many of the job sharing teachers agreed with these latter views, they felt they fulfilled more than 50% of a one full-time position which benefited pupils and schools and in turn employers. This was particularly so for the promoted job sharers who fell into the younger age bands. They all suggested that they were highly committed to their work and doing a good job, and as senior teachers who job shared many felt they had to prove themselves worthy. Their headteachers noted this; they felt that since job sharing the commitment to schools of some of these teachers, which had always been high, was enhanced. Many of these teachers openly expressed gratitude to be working part-time whilst promoted and this appeared to boost their commitment to their work, school and employer. As such their organisation's recognition of personal need (that is, to work less than full-time because of domestic circumstances) was rewarded.

Another way in which job sharing affected employers was described by a small number of sharers (three with pre school children). They all explained that had job sharing not been available they would have considered resigning and leaving teaching for a time. Although none stated so, this would have resulted in the loss of trained and experienced teachers and as such employers were retaining these qualified individuals in whom they had already invested time and money.

Comparisons with other part-time work

The women who had broken service whilst their children were young and returned via supply or temporary work tended to speak with disappointment and frustration about these modes of employment. Some explained that it was difficult to build a trusting relationship with children seen irregularly or for a short period of time. Others said that they felt on the fringes of the school staff, detached from the main preoccupations of the school. For most the cumulative effect of working in these conditions was a loss of professional rewards. This is similar to the findings of studies of supply teaching, as noted in Chapter 3.

For the women in this study job sharing was distinctly different. Not only did it offer security of tenure, it enabled teachers to feel 'extremely satisfied' because of their long term

involvement with children, parents and with whole school issues. They said:

It's incomparable really. Supply was not, I didn't get job satisfaction, didn't do a lot for my confidence because you always knew you would never get established, you never got the chance really. But with job sharing I feel I'm doing a worthwhile job. You can see the children improving and know it's something to do with you. (Rose)

I enjoy it [job sharing] much more. I think when I was doing part-time it was very much wherever the need was and you were shoved in a class and the door was shut and they let you get on with it...In supply you don't feel so much in for the children. Maybe in a school you would begin to relax and get to know the staff a bit and then a week and you're out and you have to start all over again...I found it all so frustrating...With job sharing I feel very much accepted by the children and the staff and I look forward to going in on Wednesday, I feel like I'm doing a good job and it's recognised. (Marjory)

It was supply and I didn't enjoy that very much. I found it very bitty. It was, what's the word, I just didn't find it satisfying...Now it's very pleasant, it's hard work but it's worth it. The responsibility, you know, for the children, seeing the parents. This is like being a real teacher, it definitely feels real now. (Ailsa)

Therefore, as job sharing teachers the women felt accepted as part of the work and culture of their schools and this had a significant impact on their professional needs.

Summary

The discussion in this chapter has focussed on the impact of job sharing on others in the professional environment. This chapter has found that:

- In successful job share partnerships, teachers perceived that pupils could have access to a greater pool of teacher talent and expertise. They could benefit from being taught by teachers who had ample energy and enthusiasm. Teachers also believed that positive relationships could be maintained with parents and headteachers.
- The headteachers were generally positive. Where partnerships were successful they felt pupils were not held back and the running of the school was not disrupted. Job sharing created additional responsibilities for them, however, this they accepted as simply another facet of their job.
- Parents were happier than they had expected. Few noted any faults in job sharing or any negative effects of pupils or themselves. However, some were still a little reserved and remained to be fully convinced.
- Where detrimental effects on others were noted, difficulties between the two job share teachers in the partnership, or on the part of one of the teachers within the partnership were considered to be the root of the problem.

All of the job sharing teachers viewed their mode of employment positively with regards to the impact on others in the professional environment. Therefore, the sense of effectiveness achieved in this respect appeared to reach sufficient levels for job and career satisfaction. In Chapter 12 I will explore a final aspect of the professional needs of job sharing teachers - professional and career development.

CHAPTER 12 - PROFESSIONAL AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The teachers who job shared provided accounts of their careers to date. They outlined what they considered to be the important factors and influences in their professional lives and described how these inter-played with personal experiences. It was also necessary to examine how the teachers viewed their futures; what hopes they held and what plans they had made. It was especially important to understand the promotion aspirations of the teachers because job sharing has been singled out from other forms of part-time teaching as having the potential to enable women to pursue successful occupational careers.

This chapter explores these themes. In the first section, the job sharing teachers' experiences of professional development are explored. Formal and informal activities designed to extend their knowledge, skills and expertise are examined. The second section, investigates how the job sharing teachers viewed their futures, in particular, their next steps; did they intend to continue job sharing or move to something else? In the third section, the ambitions of the job sharing teachers are examined, and the extent to which job sharing allows vertical career progression is analysed. Data from the job sharing teachers, headteachers, parents, key informants and former job sharing teachers is used.

Professional development

Professional development is considered an important means of ensuring the quality of learning and teaching in schools by providing a way of continuing the growth of teachers (SOEID, 1991). Professional development also plays an important part in the careers of teachers; it enhances their competency which, in turn, facilitates moves within the profession. Under the guidance of the SOEID all local authorities provide staff development opportunities for teachers in their employ. This takes the form of a range of formal activities including planned activity time (PAT), inservice days, inservice courses and secondments, all managed at local and school level. Teachers have also been shown to develop professionally by informal processes, through experience and under the influence of their colleagues (Pollard, 1987; Nias, 1989). This is generally referred to as personal professional growth. This section explores the job sharing teachers' experiences of professional development in relation to these two aspects; formal staff development activities and personal

professional growth.

Staff development activities

All teachers are contractually obliged to undertake two types of staff development. These are; an annual provision of up to 50 hours within the working year for planned activities related to the wider educational needs of the school and, 5 days within the school year for inservice training as planned by the local authority (SJNC, 1987). Part-time teachers are required to fulfil these obligations on a pro rata basis (SJNC, 1988, 1990) and this includes job share teachers. In addition, a range of courses are provided for teachers as an optional form of staff development. These consist of school based and local level activities, as well as accredited courses provided by the higher education institutions.

Contractual obligations

All of the job sharing teachers participated in statutory staff development activities in their schools. These tended to focus on on-going developments such as Expressive Arts 5-14, SEN and assessment. All of the job sharing teachers highlighted problems in relation to statutory staff development. Firstly, most explained that although they collected handouts and took notes at PAT and inservice days for their absent partners most felt that they missed out because of their pro rata attendance, 'It's not perfect in the sense it's better to be on the spot'. As a consequence some sharers went to more than half of the meetings, 'If it's something we feel is important to both of us then we'd ask if we could both attend'. This was a particular practice of four of the senior teachers (two partnerships) who felt that in order to fulfil their promoted responsibilities it was important, and in some instances essential, to 'be there'. However, this led to other problems. One of these women was concerned that her 'over attendance' could place the other (unpromoted) job sharers in her school in a tricky situation. She said:

That can be difficult as well for the other job sharers but I think in our situation we can make them feel not bad about that because we're senior teachers so you can look on it as a slightly different management situation. But I wouldn't like to feel we were putting pressure on the other job sharers in a way. (Pamela)

Headteachers had similar concerns. Many said that job sharers found it difficult to become fully involved in short and long term planning or in the implementation of curriculum initiatives and this created difficulties for the school and its progress. Three of the five headteachers with senior teacher partnerships found this to be a particular problem with

promoted job sharers. In these three schools it was evident from the headteachers' accounts that the senior teachers were valued members of the school's management team. In each school the management team was small, for example one consisted of the headteacher, the job share senior teachers and one other senior teacher. Thus, the organisation of the school and its culture, in terms of the headteachers' expectations of staff, partly explained the difficulties experienced. One headteacher said:

As I said, for quite a time, Pamela was my assistant head and even when she went back to being senior teacher she continued to deal with many of the things she had been doing. I respect her opinion greatly and she is highly involved in many of the curriculum initiatives in school. However, with her job sharing she can miss out on important meetings and this makes it difficult. To be honest she comes to many of the meetings anyway. In a sense I think it's difficult for her if she doesn't.

Some of the most recent EA job share policies (post 1996) specify that although PAT is pro rata for job share teachers they have to attend all inservice days; this might indicate an awareness of some of the difficulties being encountered.

Secondly, many of the job sharing teachers found arrangements for statutory staff development activities inconvenient and this caused them problems. PAT is managed at school level and in the research site it was generally arranged over a series of Monday or Tuesday evening meetings at the end of the school day. Eight of the job sharing teachers (six who worked the first half of the week and two who rotated the end of the week worked on a term to term basis) were in school on PAT days and for them attending was straight forward. In three schools PAT had been arranged by headteachers, in consultation with staff, to accommodate job sharing teachers with meetings at alternate ends of the week. However, six of the job sharing teachers were not in school on PAT days and various arrangements were in place in order that they fulfilled their contractual obligations. Four teachers came into school for meetings on non working days. Eileen accepted this saying:

I don't mind because it really doesn't come up very often and I live close to the school.

The others were less agreeable. Two had approached their headteacher about the inconvenience this caused but felt they were in a 'no win situation'. They explained:

I said to the headmistress as far as they are concerned I could be anywhere those other two and a half days, I could have another job, I could be miles away, and her attitude was you're paid to do PAT nights and another night doesn't suit anyone else on the staff. So I was more or less told I would have to come in. She put her foot down and that's the way it's going to be. (Marjory)

Anytime I broached that with the headteacher I have had my head chewed off. There is nothing I can do about it. I mean I feel I'm having to drive for half an hour, do my PAT night and then drive back out for an other half an hour...I must admit that PAT, that I do get annoyed about, and the headteacher has said it is on a Tuesday and I have to go in. It's a pain in the neck. (Ailsa)

SJNC Circular SE/ 98, which specifies the contractual obligations of permanent part-time teachers, states that staff development activities have to be undertaken on a pro rata basis 'at a suitable time on a day on which the teacher is employed'. However, this was not outlined in research authority's job share policy document and this led to confusion. Staffing officers in the authority and the EIS were aware of this and explained:

Guaranteed it crops up every so often. We point out that teachers can not be made to come to PAT if they don't work that day. Some headteachers are remarkably sticky about it all but there is nothing they can do about it. It can cause a lot of bad feeling. We could put this in the policy but really it is an issue which we expect to be worked out at school level. It's not asking too much. (Principal Staffing Officer)

Planned activities tend to happen on a given day or afternoon or whatever and if the time or day is when one partner is not at work then it is quite difficult to drag yourself in at half past three or four o'clock to indulge in an hour or two of planned activity...It has come to us and it is one of those problems that we have to sort out...This is really a minor problem that should be easily resolved but it often comes to us. The authorities are reluctant to be more specific in their policies because they feel it should be negotiated at school level. (EIS General Secretary)

Only two of the job sharers who were not in school on PAT days were aware of the points outlined in SE/ 98. After discussions with their headteachers, one had agreed to attend extra inservice days whilst the other performed specific tasks set by her head on her days of employment.

There were similar variations in inservice day arrangements amongst the job share teachers. Some attended full days and some half days, some attended with their partner and some attended without, some chose which days to attend, some were advised and some negotiated this with their headteacher. There was no standard practice apparent, in some instances individual sharers made their own arrangements whilst in others headteachers took control. Procedures for PAT and inservice days, then, followed different patterns and were considered to be inconvenient by some of the job sharing teachers who subsequently attended with reluctance.

Optional activities

In the research site, at the time of the empirical work, short and long term staff development

courses were advertised at local level and teachers could apply to participate as they wished. Each school's staff development committee then decided which applications to follow through making decisions based on individual and school needs, and the funding available in the staff development budget.

All of the job sharing teachers in phase 2 were uncertain of where they stood in relation to staff development courses. One point frequently raised concerned attendance on non working days, could they attend, if so did they receive additional pay or a day in lieu, exchange days with their partner, or was it voluntary? Most commonly mentioned, however, were job sharers' chances, or lack of them, in gaining places on courses. Typical job sharer comments included:

Both of us feel that we have been just a wee bit neglected there, we have both felt that Jane [headteacher] was a wee bit inclined to put a full-timer on to a course rather than us. (Gemma)

I am a bit perturbed, my head spoke to me last week about that and said basically the other senior teacher in the school had gone for the same courses and was going and I would just have to wait and see, which slightly makes me feel that the pecking order for getting on is starting somewhere else. (Shona)

Comments made by several of the headteachers confirmed these concerns. Most of the headteachers viewed job sharing as a temporary phase and as a means of easing into or out of full-time teaching. It was also seen by most as a period of stability, job sharers were keen to do their best for pupils and schools but were not over enthusiastic about professional development. Although a small number of headteachers made clear that they provided job share teachers with the same professional development opportunities as full-time teachers, many heads openly stated that job share teachers' chances of participating in courses were limited. One headteacher outlined her stance:

I think job share are quite fallow years unless the person makes the point of saying I am interested and I want to go on with my professional development. They are not denied the opportunity but they wouldn't be the first port of call. They don't get the same inservice as other teachers. Job sharers have gone on courses in this school because they have requested it. You see it's costing me money and I only get half the cover and we have to get the best for the school by sending teachers out on courses. So job sharers have gone out but I don't see it as my first port of call.

Only two of the job sharing teachers (both older age bands and unpromoted) suggested they were not keen to take part in professional development activities and as a result conflicting views were apparent. Trotter & Wragg (1990) found that part-time teachers had difficulty gaining access to training and courses and this appeared to apply to job share teachers in this

study.

With the growing emphasis on managerialism in primary education, participation in staff development has become important for teachers who want to make moves within the system, particularly up the promotion ladder. Several of the headteachers interviewed indicated that in the process of allocating jobs, at promoted level involvement in staff development was viewed positively (see p89). Some of the job share teachers in this study perceived this also and they were concerned about the future difficulties they might face:

I think people assume that because you're a job sharer you've lost any need to expand your knowledge. You know, I'm actually, I'm going through that phase just now when I'm viewing the opposite. I would like to keep in touch more but I feel it's difficult to do that because other people don't think you should. I was really keen to get on those courses but I think a lot of job sharers are finding they're not top of the list and you begin to ask yourself is it worth applying. It's not just that, I think in the long term this could all work against me. You know how important all these courses are if you're going for promotion and I think at the end of the day people would look and say well she hasn't done much professional development. But it's not my fault, I want to but because I'm job sharing I'm not getting the chance. (Nicola)

One result of this was that some job sharing teachers were attending courses in their own time in an unpaid capacity. Two job sharers were attending courses on non working days; one was on a certificated learning support course and another on specialist training for modern languages. However, as one headteacher pointed out, these job share teachers may have been pursuing courses which would not have been possible had they been working full-time. Because they could attend on non working days schools were not having to provide and pay for cover. This, of course, was also benefiting schools who were gaining expertise without the usual expense.

In 1996, following local government reorganisation and the ensuing financial constraints (see p84-85), staff development budgets were cut. Also, all decisions regarding staff development were shifted to school level when DSM was introduced. If job sharers are perceived by headteachers as uninterested in staff development, they may be the first to be put aside when opportunities are restricted.

Personal professional growth

The job sharing teachers discussed many ways in which they had developed professionally through a process of personal growth. They talked about their teaching experience, the

schools they had worked in, the teachers who had influenced them and the headteachers who had given guidance. As discussed in Chapter 7, features of the culture of the workplace were important to the teachers as they developed professionally.

All the teachers in this study discussed ways in which their job sharing experience had contributed positively to their growth as teachers. The firm relationships, close interactions and continual communications with their job sharing partner greatly encouraged their professional development as they benefited 'first hand' from another teacher's knowledge, ideas and experience:

I think probably the job sharing has done more for my actual professional development because I've had to discuss what I'm doing with somebody else. I think it always leads you on that bit further, to something yourself and I think that's been good. (Lorna)

You're learning from one another all the time because there's something you'll say, you know, something that she did 'I tried laying it out like that', and I'll do that next time. So you're actually learning from one another which you're not so inclined to do if you have a class to yourself. You don't have the time and because you don't have the same class you feel that you're poaching someone else's time away. You'll do it occasionally but it's not the same as you do with job sharing. (Gemma)

Distinct advantages for newly promoted job sharers were highlighted. Three described how their partners had 'showed them the ropes' which enabled them to tackle their new roles with greater ease than anticipated. Similarly, Toni, the teacher who entered teaching by job sharing felt this had worked in her favour. She had gained a great deal by working closely with an experienced teacher and 'cottoned on very quickly to what the whole thing was about'. Her headteacher noted these benefits but added that some probationers might have found it more difficult. Toni was an experienced and mature individual with a great deal to contribute and the confidence to do so, 'other young teachers might find it difficult to keep up or they might need space to find their own feet'. However, it was those teachers who had broken service and were returning to permanent teaching through job sharing that felt the greatest benefits. For most close contact with a job share partner aided reattainment of skills and confidence, helped in the acquisition of up to date approaches and methods, and eased familiarisation with new curricular areas and learning schemes:

I had been away from that and I wasn't quite sure what was expected. It takes a bit of time to get your confidence back especially when there seems to be lots of new things. In that way working closely with someone like Eileen who's never been away has been great. (Frances)

Lorna is a very organised person so far as, I mean she's, she's helped me out a lot. I have not been back in a classroom situation full-time for a long time and things have changed. The fact that she is such an excellent teacher I feel I gained a lot from her enthusiasm, her commitment, she's a very committed teacher...A lot of the time a lot of the input and the ideas and themes were hers because she is more, her fingers were in the pots more than mine whereas I was coming back. So I feel I'm picking it all up again really quite quickly and that's because I've been working so closely with Lorna. (Marjory)

Almost all of the headteachers interviewed acknowledged the positive influences on professional development that working in a job share partnership provided. They talked of ideas being shared and approaches being passed on. Others mentioned how examples of good practice could be passed from one partner to another. In their studies of primary teachers both Pollard (1987) and Nias (1989) found that teachers were influenced by their colleagues who provided them with ideas, information, practical help, emotional support and friendship and this could 'in turn...contribute towards their future educational practice' (Pollard, p118). It would appear then, that in job share partnerships where two teachers typically work more closely together than ordinary colleagues, these influences can have a greater impact than is usual. Also as discussed in Chapter 7, the workplace culture of the primary schools in the study was generally one where teamwork and cooperation were valued and in this sense the job sharers fitted in.

Career development

Chapter 2 described how, in her study of teachers, Grant (1989a) found that women adopted an apparently 'pragmatic approach' to career development where they were intent upon 'constructing a rather messy mosaic of life and work events, rather than following a clearly staged, well sign-posted career map' (p119). Few of the job sharing teachers in this study had well thought out plans for the future. Most had some notion of the next 1-3 years, beyond this there were many uncertainties. Two groups were apparent amongst the teachers: those who wished to continue job sharing indefinitely and those who intended to re-enter full-time work. These groups corresponded closely with the group of older and the group of younger teachers.

Continue job sharing indefinitely

Seven teachers said that they wished to continue indefinitely as job share teachers. The majority of teachers in this group were older (six out of seven). One woman, Frances, felt

ideologically committed to putting her childcare and domestic commitments first. She believed she could not do that if she was working full-time and also had heavy involvement in other activities which she wished to continue. Four others (including the one younger teacher) felt that although they had initially worked part-time in order to cope with the many domestic demands made upon their time, they had grown accustomed to arranging their life around a part-time job. These women and their families had their lives organised in a particular pattern and although the original reason for that pattern no longer existed, the pattern continued. Two women, Val and Iris, planned to job share until retirement which both could 'see on the horizon'. They were not certain of when this would be but both were 49 years old and neither intended to work past 55 years of age. In addition, all of the women in this group said that the stresses and strains of full-time teaching were not attractive and, that aside, they liked the school and/ or relationship they were working in. Of the seven teachers who wished to continue job sharing indefinitely, four were unpromoted. They claimed to have no interest in seeking promotion. Similarly, the three teachers in this group who were senior teachers said they wished no further promotion. Promotion aspirations are discussed in the next section.

Re-enter full-time work

Twelve of the remaining thirteen teachers (all younger) had no definite commitment to part-time work and felt they would re-enter full-time at some stage in the future. They felt that being part-time was a strategy to enable them to cope with the demands of a young family and as these demands eased re-entry to full-time work would be considered. Thus, what teachers planned to do subsequent to job sharing related to their original intentions for choosing it.

Level of entry/ re-entry

All of the women expected to move to the full-time equivalent of their current position, including those who had previously held these posts and those who expressed interest in future promotions. All of the headteachers interviewed, and several who commented in phase 1 of the study, stated that following job sharing they felt it most appropriate for teachers to make such moves, that is from job share teacher to full-time teacher and from job share senior teacher to full-time senior teacher. Headteachers explained:

I would imagine that Hilary [job share teacher] should come back full-time at teacher level. I think her chances for a full-time teacher would be quite good because she's been that before. I would like to see she could do it full-time again anyway. I'm not sure that her chances of going straight to a promoted level would be that good.

I think once she's [job share senior teacher] ready to come back I think she should do full-time senior teacher like before and then start applying for assistant heads. I mean she shouldn't have to return full-time to senior teacher, on paper she doesn't have to, but I think that would be her best chances and I think that would be best for her.

There was a clear perception on the part of the teachers and their headteachers that job sharing was restricted within the formal career structure to the lower levels.

Timing of entry/ re-entry

Most of the job sharing teachers were uncertain of when they would go full-time, although important for the women were their experiences as mothers; the birth of their children and when they started school, primary and secondary. Some also felt timing would depend on job opportunities, particularly within school.

Many of the headteachers suggested that, given current labour market conditions, unpromoted job sharers might experience difficulties securing full-time work, 'There's so much competition now for so few jobs'. Ten of the former job share teachers in phase 3 who had returned to full-time permanent work said that this had caused problems for them. In addition, they felt that because so many teachers were entering or re-entering full-time through temporary work, the temporary teacher was often first choice before a job sharer. Reorganisation of local government would add another blow they believed. Two of the former job share teachers explained:

There has been a freeze on jobs due to the change of councils and there have been no full-time jobs advertised.

I found getting a full-time job very difficult...Now there are to be no more jobs advertised until the changeover and lack of money is sorted.

Others said that the 'new' appointments procedures (post 1995, see p88) did not make things easy. One woman stated:

When I entered job sharing you would wait till a vacancy came up in school and have a word with the headteacher and she would phone staffing and if everything worked out you would get back full-time. But it's not like that any more. The goal posts changed! I had no idea how difficult returning full-time would be.

None of the former job sharing teachers in phase 3 who had left job sharing pre 1994 said they had faced problems, most described how they had simply discussed the situation with

their headteacher before being appointed full-time permanent in the schools they were already job sharing in. No one felt there had been competition for the post, on the contrary, one woman said she had returned full-time as 'a favour' to the school and headteacher.

It would appear, then, that when labour market conditions are reasonably good opportunities for full-time unpromoted work are available to job share teachers, possibly more so than for those currently working on a temporary or supply basis. However, when labour market conditions contract and fewer unpromoted jobs are available, job share teachers may be no better placed than any other teachers. In fact, temporary teachers already in post may be in a better position. In addition, the new appointments procedures (post 1995) which involved advertising in the national press and competitive interviews at school level, had by opening the system up, made it more difficult for job share teachers to move back to full-time employment, although it would seem likely that this would affect most teachers equally.

At promoted level, contextual factors were not perceived to be as influential. On the whole headteachers believed that promoted job share teachers would stand better chances of securing full-time work than their unpromoted counterparts. One headteacher gave this advice to a job share senior teacher who was considering applying for full-time senior teacher posts:

I said to her I would think your chances must be better than a full-time class teacher. I've been on a lot of interview panels and I think when you go along to the interview you would be more confident because you have done the job for half a week. You've got experience at that level, so no matter how well qualified a young teacher you might get you've had experience and you're off to a flier.

Whilst another headteacher said:

One of my job share senior teachers applied for two full-time senior teachers before getting the job, which I would say was good. However, one of my teacher job shares has been trying to move on for some time now and has applied for lots of jobs. I have given her very good references which she deserves but there are so many people applying for these jobs. A friend of mine had over 100 applicants for a job in her school and I think that is the norm now. I think she might be in the job share for some time to come yet.

Toni

Toni, in comparison with the other younger teachers, was most uncertain of her future. She felt it was more likely than not that she would go full-time, mainly because of the additional financial rewards, but this would be when an opportunity arose:

I'm not sure I'll go looking for full-time work, but if something comes up and it seems right I think I would go with it. It will really all depend on a lot of things. If a job comes up in the school and there is no one else in school wanting the job or if the head comes and says to me are you interested. You know, maybe if the head is really needing someone.

Job sharing had proved a good point of entry to the profession for her but a full-time salary was attractive. However, as with the other teachers contextual factors such as supply and demand characteristics, the processes through which jobs are allocated and gained, and aspects of the workplace culture were going to have a significant impact on her future.

Other professional moves

None of the job sharing teachers in phase 2 envisaged any other types of career moves for themselves in the near future. Some of the younger teachers believed that at some point they would move schools, staying in one school for too long was not considered to be a good thing in terms of satisfaction, motivation or promotion prospects. One younger senior teacher hoped she might have the opportunity to move into teacher training but that this would be 'some way down the line'. None spoke about leaving teaching, except those who saw retirement on the horizon.

Promotion aspirations

The job sharing teachers had different hopes for the future. Three sets of aspirations emerged amongst the teachers: those who were uninterested in promotion; those currently interested in promotion; and those delaying interest until family responsibilities eased. These sets of aspirations related closely to the groups who intended to continue job sharing indefinitely and were predominantly older, and those who intended to re-enter full-time work and were younger.

No interest in promotion

Nine women said they were not interested in applying for promotion. This included all of the women from the older age bands and all seven of the women who intended to job share indefinitely.

Three of the senior teachers expressed no interest in further promotions. Two intended that their next move would be to retire and the other did not want to take on additional responsibilities; if she were to move level, she said, it would be downwards by demoting

herself.

The other six women (all unpromoted, four older and two younger) denied any interest in promotion, they had never sought it and said they did not intend to do so. Far from suggesting that all teachers should have aspirations for promotion, it is necessary to understand the reasons for the women's reluctance to pursue progress. Some felt that this was one outcome of their teaching histories. Because they had broken service, some for a substantial number of years, they felt they were, in the words of Ball (1989), 'despite their experience...overlooked for promotion due to their age'. As discussed in Chapter 2, other studies have noted that the disadvantage experienced by women who break service is too great for most to overcome and many of the job share teachers in this study felt they had lost out in this way. Hewitt (1993) argued that because women remain more likely to take a break from employment or to move from full-time to part-time work, age bars are almost inevitably sex discriminatory. Although age bars are not operated by any of the Scottish authorities these women perceived age discrimination to be at work in a more subtle, covert manner. There was also a tendency on behalf of the sharers to look at their own experiences and find fault, 'I stayed out too long', rather than analyse the structural constraints. Many of these women had sought to re-enter the profession (after a break for childbearing) at a most difficult time. As outlined (see p76-79) during the 1980s, the teaching labour market contracted and less teachers were required. In addition, at this point some of the EAs openly favoured new graduates when allocating posts. Other teachers said that advancing vertically in their job meant having less to do with the actual content of the work, being less in touch with the pupils, more involved in administration and hence detached from the issues which actually interested them. Also, additional responsibilities equated with greater pressure:

I don't think I'd like the job out of the class, anyway I don't think I want the stress of it. (Yvonne)

The monetary rewards for that, I don't think, it's not for me, to be honest I'm not sure it's worth it. (Ailsa)

Dunlap (1994) suggested that directly expressing ambition causes discomfort for some women because of the 'pervasive social norm that women do not seek overt power' (p182). Certainly some of the women broached the subject with awkwardness, however, most were quite decisive and certain that promotion was not for them mainly because they were unwilling to accept responsibility on a personal level.

Interest in promotion

Eleven of the job sharing teachers expressed interest in promotion. One was currently interested in promotion, whilst ten women said they would be interested in promotion in the future but were delaying any applications until their family commitments eased. All eleven of these women intended to re-enter full-time teaching, and all fell into the younger age bands. Seven were already promoted to senior teacher level.

Current interest

One job share teacher from phase 2 displayed current interest in applying for promotion. Shona, who had put off having children until job sharing became available, had worked as an unpromoted job sharer before gaining a senior teacher job share. She explained that if a suitable assistant head job share position arose she would apply; however, she noted the lack of opportunities for this type of post, felt that she might have to return full-time in order to move up the career ladder and considered that this would have to be a longer term objective. Both of the former job share teachers from phase 3 who, like Shona, had moved from job share teacher to job share senior teacher commented that at this time had any job share assistant head posts become available they would have applied. However, none had come up and both had applied for (successfully) full-time senior teachers and then moved on from there. Within the formal career structure of primary teaching there were perceived to be few opportunities for job sharing beyond the level of senior teacher.

Delaying interest

Ten of the job sharing teachers (six promoted and four unpromoted) explained that, although promotion in the future was a possibility, they were currently putting any plans 'on hold' until family and domestic commitments eased. The four unpromoted sharers were the most vague about their aspirations; June said, 'It would just depend, I don't know but I think it's quite possible', Hilary, 'Probably yes but I'll wait and see', Gemma, 'Perhaps in the future' and Diane, 'Maybe, yes I think I might'. The six promoted sharers had more definite plans. Bernie and Wendy, who had gained promotion in getting their job shares, felt certain their next steps would be to full-time senior teacher and then 'upwards, hopefully'. Lorna, Kath, Pamela and Nicola, who had been senior teachers prior to job sharing, similarly envisaged returning to full-time senior teacher and then when appropriate moving once again up the career ladder:

At the moment I feel I've got too many other things on my plate, my family and so I'm quite happy with what I'm doing at the moment but I would like to, I don't want to just stop, I would like to go forward and progress in some road in my career. (Lorna)

I am interested in going further but for as soon as, obviously there's going to be another baby soon so I think I would like to keep job sharing for some time to come...I don't think I'll be applying for promotion right away but I do want to apply for more promotion it's just when the time's right...I will go for assistant heads at least. (Kath)

For these ten women, then, childcare and family concerns were part of their developing career commitments for several years and they were postponing taking on new responsibilities and delaying career decisions until these eased.

Impact of job sharing experience

Although all of the job sharing teachers in this study considered their current mode of employment as a positive experience which was part of their developing careers, a few women acknowledged that not everyone was likely to view job sharing as well. Nicola, for example, believed she might have to defend her job share experience to prospective employers when applying for senior positions, and Gemma was concerned that when applying for promoted posts those teachers with full-time experience might stand better chances where all else was equal. Chapter 7 demonstrated that informal features of the selection process, such as the individual views of headteachers or their collective responses, had a significant impact on how jobs were allocated and gained.

Notably, a small number of the women perceived that job sharing had enhanced their promotion prospects and career outlooks. Those women who had gained promotion in taking up job sharing or whilst job sharing, particularly those who moved from supply work, did so in quite fortunate circumstances. In this study, headteachers commented that the number of applicants for promoted job share posts were fewer than would normally be expected for promoted full-time posts of the same level. None could quite specify why this was so, perhaps many of those who want to job share are unlikely to want promotion or those who want promotion are unlikely to want to job share. Although the headteachers were satisfied with the quality of the individuals they had selected for promoted job shares, given the minimal competition, it is possible that job sharing was allowing these teachers to work at a level and in skills which might not otherwise have been open to them.

Evetts' strategies

Evetts (1990) developed a typology of career strategies which she found women teachers adopted during the course of their working lives. She termed these the accommodated (not seeking promotion), the antecedent (career ambitious from beginning), the two-stage (climbs lower level, devotes time to family then returns to career), the subsequent (aspirations only form once family priorities completed) and the compensatory (motivation for promotion associated with failure in personal life) career strategies. These are described in more detail in Chapter 2 (p28-30). I now use these to examine the experiences of the job sharers in this study in Table 12.1.

Table 12. 1 Job sharing teachers - Career strategies

Job sharer	Career Development	Promotion Aspirations	Evetts (1990)
Lorna	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
Marjory	continue job share	no interest	subsequent
Kath	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
Shona	re-enter full-time	current interest	two-stage
Nicola	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
Val	continue job share	no interest	subsequent
Iris	continue job share	no interest	subsequent
Wendy	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
Pamela	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
Bernie	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
June	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	subsequent or accommodated
Ailsa	continue job share	no interest	accommodated
Yvonne	continue job share	no interest	accommodated
Toni	uncertain	no interest	accommodated
Gemma	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	subsequent or accommodated
Rose	re-enter full-time	no interest	accommodated
Eileen	continue job share	no interest	accommodated
Frances	continue job share	no interest	accommodated
Hilary	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage
Diane	re-enter full-time	delaying interest	two-stage

According to Evetts' typology six unpromoted job sharers were developing accommodated careers. They were not promoted nor seeking promotion. Although they enjoyed and took pride in their work, they regarded their family or other personal commitments as their main priority. The three older women who were promoted had subsequent careers, whereby promotion aspirations had formed only once family goals were completed. For two women, June and Gemma (both younger and unpromoted), a subsequent or accommodated career might develop. They explained that currently they were uncertain of their future career plans. At present they were therefore developing accommodated careers, but there was also a suggestion that, in the future, interest in career advancement might return. In this way a subsequent career might develop. The remaining nine job sharers (all younger, two unpromoted and seven promoted) were developing two-stage careers. In the early stages of their working lives they had established themselves as successful teachers and some had been promoted. At the time of the interviews, active attempts to gain promotion were on hold because of family responsibilities. However, once these eased the women intended to renew their commitment to their careers and take steps to develop them further. None of the women were developing Evetts' compensatory or antecedent strategies. In the compensatory career motivation to achieve success is associated with failure in the personal sphere, whilst in the antecedent career goals in the personal sphere are worked for only to the extent that they do not interfere with the career.

All of the job sharing teachers in the study fitted their working goals around their family lives, and it seemed that none of the women were amongst the most ambitious of their profession. Evetts also pointed to the fluidity of many women's career strategies as they move through different stages of the life cycle. For instance, accommodated careers may later develop into compensatory or subsequent careers as earlier domestic responsibilities diminish or personal lives prove disappointing. Alternatively a planned two stage career may shift into an accommodated career if there are contractions within the labour market of teaching. Many of the younger women in the study were planning two stage careers with job sharing acting as a bridge between two phases of intense engagement with work. Their ability to make the transition, however, would clearly be dependent on the availability of appropriate posts and the criteria for promotion imposed, factors outwith the women's control.

Headteachers' views

Amongst the headteachers there were different views on job sharing teachers and promotion. Two heads suggested that teachers who chose to job share were unlikely to be interested in promotion. One commented:

I think if you're really keen on promotion then you don't do something like job sharing, you stick at it full-time.

However, the majority of headteachers saw no reason why job share teachers might not be interested in promotion, particularly in the future. This they all felt would be full-time promotion and none of the headteachers considered that job share teachers might move up the career ladder whilst job sharing. As such almost all felt job share teachers would have to prove themselves ready for full-time work first. One head explained:

I think once she [job share senior teacher] is ready to come back I think she should do full-time senior teacher and then start applying for assistant heads. I mean she is an excellent teacher and it would be a shame if she didn't get promotion in the future but I think she should finish with the job sharing and when she is ready and able come back full-time and then go for assistant heads.

A former job share teacher from phase 3 explained how views such as these had influenced her career. She said:

As far as promotion is concerned although I had been doing the job of senior teacher 3 years I still feel that the perception was that I had to gain a full-time senior teacher post first before I would be taken seriously as an applicant for an AHT post. I think that in particular headteachers want to see you do it full-time. Therefore, as a career option I think job sharing adds a few extra hurdles to be crossed.

Another of the former job sharers had, however, moved straight from job sharing teacher to full-time senior teacher and in this situation her head had played a significant role in a quite different way. She explained:

My headteacher encouraged me to apply and gave me the confidence to go for the post of senior teacher. She convinced me I could do it and gave lots of help with interview techniques, questions etc.

Two other former job share teachers from phase 3 who had gained promotion since job sharing had gone full-time first. One had worked full-time for 1 year before moving into her senior teacher position whilst the other had worked full-time temporary for a year then full-time permanent for a year. Indeed when the group of former job share teachers were asked how far they agreed with the statement 'it is easier to gain promotion from a full-time position than from a job share position' 80% agreed 'on the whole' or 'a great deal'.

There was also evidence of limited opportunities for job sharing promoted positions. Most heads were reticent about job sharing in promoted positions, especially as seniority increased. Some heads felt that many promoted teachers would not be interested in job sharing their posts, many were male and others were past family formation. It was quite clear that most of the headteachers, and indeed most of the job share teachers, believed that the only way to gain a promoted job share position was when a full-time teacher made part of their post available. As discussed in Chapter 7, most EA job share policies permit individuals to apply to share their own full-time post or to apply for job shares created in this way. Few job share policy documents detail how teachers can apply for vacant (full-time) posts on a job share basis, although a small number of the new authorities have started to advertise posts as 'open to job sharing'. At the GTC the Depute Registrar noted this shortcoming:

I have recently seen a couple of advertisements that said this job is open to job sharing and this is good. If teachers can only apply for a job made available by other teachers then my impression would be that this would hold job sharing back and indeed limit it.

As outlined in chapter 7, where the vast majority of vacant posts are perceived to be open to full-time applicants only, job sharing will be restricted and marginalised. Because few promoted teachers choose to job share their posts opportunities for promoted job sharing, particularly above senior teacher level, appear to be severely limited. Although numbers seeking to job share a promoted post appear to be few, they are almost entirely dependent on an already existing promoted teacher making half of their post vacant.

Parents' views

Parental views regarding job sharing and promotion would also suggest possible limitations for individual teachers. Only one parent was not opposed to promoted job sharing. She saw possible advantages of 'two for one' and suggested that it should be tried before judgments were made. All of the other parents interviewed in this study did not view job sharing as being compatible with promotion. Parents viewed job sharing as a phase of career particularly relevant to women teachers with young families and for them this raised the issue of teacher commitment. In their opinion promoted teachers had to be highly committed and some parents considered job sharers lacking in this respect. Parental comments included:

I don't think that would be right for job sharers to be promoted teachers. I don't think they can be 100% committed when they just want to job share and I just don't see how two people could do one job if it was promoted. I don't doubt they could be good teachers but I don't see how they could do it job sharing and I

don't think they would have the commitment. No I wouldn't like that.

Indeed promoted job sharing was one of the few job sharing issues parents suggested they might complain to the school about. All of the parents were reluctant to complain and said they would only consider it if they were highly concerned. Although they did not want to play a central role in the way the school was run, they did not wish to be relegated to a powerless position without any recourse. Most said that they would raise any concerns about job sharing with the headteacher or school board. Only three of the parents in this study had been on school boards, although some were involved with the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). PTAs, however, were not seen to be particularly influential and tended to be viewed as providing a source of fund raising for the school. School boards were considered to have more power and were viewed as a possible channel for concerns.

As described in Chapter 6, government pronouncement about the aims and purposes of school boards stress the greater involvement of parents in school affairs, and one function of school boards in terms of teachers is to participate in the selection of promoted staff, with moves in hand to extend this to unpromoted staff. The majority of the parents in this study did not recognise the importance of job sharing in terms of equal opportunities (albeit that their main concern was with the impact of job sharing on their child) and this must raise questions about how school boards, with a majority of parent members, will approach promoted job sharing and view individuals who have job shared. Considerable effort and expense has been employed on training for school board members covering aspects from finance to curriculum, and including 'principles of good practice' for interviewing and selecting staff. Units and videos have been developed and provided by the SOEID with further input at regional level, but a national survey (Arney, Munn & Holroyd, 1992) found that the uptake of training was not high. In addition, where training was pursued the significance attributed to equal opportunities issues varied from one session to another. As a result attitudes such as those held by many of the parents in this study could prevail and remain unchallenged in relation to job sharing senior positions.

Summary

This chapter has examined the professional and career development of job sharing teachers. It has found that:

- The job sharing teachers found arrangements for staff development confusing, inconvenient and sometimes out of reach. Some headteachers were restricting job sharers' opportunities to participate in optional staff development courses because they did not think job sharers were interested or should have the same entitlements as full-time teachers. Among the job sharing teachers it appeared that they were failing to participate to a satisfactory level in staff development activities. This is likely to affect not only an individual's ability to carry out their work but also their future and long term careers.
- On the other hand, the job sharers and their headteachers considered that their current mode of employment contributed very positively towards their personal professional growth. Teaching alongside a colleague and being involved in a professional dialogue was considered to be very beneficial, however it was given little credit.
- The job sharing teachers had different hopes and aspirations for the future. Most of the older teachers wished to job share indefinitely and were uninterested in promotion. Most of the younger teachers intended to return to full-time work at some stage in the future and possibly apply for promotion. Intentions, however, will be dependent on structural conditions and some possible difficulties were highlighted.

Therefore, although all of the job sharing teachers in this study considered their current mode of employment as a positive experience, most acknowledged difficulties relating to professional and career development. Particular problems regarding staff development and job sharing at promoted level were apparent. Promotion for part-time work has always been difficult and early studies found that opportunities for promotion were relatively poor for job sharers. This research would suggest little change.

CHAPTER 13 - CONCLUSIONS

Over the last decade job sharing has been introduced as a form of flexible work within teaching. It has been widely regarded as a potentially improved form of part-time work, of particular importance to women. Its proponents have advocated that it will allow them to further their occupational careers whilst at the same time providing them with the opportunity to devote more time to family responsibilities at points when they feel this is required. Because of the claims made for job sharing as a means of advancing the cause of equality in the workplace, it seemed worthwhile investigating the experiences of those who had chosen this route. Through a detailed examination of experiences in primary schools, this study sought to evaluate the effectiveness of job sharing as a career option for women teachers.

Indepth interviews were conducted with twenty women primary teachers who job shared. The role of job sharing in their careers was examined and the extent to which it fulfilled personal and professional expectations explored. The career experiences of job sharing teachers were further explored through a questionnaire sent to a sample of teachers who had previously job shared. This provided a retrospective and longer term account. All of these experiences were then situated within the wider contexts in which teaching operates. For this, documentary and policy analysis were undertaken, and semi-structured interviews were conducted with headteachers and parents, and key informants at local and national level. The aim was to provide as full an account as possible of the career experiences of women primary teachers who job shared. My intention was to identify potential advantages and disadvantages of job sharing for teachers and for schools.

Of course, there are the usual difficulties of generalising from a small scale study such as this. My conclusions might pertain less well to secondary schools, generally bigger and with a smaller percentage of women teachers, or to schools outside Scotland, or to male teachers. In addition, they might apply less well to other areas of employment. However, the advantages of my approach arise from it being qualitative and detailed, and it may provide a good basis for further work within the general areas of interest.

In this final chapter I draw together the main strands of the thesis. First, I provide a summary of the findings presented in relation to the research questions. In this, I establish

links with the work surveyed in the review of literature. Next, I determine the benefits and drawbacks of job sharing for teachers and for schools and suggest potential development areas. Then, I discuss the claims made for job sharing as a means of advancing the cause of equality in the workplace. Finally, I move beyond the target population and examine the implications of the findings for wider contexts.

Summary of findings

In this first section I summarise the findings achieved in the study by returning to the research questions. The theoretical framework adopted in the study located individual experiences within the context of the life as a whole, and within the wider structural conditions in which teaching operates. The findings in this section are presented according to this framework; by linking career actions to career structures. As a consequence of this, responses to the final two research questions, which focussed on structures, are incorporated in the first four, which focussed on individual experiences.

What are the career experiences of women primary teachers who job share?

In order to explore how job sharing fits into careers, the study examined the teachers' overall working experiences within the context of their lives as a whole. It found that occupational attachment varied over the work cycle. This variation was reflected through patterns of working and not working, durations of working and not working, and different working statuses during each phase.

Typically, the teachers who were older (aged 40-49 years) had 'interrupted' careers. They had an easy entry to the profession followed by a short period of continuous full-time employment. They then broke service at childbirth and returned to teaching on a supply or temporary basis before securing permanent work as a job sharer or as a full-timer before changing to job share. Most of the women who were younger (aged 30-39 years) had 'continuous' careers. After experiencing difficulties entering teaching and working as supply or temporary teachers, they had a longer period of full-time teaching before moving to job sharing around family formation. One younger teacher had an individual career pattern; a delayed entry via supply and temporary work, followed by permanent job share employment.

These experiences were a result of personal and professional factors worked out within prevailing contexts and conditions. From a personal perspective childbirth was the most significant of these factors. Of the nineteen women in the study who had children, all changed their employment status at or around the birth of their first child. For the older teachers this meant taking a career break; for most of the younger teachers it involved a shift to job sharing. Changing social norms played a part here. During the 1960s and 1970s, when most of the older teachers had at least their first child, full-time maternal care was implied and very typical. During the 1980s and 1990s, when most of the younger teachers had their first child, social attitudes had changed, they were 'more realistic and less idealised' (Richardson, 1993, p50), and the number of married women, and women with children, in employment had increased significantly.

Employers' policies were important. Adequate maternity leave was the exception for the older teachers, and some felt they had little option but to resign their posts following the birth of their first child. McRae (1994) found that enhanced maternity pay was significantly associated with an early return to work and returning to the same employer. The younger women had improved maternity rights and this seemed to facilitate their continuous career patterns. In a similar way, the availability of job sharing was significant. Only two younger teachers left employment following childbirth. Both did so in 1986, one year before the introduction of job share policy in the EA where this research was carried out. These teachers highlighted this as a critical factor in their overall experiences; both asserted that an employer's policy facilitating job sharing would have made a difference.

Supply and demand characteristics also formed part of the context for careers. The ease or difficulty with which the teachers entered the profession related closely to features of expansion and contraction. Some cumulative effects were visible whereby earlier experiences influenced later ones. For example, most of the younger teachers who encountered problems securing their first teaching appointment were subsequently, following childbirth, reluctant to give up their hard earned permanent positions.

Although the teachers were authors of their own actions (they chose to leave teaching, to pursue job share employment) these actions were undertaken in a context which limited options and experiences. This study found that characteristics of the teaching profession

formed part of the context, as did the strategies of employers, as well as the family. The structural context was largely outside the control of the teachers and aspects of it clearly overlapped in their influence. These findings are broadly in line with recently developed conceptions of career (Evetts, 1990; Acker, 1992); the subjective experiences of teachers are significant but these are shaped by structural contexts and conditions. This study also noted that career experiences are shaped by unexpected events and interpersonal contacts, rather than simply being outcomes of individual choices or structural frameworks.

What is the role of job sharing in the careers of women primary teachers?

For the younger women with children job sharing provided a means of balancing childcare and work commitments during the period of family formation. In this way they felt they were showing a commitment to employment and the pupils they taught by working part-time, whilst at the same time managing domestic responsibilities. A theme arising from the accounts of the younger teachers was that they had deliberately chosen to job share as opposed to some other form of part-time work or career break in order to at least consolidate their position within the career structure. The older group of women recognised that job sharing was a secure and satisfying form of teaching that was part-time. They did not want to work full-time because of continued family responsibilities and the demands of full-time teaching. It was noticeable that the women who had moved from supply teaching to job sharing were conscious of having achieved a more secure post with better conditions of service and job satisfaction, as well as one that was infinitely more convenient. The one younger teacher who did not have children had very individual reasons for choosing to job share. It had provided a stable point of entry to the profession and once working in this way she found it suited her personal needs.

The study found that job sharing was a transitional phase. For the younger teachers it allowed respite from the enormous demands of full-time work. For the older teachers, job sharing represented a means of easing into or out of permanent teaching. All of the teachers asserted that they were fully committed to teaching; job sharing did not indicate a weak attachment to employment. Most saw themselves as '100% committed for 50% of the time'. Few saw themselves as currently interested in career progression; the study found that ambition for promotion varied over the work cycle. Some teachers had altered aspirations according to circumstances such as the working needs of husbands or lack of perceived

support for their ambitions. The study found that during the job sharing phase of career, for most of the teachers, ambition for promotion was not at its highest.

Most headteachers and parents also saw job sharing as a transitional phase, most likely to be pursued by women with family commitments. The headteachers perceived job sharers as hardworking and obligated but considered they would have to return to full-time employment before pursuing (further) promotion. Few had contemplated an approach to staffing which saw job sharing as integral to policy and practice. Some parents doubted the commitment of job sharing teachers, their views were closely tied up with notions of part-time workers as women whose prime responsibility was to care for their children. Teachers' careers are strongly shaped by school experience and the views of headteachers and parents indicated that those who form part of the context at this level did not accord job sharers equal status to full-time teachers.

How does job sharing meet the personal needs of teachers?

This study found that job sharing was successful in meeting the personal needs of the women primary teachers. There was a strong relationship between this and reasons for choosing to job share. For example, the younger teachers with children who had chosen to job share as a means of balancing family and work commitments perceived that job sharing allowed them more time to care for and spend with their young children. In addition, less time and energies were required for work. As a result, life was more manageable and enjoyable. For the older teachers, who had chosen to job share because of continued family responsibilities and the demands of full-time teaching, job sharing also met personal needs. They felt able to fulfil commitments at home and workloads at school lessened. For some teachers, job sharing also improved relationships with husbands, contributed to financial security or allowed the opportunity to develop wider interests. The younger teachers with children were most satisfied with the impact of job sharing on their personal lives.

Most of the teachers' lives were structured in such a way that it was difficult to separate personal and professional aspects, many were reluctant to do so anyway. It was evident that the women developed their working lives around personal lives, and conversely their personal lives around their professional lives. Evetts (1990) in her study of women primary teachers, demonstrated how professional experiences are bound up with developments and

commitments in personal lives. She argued that for women teachers, satisfaction in their personal lives was as important to their views of self as success in their teaching careers. This study found the relationship between satisfaction in the personal and professional spheres to be strong. Some teachers discovered that improvements in the quality of their personal lives renewed or enhanced enthusiasm for work. Similarly, other teachers, in particular some older teachers, asserted that as a result of the quality of their working lives improving, they began to feel happier in the personal sphere.

In comparison to full-time teaching and other types of part-time teaching, the study found that job sharing fared favourably in relation to meeting personal needs. The women who had recently worked full-time found job sharing to be a better form of employment. It sufficiently eased exhaustion and frustration and, for the younger women with children, feelings of guilt related to working full-time were reduced. The teachers who had previously been temporary and supply felt the fixed hours and location of job sharing employment allowed them to cope better with personal responsibilities. Nias (1989) discussed sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction for the primary teachers she interviewed. Those who were temporary and supply were especially likely to express 'disappointment, resentment or frustration' (p127). Chessum's (1989) teachers had similar feelings, one calling herself a 'part-time nobody'. Chessum argued that temporary and supply teaching was arranged to suit the requirements of schools with little thought given to teachers' needs and this led to disenchantment.

Evidence from the former job sharing teachers indicated that as personal needs change, for example, as young children grow older, desires and hopes for the future also alter and job sharing can become less effective in meeting personal needs. If this happens a return to full-time employment may be sought; evidence from the former job share teachers indicated that this was not necessarily an easy transition to make. If the current surplus of teachers in Scotland continues full-time work may prove difficult to secure.

How does job sharing meet the professional needs of teachers?

Three aspects identified as significant in terms of meeting the professional needs of teachers were: the degree of satisfaction achieved with job sharing in practice, the perceived impact of job sharing on others, and the contribution of job sharing to professional development.

This study found that in practice teachers were satisfied with their experiences of job sharing. Practical experiences related closely to the teachers' responsibilities, whether they were learning support teachers, classroom teachers or in promoted posts. Those who were engaged in learning support tended to split duties rather than share them and few difficulties arose. The classroom teacher job sharers, on the other hand, had to share most things (planning, teaching, resources) and greater levels of compromise and effort were required. Job sharing promoted posts, although manageable, could cause difficulties. In general, the women split their senior teacher duties, however, this seemed to create problems as well as solve them, particularly in relation to workloads. This suggests that job sharing promoted posts can prove problematic. These teachers were job sharing at the most junior of promoted levels, yet difficulties were experienced. The conditions for success in practice were commonly identified by job sharing teachers as compatibility, good communication and readiness to compromise between partners, and by headteachers as competence and commitment on the part of both teachers.

With regard to the impact of job sharing on others in the professional environment the study found that the teachers viewed their mode of employment positively. They believed pupils gained from being taught by fresh and well prepared teachers, and by having access to a greater pool of teacher specialisms and expertise. Potential difficulties were acknowledged with pupils who were young or had SEN. Relationships with parents and headteachers were maintained, although additional workloads for headteachers were noted. On the whole, the parents and headteachers agreed with the teachers' perceptions and they were either positive or neutral about the impact of job sharing on others. The headteachers accepted job sharing as a valid way of working in primary schools, as did the parents, although a small number remained to be convinced fully.

The few studies (Angier, 1984; ILEA, 1986; Atherly, 1989; Ormell, 1996) of job sharing in teaching have focussed almost exclusively on practical experiences and the impact on pupils and schools. They have suggested that pupils can benefit from interacting with two teachers in place of one and from the enhanced time, energy and enthusiasm of job sharing teachers. They have highlighted the significance of compatibility and communication in partnerships. Evidence from this study supports these findings. Taken together they suggest that job sharing can be of value to schools. In addition, there emerge underlying principles which are

necessary to make an arrangement successful.

The study found that whilst job sharing, the sense of effectiveness achieved by teachers in practice and in relation to others in the professional environment appeared to reach sufficient levels for job and career satisfaction. The affective rewards of being with children and feeling competent and skilled in daily work were high. Feelings of acceptance within the workplace culture were positive; building and developing relationships with parents and in particular with colleagues, which was viewed as a salient part of the job of primary teaching, was possible whilst job sharing. In comparison to other forms of part-time teaching, job sharing was much more rewarding in relation to these aspects. In comparison to full-time teaching, this study found no significant differences. In terms of professional needs, relating to practical experiences and the impact on others job sharing was, on the whole, delivering full-time benefits to part-time workers.

This study found, however, difficulties with job sharing and teachers' professional development. Arrangements for statutory and optional participation in staff development activities were unclear and many of the teachers were failing to partake fully (sometimes on less than a pro rata basis). This could restrict the teachers' future aspirations as involvement was regarded as a criterion for promotion by the headteachers in the process of staff selection. In addition and in the longer term, an individual's ability to carry out his or her work effectively could be hindered and this could be to the detriment of pupils and schools. It was evident that there were conflicting views on the professional development needs of job sharers. Almost all of the teachers recognised its importance, particularly in terms of consolidating their position within the formal career structure. Some headteachers, however, were limiting job sharers' opportunities because they were unsure about their rights or because they perceived that the job sharers were currently uninterested.

On the other hand, job sharing itself was viewed as making a positive contribution to personal professional growth. Where two members of staff were involved in a professional dialogue it was suggested that this encouraged them to be more reflective of the quality of their work. This was considered a bonus for the school but some individual teachers felt there was no formal recognition of this. Headteachers noted the benefits but commented that within the processes of allocating jobs they went unrecognised.

The teachers who job shared had different intentions and aspirations for the future. Most of the women in the older age group wished to job share indefinitely and were uninterested in promotion. Grant's (1989) review of studies of women teachers' careers identified the 'career break' as particularly harmful to women's chances of gaining promotion and for the older teachers in this study taking a break in service had caused damage which proved difficult to for most overcome.

Most of the younger teachers planned to resume full-time work at some stage in the future and possibly seek promotion once family commitments eased. Their ability to do so, however, was going to be dependent upon a range of factors. First, a return to full-time employment will be facilitated or restricted by supply and demand characteristics of the profession. If the abundance of teachers in comparison with available jobs continues in Scotland, then from the accounts of the former job sharing teachers in this study, the teachers will experience difficulties re-entering the profession, particularly those who are unpromoted. Secondly, if by job sharing the teachers restrict their professional development, they may find themselves disadvantaged in the processes of applying for and gaining jobs. Structural factors may disrupt the teachers' experiences and render any expectations false.

Job sharing: potential benefits and drawbacks

As outlined in Chapter 1, one of the aims of the study was to identify the potential advantages and disadvantages of job sharing for teachers and for schools. I now present these using evidence from the study.

Potential benefits for teachers

□ By permitting greater variety in working arrangements, job sharing can allow teachers to respond to and meet the constant flow of changes encountered in their personal lives. For example, many of the teachers had chosen to job share following the birth of their first child. One woman was currently helping care for elderly parents.

□ Job sharing can help teachers ease into retirement. Some teachers felt that the transition from full-time teaching to retirement was too rapid and that an intermediary period of job sharing might be beneficial. It is possible that a greater number of teachers nearing the end of their working lives will choose to job share as early retirement is no longer available for

most following the changes to teachers' pensions in 1997. (Individual teachers must consider the impact of job sharing on their pensions.)

□ By reducing the number of hours of paid work, job sharing can lead to a more flexible lifestyle. Some teachers had developed a wide range of interests since job sharing. For example, one teacher undertook substantial voluntary work. As a result, the teachers believed the quality of their personal lives had improved.

□ Job sharing can provide a form of employment which allows teachers to feel fulfilled as professionals. All of the teachers were satisfied in their daily work; they felt valued and respected by both pupils and colleagues. Feelings of self worth were high.

□ Job sharing can enable teachers to improve the quality of their working lives. Teaching is generally recognised as a demanding job. Some of the teachers felt job sharing provided a manageable workload. It was also seen to relieve stress in comparison with teaching full-time.

□ Job sharing can provide opportunities to develop as a professional. A successful development of interpersonal skills is essential to any job share. This includes listening, responding, negotiating and challenging. The teachers also noted how they learned from one another through cooperation and collaboration.

□ Job sharing can enable teachers to maintain their occupational status. Many of the teachers viewed this an achievement, particularly the promoted teachers. This is said in a context where traditionally a large proportion of teachers have experienced downward occupational mobility by working part-time.

□ Job sharing can provide an opportunity for teachers to work at a level and in skills which may not otherwise have been available to them. Five teachers in this study had gained promotion in opting to job share. Previously promotion for part-time work has not been possible in teaching.

□ Job sharing is different from other part-time work in teaching. Because it links part-time rights and conditions to those of full-time employment, it avoids the kinds of discrimination which part-time teachers have traditionally encountered. A key element of job sharing is that it is more rewarding, less isolating, of higher status and secure. The overwhelming consensus of opinion was that job sharing was an improved form of part-time teaching.

Potential drawbacks for teachers

□ Job sharing is only a possibility for a small proportion of teachers. Inevitably, job sharers earn less than if they were working full-time. In this study, the vast majority of job sharers had a partner in full-time employment. There was no evidence, for example, of single parents job sharing.

□ Arrangements for job sharing teachers' participation in optional staff development activities are unclear. There is confusion as to whether job sharing teachers should have opportunities on an equal basis to full-time teachers or pro rata. Currently, some headteachers are seen as applying restrictions and some job sharers feel staff development is out of reach. This could affect teachers' abilities to carry out their work and also their longer term careers.

□ At present opportunities for promotion are limited for job sharers. There would appear to be a well established culture in teaching which associates increasing seniority with full-time commitment. There was no expectation that teachers could apply for promoted posts on a job share basis, with or without partners.

Potential benefits for schools

□ Job sharing helps schools to make better use of their human resources. By retaining skilled and experienced staff in whom schools have already invested, job sharing can reduce wasteful turnover and provide continuity.

□ Job sharing can contribute to the delivery of a high quality educational experience for learners. Evidence from this study indicates that most of the job share partnerships did not make significantly less of a positive contribution to the social, emotional, intellectual and physical development of pupils than full-time staff.

□ Job sharing can provide a wider range of specialisms and experience. Two people sharing one job can have different areas of skill or knowledge which complement and reinforce one another, and which may not be available in one individual. This might have more value in the future if primary teachers specialise.

□ Job sharing can provide higher energy on the job. In this study, teachers working less than a full week were perceived to have increased energy and motivation. This can be a critical advantage in a job such as teaching.

□ Job sharing can provide a role model of co-operation. In schools teamwork is highly valued. Colleagues may witness collaboration put to good effect. Pupils may learn social skills.

□ Job sharing can provide cover for contingencies. If one job share teacher is absent it may be possible for the other partner to fill in. There was evidence of job sharers covering for other absences in schools also. Job sharers are likely to know the school and its pupils well. This was perceived to be advantageous, especially when few supply teachers were available.

□ Job sharing may allow schools to recruit staff who could not otherwise be accessed. There are many teachers unable to work on a full-time basis. Domestic responsibilities or the desire for more personal time, for example, can cause employers to lose out on good employees; if working hours can be reduced, they may become available.

□ Schools may benefit from time spent in activities outside the job. In this study, two teachers were attending courses directly related to work on the days they did not job share. Headteachers recognised this would bring in new knowledge and approaches. It is also possible that schools could benefit from activities related indirectly to work.

Potential drawbacks for schools

□ Schools may find additional communications are required with two members of staff in place of one even though some of the responsibility for this can be put onto the job share teachers.

□ Job sharers' pro rata attendance in staff development activities may restrict their contributions to schools and the process of curriculum development. It may be necessary to target training or to provide two sets and this may involve both cost and time.

□ If one job sharer has a particular skill or responsibility, schools may experience delays during the periods when they are not there. This is particularly relevant in the case of promoted job share partnerships and the delegation of managerial duties requires careful consideration.

□ Some partnerships prove unsuccessful because of a lack of compatibility, communication or compromise between the two teachers, or because of a lack of competence or commitment on the part of one or both teachers.

Of course, job sharing will only develop if schools are convinced that it can offer something of positive value. Although evidence from this study was encouraging and confirmed that the arrangement can be of benefit, there would appear to be a well-established culture in teaching of using the dominant full-time work model. Changes in employment patterns are apparent, and assumptions that work must be full-time and life-time are altering. These changes in working time are, however, uneven and incomplete. Job sharing in teaching is gradually becoming established but there is still a way to go.

Some of the reasons for schools' preferences for full-time teachers are based on a lack of information. There continues to be a need for there to be guidance available to schools on job sharing. Although greater delegation of staffing matters has resulted from DSM, teachers in Scotland are still employed at EA level. A central source of guidance is critical to provide practical guidelines and to help find solutions to problems. It would also help establish, where necessary, consistency in policy and practice.

This study found that headteachers with direct experience of effective job share partnerships were the most positive. They could be encouraged to raise awareness by sharing information and experiences about the use of job sharers with other headteachers and teachers. This could relate to the potential of job sharing and the factors which make it successful. There are also some problems and limitations related to job sharing which should be discussed.

There is a need to prepare teachers to be employed on a job share basis. This type of training could be offered by a guidance body, such as an EA, which could bring job sharing partners together and help them address practical issues. This could extend to teachers intending to return to the profession, particularly in a job sharing capacity, and this would help to realise the potential which lies in this form of appointment.

There is potential value available to schools if job sharing were to be exploited to the full. Change in the current situation will depend very much on the attitudes of headteachers. Acceptance by teaching colleagues, parents and senior managers is crucial.

Job sharing: advancing the cause of equality in the workplace

One of the greatest obstacles to women's equal participation in senior level jobs is the traditional way that work is organised, with full-time life-time employment the norm and promotion defined in terms of years of unbroken service. Although many women (like men) achieve the top positions of their professions only after their childrearing years are over, the setbacks women endure to their careers during family formation is too difficult for many to overcome. Increased flexibility in the way that work is arranged has been advocated an important pre-requisite for equal access to high ranked posts. Flexibility in the workplace during the early years of women's careers, it has been argued, can only help but augment the number of skilled and able women ready to succeed.

The study reported here found that that in those circumstances where women teachers had been able to take advantage of flexible work (job sharing) some kind of labour force participation had been almost continuous. The younger teachers who had chosen to job share because of the current high level of their domestic responsibilities, had worked full-time prior to job sharing and intended to return full-time in the foreseeable future. They viewed job sharing as a transitional arrangement and believed that it had allowed them at least to consolidate their position in the career structure. Most considered that over the next few years promotion was a distinct possibility. Although success in this area will be dependent upon a range of factors, most of the younger teachers with continuous service were certainly within 'striking distance of the top' (McRae, 1990, p3).

The experiences of former job sharing teachers revealed that a number had managed to gain

their first promotion with a year or two of resuming full-time employment. However, most felt that, although not insurmountable, they had been faced with a 'few extra hurdles to cross' in comparison to their full-time colleagues. Most significant were the difficulties encountered when initially seeking full-time employment with a surfeit of teachers already in the labour market. The perceptions of some headteachers and selectors were also important; many appeared to believe that job share teachers had to 'prove' they could work full-time before applying for promotion. In addition, a shortage of information was apparent. For example, one former job sharer explained that her headteacher had asked her to apply for an acting assistant headteacher post in school, although she would check first 'if job sharers were allowed'.

The women who constituted the older group of teachers had disrupted their careers with a break in service during the main period of family formation (at a time when this was the normative pattern). On their return they were faced with lower status, often marginal, work. One result of this was that they were now, at best, experiencing only modest success in their careers with few aspirations for the future.

Therefore, the majority of women teachers who continued to work with their pre-birth employers enjoyed a relatively advantaged position, the most significant benefit being an increased chance of upward mobility. In the longer term, then, it would appear that job sharing is not deleterious to women teacher's careers. It is far less harmful than other forms of part-time teaching, although as yet it is not challenging full-time teaching as the dominant work model.

However, the research also found another aspect influencing women teachers' continued participation in, or return to, employment: the nature of the work itself. These women, it would appear, were as much concerned with the content of their employment as with the likely impact of job sharing on longer term careers. For the teachers (both younger and older), job sharing provided a secure and satisfying form of part-time teaching. These women, like others, had high standards and the match between their desired self-images as teachers who should work hard and have some input and the reality of their daily experiences was close. Job satisfaction appeared to be intrinsic to the nature of the work. Relationships with pupils and colleagues were positive; job sharers felt valued and respected

on an almost equal basis to their full-time co-workers. In the short term, job sharing was delivering full-time benefits to part-time workers.

In addition, the convenience of their hours was important. The reduced time commitment required for job sharing allowed the younger women more time for family demands. For the older teachers who had been supply and temporary the fixed hours and location of job sharing was undoubtedly more convenient. Both younger and older teachers spoke of the balance in their lives which this working arrangement helped them to achieve.

Despite this positive view of job sharing, it is important to consider the extent to which these women teachers are likely to be impeded by their period of part-time employment and here, some cautious notes must be struck.

It was evident that a number of teachers were failing to participate fully in inservice training. It may be argued that a staff development programme is the means through which the needs of the individual and the aims of the school are resolved in a compatible strategy. If schools are to be effective in what they attempt, it is important that teaching staff are trained and confident in meeting new challenges. Because of job sharing teachers' pro rata attendance at training activities it is possible that on-going developments in schools may be held up. However, if they are required to participate on a full-time basis they will have to be paid for and this creates additional costs.

From the individual perspective, several job sharing teachers perceived optional staff development courses to be out of reach because their headteachers considered them a low priority. With staff development budgets now devolved to schools and growing financial restrictions, headteachers are forced to allocate resources where they feel they will reap greatest benefit. Many consider this not to be with job sharing teachers. As a more managerial approach has developed in schools, attendance at certain key courses has become a valuable asset for individual teachers. Many of the job sharing teachers may find their future prospects hindered as a result of low levels of participation. The issue of staff development for job sharing teachers is a matter which is not easy to resolve and raises questions of resentment on the part of both full-time and part-time teachers. Debate on the implications of pro rata versus full-time rights for the training of job sharing teachers is

important.

The issue of promoted job sharing in teaching must also be considered. It seems that job sharing as a temporary measure can enable teachers to maintain their position in the career structure, however, in order to pursue promotion most teachers are having to climb back onto the full-time ladder. There were perceptions at school, local and national level that jobs in the upper echelons were unsuitable for sharing, with concerns being voiced about continuity, inefficiency and loss of managerial control. To maximise the EOs benefits, job sharing must be available to all teachers at all levels, yet this study found, in line with the fears expressed, that difficulties were experienced in sharing promoted posts. This creates a tension, indeed a rather significant one. Job sharing will not challenge the full-time work ethic, nor will job sharers be accorded equal status to full-time teachers, whilst the majority are relegated to unpromoted positions. (Figure 7.1 indicates that job sharing teachers in the research location were under represented at all promoted levels, particularly, headteacher and depute headteacher posts. Even when gender (female) and age (30-49 years) were taken into account the picture changed little.)

One of the best ways to 'de-gender career' (to formulate a concept of career which enables women's and men's experiences to be understood without any prior assumptions that certain types of career are better or worse than others, Evetts, 1994b, p224) would be to have women in positions of power following non-traditional work patterns. Evetts (1992) argued that as individuals develop their careers, using the frameworks and formalities made available to them by organisations, particular career patterns emerge. If enough individuals follow the same pattern then this becomes accepted as the norm and 'career structures become real'. In turn, the structures influence individuals who are 'convinced of its reality' (p18). According to this, if a number of women job sharers pursued managerial careers then the concept of career in teaching would evolve to include their experiences.

The introduction of 'super teachers' poses interesting possibilities. In this study, the difficulties experienced with promoted job sharing related to management responsibilities. The new post is to be classroom based and may, therefore, be more conducive to sharing. In addition, job share teachers would bring two sets of specialisms and expertise to the position which is being developed to encourage talented teachers to remain in the classroom.

However, it must also be noted that where a promoted job share is advertised there is usually a smaller field of candidates than for comparable full-time posts and this can be of benefit to the job share applicant.

At present, therefore, job sharing will not necessarily facilitate a managerial career in teaching which reaches to the upper levels of the career structure. Nevertheless, for suitably qualified women job sharing represents a considerable improvement on the 'dead end' part-time jobs traditionally found in teaching. More important, perhaps, job sharing may provide a bridge to full-time teaching employment and a subsequent managerial career.

Wider contexts

This study, of course, has been specific to women teachers who job share in primary schools. However, it is important to consider implications for wider contexts such as other educational sectors, employment more generally and also for men. Finally, therefore, I want to discuss some of the ways in which my findings contribute to knowledge within the broader fields of interest.

As noted, job sharing is available in most school sectors. Although it is not known how many job sharing teachers there are (because job sharing is not distinguished from part-time employment in official education statistics), this research found that in one authority job sharers represented 7% of the teaching workforce with percentages almost equal in primary and secondary schools, and slightly smaller in special and nursery schools. Within the labour market more generally, around 3% of the workforce job share (Central Statistical Office, 1995). Job sharing is most common in the public and voluntary sectors; in local government (including teaching), in other public administration such as the Civil Service, in health boards and in a range of voluntary organisations. Within the private sector, many banks and building societies employ job sharers and, recently, job sharing has been introduced within some manufacturing and retail companies, particularly at management level.

Many of the potential benefits and drawbacks of job sharing as found in the primary schools in this study may apply equally well to schools in other sectors and also to other occupations. In secondary schools, for example, although teachers are already subject

specialists, if the aptitudes and expertise of two job sharing teachers are complementary departments may benefit. Bennett & Rump (1995), two women job sharing as an assistant head of department in PE, described how they were able to offer pupils an increased number of courses and after school clubs because of their joint breadth and depth of interests. Walton (1990, p31) described the experiences of two museums education officers job sharing one post. She noted the benefits of two people working together planning sessions and exhibitions; 'it is a great bonus, an exchange of ideas occurs, bringing out more thoughts and possibilities'. The prospect of having two individuals providing a wider range of skills and experience would seem to be an advantage in any context.

Job sharing may also allow other employers to recruit staff who could not otherwise be accessed. This may prove particularly useful in occupations experiencing skills shortages, such as nursing, or in others that are expanding, such as nursery education which is currently employing an increased number of teachers. Similarly, job sharing may enable employers to retain trained staff in whom they have already invested. Indeed, this was the main reason for a scheme introduced by Scottish health boards who, after reviewing the costs of training doctors, produced a policy which allowed two people to jointly apply for any grade of medical post from house officer to consultant.

Other school sectors and other employment fields may also, unfortunately, experience some of the drawbacks of job sharing as found in this research. For instance, it seems likely that some partnerships, in whatever line of work, will prove unsuccessful because of a lack of compatibility between two individuals or because of a lack of competence or commitment on the part of one or both individuals. Some partnerships, particularly those in management positions, may experience difficulties because of the urgencies of communication and decision making.

However, employment specific factors, in terms of the nature of jobs, may result in important differences in job sharing in other educational and employment fields. For example, in nursery, special and secondary schools, pupils are already used to having more than one teacher. Parents with children in these sectors may be less concerned about job sharing, especially, if it appears to be affecting only a small proportion of their time or of the curriculum. Timetabling in secondary schools and split day sessions in nursery schools,

may allow job share teachers in these sectors to work with different classes or groups of pupils, thus requiring less communication, compatibility and cooperation, and this could result in fewer problems associated with unsuccessful partnerships. This type of approach would be similar to the learning support partnerships in this study who split, rather than shared, their responsibilities and were generally regarded as two separate entities who worked alongside one another to perform one job, rather than together. This sort of arrangement resembles permanent part-time work. As noted earlier, one EA now issues permanent part-time instead of job sharing contracts. In addition, several other EAs have started to offer permanent part-time contracts alongside job sharing. These permanent part-time posts are often in secondary and nursery schools and have time commitments (which can range from 0.1 to 0.9) arranged to meet curricular demands.

In wider employment, other factors may have an impact. For instance, the IRRR (1980) described how, because of the nature of their work, those sharing clerical and secretarial jobs in banks rarely needed to communicate with each other. Some left an occasional note or gave their partner an occasional phone call, but most saw little need to communicate with one another. As a result an alternate week working pattern was often preferred - some employees commented that this allowed them to arrange holidays more easily, others said that they were able to buy a weekly season ticket and so travel to work more cheaply. Again, this type of approach resembles permanent part-time work.

Of course, other shared jobs require higher degrees of cooperation and communication. However, unlike most partnerships in school teaching, some jobs do not require 100% coverage and it may be possible for both sharers to work, say, on a Friday morning to overlap and for there to be no coverage on a Friday afternoon. Walton (1990) described a job shared social worker post where both sharers worked Wednesday mornings so that they could communicate together and also attend a weekly team meeting. Both partners then had Wednesday afternoons off. With this working arrangement the job sharers felt able to plan tasks and work time and also to deal with consultation within the whole work unit effectively. Because of this both job sharers felt confident that their colleagues never had to cover any work as a result of their job sharing and commented that they had never had any adverse reaction from clients.

Clearly, then, the arguments for job sharing may vary in different employment fields according to the nature of particular jobs. Primary teaching is set within an ideological context (in the state sector in Scotland at least) which prioritises one teacher per class and, failing that, where two teachers are involved the expectation is that the 'transition' between them be as seamless as possible. The need for joint planning, clear communication, balance of expertise and whole class coverage is evident and arguments for job sharing are strong. In other circumstances, for example in banking, if what is needed is 'cover' from two people for doing a clearly defined job with few requirements for inter-communication or cooperative working, then the arguments for job sharing may be weaker.

Different types of flexible and part-time working may suit different types of employment; job sharing, permanent part-time work, flexitime, term-time working, longer working days/ longer time off and career breaks are just some of the alternatives available. These working time arrangements have to be good for employers, efficient for business and compatible with legal obligations; none are financially neutral. The availability of reduced and more flexible working hours is also needed to suit different people at different stages in their working lives and opportunities for maternity, paternity and parental leave, together with childcare provision are important issues in helping working parents to combine employment and family life. Employers' policies may allow employees greater say in their working arrangements, but only if they can afford, or are offered a choice. These choices, however, also have to be compatible with employers' needs. Therefore, on its own job sharing may be a limited option, only possible for a small proportion of the the working population. A range of supportive policies and services need to be available to meet the needs of individuals, but at the same time avoiding uneconomic costs for employers.

It is also necessary to consider how gender differences might operate in different circumstances to affect job sharing. In this study, by permitting greater variety in working arrangements, job sharing allowed the women primary teachers to respond to family and domestic demands. Job sharing could, of course, also be used by fathers who want to play a more active part in taking responsibility for their children or who want to spend more time with their family. It is possible that some couples will chose to job share as a way of sharing parenting and allowing both to have jobs outside the home. Some workers, both male and female, may want to work and study or to work and pursue other interests. Job sharing is

one of the few ways of creating more time to develop other talents, whilst maintaining and perhaps even enhancing the interest and satisfaction with current employment. Some older workers, both male and female, may choose to reduce their working hours in the years immediately before retirement. This could become a more common option in teaching as early retirement packages are no longer available following the changes to teachers' pensions in 1997. Job sharing should not be viewed as a 'woman only' option. Indeed, a growth in high quality flexible employment might even result in an increase in the number of men who want to work part-time.

The gender composition of workforces must also be considered. In this study it was clear that aspects of the culture of the workplace emerged as significant in relation to how the women teachers felt valued and satisfied professionally. Primary teaching is a female dominated profession and the job sharing teachers felt that this facilitated acceptance of their mode of employment - many of their colleagues were women and mothers, who like them, encountered difficulties combining home life and paid employment. Most of the job sharing teachers believed these colleagues empathised with their reasons for choosing to job share. In other school sectors where the gender composition of the workforce is different, for instance in secondary schools where men and women are more equal in number, or in other occupations, such as in the financial and business sector, where men dominate, views of male and female roles may be quite different and this could also affect experiences of job sharing. In circumstances where 'traditional' sex stereotypes linger on job sharers could be placed at the periphery of the workforce. They could be relegated to the lower levels of the career ladder with few opportunities for promotion. Male job sharers could meet prejudice because working part-time does not fit in with 'traditional' expectations of male workers.

Finally, attempts to achieve greater gender equality in the workplace are highly dependent on accepted beliefs about appropriate spheres of activity for men and women. A strong theme arising from the women's accounts in this study was their acceptance of the central responsibility for the maintenance of the emotional and physical equilibrium of the home and their implicit assumption that their male partners would adopt the role of major breadwinner. Opportunities at work are inseparable from commitments at home. As long as responsibility is unequally shared at home, strategies for equality in employment will be restricted. While

women have moved into the workforce and raised their expectations, men have not moved back into the home and increased the time they spend in unpaid domestic work at the same rate. The unequal division of labour underlies persistent inequalities between women and men in the workplace.

It could be argued that the women primary teachers in this study were contributing to the reproduction of gender inequality by their acceptance of the inequalities in their own lives. Only very occasionally did any of the teachers question the gendered divisions of labour. Acker (1992, p154) described this kind of stance as 'more fatalistic than feminist'. She found that it was unlikely that women would adopt an overtly feminist stance to explain their own career patterns, for several reasons. One was probably the marginal status of feminism in Britain, which means women may not have access to ideas that would give them an alternative framework for their experiences. Another reason is the reality of their competing roles. Acker found that women were less likely than men to seek promotion because of this: 'it was difficult to feel discriminated against when the 'choice' to have a family was believed to be the cause of career blockage' (Acker, p155). The women job sharers in this study adopted an approach which suited the realities of their lives, they sought security and flexibility 'within the particular patriarchal bargain offered by their circumstances' (Acker, p160).

It could also be argued that flexible working amongst women does not seriously disturb, and may even support, the traditional division of labour in the home, in that it enables women to continue in their commitment to the domestic sphere - in particular childcare. Nevertheless, men, as well as women, are to be found in employment in which a degree of flexibility is possible. It is likely, therefore, that flexible working will allow a degree of difference to continue in the division of labour between men and women. As well as the difference, however, it seems reasonable also to look forward to a degree of convergence in the career experiences of men and women.

Job sharing, then, should not be regarded as the universal panacea, but is dependent on a range of other factors for its success in helping women to further their occupational careers. Ultimately, if we are to equalise opportunities in the workplace, then we will have to redistribute time for paid and unpaid work between men and women, as well as between the

workplace and the home. We will know we are on the road to equality when job sharing becomes a similarly common option for both women and men.

Further research possibilities

□ A cross-sectional study of the careers of job sharers, part-time teachers and full-time teachers would allow comparisons to be made between the different groups of workers. Ideally this would examine teachers' feelings and also their position within the promotion hierarchy.

□ In order to evaluate fully the effectiveness of job sharing in teaching, an independent study of the impact of job sharing on pupils is required. This could examine a range of perspectives, including headteachers, teachers, parents and importantly those of pupils. It could scrutinise patterns of achievement in job shared classes, not only in terms of academic learning but also of personal development and social interactions.

□ This research has examined the experiences of women primary teachers who job share in one area of the country. It does not illustrate the situation in other educational sectors, other employment fields or outside the research location although there may be similarities. This research could be used as a basis for work on job sharing in other sectors, other workplaces or other geographical areas.

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Appendix 4.1

Job Sharing Questionnaire

Job sharing is defined by Strathclyde Regional Council (Standard Circular No.54) as the "sharing of all the duties and responsibilities of an established full-time permanent post by two persons". For the purposes of this questionnaire I would be grateful if you would include job sharing teachers currently (30 April 1994) working in your school on a temporary or permanent basis. Please do not include visiting specialist teachers. The anonymity of all schools and teachers will be preserved.

.....Primary School

1. Number of individual job sharing teachers currently in your school.....
[If 0 enter this and return the questionnaire now]

2. For each of these job sharing teachers complete the details below.
[Extend the table according to your number of job sharers]

	Sex <i>M or F</i>	Level <i>HT, DHT, AHT, ST or unpromoted</i>	Current Stage <i>eg. P1, P3/4</i>	Responsibilities <i>Class teacher, management, learning support or other (please specify)</i>
Job Sharer 1				
Job Sharer 2				
Job Sharer 3				
Job Sharer 4				

3. If you have any comments about job sharing or job sharing teachers that you would like to add please do so.

Appendix 4.2. Themes, interview questions and probes (Phase 2)

Research question	Theme	Interview questions & probes	Notes
1. What are the career experiences of women primary teachers who job share?	Work history	Can you tell me about your history as a teacher? places of work; modes of employment/ breaks; levels of post; length of service	elicit chronological account of professional history comfortable opening/ useful background to interview
	Work/ personal life	Throughout your career how has teaching fitted in with the rest of your life? other commitments/ interests; phases; satisfaction	link professional with personal build up career picture - stages, incidents, transitions
2. What is the role of job sharing in the careers of women primary teachers?	Deciding to job share	Why did you decide to job share? personal/ professional reasons; alternative options to job share	literature indicates: prelude to retirement; phase for young family; other interests; partner well paid
3. How does job sharing meet the personal needs of teachers?	Personal needs	How has job sharing meet your personal needs? quality of life; compares f-t/ p-t/ supply	identify extent to which meets expectations
4. How does job sharing meet the professional needs of teachers?	Job share background	Can you give me some background information about your job share situation? initiated/ developed; pattern/ total hours; stage	seek factual details/ descriptions background information to section
	Practical experience	How do you manage job sharing at practical level? planning; organisation; communications	phase 1 - HTs noted cooperation, communication explore joint/ personal strategies
	Partnership	Do you think there is anything important in the partnership between you and...? teaching styles/ approaches; personalities	establish how affects career experience
	Pupil needs	How do you think pupils in your class are affected? attainment; relationship teacher; age; ind. needs	establish how affects satisfaction/ motivation and thus career experience

Research question	Theme	Interview questions & probes	Notes
	Parents	How do the parents of your pupils react? views of parents/ PTA/ board Do you take any measures to ensure good relationships? formal/ informal	parents part of educational community and agenda establish how parental views affect job sharers
	Whole school	As a job sharing teacher do you feel accepted fully as a member of your school's staff? compares f-t/ p-t/ supply What impact does your job sharing have on other members of staff? relationships; communications	literature indicates culture affects career experiences important to establish with promoted job sharers
	Professional development	Can you tell me about the professional development activities that you have participated in? contractual; optional Do you think you have developed as a teacher in any other ways?	establish levels of access, convenience possible impact of working in a job share
	Vertical/ horizontal career	How do you see your future as a teacher? career plan; promotion; other moves	seek aspirations/ expectations provide opportunity to explain other moves
5. At the macro level, what are the conditions affecting the careers of primary teachers?	Explored throughout interview		
6. How do conditions at the intermediate level affect the careers of primary teachers?	Explored throughout interview		
	Finale	Is there anything else about job sharing or your experience that you would like to talk about?	opportunity for individual to add any other points

Appendix 4.3 Interview schedule - Job sharing teachers

Introduction

Background to job sharing in teaching in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Personal interest.

Do you mind if I record our discussion?

Work history

Can you tell me about your history as a teacher?

- places of work
- modes of employment/ breaks
- levels of posts
- length of service

Work/ personal life

Throughout your career how has teaching fitted in with the rest of your life?

- other commitments/ interests
- phases
- satisfaction

Deciding to job share

Why did you decide to job share?

- personal reasons
- professional reasons
- alternative options to job share

Personal needs

How has job sharing met your personal needs?

- quality of life
- compares full-time/ part-time/ supply

Job share background

Can you give me some more background information about your job share situation?

- how initiated/ developed
- pattern/ total hours
- stage taught

Practical experience

How do you manage job sharing at a practical level?

- planning
- organisation
- communications
- non/ class committed

Partnership

Do you think there is anything important in the partnership between you and ...?

- teaching styles/ approaches
- personalities
- personal histories/ experiences

Pupil needs

How do you think pupils in your class are affected by having job sharing teachers?

- attainment
- relationship teacher
- age/ stage
- social/ emotional/ learning needs

Parents

How do the parents of the pupils in your class react to their children having job sharing teachers?

- views of parents/ PTA/ board

As a job sharer do you take any particular measures to ensure purposeful relationships and communications with the parents of your pupils?

- formal/ informal meetings

Whole school

As a job sharing teacher do you feel accepted fully as a member of your school's staff?

- compares full-time/ part-time/ supply

What impact does your job sharing have on other teachers in school?

- relationships
- communications

Management team

What effect does your job sharing have on your school management team?

- relationships
- workload

Professional development

Now, many things are provided to aid our professional development as teachers. Can you tell me about the professional development activities you have participated in?

- contractual
- optional
- access as a job sharer

Do you think that there are any other ways in which you have developed as a teacher?

Vertical/ linear career

How do you see your professional future as a teacher?

- career plan
- promotion
- effect of job sharing

Horizontal movement

Do you see yourself making any other moves in relation to your work in the future?

School background

Can you tell me about the school you teach in?

- pupils; parents
- staffing; management
- culture
- job sharing situation - current/ history

Employers

Do you think there are any advantages or disadvantages for the region in employing job sharers?

- compares full-time/ part-time/ supply

Finale

Overall how do you view job sharing as a form of employment within teaching?

Is there anything else about job sharing or your experience as a teacher that you would like to tell me about?

Close

Headteacher's name?

Speak to headteachers, parents later. Perhaps some of yours.

I would like to thank you for talking to me...

Appendix 4.4 Sample - Job sharing teachers

Teacher	Level	Respon's	Stage	School	No. job sh's
Lorna	senior teacher	CT & MM	P2	Broomfield	two
Marjory	senior teacher	CT & MM	P2		
Kath	senior teacher	CT & MM	P7	Carrick	two
Shona	senior teacher	CT & MM	P7		
Nicola	senior teacher	LS & MM	-	Elmwood	two
Val	senior teacher	LS & MM	-		
Iris	senior teacher	LS & MM	-	Millbrae	two
Wendy	senior teacher	LS & MM	-		
Pamela	senior teacher	LS & MM	-	Murray	four
Bernie	senior teacher	LS & MM	-		
June	teacher	CT	P1	St Val's (RC)	two
Ailsa	teacher	CT	P1		
Yvonne	teacher	CT	P4	St Jane's (RC)	four
Toni	teacher	CT	P4		
Gemma	teacher	CT	P5	Toryburn	two
Rose	teacher	CT	P5		
Eileen	teacher	CT	P6/ 7	St Ben's (RC)	two
Frances	teacher	CT	P6/ 7		
Hilary	teacher	LS	-	Woodhill	four
Diane	teacher	LS	-		

CT = classroom teacher; LS = learning support teacher; MM = management remit

Appendix 4.5 Areas of interest (Phase 3)

Areas of interest	Notes
<u>Work history</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• professional background	Enable comparisons with phase 2 job sharers; identification of similarities/ differences. Straight-forward starting point.
<u>Job sharing</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• reasons for entering• how post gained• reasons for leaving	Enable comparisons with phase 2 job sharers; identification of similarities/ differences. Use closed categories derived from data gathered in earlier phases.
<u>Experiences after job sharing</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• moves within teaching• non-teaching employm't• breaks in service• retirement	Test some hypotheses formulated earlier in study. Use subsets of questions with routes from some questions towards others.
<u>Future career</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• aspirations• expectations	Pose one open question leaving respondents free to answer in a way that seems most appropriate. Provide some prompts in the form of instructions.
<u>Job sharing and careers</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• how job sharing fits into careers	Use a series of statements derived from comments made by job sharing teachers in phase 2. Request scaled responses.
<u>Personal details</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• factual details	Enable comparisons with phase 2 sharers; identification of similarities/ differences. Seek characteristics identified as significant in phase 2. Include; sex, age, marital status, number/ ages dependents.
<u>Other</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• free comment	Provide an opportunity for free comment.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FORMER JOB SHARING TEACHERS

This questionnaire forms part of a research project on job sharing. As a former job sharing teacher I would be grateful if you would assist by answering the following questions. Please tick the boxes or write in your answers as appropriate.

Work History

1. Please complete the table outlining your teaching service to date. Identify any breaks in service giving a reason for each. Start with your first teaching post and finish with your current position

Dates		Post held	Full-time, part-time or job share	Permanent, temporary or supply
from	to			

Job Sharing

2. Why did you enter job share employment? Put a tick in all the boxes which apply

Family commitments
To pursue other interests
Prelude to retirement

Financial reasons
To return to teaching
Way of entering teaching

A secure job
Other (please specify)

3. How did you gain your first job share post? Put a tick in one box only

Converted own full-time post

Applied for/ offered job share post

Other (please specify)

4. Why did you leave job share employment? Put a tick in all the boxes which apply

Family commitments eased
Wanted to work full-time
Retirement

Dissatisfaction with job sharing
Better job opportunity arose
Financial reasons

Other (please specify)

5. When you were planning to leave job share employment what did you want to do next? Put a tick in all boxes which apply

Teaching employment
Non teaching employment

Retirement
Break in service

Experiences Since You Left Job Sharing

6. Since you left job sharing have you had any teaching posts?

Yes Complete questions 7-10

No Go to question 11

7. After you left job sharing what type of school was your first teaching post in? Put a tick in all boxes which apply

A school you had never taught in

The school you job shared in

8. How did you gain this first post after job sharing? Put a tick in all boxes which apply

Application/ interview process
Offered full-time post when partner left
Other (please specify)

Discussions with Headteacher
Discussions with staffing department

9. Was this first post after job sharing the type of work you wanted at that time? Yes No

Please explain

10. Since you left job sharing have you gained promotion? Yes No

If yes, what levels have you gained? Put a tick in all boxes which apply

ST No. years at level
AHT No. years at level

DHT No. years at level
HT No. years at level

- If yes, were there any particular people who encouraged you to apply for promotion? Identify individuals (eg. AHT) and explain the ways in which they encouraged you

11. Since you left job sharing have you had any non teaching employment? Yes No
- If yes, describe the non teaching employment you have had and give a brief account of why you did this.

12. Since you left job sharing have you had any breaks in service? Yes No

If yes, describe the breaks in service you have had and give a brief account of why you did this

13. Since you left job sharing have you retired?

Yes Complete questions 14-16 No Go to question 17

14. In what year did you retire?

15. Did you take voluntary premature retirement? Yes No
Did you retire because of ill health? Yes No
Did you retire at the statutory retirement age? Yes No
16. Did job sharing help to prepare you for retirement? Yes No

Please explain

Your Future

17. Please describe how you see you future working life. Will you work in teaching or elsewhere? Is it possible that you will apply for promotion, if so at what levels? Will aspects in your personal life affect your long term career plans? Etc.

Views on Job Sharing

18. In earlier parts of this study job sharing teachers or their headteachers made these statements about job sharing. How far do you agree with them? Answer by putting 1, 2, 3 or 4 in boxes where 1 = very little, 2 = to some extent, 3 = on the whole & 4 = a great deal

For teachers, job sharing is a good way of combining personal commitments with paid work.

For teachers job sharing is a better form of part-time work than supply.

Job sharing is not detrimental to pupils.

Job sharing is not detrimental to schools.

It is easier to move to a full-time position from job sharing than from supply.

It is easier to gain promotion from a full-time position than from a job share position.

Career prospects are best if you have full-time continuous service in teaching.

Job sharing is a good career option for teachers.

Personal Details

Sex: Female Male

Age

How many children do you have? What ages are your children? No

Do you have any other dependents? Yes (please specify)

Marital Status at time of job sharing

(For reference purposes only)

Name Current school

Address School(s) job shared in

If there are comments about job sharing that you would like to make please do so.

Appendix 4.7 Interview schedule - GTC

Introduction

Background to job sharing in education in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Do you mind if I record our discussion?

Job sharing policy

Given the functions of the GTC, I recognise that the Council has no direct involvement in the development or implementation of job share policies and schemes. However, keeping in mind the overarching role of the GTC; the maintenance of professional standards, I would like to begin by asking - how does the GTC view job sharing in teaching?

- advantages/ disadvantages for teachers
- advantages/ disadvantages for schools
- advantages/ disadvantages for education

Much of the Councils work relates to the probationary period and it is here that you may have encountered job sharing in practice. I interviewed one teacher who completed her probation whilst job sharing. Can you tell me how common this is?

- more/ less common in future

Do you think there are any particular advantages or disadvantages to completing the probationary period whilst job sharing?

- assessment/ effectiveness
- compares to full-time/ temporary/ supply

Supply and demand

One of the GTC's functions is to make recommendations to the Secretary of State on the supply of teachers. Can you tell me about the current availability of jobs in primary teaching?

How does this compare with other sectors?

- nursery, primary, secondary, special

Are opportunities for jobs the same for all teachers? Do you think probationers, experienced teachers and returners have equal chances in securing work in the current climate?

How do you see the future supply and demand situation developing?

Future

Does the Council have a view on how it would like to see job sharing develop in teaching?

Finale

Would you like to make any further comments?

I would like to thank you for talking to me...

Appendix 4.8 Interview schedule - EIS

Introduction

Background to job sharing in teaching in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Do you mind if I record our discussion?

Job sharing policy

The EIS has backed the introduction of job sharing schemes for teachers. Can you explain to me why this is?

- equal opportunities

With the local authorities the Union has negotiated the terms and conditions of service of job sharing policies for teachers. Can you explain to me why this has occurred at local and not national level?

- SJNC

Is the EIS satisfied with the terms and conditions of service for job sharing teachers? Perhaps you could outline the problems or difficulties that have come to light.

- transfers
- PAT/ inservice

I am interested in posts open to job sharing; eligibility. Is the Union satisfied with these aspects of the job sharing schemes?

- levels

In employment generally, job sharing has been advocated as one means of enabling women, in particular, to pursue promotion whilst working part-time. Are you aware of whether this is happening in teaching?

How do you think job sharing will develop in the future?

What you would like to see happen with regards to job sharing?

Are there any other initiatives being considered by the Union which are pertinent to women teachers or teachers who work or want to work part-time?

Legislative context

I am also interested in the current legislative context for education in Scotland. For example, a range of management and curricular reforms are underway. Are you aware of any ways in which these are affecting teachers' careers?

- job sharing teachers

Finale

Would you like to make any further comments?

I would like to thank you for talking to me...

Appendix 4.9 Interview schedule - EA

Introduction

Background to job sharing in education in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Do you mind if I record this discussion?

Job sharing policy

This authority was one of the first in Scotland to make job sharing available to teaching employees. Can you explain to me why this authority introduced job sharing?

- equal opportunities
- 'flagship' authority

With the unions the authority has negotiated the terms and conditions of service of job sharing policies for teachers. Can you explain to me why this has occurred at local and not national level?

- SJNC

I would like to talk about opportunities for job sharing. Could you outline the opportunities currently available for teachers who want to job share?

- unpromoted/ promoted

As you said, job sharing is available at all levels, promoted and unpromoted. However, the vast majority of sharers are unpromoted. Can you account for this?

- no. promoted posts

What is your impression of the effectiveness of job sharing in practice?

- for pupils
- for schools
- for teachers

What particular problems or difficulties have you encountered in the process of implementing job sharing in practice?

- unpromoted/ promoted

How do you think job sharing will develop in the future?

What you would like to see happen with regards to job sharing?

Are there any other initiatives being considered by the authority which may be pertinent to women teachers or teachers who want to or do work part-time?

Jobs allocated/ gained

I am also interested in the context for for teachers' careers. This authority has been phasing in a new system of open appointments procedures. What are the benefits of the new procedures?

- affect on potential job sharers
- job sharers wishing to return full-time

Legislative context

Are you aware of any other developments which are effecting teachers' careers?

- local government reorganisation
- DSM

Finale

Would you like to make any further comments?

* I would like to thank you for talking to me...

Appendix 4.10 Interview schedule - Headteachers

Introduction

Background to job sharing in teaching in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Do you mind if I record our discussion?

Job sharing policy

To begin, can you briefly outline the job share partnerships you have encountered in teaching; where, when and in what capacity?

Can you explain to me how the job share partnership(s) in this school is/ are arranged and how satisfied you are with the arrangements?

- pattern/ overlap

What sorts of things do you think are important for the partnership (s) to work?

I want to talk about how job sharing affects others in schools. First, how does having job sharers as members of staff affect you as headteacher?

From your experience how does job sharing affect pupils?

- non/ class committed
- age/ stage
- social/ emotional/ learning needs

What have been the parental reactions to job sharing in this school?

- reaction affected HT

Are you aware of any ways in which other members of teaching staff are affected by working with job sharers?

- personal/ professional relationships

I am also interested in how job sharing affects those teachers who job share. Do you think being a job sharer affects a teacher in any ways in their day to day work?

Do you think being a job sharer can affect a teacher's professional development?

- inservice training
- future prospects

Jobs allocated/ gained

Where an applicant for a vacant post in your school had job shared how would you view this experience?

When you had/ if you had a promoted teacher who wanted to job share how did/ would you feel about this?

Finale

To finish, how overall do you view job sharing as a way of employing teachers?

Would you like to make any further comments about job sharing or your experiences of it?

I would like to thank you for giving your time to talk to me...

Appendix 4.11 Interview schedule - Parents

Introduction

Background to job sharing in teaching in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Do you mind if I record our discussion?

Job sharing policy

To begin, can you tell me when your child had job sharing teachers?

- stage

Have you experienced or come across job sharing anywhere else?

Can you recall how you found out your child was going to have job sharing teachers?

- actions taken by school
- how did you feel

I am interested in the effects of job sharing on children. How do you think having job sharing teachers has affected your child's progress at school?

Do you think that your child has been able to form satisfactory relationships with their two job sharing teachers?

Are there any other ways in which you feel your child has been affected by having job sharing teachers. Are you aware of any other advantages or disadvantages?

I am also interested in any ways in which parents are affected when their child has job sharing teachers. When you have wanted to approach or communicate with your child's teacher has the fact that there were two teachers affected you?

- formal parents' meetings

Attitudes to women and teachers

In this authority all teachers are able to apply to job share if they wish. Do you think teachers should be able to job share?

Do you think there are any circumstances where job sharing is particularly appropriate or inappropriate in schools?

- age/ stage
- non/ class committed

Jobs allocated/ gained

Parents through school boards now have a say in some staffing matters in schools. Have you ever been involved in the school board?

How do/ would you feel about having promoted job sharing teachers in this school?

If you heard that someone who was applying for a promoted post in the school had previously job shared how would you feel?

Finale

Would you like to make any further comments about job sharing or your experiences of it?

I would like to thank you for taking time to talk to me...

Appendix 4.12 Interview schedule - SSBA

Introduction

Background to job sharing in teaching in Scotland.

Aims and outline of research.

Do you mind if I record our discussion?

Job sharing policy

I would like to begin by asking how the SSBA views job sharing in teaching?

- equal opportunities
- advantages/ disadvantages

I would like to talk about the situations where school boards may have to deal with job sharing. Where parents are dissatisfied with job sharing in their child's school they may raise the issue with their board. What steps might boards take and what would be the possible outcomes?

As more posts become filled through job sharing how do you think parents will react?

Do you think parents will have any particular concerns?

- primary/ secondary/ special
- age/ stage
- non/ class committed
- unpromoted/ promoted

Jobs allocated/ gained

School boards may also face job sharing when they partake in staff selection. Do you feel this raises any issues for the SSBA?

- training needs

Future

How would the Association like to see job sharing in teaching in the future?

Finale

Would you like to make any further comments?

I would like to thank you for taking time to talk to me...

Appendix 7.1 EA Job Share Policies - Development

Authority (pre'96)	Job Share Policy	Authority (post'96)	Job Share Policy
Borders	yes	Borders	1995
Central	1993	Clackmannanshire	no new jsh contracts issued, instead permanent n-t issued
		Falkirk	1997
Dumfries & Galloway	1991	Stirling	Central 1993 D and G, 1991 (currently subject to review)
Fife	1992	Dumfries and Galloway	
		Fife	Fife, 1992
Grampian	1994	Aberdeen City	1997
		Aberdeenshire	Grampian, 1994
Highland	1994	Highland	1996
		Moray	1997
Lothian	1992	City of Edinburgh	Lothian, 1992 (currently subject to review)
		East Lothian	Lothian, 1992 (currently subject to review)
		Midlothian	Lothian, 1992 (draft policy in preparation)
		West Lothian	Lothian, 1992

cont.,

Authority (pre'96)	Job Share Policy	Authority (post'96)	Job Share Policy
Strathclyde	1987	Argyll and Bute	1996
		Glasgow City	1996
		East Dunbartonshire	Strathclyde, 1993
		East Ayrshire	1996
		East Renfrewshire	Strathclyde, 1993
		Inverclyde	1997
		North Ayrshire	Strathclyde, 1993
		North Lanarkshire	Strathclyde, 1993
		West Dunbartonshire	1996
		Renfrewshire	1997
		South Lanarkshire	Strathclyde, 1993
		South Ayrshire	1996
Tayside	1993	Angus	1996
		Dundee City	1997
		Perth and Kinross	Tayside, 1993
Orkney Islands	1992	Orkney Islands	yes
Shetland Islands	no	Shetland Islands	no details provided
Western Islands	no	Western Islands	APTC and Manual

Appendix 7.2 EA Job Share Policies - Content

- Definition** Job sharing is defined in all of the policy documents, generally as the voluntary sharing of all the duties and responsibilities of a full-time post by two persons.
- Eligibility** On the whole job sharing is widely available. Existing and prospective teachers across all educational sectors are included. Posts can be permanent, temporary, unpromoted or promoted. It is important to note, however, that a small number of policies restrict job sharing for temporary posts and at promoted level.
- Arrangements** Most policies recommend that job sharing occur on a split week or split day basis with each sharer working 50% of the week. Other arrangements and time commitments are permitted, however. One policy specifies that each sharer must work at least 40% of the week.
- Hours** Some policies indicate that there must be overlap time between two sharers in a partnership to be arranged with contractual time. In others overlap is voluntary. Requirements for the 'additional hours' (inservice days, PAT, parents' meeting) of job sharing teachers are dealt with in most policies. In most all aspects are pro rata. A minority of policies require job sharers to attend all inservice days with pay, others specify that sharers attend all parents meeting some with pay, some without.
- Non work wk.** About half of the EA policies address the 'non working week' of job sharing teachers. Most recommend that where possible job sharers provide absence cover for their partners. Some policies go further. For example, one policy states that job sharers will only be offered supply work where it has not been possible to fill this through other procedures, whilst another makes clear that job sharers will not be offered additional daytime work.
- Holidays** All policies outline that these are to be taken on a pro rata basis.
- Remuneration** All policies indicate that salary is paid on the basis of an individual's salary entitlement adjusted to take account of the pro rata commitment. Likewise, service is superannuated whereby, for example, for ten years of job sharing for exactly half a week five years superannuated service accumulates.
- Application** All policies provide instructions for full-time permanent teachers wishing to job share their post. In some authorities, headteachers are required to comment on the request. Details are rarely given on how teachers can apply for vacant full-time posts on a job share basis.
- Transfer** When a post becomes surplus to requirement in a school most EAs operate a 'last in first out' procedure. This is based on length of continuous teaching service with the employing authority. For job sharers, most policies advocate that the service of the two shares is aggregated and halved. A small number of authorities take the service of the longer serving sharer to apply to both.
- Termination** When one teacher in a job share partnership leaves all policies advocate that the remaining sharer is offered the post on a full-time basis or efforts are made to refill the vacant part of the post. Where this proves unsuccessful the remaining sharer can be redeployed. Clauses in a small number of the EA policies dictate that if none of the above are acceptable to the individual teacher, the contract of employment of a job sharer can be terminated, and that under Redundancy Payments Legislation employers consider the offer of full-time work as a reasonable alternative and therefore no redundancy payment would be made.

Appendix 8.1 Job sharing teachers - Personal & professional characteristics

Job sharer	Level of promotion	Teaching experience	Age in range	Marital status	Dependents' ages
Lorna	ST	14yrs	35-39	married	2yrs
Marjory	ST	19yrs	45-49	married	14, 8yrs
Kath	ST	7yrs	30-34	married	2yrs, preg.
Shona	ST	14yrs	30-34	married	6, 3yrs
Nicola	ST	11yrs	30-34	married	1yr
Val	ST	19yrs	45-49	married	20, 18, 16yrs
Iris	ST	23yrs	45-49	married	23, 20yrs
Wendy	ST	13yrs	35-39	married	8, 6yrs
Pamela	ST	10yrs	30-34	married	1yr
Bernie	ST	13yrs	30-34	married	6, 4yrs
June	teacher	14yrs	35-39	married	2yrs
Ailsa	teacher	14yrs	40-44	married	9, 6yrs
Yvonne	teacher	28yrs	45-49	married	20, 19, 18yrs
Toni	teacher	4yrs	35-39	separated	none
Gemma	teacher	13yrs	35-39	married	4, 2yrs
Rose	teacher	14yrs	40-44	married	15, 12, 8yrs
Eileen	teacher	18yrs	35-39	married	7, 6yrs
Frances	teacher	9yrs	40-44	married	18,16, 12,10, 8yrs
Hilary	teacher	9yrs	35-39	married	5, 2yrs
Diane	teacher	9yrs	30-34	married	4, 2yrs, preg.

Appendix 8.2 Work histories - Job share teachers

Job sharer	Qualifying year	Work history
Lorna	1978	NT 1yr; ft temp 6mth; NT 1yr; supply 6mth; ft temp 1yr; ft perm 9yrs; ft perm ST 2yrs; jsh perm ST 2yrs
Marjory	1966	ft perm 6yrs; break 9yrs; supply 10yrs; pt temp 2yrs; jsh perm ST 1yr
Kath	1987	ft temp 1yr; ft perm 4yrs; ft perm ST 1yr; jsh perm ST 1yr
Shona	1980	ft perm 11 yrs; jsh perm 2yrs; jsh perm ST 1yr
Nicola	1983	ft perm 6yrs; supply 6mth; ft perm 18mth; ft perm ST 2yrs; jsh perm ST 1yr
Val	1965	ft perm 8yrs; break 10yrs; supply 5yrs ; ft perm 2yrs; jsh perm 1yr; ft perm 4yrs; jsh perm ST 1yr
Iris	1965	ft perm 6yrs; break 6yrs; supply 3yrs; ft temp 4yrs; ft perm 5yrs; ft perm (a)AHT1yr; ft perm ST 3yrs; jsh perm ST 1yr
Wendy	1978	ft temp 1yr; ft perm 6yrs; ft perm (a)AHT 1yr; break 6mth; NT 2yrs; pt temp 2yrs; jsh perm 2yrs; jsh perm ST 1yr
Pamela	1984	ft perm 5yrs; ft temp 6mth; ft perm 1yr; ft perm 1yr ST; ft perm (aAHT) 18 mth; ft perm ST 6mth; jsh perm ST 6mth
Bernie	1980	ft perm 4yrs; break 1yr; supply 6mth; ft perm 6yrs; supply 1yr; pt temp 1yr; jsh perm ST 6mth
June	1980	ft temp 1yr; ft perm 11yrs; jsh perm 2yrs
Ailsa	1974	ft perm 11yrs; break 6yrs; pt temp 1yr; jsh perm 2yrs
Yvonne	1964	ft perm 9 yrs; break 18mth; supply/ pt temp 13yrs; jsh perm 6yrs
Toni	1979	NT 2yrs; supply 6mth; NT 9 yrs; ft temp 1yr; jsh perm 2 yrs
Gemma	1980	ft temp 1yr; ft perm 3yrs; NT 2 yrs; supply 1yr; ft perm 4yrs; jsh perm 4yrs
Rose	1974	ft perm 6yrs; break 5yrs; supply 4yrs; pt temp 1yr; jsh perm 4yrs
Eileen	1976	ft perm 11yrs; jsh perm 7yrs
Frances	1972	ft perm 4yrs; break 13yrs; pt temp 3yrs; jsh perm 2yrs
Hilary	1983	ft temp 2yrs; ft perm 3yrs; jsh perm 4yrs
Diane	1983	ft temp 2yrs; ft perm 3 yrs; jsh perm 4 yrs

NT = non teaching employment; ft = full-time; pt = part-time; jsh = job share; perm = permanent contract; temp = temporary contract; (a) = acting post; ST = senior teacher