THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW RIGHT REFORM IN EDUCATION

TEACHERS AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF WORK

Denise Murfitt
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Education Department
University of Canterbury
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ABSTRACT

This study looks at the position of secondary school teachers within the context of the implementation of New Right administrative and curriculum reforms.

Use is made of literature on the labour market and the contribution of the official discourse, to develop an assessment of the current position of secondary school teachers and to provide a basis for qualitative research and analysis.

It is suggested that secondary school teachers are currently being relocated within the labour market through the implementation of these reforms, although there are signs of resistance to this process.

Teachers' time appears to be increasingly occupied by the tasks to do with implementation of the reforms. The new arrangements are such that student learning and student care appear to be negatively affected. This trend has been noted by teachers who are working longer hours in an effort to minimise those outcomes.

In an attempt to provide a more efficient and accountable system, teachers appear to be suffering from crises of health and morale and it seems unlikely that the current situation of work overload can continue without personal burnout or system failure.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION - TEACHER WORKLOAD IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

It’s not because I don’t love teaching - but if I didn’t have to work
tomorrow I would hand in my resignation, after 27 years of teaching
[Enid, Chapter 6].

This thesis analyses aspects of the relocation of teachers and the continuing feasibility of
their work within the context of New Right Education Reform in New Zealand. This
relocation has occurred within the context of ideological, institutional and industrial
change and has included a struggle for control of teachers and their work. This situation
has seen a shift of teacher status from professional to proletarian [Gordon 1992a] and has
been accompanied by a number of key issues, of which intensification [Apple, 1986] has
been a central theme.

In examining the intensification of teacher workloads and providing a previous analysis of
teachers’ work, Robert Connell’s Teachers’ Works [1985] and Michael Apple’s Teachers
and Texts [1986] have been particularly helpful. Other studies and discussions which
helped to provide a framework for this survey include Cathy Wylie [1991-1994], Susan
Bridges [1992] and Ian Livingstone [1994] who have researched the effect of New Right
reform on primary school teachers’ workloads. In addition, Liz Gordon has provided an
Reform in New Zealand: contesting the role of the teacher.
The work of teachers has always been "a labour-process-without-object" [Connell, 1985: 73] in which a myriad of tasks relating to teaching have been prone to inclusion or expansion. However this process:

is not an amorphous mess, it is very firmly shaped by circumstances and demands both immediate and remote [ibid: 73].

The development of the teaching ideology has included factors of both isolation and individualism, as teachers have carried out their work in classrooms and beyond. Imposing supervisory and administrative roles has therefore been problematic:

Teachers do not have a product which can be weighed, counted or sampled, or work for quality control. The technical characteristics of teachers' work makes them impossible to supervise in the ways that are usual with other groups of workers [Connell, 1985: 128].

These issues are central to the control of teachers and their status. Connell goes on to say that it is generally accepted that professionals should be largely autonomous. However the political order of individual schools, "involving patterns of co-operation and lines of authority" [ibid: 128], has undergone a degree of change, coinciding with a wider societal shift and the relocation referred to above, and the status of teachers and their work has declined accordingly. I will argue that in New Zealand secondary schools this deterioration in teacher status and their conditions of work is an outcome of New Right educational reform.

The origins of New Right reform are connected to the economic recession which has impacted on the western world since the early 1970s, providing the context for the decline of the Keynesian Welfare State and the rise of a new market led liberalism. This new
political system has seen a withdrawal of state functions and the result has been a shift of control to the employer and the development of policies underpinned by the New Right belief that social needs should be met by market forces.

This view has been central to education reforms throughout the Western world. In New Zealand, mechanisms promoting particular private sector philosophies have been applied to education. Administration has become decentralised, funding has been limited, management of schools has been patterned on business efficiency models, teacher appraisal methods have been promoted to bring about effectiveness based on the market model and the curriculum redesigned, becoming skills-orientated to serve the interests of industry and business.

The underlying philosophy of these reforms has been widely perceived as being to drive down the cost of public education, although the state is claiming to retain an interest in and concern for educational ideals. This public position is constantly eroded by the real agenda which is to limit expenditure and increase production. The contradictions which are inherent in this view appear to have impacted directly on the schools.

The devolved administrative system which has been imposed on New Zealand schools has shifted responsibility for outcomes directly onto governing Boards of Trustees (BOTs) and teachers, while limiting the resources available to them. Further, under the reforms, schools must become self-managing before they can become eligible for accreditation under the new curriculum framework. Under the New Right market philosophy, schools are competing for clients. It is essential, therefore, that schools are able to provide accreditation, in order to survive in the market place.
A self-managing school is required to make administrative decisions on a what is described as a collaborative basis, however, school management has traditionally been hierarchical. Currently, most schools have adopted or are in the process of developing a management network of committees through which recommendations can be made and tasks executed. Decisions made can be implemented if senior management agree and if resourcing allows it. The end result may be that teachers involved in this administration model are working harder for no further reward and may have their efforts cancelled out by decisions further up the hierarchy or by a lack of resources at school level [Lange, 1988].

In spite of these contradictions, a combination of altruism and a sense of survival have kept the reforms in place. It is the teachers (and the governing boards) who are attempting to make them work; in doing so they have co-operated in the reduction of their work status through the intensification of their workloads.

A significant increase in teacher workload has become evident in the years following the implementation of Tomorrow’s Schools. This has been demonstrated in primary schools by research conducted by Bridges [1992], and Wylie [1991-1994]. Both of these report an increase in administrative tasks at all levels of the school hierarchy, which impact on the length of the school working week for all teachers [see Chapter 2]. Although differences exist in the way primary and secondary schools are organised, fundamentally their objectives remain the same and much of the research by Wylie and Bridges has provided results and exposed issues which are worth examining in a secondary school context.
In my own research, *The Workload in Secondary Schools; A Study in the Time Use of Teachers* [Murfitt, 1993], I surveyed the teaching staff of a Christchurch secondary single sex school, with a roll of 670 students and a staff of forty-four. I used a questionnaire designed to show what tasks were expected inside and outside of the timetabled school week and to show the length of time they took. Eleven questions specifically covered the areas of work dealt with by the teachers at that school [see Chapter 3].

Overall, the responsibilities covered by full time teachers in the 1993 survey were comprehensive, with additional management responsibilities being expected of those in middle management: Heads of Departments (HODs), Teachers in Charge (TICs) and Deans. Part of the survey dealt with a description of the type and size of those tasks and was based in part on a reading of *The HOD Manual* [Gillespie and and Spenser, 1990] which gives a detailed account of how to be an HOD under the reformed system. This document describes the work role of the HOD and lays down strategies for management techniques. These strategies pertain to the management of resources and staff; not, it is worth noting, to the management of students, or diagnosing their needs. The document is management driven, not student based.

Observations within this school indicated that teachers in general and particularly the middle management structure comprising HODs and Deans, were subject to diversification and intensification of work practices. The survey was an attempt to examine the effects of the stated policy shift towards management goals.

Both management of staff and management of financial resources have taken on an extra dimension since *Tomorrow's Schools* and the results of the 1993 study showed that the
school week was lengthening and tasks proliferating, indicating a trend towards the intensification of work [Apple, 1986].

The hierarchically based management structure on which secondary schools operate provides a series of promotional steps, known as PR points (Positions of Responsibility). This means that the bottom rung are the assistant teachers who can climb a number of incremental salary steps, but will reach the top of the basic scale after a few years and without promotion to a PR, will be unable to earn more money. They may achieve status within the school by taking on recognised tasks which may, or may not, have time allocations added to them. One such recognition might be the taking on of TIC (Teacher in Charge) status, in which teachers are given honorary HOD status and in which they take responsibility for a minor subject or management area. However, they do not receive remuneration and may not receive any time allowance.

Deans, who are responsible for discipline and pastoral care at different form levels, represent another area of middle management. They are required to provide pastoral care for up to three hundred students, depending on the size of the school roll, and the level concerned. Pastoral care includes guidance (both academically and in terms of life skills) and discipline. The Dean’s role is one of constant referral, from other staff members, and from students. In some schools this role is recognised by PR points (which includes time) but in most cases they are simply allocated one or two periods per week.

In the 1993 survey I conducted, Deans were allocated a time allowance which ranged from 0-4 hours per week. As already noted, duties for Deans cover a wide variety of activities, including discipline matters, general guidance and the organisation and
supervision of extra-curricular events such as school dances. In the school I surveyed, the Dean's role is superimposed onto the existing structure; some time was usually given for the job, but no remuneration was available and the job itself was described by one respondent as potentially enormous. One respondent had not been given any time for the role of Dean for fifty (intermediate) students, while another who had been given one hour per week at the beginning of the year, successfully applied during 1993 for an additional three hours as a Form 7 Dean in charge of approximately one hundred students. This arrangement did not carry on into 1994 when a new person was appointed to that position.

Under the reforms of *Tomorrow's Schools* and the new Curriculum Framework, schools are required to become self-managing. For many schools this consists of a network of committees which in turn are to be vehicles for shared decision-making, a central principle of the reforms. Obviously, for such a system to work, time has to be made by staff for committee meetings. At the school I surveyed in 1993, a system for self-management was in place and committees were meeting on a variety of tasks on a weekly or fortnightly basis. These tasks included the following: departmental (subject based), pastoral care, staff information and decision-making, staff professional development, administration and management (at senior and middle management level).

As schools have developed self-management models, teachers operating at senior management level have been part of a self-managing structure in which administrative concerns are dominant. Further, in every subject area, curriculum and assessment reform has been proceeding at a rapid pace. These reforms are being put in place by the Ministry
and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and their applications are assessed in each school by the Educational Review Office (ERO).

Connell [1985] showed that teachers have always demonstrated a conscientious level of professionalism through which they have defined their work and enjoyed status. However, as a result of the reforms, schools are now required to expand their administrative functions, and to deliver curriculum and assessment changes as well as providing pastoral care services, acknowledging the connection between social issues such as growing unemployment and poverty in the community, with schools. The effect of all these pressures on the work of teachers, appears to be that of intensification, and may be reducing the status of teachers through proletarianisation [Apple: 1986: 24].

Teachers have been involved in a long but now steadily increasing restructuring of their jobs...They were more and more faced with the prospect of being deskillled because of the encroachment of technical control procedures into the curriculum in schools. The integration together of management systems, reductive behaviourally based curricular, pre-specified teaching 'competencies' amid procedures and student responses, and pre and post testing, was leading to a loss of control and a separation of conception from execution [Apple,1986: 32].

The New Right model of self-management in schools creates time consuming administrative tasks but is not supported by effective resourcing and genuine autonomy. Teachers and BOTs are obliged, however, to support this model and to demonstrate its application.
In examining the implementation of New Right reform in education and its effect on teachers and their work, I surveyed both the history of the reforms, their effects, and some critical evaluation of them in Chapter 2. The methodology, structure, and purpose of this study are covered in Chapter 3. Specific aspects of the results are covered in the remaining chapters: Chapter 4 deals with administrative pressures; Chapter 5 deals with additional work pressures brought by the provision of pastoral care programmes and the curriculum changes; Chapter 6 provides an account of both the way teachers view their teaching tasks and those aspects of their jobs which had already been in place, and the impact of their work on their personal lives. To conclude, Chapter 7 is an overview of the effects of these factors with particular reference to the relocation of teachers and their work, through the processes of diversification and intensification as they struggle to provide high standards of teaching and care, simultaneously implementing administrative and curriculum reforms.
CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION REFORM - BACKGROUND AND DISCUSSION

I still get a buzz out of being in the classroom. I still enjoy it. But you now have all this administration which has eroded the teaching satisfaction...They have the power to impose the reforms on you and to change your work conditions and requirements. But you don't get the reward for it. Market forces are not working for us [James, Chapter 6].

A result of the financial crisis outlined above, has been "the rationalisation and control" [Apple, 1986: 41] of white collar labour. A consequence of this trend has been a diversification of skills which contain contradictory elements: broad, additional skills are learned but personnel lose the ability to keep up with their original areas of knowledge. Further, when they are cut off from their own areas of knowledge as a result of diversification and task proliferation which accompanies it, workers must rely on "expert input" [ibid: 42]. As a group within white collar labour, Apple argues that teachers have been profoundly affected: the intensification of their work has been a direct outcome of this trend to rationalisation and control and has been evident in a number of ways. Staff numbers have been reduced, workload is increased and sociability is diminished, interaction occurring mainly around the work process. Corners can be cut where there are staff reductions so that work functions are retained only in critical areas with the result that "chronic work overload occurs"[ibid: 42]. In this situation non-manual labour groups are forced to learn new skills.
In the introduction I provided an overview of what I believe to be the main factors in the relocation of teachers and their work; the diversification and intensification of their workloads. These aspects are inexorably linked with the shift in the status of teachers from professional to proletarian. The neo-liberal reforms based on an economic crisis have affected ideological and industrial climates and furnished mechanisms with which to control the work and production of teachers [Gordon, 1992a]. In this chapter I will outline the context of those changes for teachers and their work, as well as outlining what the available literature has to tell us.

As noted earlier, the neo-liberal philosophy which emerged as a response to the economic crisis of the 1970's fundamentally shifted the power from employee to employer, from poor to rich, in order to make the capitalist system more efficient and competitive [Lauder, 1987]. This shift employed a number of strategies from cuts in expenditure to free funding for private sector investment, the privatisation of state functions (on the assumption that privatisation along business lines would lead to greater efficiency), and a redistribution of capital to the wealthy on the basis that they would invest in the private sector. Control of the workforce to make it more efficient and compliant was central to this philosophy [ibid]. These principles were to underpin public sector reforms of the 1980s.

THE BACKGROUND TO REFORM RESPONSE OF THE NEW RIGHT

Attack on the Welfare State and the Rise of the Free Market

Underpinning the public sector reforms, was an attack by neo-liberals on the welfare state [Lauder, 1987]. It was seen to be inefficient, lacking accountability and subject to uncontrolled growth. The welfare state was also criticised as a cause of, rather than a
cure for, social difficulties such as unemployment and poverty. The disciplines of the market were seen as providing a desirable framework for all state-owned enterprises which would, through competition, demand the most productive outcomes. In addition, they had argued, the welfare state reduced individual freedom and created inequalities because it generated dependency. This view suggested that individual effort was the basis of success and therefore, the poor could be seen as the authors of their own misfortune because they lacked the incentive to work their way out of economic difficulties [ibid.].

Neo-liberal economists had argued that the prolonged economic crisis could be remedied by purely economic and technical methods and that social problems should be subsumed by economic strategies in which wage levels and state expenditure were reduced. Lauder [1987: 4] argued that neo-liberalism needed to provide a "legitimating ideology" which would deflect attention from the real cause of the crisis, placing responsibility for it on the working class and the welfare state. The rise of neo-liberalism in New Zealand had been activated by the policies of the Finance Minister of the fourth Labour Government, Roger Douglas, who had strong connections with a group of business people and who were able to secure political hegemony for neo-liberal economics [Jesson, 1992]. This position was consolidated by the 1987 share-market crash, which particularly affected the New Zealand economy.

In the USA, the political right had been successful in mobilising support against the educational system and its employees, often exporting the crisis in the economy onto the schools [Apple, 1986] and a major achievement of neo-liberal philosophy has been to shift the blame for unemployment, under-employment and the breakdown of traditional values onto the public school system. Apple has maintained the view that the affluent classes have been determined not to see the immediate and long term effects of denial and poverty which neo-liberal and conservative policies have been causing.
Such attacks have been mounted by the New Right on education systems throughout the western world. Numerous arguments, usually unsubstantiated, have been promoted through the media, attacking the professionalism of teachers, criticising existing curricular and reducing the overall process of education to comparisons with the business model of measurable outcomes and efficiencies. Apple argued that teachers and the curriculum will continue to be blamed for social, ideological and economic problems within society and that neo-liberal control of education will increase. Codd [1990] examined the way in which the neo-liberal reforms provided a buffer for the central state against public dissatisfaction with education; by transferring responsibilities for school management to local school sites, while limiting resourcing.

**Related Aspects to Neo-Liberal Philosophy**

- **Self Interest**

Paul Dalziel [1993] provided an analysis of the free market system in which he noted that economists supported free market systems because they believed that profit motivated all participants and left everyone better off. Dalziel argued that there is a fundamental weakness inherent in the ideology in that poverty and human suffering continue to accompany free market policies. Economists who have eschewed a need for a governing morality or social perspective have created greater social problems and inequalities by refusing to see the impact on the very people that they serve. Neo-liberals have demonstrated Lauder's argument on the need for a legitimating ideology. For example, Kerr [1992] claims that:

> Capitalism with its roots in classical liberalism is based on a conception of the individual as a morally responsibly agent (and) people act from self interest because it is the interest they know and are equipped to judge [ibid: 5].
He argues that people pursue their own interest and by doing so provide goods and services for those with identical concerns [see *Administering for Excellence* below]. Classical liberalism promotes an economic model in which the morality of the market is paramount. This neo-liberal position underpins the reduction or the withdrawal from public sector functions previously deemed to be the responsibility of the state.

- **Reduction of the State**

Neo-liberal public sector reforms in the last few years have attempted to reduce the size of the state, at the same time increasing accountability to the central state [Gordon, 1993]. The small, strong state is then able to reduce expenditure to welfare and simultaneously to demand a maintainence of services. As noted above, one of the main assumptions within the neo-liberal perspective, is that people are driven by self-interest, and a personal desire for profit (public choice theory) [Jessop et al, 1990]. This view leads on to the assumption that as a result of people working to further their own interests, they will provide benefits to society as a whole. Public choice theory then, links with agency theory, in which "agents" can be motivated to act against their own self-interest, to pursue the goals of others. According to Gordon [1993], the principles of agency theory have been:

widely applied to the public sector in New Zealand, and have been used to shape and control the schooling system since the *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms of 1989 [ibid:2],

and these reforms contain the elements of public sector theory already mentioned.
- Post-Fordism

In a discussion on the impact of neo-liberal policy and its effect on the welfare state and on labour relations, Rustin [1989] exposed the strategies developed by the Conservative government in Britain to weaken state provision, while simultaneously promoting individual choice and difference. His analysis included a view of the emerging social and economic order of post-Fordism as an economic model, in which the speed of both technological change and the market has been reflected in the social and labour patterns of the organisations. He makes the point that as modern technical systems depend more on the rapid processing of information than on mechanical power:

The speed of knowledge-production, and of technical innovation, has vastly accelerated. Product ranges are modified more quickly, and are more internally diversified, than in classic forms of production for mass consumer markets [Rustin, 1989:37].

Flatter organisational structures are developed to facilitate greater "lateral communication" between members, maximising "rapid innovation and flexible specialisation" [ibid]. Attempts to apply this model to welfare and administrative concerns have been made; the connection has been promoted between "post-Fordist" production and the decentralisation of government, greater consumer choice in the welfare sector and a situation in which the welfare sector is served by informal and voluntary agencies.

PUBLIC SECTOR REFORM

The concepts of efficiency and accountability, which were to be pivotal to the reform of the public sector from 1986 onwards, were foreshadowed in 1980. In a speech to the Civil Service Institute, David Lange (at that time the Deputy Leader of the Opposition)
attacked the National Government's 3% cuts as being inadequate, and promised that a Labour Government would provide:

the most radical shake out of the whole system since the demise of provincial government, (by) substantially strengthening the financial accountability of government departments and of the government through to Parliament [Gregory, in Boston et al, 1987: 111].

When Labour became the government this view had become an integral part of the reforms and led the way to two principles being imposed on the state sector: commercialisation and corporatisation.

In 1985, the Labour Government argued that state-owned enterprises should take on clear commercial objectives, to run on business lines and to make a profitable return for the tax payer. Government departments were to find additional funding from the private sector, instead of subsidies from the public sector, in the belief that this would lead to greater efficiency. The 1986 expenditure review, however, excluded policies which specifically addressed equity: those administered by the Social Welfare, Health and Education Departments in which issues of social justice were paramount.

- Education Reform

The drive to market-led economic reform has since 1987, dramatically affected the education sector. In *Tomorrow's Schools*, certain principles were established concerning education administration in which the responsibility for employment, financial management and educational outcomes were devolved from government agencies to individual schools. Behind these changes lay the assumption that the costs of education could be reduced and devolution of decision-making from central to local site was to be the means through which the two goals of fiscal efficiency and community participation
were to be achieved. As the result of a review conducted by a business man, Brian Picot, administrative reforms were introduced to the education sector in 1989.

The *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms [Lange 1988] were based on a number of principles: equity (but not necessarily adequacy) of resourcing, fair provision of educational opportunities to all students, parental involvement (the governing boards of trustees consist almost entirely of parents), and the concept of partnership; both between parents and teachers at school level, and between individual schools and government agencies. Accountability was to be ensured through a contract or school charter, in which funding from the government was linked to the provision of educational services to disadvantaged students.

As noted earlier the underlying principle of devolution in the New Zealand reforms was to lead to a system being imposed on schools in which resourcing and latterly, accreditation procedures, were to be connected to self-management.

In *Administering for Excellence*, Picot [1988] had made a strong condemnation of the inefficiencies inherent in the previous education system and had proposed the present educational administration reforms. In the critical climate which prevailed, a structure was designed to limit funding and retain central control while appearing to develop a strong partnership with the community. In the preamble to the report, Picot criticised the previous structure as being "overly centralised and made overly complex by having too many decision points" [ibid: xi]. New Right critics had seen the education system as inefficient and unaccountable. The proposed structure provided features which, it was claimed, would ensure efficiency, accountability, and effectiveness.

With these intentions the new structure was intended to provide a simplified administration system carrying the following features: decisions were to be made as close as possible to the point of contact, the state was to provide funding and retain a strong
interest, national objectives and clear responsibilities and goals were to be pursued, and to ensure these goals were reached, decisions were to be made in a co-ordinated way. The stated intention was to provide a structure which would allow decision-makers control over available resources while holding them accountable for the results through a process of regular review and sensitivity to "client" demands [Picot, 1988: xi].

Underpinning these reforms are the New Right concerns of funding, issues of management, the marketisation of education and the professionalism of teachers (especially in regard to 'self interest' noted above).

Funding is the most cogent issue for the New Right. As stated above, the discipline of the marketplace is seen as the standard against which human endeavour should be judged. Picot estimated that $93 million per year would be saved through his recommendations and New Right critics had argued that too much had been spent on education which, they maintained, showed an ongoing increase (6% of GDP in 1992 compared with 4.5% in 1984/5) [McLeod, 1992]. Rather than responding to educational needs through funding, the answer had been to limit spending and cut costs by dismantling part of the old system and attacking the salaries and conditions of educational workers. In 1992, for example, the Minister said he wanted $50 million taken out wages and conditions in the school sector. Bulk funding and performance pay have been promoted as methods of controlling school budgets or rewarding high-profile staff. Late in 1993, in a complex proposal, the Schools Consultative Group recommended that all salaries be bulk funded (but not decentralised), a suggestion previously blocked by the unions who argued that such an incentive would damage the largely co-operative nature of teaching and introduce the divisive quality of competition [Munro, 1989].
Business Management Structures and Schools

The Overseas Experience

The concept of school-based management, which had already been introduced elsewhere in the 1980s, has been mooted in Australia, and the United States, and adopted in England. The implementation of local management of schools (LMS), introduced in England in 1988, had seen the imposition of a business model onto the education sector. Funding is provided by the Department for Education (DEF) through the achievement of grant maintained status (GMS). This funding formula ensures that a successful LMS or GMS school will attract more pupils and thus more funding, while a failing school will decline [Sinclair et al 1993]. A major consequence of LMS has been that it imposed a market situation onto schools, school managers are now obliged to function like business managers in a competing market. A school which fails to capture and hold its share of the market, is not likely to survive in the longer term. While schools do not make profits in the business sense, this concept obliges them to embrace the ideology of business, and a result of this has seen the adoption of human resource management techniques such as TQM which are essential for maintaining management control over 'production', and reinforcing the concepts of quality and excellence. As Ball [1992] notes, the tensions engendered by "new management" (containing the central constructs of efficiency, financial planning, marketing and cost and income), are of two main types: "institutional (and) those which surround definition of purpose" [ibid: 145]. The first creates difficulties between "top-down", hierarchical models of management which also attempt to:

maintain the commitment and interest of the non-managerial staff in the development and purposes of the institution [ibid].
Concepts of collegiality and professionalism are somewhat contradictorily connected to the new management model. Further, the second category appears to add to the contradictory nature of the new management models in that:

- educational decision-making may be set against budget-led planning,
- professional judgement against the expediencies of market image and
- professional autonomy against managerial fiat [ibid].

Indications are that at times, when self-management is linked with parent choice:

- Resources are diverted into marketing rather than instruction and, indeed,
- successful marketing becomes essential to protect future years’ budgets

[Whitty, 1994: 7].

This strategy may ensure long term financial goals, but it is pursued at the expense of immediate resourcing to classrooms.

The New Zealand Experience

Changes in administration were pivotal in limiting state expenditure in education. The self-managing school concept, promoted widely in New Zealand in 1989, was pushed by the New Right:

A self-managing school is a government school which is managed within a framework of centrally-determined goals, priorities and requirements for accountability but otherwise has the authority and responsibility to devise an education programme and to allocate resources to meet the particular unique needs of its community [Caldwell, 1989: 1].

The concept of a school as self-managing is central to the control of state funding. Although much is made of the devolution of control to the local level, it is particularly important to note that the concept is contradictory; if the power and resourcing are retained at central government level, flexibility at local level will be inhibited or even
impossible. Fundamental to the idea of a self-managing school is the imposition of hierarchical structures which emphasise employer/employee relationships [Ball, 1992] while incorporating the flatter structures referred to by Rustin.

One of the most notable features of the reform is the impact on the staff of individual schools. A development is the lack of real negotiation between staff at different levels of the hierarchy. Ball, in his discussion: Changing management and the management of change! [1992] identifies a "gap" between the worlds of education and management which appears to be developing as a result of the new management culture. Personnel roles which had been seen as pertaining "teaching" have been changed to "managing", and often the way to deal with increasing change has been seen as "management, more management" [ibid:178]. Further, hierarchical management roles can provide a variety of styles: while some offer collaborative mechanisms, others are authoritarian. Self-management was introduced into the New Zealand school system as a result of Picot's criticism that existing management structures were ineffective and a devolved system should replace it. Accompanying this system was the imperative that the decision makers should be held "accountable for what is achieved" [Picot,1988: xi]. It was decided that available resources should be provided to schools, and senior managers held responsible for their implementation and further delegation to middle management level. It was the responsibility of these middle managers to ensure that staff operated satisfactorily at the basic level. There were no real safeguards in place to stop exploitation of teachers now called upon to absorb the proliferation of administrative tasks devolved from the central agencies.

Capper [1994], in a study of collaborative management structures within New Zealand secondary schools, found two main problems. He maintained flawed models generate rather than alleviate workload pressures and the shift to collaborative models cause "high
transitional workload costs" [ibid: 34]. His study illustrated the complexity of secondary schools as institutions and the impact of rapid change on them and his work indicated that while a collegial approach may be welcomed by teachers there can be considerable resistance if the process is not seen as genuine.

These developmental problems have in some cases led to a belief that collegial structures intrinsically require higher workloads, which itself produces reaction and scepticism...Research in American schools introducing shared decision-making has shown that where conscious and careful attention is not paid to workload matters throughout the implementation phase, teachers rapidly become exhausted and back away from the process [Capper, 1994: 13].

Capper has been involved in a project promoting collaborative and "flatter" management structures in New Zealand secondary schools. However he noted that:

one problem in particular which recurred throughout our project schools concerned the tendency for senior management to revert to rapid-fire hierarchical decision-making when under pressure [ibid].

The indications from this project are that the concept of school self-management is not necessarily able to provide a genuine shift to collaborative decision-making.

However, one of the major and much lauded features of "effective" and "excellent" schooling [Picot, 1988, Caldwell,1989], is the collaborative nature of decision-making within schools. As stated above, Picot maintained that decision-making in schools should be made as close as possible to the point at which it was to be implemented.

Collaborative management however, places an enormous strain on time and personnel. [Capper, 1994, Ball, 1992]. Picot had originally initiated a collaborative model between boards and teachers. This was meant to enhance the sense of being connected to decision-making for teachers and meant to enhance their performance. Caldwell also
reinforced this view in his address *The Self Managing School* [1989] in which he put the case for teachers in management and encouraged schools to co-operate with the reforms, in which more decision-making was devolved to the school level. Gerald Grace [1991], however, pointed out that community discontent would be targeted at local trustees rather than at the central state agency, and trustees could level their frustrations at principals and staff of their schools. This is a contradiction of Picot's intention as it tends to undermine the collaborative nature of relationships within schools [ibid]. The hierarchical structures set up by the reforms, constantly contradicts local attempts to run schools collaboratively.

- **Role of BOTs**

The role of Boards of Trustees (BOTs) under the new reforms is relevant to this study in the development of their roles as employers in the overall structure of the school. In making BOTs accountable for the 'governance' of the school (as opposed to the 'management'), Picot tapped into a cheap source of reasonably willing labour [Mitchell et al, 1993]. These people were drawn from the community, in particular the parent body which the schools serve.

The structure and function of the boards relied heavily on business skills because, with the enormous workload now expected of schools and their supporting organisations, and the additional problem of reduced resourcing, many of the tasks could not be satisfactorily executed without specialised, professional, and voluntary knowledge. However, the BOT structure has created several anomalies. One of these is an issue of equity; working class schools are disadvantaged because there tends to be a scarcity of business and professional skills in those communities. As Gordon [1993] found in her research on BOTs, the Ministry and the other government agencies are more likely to have an intimidating effect on those schools while middle class schools have the cultural capital to work around the
system. As resourcing of schools has been reduced in a number of ways, there has been a marked middle class flight away from schools in less affluent areas. This not only weakens the economic base and skills provided within that community, but also leads to roll reductions. Schools are funded equally on a population basis so if the roll drops, so does the funding. Some school communities suffer from major problems of deprivation, while others enjoy major cultural advantages. When funding is reduced the basic costs of running a school remains the same. Long term problems occur relating to reductions in funding which become cyclical; loss of courses, loss of teachers, and loss of senior status for staff. The effect has been for schools to market themselves to try to keep rolls up and to fund-raise regularly within the local community. Obviously fund-raising capacity will be considerably greater for some schools than others. All state funded schools are under pressure to maintain and improve standards and to compete with each other to attract desirable students. These pressures create difficulties for all involved in a school community and is a factor adding to teacher workload.

- Staff Appraisal

The self-managing school is expected to provide appraisal systems to measure the performance of its teachers and the market model being imposed on schools insists on measuring teacher outputs and performance. While those outside the education system see tangible elements such as tasks achieved or examination results published as being suitable indicators of teacher performance, teachers and educators alike know that the outcomes of teaching are very complex and therefore are difficult to measure. Many variables are at work to hinder or encourage student progress, such as the predisposition of the student, home or class background, size of class or the flexibility of the curriculum to suit individual student needs. In his research on teaching as a labour process, Connell makes
the point that there is "something a little mysterious and evasive at the heart of teaching" [1985: 70], which makes it difficult to define a good teacher. His work attempts to describe the proliferation of tasks expected of teachers which, he says "allows a limitless intensification of teachers' work" [ibid: 72]. As noted earlier, Connell refers to teaching as the "labour-process-without-object (which is) firmly shaped by circumstances and demands, both immediate and remote" [ibid: 73]. With the plethora of tasks already inherent in teaching and the running of schools, the imposition of a large administrative role on schools compounds the problem of task completion for teachers and poses the question: how should appraisal of teacher performance be conducted? Certainly in New Zealand, teachers have generally been against the idea of using appraisal for retention, promotion or salary purposes [Mitchell et al 1992: 27]. An appraisal system which rewards individuals on the basis of outputs which are difficult to define objectively is very likely to be used as a tool to discipline and control teachers [Walsh, 1987, in Lawn & Grace: 147].

TEACHERS' WORK SINCE TOMORROWS' SCHOOLS

- Intensification

In his work on intensification in teaching, Michael Apple [1986] explores the effects of the escalation of workload. He makes the point that intensification:

- represents one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educational workers are eroded [ibid: 41].

He goes on to say there are many symptoms of this overload, from being unable to find the time to go to the toilet, or have a morning tea or lunch break, to not having the time
to keep up with developments in the teacher’s subject area. He makes the point that this process could be seen:

most visibly in mental labour in the chronic sense of work overload that has escalated over time [ibid.].

One of the effects of this syndrome has been to pressurise the worker so that pre-determined plans and formulae for efficiency become more attractive than creative ones, and self-determined programmes which would normally enrich the work process become counter-productive. Intensification also inhibits and diminishes the sociability of workers. They are more likely to become isolated as the demands of work takes precedence over every other kind of activity. If time cannot be found to relate to co-workers in a relaxed context at regular intervals then the positive aspects of those relationships are likely to be lost.

In his discussion on the restructuring of teachers’ work, Apple [1986] looks at the way all workers have been affected by change in the labour force. He commented that a greater range of skills is likely to be developed by the worker as a result of intensification; however, where personnel or services previously existed to cover certain areas of work, cost cutting measures are likely to have led to the expectation that a diversity of skills would proliferate in spite of a reduction in the number of work roles. This is likely to be at the expense of time spent keeping up with developments in the area the worker was employed for in the first place. Probably the most significant of these effects has been the likely reduction in the quality of the services provided for people. Apple has noted that: while traditionally, ‘human service professionals’ have equated doing good work with the interests of their clients or students, intensification tends to contradict the traditional interest in work well done, in both a quality product and process. [1986: 42].
He concluded that in the case of teachers, while they are attempting to re-assert control over their work, regain time and to decelerate the processes in schools, they misunderstand what is in fact occurring. In accepting the intensification of their work, they are losing status. While they believe that their work has become more professional through the application of the business model principles of accountability and efficiency, this syndrome has actually proletarianised their situation.

Research into the intensification of the work of teachers in England, as a result of the neo-liberal reforms and in particular the 1988 Education Reform Act [Sinclair, et al, 1993] has examined the impact of private sector management techniques. The consequences of this included:

- a reduction in the power and authority of the LEAs, removal of union influence at the national (strategic) level, and further restrictions on the professional autonomy of schoolteachers. Teachers become less like professionals, and more like ordinary employees [ibid: 8].

The effects of the imposition of the business management model, as described above [Ball, 1992], then become evident head teachers, under this arrangement, have become managers of employees and allocators of resources, rewarding those who provide the most valuable contributions to the business. Human resource management techniques from private enterprise, with their emphasis on quality and excellence when applied to the teaching profession and through the discipline of appraisal systems and performance related pay (and the threat of job losses), have sought to control teachers and their conditions of work.
- Proletarianisation

It could be argued that the imposition of the business model on the education system is also intended to encourage teachers to become workers who will take instruction through the establishment of an employer-manager-employee relationship [Connell 1985, Apple, 1986]. The BOTs and Principals, as the employers accountable to the Ministry for the running of the school through teacher appraisal, have the means to control and proletarianise teachers. Reducing the self-perception of teachers from autonomous professionals to devalued, and deskill labour and industrial workers certainly appears to have a part to play in the new reforms, especially in Britain [Sinclair et al 1993], and USA [Apple, 1986]. Teachers have enjoyed a sense of autonomy in the past, partly because they have been isolated in their classrooms and this, combined with the fact that their expertise is based on academic knowledge, has enhanced their sense of professionalism.

Sinclair et al [1993] have conducted research based on the work of Carlson [1987, following Braverman, 1974] in which three areas of attack on teaching were indicated. These were: deskill through the introduction of technology, intensification of work through curriculum and assessment reform, and substitution, the placement of experienced teaching staff in junior or non-teaching situations (partly as a means of reducing the cost of salaries). In a survey of British teachers a number of strategies were evident which both added to teacher workloads and simultaneously reduced teacher status. These included a major increase in teacher workload as a result of the introduction of the National Curriculum and testing, as well as an expectation from management that teachers would be flexible, taking on areas within schools for which they had no training. Further, a significant number of economically driven job losses were achieved through
redundancies and early retirements; in one LEA, three hundred jobs had disappeared in
twelve months. In addition, the expectations from management in cutting support staff,
minimising the use of paid relief staff, extending class sizes and the school day and
putting pressure on teachers to take up extra duties, were all shown to have a major and
intensifying effect on teacher workload. In a discussion of these trends, Geoff Whitty
suggests that the flexibility expected of teachers and their "enhanced professionalism"
could too easily become "a cover for exploitation of teachers and worsening conditions of

- **Democratisation**

This concept is based on a theory of worker participation in which areas of the school are
managed by committee [Connell, 1985: 201] and has already been touched on above
[Ball, 1992]. Unless extra time is provided for this work, it has to be found over and
above the teaching tasks. Further, unless decisions made by these committees are actioned
(they are often shelved), and resources made available for them, the process of
democratisation is a waste of time. It seems to be merely an attempt to persuade teachers
to own the process of reform, through apparent involvement in the management of the
school. It could be argued that the adoption of business management models such as TQM
in schools (referred to above), is strategic in terms of labour control, rather than the
process of genuine collaboration. Wylie’s study [1994] has shown that primary school
teachers report that the quality of their involvement in school decision-making had shown
little change from 1989, "with some deterioration in their access to information on
matters which concern them" [ibid: 100], and she indicated that a fairly high level of
involvement or consultation had existed in schools in 1989, but that there had been no
significant increase since then.
- Professionalism, and the Role of the Union

Teachers are attempting to retain their sense of professionalism in spite of the attacks outlined above. They are co-operating, for example, with the new curriculum reform, and as my study will show, putting enormous amounts of energy and time into its implementation. An attack on teachers has been obvious at times through the media [McLeod, 1992]. The New Right has seen the 'short' school day and year as being contrary to the desirable market model. Criticism has been levelled at the secondary school teachers' union, the Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA) by New Right critics because it has been perceived as being too powerful and confrontational. However, the PPTA joined the Schools' Consultative Group (which provided a basis for policy collaboration between educational sector groups and the state, but has since disbanded) and appears to be participating in the continuing implementation of certain aspects of the reforms.

RECENT RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF THE REFORMS ON TEACHER WORKLOAD

In studies on the impact of the demands placed on primary school teachers since the reforms, both Cathy Wylie [1992] and Susan Bridges [1992] found teachers' roles and their workload had changed markedly. Wylie found that any gains that teachers appeared to have made in decision-making, due to the democratisation process, were over powered by extra work, funding problems and the imposition of further responsibility. A sense of powerlessness was felt strongly by the teachers she interviewed and many expressed the strong desire to have government policy makers not only listen to educators but also provide adequate resourcing and slow the pace of change. Stress due to changes brought about by Tomorrow's Schools on personal lives was a problem for the teachers
interviewed by Wylie, and Bridges reported that 64.5% of all teachers she surveyed suffered from general stress, fatigue and depression, 10.3% suffered from clinically diagnosed problems attributed to work stress. Workload and related stress was found to be very high; the teaching week appeared to have expanded. Bridges also found that 28% of the teachers cited work stress as damaging in their personal relationships. Livingstone [1994] who investigated further some of the issues already raised by Wylie and Bridges, found that the tightness of timeframes on areas of change which teachers had already agreed to (for example curriculum), impacted negatively on teachers on and their ability to deliver those changes.

Bridges found in her study that two main tasks named as requiring extra time across the range of teacher positions were staff communications and managing financial resources [see Chapter 4]. Bridges states:

it was expected that increased consultation would take more time and since this has to take place out of class time teachers carry an extra burden which is not met through a reduction in time allocated to other tasks but through the use of 'own time' [ibid: 35].

She found that teachers in the forty-one to fifty year age group spent more time than others on tasks related to decision-making and school image, associated teacher paper work, curriculum updating, fund raising, policy ratification, and making staff appointments. She found that this was not linked to positions of responsibility but occurred regardless of status.

Wylie found that teachers worked an official 32.5 hours in the school week and an additional 17.5 minimum which makes a 50+ hour working week, a finding collaborated by Bridges in her survey [see Chapter 3]. Bridges also found that about half the teachers in her study did not think that they could sustain their current workload for a further two
to three years but it was likely that they would be expected to do so, 8% complained that they already suffered from burnout [see Chapter 6]. These factors directly demonstrate the intensification process referred to by Connell [1985] and Apple [1986]. Bridges has come to the conclusion through the results of her survey that teachers have willingly increased their workload to ensure the children they taught would not be the victims of any negative effects which the new reforms brought about. Teachers have attempted to meet the needs of the local community and the devolution of power from central agency to local site by increasingly involving themselves in communication, resource management and school policy development. Livingstone [1994] reinforced the previous findings of both Wylie and Bridges particularly in relation to the dramatically increased workload and associated stress carried by primary teachers since 1989. In an attempt to show teachers' perceptions of changes in workload and their effects, his research indicated that workloads in 1993, as perceived by teachers:

are clearly much higher than they were in 1989 and although the increase in means has been relatively steady over all five years, the percentage of teachers rating their workloads as ranging from 'very heavy' through to 'unbearable' has risen sharply by around twenty percent a year over the last two years. Two-thirds of all teachers in 1993 expressed the view that their workload rated 'very heavy' or above. Eight percent actually checked the extreme point on the scale on the scale, 'unbearable'. These figures are symptomatic of a profession under increasing strain [ibid: 18].

Overall, Livingstone found the average working week to be 54.5 hours when all school related activities were taken into account. About half of this was time spent in the classroom, and of the remainder, about six hours per week was undertaken during the weekend. This pressure impacted negatively on leisure activities, social and family
relationships, and on teachers' health. The reasons perceived by teachers for these changes were mostly connected with the reforms introduced in 1989, which have included an accelerated implementation of new curricula, a deluge of administrative documentation, pressures applied due to visits from the Education Review Office and the requirement that schools now develop new assessment and appraisal systems.

CONCLUSION

The neo-liberal reforms which were imposed on the education system during the 1980s both in New Zealand and elsewhere, concern funding, issues of management, the marketisation of education, and the professional status of teaching. They have resulted in the adoption of policies which affect administrative, personnel, curriculum and the assessment functions of schools. Overt self-management practices are now required of schools as a condition of recognition and resourcing. Resourcing, however, has been limited by the ideology that state expenditure is undesirable, and its reduction has meant that there has not been sufficient for the provision of the mandatory requirements.

In his critique of *Tomorrow's Schools*, Codd has argued that the successful application of neo-liberal reforms on the New Zealand education system would give the central agencies more control over "economic supply and political demand (and would) shift the locus of legitimation problems away from central government" [Codd, 1990: 204]. However, he also maintained that serious contradictions exist within the policy, concerning choice and equity, which are likely to undermine its implementation in the long term. The architects of these reforms appear to have been unwilling to consider their negative repercussions on individual schools and the students and teachers within them. They have been responsible for a market model which reduces resourcing for state education and provides a means of controlling teachers.
Fundamentally, the evidence indicates that the self-managing school is being carried at enormous personal cost by teachers. The research carried out by Wylie, Bridges and Livingstone, provides overwhelming evidence that the intensification process is impacting deleteriously on teachers as they struggle to provide an education service of a high quality for students and at the same time, to meet the obligations and requirements imposed on them by the new reforms.

Teachers have worked much longer hours since 1989. They have taken on additional tasks and worked extra hours to protect their students and diminish or neutralise the effects of the progressive withdrawal of state funding and support. Further, teachers have the additional difficulty of being held accountable for results. As noted earlier, Bridges comments that:

\[
\text{since all teachers are now held accountable, it is not altogether surprising that in order to meet extra demands as well as putting children first, teachers are spilling tasks over into their 'own time' [1992: 35].}
\]

Gordon [1993] argues that without the altruistic behaviour which both teachers and trustees demonstrate, this reformed system would not be successful. What is presently done out of concern for students is also being done to support a system which is fraught with contradictions. Unwittingly, she maintains, both trustees and teachers have become agents of the state.

This chapter has provided an overview of the main features of the reforms and the context within which teachers’ work is being relocated. The following chapter outlines my previous study [Murfitt, 1993] of teachers and their workloads, and provides a rationale for this study of middle managers and their work.
CHAPTER THREE

TEACHER WORKLOAD - THE RESEARCH

I'm at school by 7.30 and I work through to 5.30 or 6.00 pm. I get a break at interval but not at lunchtime - I work for about 4 hours at night and 3 or 4 hours at the weekend [Helen, Chapter 3].

METHODOLOGY

This study investigates the workload of secondary school teachers and expands aspects of my survey in 1993 which investigated the intensification of work in a Christchurch secondary school. For this thesis, I undertook in-depth interviews with six teachers in middle management positions, each from a different Christchurch secondary school. The schools were selected in an attempt to provide a cross-section of factors, socio-economic status, single-sex/co-educational type, and geographical placement within urban Christchurch. The school which I had previously surveyed remained in the group in order to provide a link with the work I had undertaken previously. The aim of selecting a wide range of schools, as well as teachers holding a variety of middle management postions was to build on the results of the previous survey. Those results had indicated a proliferation of tasks from a variety of sources through hierarchical delegation downwards, as well as pressure from below as assistant teachers sought support and resources from middle management.
In the 1993 survey on time use I extrapolated the notional working week for assistant teachers without particular responsibilities [see Appendix 2]. This was established through the analysis of raw data from the survey. Although the response was representative across the management hierarchy (from senior management through to part-time status), it demonstrated that involvement in self-management tasks impacted considerably at middle management level. This conclusion was consistent with the business efficiency model being imposed by Tomorrow's Schools. Decisions impact on schools from two main sources either from the parent community, usually through the BOT, or from the state agencies, notably NZQA, the Ministry, or ERO. These decisions or requirements are fed into the school system through the Principal and the senior management team, and onto middle management. This group will then be expected to participate in decision making at a local level as well as ensuring the implementation of policies emanating from both local site and national sources. The type and size of these tasks at middle management level therefore warranted further investigation.

**Form of Data**

**1993 Survey**

In deciding to interview six teachers I wish to examine the extent to which the workload profile which I had found in my 1993 survey, was being duplicated in other schools. When I had conducted my previous survey I had been aware of a perceptible increase in workloads among teachers in my own school during 1993 and the questionnaire was designed to quantify that perception. Staff were canvassed at a meeting and they agreed to answer a series of questions.
As these people are my colleagues and I wished to avoid controversy, I did not ask for opinion but kept strictly to the breakdown of time and tasks. Some of these tasks did not exist before 1989 and many which did have become more detailed.

I prepared the survey on the basis of functions I knew to exist within the school and I distributed it to forty-four teachers altogether. Twenty-nine out of thirty-four full-time staff and five out of ten part-time staff completed it and returned it over a period of ten days. In all there was a 77% return although not all questions were answered by all respondents. I provided the questionnaire at the beginning of week three of term three, but because none of those weeks were normal (due to unusual events such as school camps and public holidays), I asked that teachers make an assessment of time used as an average rather than simply profiling a specific week. This meant that time had to be averaged out even if an activity was held only once a month, an exercise many teachers had difficulty with as some components of their jobs are more intense at certain times of the year.

The questionnaire consisted of eleven sections. It was designed to show what tasks were expected inside and outside of the timetabled week. The school day consists of five hour-long periods. Many non-teaching functions, some specified at the time of employment are expected at a number of times before, during or after school, or at the weekends. The survey was designed to find average amounts of time spent on a wide variety of activities.

The eleven questions specifically covered:

Definition of status

Timetabled time allocation for specific job as described

Official time allocation for non-teaching tasks
Extra-curricular interaction with students

Actual time spent in teacher-related activities and its position in the school week.

Time spent in meetings and activities related to meetings

Time spent in professional development

Management responsibilities

Pastoral care functions

Types of committees

Use of lunch hours

The results showed an average working week of 51.6 hours for an assistant teacher in that secondary school in 1993. The average number of hours in the teaching week for those teachers was twenty hours which meant that the teaching component was 38% of that average working week. In total, 11.5 hours was given for preparation and assessment, and 5.15 hours for meetings. Extra-curricular student contact came out at 8.7 hours, professional development at 4.9 hours and form teacher duties at 1.3 hours per week. The additional tasks which made up the working week were broad based: student supervision, pastoral care, extra-curricular activities, professional development, assessment, lesson preparation, and curriculum development were all cited. Particular note was taken of managerial tasks and time spent in meetings. In 1993, these teachers spent between 1.25 - 10.25 hours per week in meetings. Meetings and other non-teaching activities were held in the lunch hours or after school and impacted heavily on that time.

When complete lunch hours were added up, those lunch hours designated as Free For Own Use came out at 17% of the total time available per week.

Many of the teachers who were surveyed made the comment that they were conservative in their assessment of activities engaged in and the time spent doing them.
A separate section was written to ascertain the particular responsibilities of those in middle management. The survey questions pertaining to HOD/TIC tasks were broken down into seven categories: staff management (.25-2 hours), staff training (.5-6 hours) and staff appraisal (.5-1 hours), finance and purchasing (.25-2 hours), consultation regarding students (.25-2 hours), and Other (1-6 hours). (Figures shown are the range on a per-weekly basis.)

A number of tasks were common to all teachers, with some additional tasks specified for those in middle management positions. It was to investigate further the role of those in middle management positions in secondary schools, that I pursued the current survey, to ascertain the extent of task proliferation and the intensification of workload.

1994 Survey

I chose to interview one HOD from the 1993 survey to link the two studies, and I approached five other teachers in middle management positions in five different schools around Christchurch. As shown earlier, these teachers and schools were selected to provide a wide representation of subject areas, middle management status, and school type, including geographical placement, gender mix, and socio-economic status.

I approached most of the teachers by selecting the school first and then asking around colleagues at my own and other schools to find names of people who would be likely to agree to being interviewed, although as the selection process developed I concentrated more on maintaining a mix of subjects. Each of the teachers interviewed agreed to talk to me about their work, but then often had difficulty in finding the time. Three were interviewed during the weekend, two during the May holidays and one at her school, during school time, because she did not want another school-related activity to take up
weekend time. For two of the teachers several attempts were made to find a suitable time, because in each case, the pressure of work was so intense.

My perception the previous year had been that workloads were increasing, and I had sought to measure that; my impression was similar in the first term of 1994 as I began to formulate an interview schedule [see Appendix 1], and prepared to gather data. As a teacher with (largely unpaid) middle management status as a Dean as well as TIC responsibilities, I too had experienced a rapid increase in workload, especially through the administrative and pastoral care components of my job. At one point during term one, the demands became so intense that I began adding all employment-related activities to find that my working week had lengthened to close on sixty hours (creating obvious logistical difficulties for this project, for which I have foregone most leisure and social activities). At times, in order to accommodate the expanding demands of all functions of my job, I was obliged to work through coffee and lunch breaks; the emphasis on self-management in the school was by then requiring meetings before and after school, as well as during lunch time. The latter often clashed with my supervisory, pastoral care or extra-curricular roles. After school, in the evenings, and at weekends, assessment and preparation were the main tasks, but a number of meetings with parents were also required. This accelerating workload seemed a likely factor in my developing both high blood pressure early in the year, and later a virulent form of bacterial pneumonia, which was contracted in June, and which necessitated one month of sick leave in the third term. My situation strengthened my developing view that I would not be alone in experiencing such a rapid and intensified increase in workload as I sought information on other teachers’ work.
Analysis of Data

In making a qualitative assessment of these teachers' current workload engaging the teachers in the study, I asked for a description of their work and the time it took. Using a questionnaire designed for these interviews which covered the broad areas of work likely to be expected of teachers in middle-management in any school, [Appendix 1], and the survey form from the previous study [Appendix 2], I established the approximate length of time spent on the various tasks for which these teachers were responsible [see Appendix 3 for a summary of results]. Each interview lasted between sixty and ninety minutes, was taped and then transcribed. These were conducted over a period of five weeks, from early April, to mid May. From that data I established a series of teacher profiles and I wished to retain something of the individuality of these teachers' responses [after Connell, 1985] as well the commonality of their experiences.

Teacher Profile

The six teachers I interviewed from the six different schools were aged in their forties and had started teaching between the late sixties and the late seventies. They all had middle-management status in their respective schools. However, this recognition varied from PR 3 ranking as HODs of large subject departments through to honorary TIC and Dean status. Curriculum areas were as diverse as possible and covered the following: English, Transition, Physical Education, Maori, Mathematics, and Science, although nearly all of these teachers taught other related subjects as well and two of them were Deans.
Marital status was fairly uniform; five were married, one divorced and all had children although the respective ages of these varied considerably. Confidentiality was provided through pseudonyms. Three women and three men participated in the survey. At the outset of the interviews it became important to establish the background and present workload of each of the teachers, as well as a brief description of the schools. The teachers were chosen first so that a reasonable mix of subjects, and status within middle management could be established. In trying to find a mix of schools, consideration was given to the effects of the reforms on schools, especially in regard to the establishment of the governing BOTs, and factors of choice and marketisation. [see Chapter 2: Role of BOTs]

RESULTS

Five main areas of concern emerged in the analysis of these teachers' work, and these will be dealt with as follows: administration, pastoral care, curriculum, professional factors, and personal considerations [see Chapters 4, 5 & 6]. Within each of these main areas of concern are common elements which pervade the work of these teachers and which have also been found and examined in the work of others [see Chapter 2]. These factors relate to the intensification of work [see Connell 1985, Apple 1986] and are demonstrably present in the workload of these teachers. The remainder of this chapter will deal with a detailed description of the actual tasks for which these teachers were responsible at the time of the interview.

Teachers' Present Workloads

James Williams. When asked to give a description of his present workload, James reported that the official timetabled allocation of time was as follows: teaching - twenty
hours per week, administration and 'other' tasks - five hours per week. Each staff member at James's school received four hours non-contact time (1994), so this five hour allocation was not seen as a bonus for administration and his PR 3 status. The amount of time officially given for the HOD tasks was therefore one hour.

Extra-curricular activities included attendance and assistance with training at an outdoor education week, an orchestra camp and responsibility for the training and selection of a ski team. Time spent on these activities tended to be seasonal but intense when they were in progress. At other times he has been called upon to do things such as taking photographs of cultural activities for the school magazine or prospectus.

Management tasks related to his position as HOD English, NZQA liaison staff member, and BOT staff representative. He also supervises the video equipment and the technician. Time spent on these activities was assessed at 4.5 hours per week.

Meetings covered a variety of tasks; BOT, staff, HOD and department and ad hoc committees. He is a member of the following committees: SFC (Sixth Form Certificate) Assessment, Computer, Capital Expenditure, Finance, Prospectus, BOT and related sub-committees. Time spent in meetings and meeting-related activities was assessed at 6.5 per week.

James is a form teacher and pastoral care takes approximately 2 hours per week, although this was probably a conservative estimate as his school was undergoing a change from horizontal to a vertical group system during 1994 and many extra-curricular events had been organised in the school to help facilitate that transition.

Teaching-related activities, such as assessment, curriculum development and preparation, were estimated to take approximately 10 hours per week.
At the time of the interview, towards the end of term one, James had been under increasing pressure. His view was that his working week would have increased to around sixty hours at that time.

The actual class teaching load is what he describes as his prime task, five classes; one Form 7, three Form 6, and one Form 4. In addition he has the responsibility for NZQA liaison work and a number of tasks as BOT representative, as well as his responsibilities as an HOD.

In describing his non-teaching load, James detailed the NZQA and the BOT components of his work.

About the NZQA work he said:

They do pay me, taking the number of exam candidates and from there they pay an administration fee and make a direct payment to the NZQA liaison person which is a lump sum payment minus tax but if you work out how much you get for it, you'd be better off if you had 1--2 periods a week. Then you could go through all the material they send - normally it takes an average of three periods a week to deal with it and at peak times it takes up all my non-teaching time and more. I find that a lot of the reading material consists of large documents of 15--20 pages and it seems to come through in a constant flow.

The PR 3 which gives him a salary increment and a time allowance of one hour per week, is the promotional step recognising his HOD status. HODs are expected to run their departments, decide on resources, make financial decisions, and be available as resource people for other staff. Under the new reforms they are also expected to be involved with staff appraisal. James describes the routine aspects of running the department as "pretty trivial" and again makes the point that he finds the time allocation insufficient:
I get one free period on top of what other people in the department get - but you can’t really use it. I haven’t managed to get into every classroom for every member of the department for years - I’ve got into a few but from an appraisal point of view it’s totally inadequate - it is part of my job description - to keep an eye on what’s going on in the classroom. I just rely on the fact that I know the teachers well, and I do keep up on what the kids are doing, and exam results.

Basically I don’t want to go in (for teacher appraisal) for a whole period -- I’d rather go in for 5-10 minutes now and then - but it just won’t work.

James makes it clear that his BOT involvement is time consuming, as staff trustee for the last five years he has made a major commitment in time and energy. He is on several BOT sub-committees and says that BOT matters would normally take fifteen hours per month. Membership of the governing school body has been complicated by specific major issues, for example the appointment of a new Principal, and decisions on the processes for that appointment. During the time the BOT has been in existence some serious staff matters have been dealt with, he has been involved with the development of a new building programme and many hours have gone into ad hoc committees as well as more routine matters. Both specific and general matters take time; on a routine basis James has updated information coming through about the changes to the education system; and because he is on the school and BOT finance committees, he is regularly required to sign cheques.

I’m one of the signatories for cheques, and it’s a kind of on-going audit --- anything that comes up which looks vaguely dubious -- I’m actually expected to challenge it and say-"hey what’s this for?" I’m expected to keep an eye on things and now and then you find mistakes. The cheques alone would take about an hour per month. Often
I'm called into the bursar's office and she wants to discuss various things so that's all part of it.

He also spends time within the school management committees dealing with similar issues, both the computer committees and the finance committees require informed decision-making and although scheduled to occur once a month, they can be called more often to consider special requests.

James obviously has several components within his workload which can expand at any time and in ways which cannot necessarily be controlled.

Enid Johnson has a PR 1 and is TIC, Transition, with twelve hours of timetabled classroom teaching and nine hours allocated for individual student needs. She spends eight hours per week in teaching-related activities and about four hours per week in department and staff meetings, but has various other meetings all of which are held regularly before, after and during school time. She spends two hours per week involved in meeting-related activities. She says that she is often asked to discuss her work with other professionals, such as the Department of Labour, NZIM, and visiting educational specialists. Enid's staff have one hour per week of timetabled professional development time and she is involved with other staff in the development of student programmes. Six hours per week is spent on management responsibilities as TIC and she spends in excess of three hours per week on pastoral care (she is a form teacher) and supervisory duties over and above the time allocated for individual student guidance.

Other job-related commitments include, the Link Advisory Committee (which takes two to three hours per month), the Educational Benevolent Society staff representative, membership of the social committee, appraisal, and personnel committees on her staff and
in previous years, an involvement with the Transition Teachers' Association committee.

When asked about her average working day and week, Enid said that she works an eight to five day and usually takes two hours of work home at night. While she used to spend a day of the weekend at school she no longer does so, "in order to save my family life." Overall she assesses the length of her school week as between fifty and sixty hours. She makes the point that there are a lot of demands on her time which she finds difficult to minimise.

_I never ever have a lunch break, I never have a free period, and I very rarely have a morning break. I usually come in at eight and if I can grab a cup of tea I do. If I can grab some lunch while I'm sitting at the desk talking to a student, I do, and if not I grab a cup of tea when I go home at 5 or 6 o'clock at night._

This teacher's workload has intensified to the point where she is unable to expect "comfort stops" and she says there are two reasons for this. One factor is the elastic nature of Transition, where an endless stream of students can come for individual guidance on employment or course choice. The other is meetings.

_It's getting to saturation point and I'm getting to the stage that I can't find time for another meeting. The HOD of Maths and I have been trying to find time for a meeting about a student and we haven't been able to find the time in the last 10 days._

Enid is responsible for the development and implementation of life skills courses at Form 6 level which change every six weeks on six lines of the timetable. This is a challenge in terms of logistics, staff management and course preparation:

_There are 36 changes throughout the year. And in the first two modules of this term we have to get every Sixth Former through what we call a "Keeping Yourselves Safe " module. Now you can guarantee that every year I'll have at least two changes of staff_
- so they don’t know what they’re doing. I’ve got three modules running at the same
time and I’ve got to prepare all the lessons for them, go through all the books, and
arrange all the visiting speakers which accounts for 50% of the 24 hours which the
course takes in total.

Enid says that every year, part of her job as TIC Transition is to compile data for the
Ministry’s, ‘March 31st Return’ (which she says takes about fifteen hours) and a ‘School
Leavers by Destination’ for the BOT, (which takes about ten hours). She also has other
administrative functions she is expected to perform:

That (information) gets cross-referenced until you come up with the same
number and so that’s another 25 hours work. On top of that I have the Form 2
teachers’ information material to sort out where all the Form 2 teachers and
Principals come into the school to see what developments are happening in the
school. This is a heavy workload in the first term - it’s even worse than the
third term when you’re getting kids out to their various destinations at the end
of the year.

Two years ago the roll at Enid’s school dropped and the school’s Transition
hours were cut. For this reason she is now back teaching Science to a junior
form. It is clear that Enid’s workload is subject to the vagaries of expansion in
that Transition is an area of the curriculum which is subject to intense and
uncontrollable student demand. The combined, required components of her job
are contributing to her long working week.

Harry Bryant teaches Physical Education to one Form 6 class, one Form 5 class,
and three Form 4 classes, a total of eighteen hours per week. He is allocated four
non-teaching periods per week as the Form 7 Tutor, and along with other teachers
on the staff he has three non-teaching periods per week for 'other' use. Of that latter section of time, he has one period of sport and two meetings scheduled inside the timetabled school week. He has TIC status as Head of Athletics. Harry spends seventeen hours per week on teacher-related activities, which includes lesson preparation, and curriculum development. Harry reports that the demands seem to have increased in teaching:

*We have higher expectations in the subject areas I'm in - we are constantly re-writing our programme but we are also trying to keep up with changes in NZQA - as far as University Bursary (UB) and Sixth Form Certificate (SFC) classes go - there's a lot of change there. This is because of the new curriculum framework. The Phys. Ed. area is being organised now.*

Sixteen hours per week are spent in meetings or meeting-related activities. Of that time, two hours are spent in meetings as the Form 7 Tutor and he spends every lunch time except Friday on work associated with being the Tutor. On Friday lunchtimes he is involved in the student recreational programme, for which he has responsibility.

About four-and-a-half hours are spent on professional development which includes a weekly computing class, and approximately nine hours per week are spent on management responsibilities.

Pastoral care takes approximately ten hours per week. Harry has been a 'rolling' Tutor which means that he has looked after the same group of students since they arrived in the school as the Form 3 intake, five years ago. This also means that while he knows them, he has to familiarise himself with a different set of arrangements for them each year, depending on the requirements for that level.
This year his responsibilities include organising two formal social functions in conjunction with a student social committee, as well as organising a Form 7 level council student committee. Harry describes the role of the Tutor as very much a one-to-one relationship which is very time consuming, although the amount of time spent can vary from student to student.

*I'm looking after a student's welfare while he is in my care for a year. This means that (usually) I'm picking up a number of them per day and taking them into my office and just talking to them about their progress at school. An interview can take up to one hour. Ideally I want to pick up 20–30 students per week. But I'm only picking up about 10 just because of the time. So of course I'm creating the time outside of school hours - they'll visit me at lunch time or after school - if possible - or before school. Time spent with each boy varies - some last 10 minutes, while others are half-an-hour. Parents are often brought in as well which means that the interview is usually longer - 45 minutes or an hour.*

Reasons for interviews vary; Harry says that he may see a student about a course change which may take a short discussion of twenty to thirty minutes, or it may be a major problem which takes longer.

This teaching job with its pastoral care component is an expanding one with the addition of sports requirements and fixtures during the weekend; Harry is at times working in excess of sixty hours per week.

**Helen Jacobs.** Helen is HOD Biology, second in command to the HOD Science at her school. She has a timetabled teaching load of fourteen hours per week, two hours of non-teaching time, and six hours as a Dean. She spends about half an
hour on cultural activities and one and a half hours per week on outdoor education activities. Approximately ten hours per week are spent on teaching-related activities and about fifteen hours per week on meetings. Of meetings she says that:

*There are often additional meetings for maybe two to three weeks for a particular need and then the committee is disestablished. This could average out at an extra one hour per week - covering things like rebuilding labs or marketing the school.*

Helen calculates that she spends three or four hours per week on professional development, which includes in-service courses as well as Diploma of Education (Management) papers and subject association matters.

Management responsibilities within the school especially relate to her PR 2 in Science. She is involved in all aspects of co-managing the department and in addition, is one of the staff responsible for the school timetable. She also runs a laboratory and points out that any practical subject has responsibilities, especially under the Health and Safety Legislation which clearly specifies safety requirements in schools and all other workplaces. Although the Science department does have a technician, there are not enough hours for all tasks to be covered, so she often finds herself taking on those jobs outside the school week.

*I have my own lab to run, but there is no time allocation. We have a lab technician - which means 20 hours per week over 8 labs, which isn't much - it's totally inadequate - but that's all the school can fund. There is limited funding, the roll might fall so your funding falls, but that doesn't diminish the number of labs you have to maintain. So I spent the whole of last Saturday afternoon down at school, cleaning my lab - stopping bottles and
things. I don’t think I should really have to be doing that but I won’t work
in a dirty lab. Mine is considered to be the cleanest, nicest lab in the
school but it’s only because I put the effort in.

Helen is the Form 5 Dean which means that her job involves a high proportion of
pastoral care. As noted earlier, she has an official allocation of six hours per
week for the Dean’s job, but she actually uses all of her allocated non-teaching
time for it. At her school a high priority is placed on pastoral care, Deans get six
hours per week, except for the Form 3 and 4 Deans, who get eight.

Helen’s school also has moved into the self-management model and she is a
member of a number of committees. These are: staff welfare, guidance,
management forum (HOD), curriculum, timetabling, and marketing and
enrolment. She is also a member of her subject association committee.

Helen has three major components in her teaching week, work associated with the
teaching of Science, pastoral care and specifically, her role as a Dean as well as
her involvement in the management structure. In order to manage these tasks she
works an intense week:

I’m at school by 7.30 am each morning and I work through to 5.30 or 6.00
pm. I get a break at interval but not at lunchtime; I work for about 4 hours
at night and 3 or 4 hours at the weekend.

When all components are combined, Helen often works in excess of sixty hours
per week.

Moana Awatere is the Maori HOD at her school where she has PR 2 status and
has timetabled teaching for nineteen hours per week, with four hours for
administration and one for staff and department meetings. Activities related to
meetings take about thirty minutes per week. Both during and outside her specified teaching time she gives time for cultural activities (waiata) about four hours per week. However, Moana says that culture pervades everything in the department and the language; it is a way of life (kaupapa).

Moana spends around fourteen hours per week on teacher-related activities. At this stage she finds that preparation of lessons and assessment are the time-consuming areas of that workload; in the past few years she says she has spent a lot of time re-writing areas of the school curriculum in Maori for the Immersion Programme at her school:

Since 1990 I’ve had the Maori Department and the Bilingual Unit. Since 1991 I’ve had to do schemes for all subjects - from a Maori viewpoint. And since we’ve had Immersion I’ve had to monitor every subject for the Maori content, and that’s been going since 1990.

Professional Development is on-going and Moana says that she has constant interaction with her staff on professional matters. As she is very involved with all aspects of Maoritanga and the Performing Arts both at and beyond school, it is difficult for her to differentiate between school and personal time. She is also involved in the teacher union, and spends about two hours per week on PPTA matters.

Management responsibilities take several hours per week, and include staff meetings, personnel training (Te Atakura), staff appraisal (which is ongoing), consultation with other teachers about students for course selection, and financial matters. Pastoral care is an integral part of Moana’s work. The department is run as a whanau (extended family) and she calculates that she spends in excess of six hours per week on pastoral care. Moana’s school has adopted the self-managing
model and she participates in four committees: HOD, mediation, assessment and the Maori department.

Overall, Moana finds it difficult to differentiate between time spent professionally and personally as they tend to overlap. She is aware of the need to ensure that the school was getting what she calls a "fair time":

*I did a time management exercise at the beginning of the year. I worked out that I was putting in a 40 hour week - marking, preparation etc, because I do a lot of other things as well. I think I do the ordinary PR 2, HOD job - the other things are to do with being Maori and so I do a lot to help support the survival of our culture. I have people who take 40 - 100 kids for waiata - but I have to supervise those people, and I have a secretary - I have overall organisational responsibility - it all takes time. Maori Performing Arts is an extension of Maoritanga and is an essential way of getting our kids involved. I administer and help in Waiata Maori - I belong to several organisations - we teach people to teach and to compose. The over-riding kaupapa is to get our people on a self esteem track - and I like doing it - I'm really passionate about it. I saw the growth of myself and the influence it had on our people. It's a vehicle for the language and for supporting families - getting traditions into our kids - that involves me in national and regional organisatons so that people are being taught. So that's another big part; when that flows over into school that's when we have timetabled waiata Maori for 2 hours per week - you push for things, then you have to run them.*
As a Maori woman who has standing in the community Moana has been asked to do a number of related things such as being involved on a national level in the PPTA, and the Maori Teachers' Association. She reports that she, like other Maori colleagues, are in demand once they become "upskilled". She says that this can be very demanding but she wants to do it:

Some people say that you've got to learn to say no but that's bloody easy to say. It all takes some personal time, and time from school and it's still professional too. It's all to get our people upskilled - in curriculum and unionism - all those things.

George Thomas has a PR 3, he is the Mathematics HOD and he is responsible for the school timetable. He has a teaching load of seventeen hours per week and specified administrative tasks for five hours per week including support for remedial students. He is given three hours per week of discretionary non-contact time. He spends three hours per week coaching sport. He calculates the time spent on teaching-related activities as ten hours per week for preparation of lessons, assessment and resource gathering and an additional seven or eight hours per week on curriculum development. This is due to the changes in the curriculum as it is designed to conform to the new national standards. George says that this has created new problems in terms of time management:

There is a new curriculum to be taught, new schemes to be written, and new methods of assessment. Those two areas are taking up enormous amounts of my time.

He is critical of the way in which the new curriculum is being introduced and maintains that it should have been trialled first:
There are areas where there are no answers because we've only just been set the questions. We shouldn't have all this heartache about how it's all to be done.

Meetings average out at four hours per week and he attends three hourly meetings, three times per week, after school. He also attends evening meetings on an average of two hours per week and activities related to meetings take about an hour. He is a member of his school's finance committee, the Canterbury Mathematics Association, and the HOD Maths subcommittee.

He has been given five hours for management responsibilities but he finds that they take up eight hours per week. Although he would like to have time for more he only manages to achieve a half an hour per week of professional development. Pastoral care of students takes one hour per week as a form teacher, and the amount of pastoral contact he has with the students varies, but it is not a significant feature of his teaching load. He spends time on voluntary but professionally-related additional work, two hours per week teaching night classes and external examination preparation and marking, which averages out at one hour per week. George says that the proliferation of tasks is particularly onerous at certain times of the year:

*I feel that I do have a big workload but at certain times of the year it can increase to up to 70 hours per week. That's when the demands of the timetable combines with everything else. The three pressure times are at the beginning of the year, at around mid term break, and at the end of the year. I work up to 2.00 - 3.00 am for about a week at those times, although at the end of the year it can go on for as long as three weeks at a time.*
When the professional requirements of the school are combined with outside pressures such as the curriculum reform, which is beyond George's control, his weekly workload is virtually untenable.
CONCLUSION

At the time of their interviews, these teachers were three or four months into the working year. Two of them were interviewed during the May holidays. Each of them however, was already displaying a some features of exhaustion or burnout [see Chapter 6, Health] with the possible exception of Moana who showed a consistent enthusiasm for her subject area, even when difficulties arose. All areas of their work were subject to the characteristics of intensification; a sense of experiencing pressure from both above (senior management delegating downwards) and below (supporting the needs of assistant teachers) became evident in the responses from these middle-managers. They were all working long hours, up to sixty and even seventy hours per week. A lack of time for personal relationships was implied as their professional time was expected to expand. As noted earlier, Apple [1986] remarks in his discussion on the intensification of teachers’ work that:

> it represents one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educational workers are eroded (and) we can see intensification most visibly in mental labour in the chronic sense of work overload that has escalated over time [ibid: 41].

As these teachers’ answers were analysed further, it became clear that all aspects of their complex and multi-faceted jobs were being subjected to intense and rapid change, in which personal accountability was increasing, but resourcing and recognition were not.
CHAPTER FOUR

ADMINISTRATIVE PRESSURES

There are an increasing number of meetings. We seem to have had more meetings this week than I have ever known. We have more committees. We are applying for accreditation which means we have to have a quality management system in place. So we’ve all had to go on quality management committees....[Helen, Chapter 4].

This chapter is the first of three which examines specific areas of teacher workload with an examination of the functions and requirements now expected of teachers and schools as a result of the administrative reforms.

Several main strands seen as creating pressure on teachers’ work emerged from the interviews and will be dealt with in separate chapters. As already stated, this will deal with administration and management tasks, the next will look at social change and pastoral care issues as well as curriculum change, and Chapter Six outlines personal and professional factors.

In detailing their present work, the teachers interviewed noted a rapid increase in administration in addition to their teaching tasks. This factor came through clearly in the descriptions of their present workload. Early in the interview process they commented on the intensity of their workload and how it had changed, especially recently. Without exception they noted that major changes had occurred within the last five years and that all of those changes had impacted dramatically on their work. These comments are
consistent with Livingstone’s finding; he notes that teachers in his study demonstrated a much higher workload in 1993 than in 1989 [1994:18]. The changes encompassed issues of funding and resourcing, the imposition of a business management model and the marketisation of schools. One aspect which is central to this thesis is whether these factors have altered the status of teacher labour; has the fragmentation and proliferation of imposed tasks, reduced the professional standing of teachers? While the new management model was purported to provide an increased opportunity for democratic participation by teachers [Picot, 1988:51], there seems to be little evidence that this is in fact occurring [Capper, 1994].

One clear trend from the interviews is that administration has increased for each of these teachers since 1989, and in their responses they described the sources and extent of administrative tasks: Evaluating Change, the impact of that administration Impact of Change, and their reactions to it: Reactions to Change.

The administrative pressures which have impacted on teachers’ work appear to be particularly noticeable within middle management. Each of the interviewees specified the size of the administrative tasks and lack of time in which to complete them as problematic. By being prepared to take on promotion, each of these teachers displayed a willingness to take on a certain amount of administration. Some administration has always been an expected component within teaching and for some teachers, being involved in the middle management structure has been a positive, additional, dimension to their work. It is therefore significant that they all described the administrative tasks for which they are now responsible as being increasingly burdensome, and contrary to their original expectations [see also Bridges, 1992:36, Mitchell et al 1993: 51; Wylie1994:59; Livingstone,1994].
As already noted [see Chapter 2], the changes initiated by Tomorrow’s Schools have been increasingly driven by the perceived need to lower the cost of state funded education through a variety of means, and one of these has been the transfer of responsibility from the state to individual schools. In other words, self-management provides a mechanism through which funding from the state can be diminished while the functions previously provided by the state can be retained.

When the Department of Education was replaced by the Ministry in 1989, many tasks previously undertaken by the central state were devolved to schools. Advisory services, while previously directing services from the central state agency to the schools, were reversed to provide advice not to the schools themselves, but to the Minister, about schools [Lange, 1988].

Those administrative tasks shed by the central state were adopted by schools, and this has provided the main source of increasing administration in teacher workloads. Caldwell saw the Tomorrow’s Schools reforms as a vehicle through which:

the achievement of excellence, with highly valued goals of great worth

achieved by all through the efficient allocation of scarce resources and a network of strong supporting relationships among the principal, teachers, students, parents and other members of the community [Caldwell, 1989: 11].

As already discussed in Chapter Two, excellence and accountability became the qualities expected of schools and teachers in providing services, not only to the client (the students and school community) but also to the state agencies: the Ministry, ERO and NZQA. The recommendations from the Picot Report promoted systems for delegating responsibility as far as practicable, at the same time ensuring:

the efficiency of any new system of education administration (and that) the systems and structures proposed are flexible and responsive to changes in the
educational needs of the community and the objectives of the Government
[Picot, 1988: ix].

It should be clear from these factors that the reforms were inevitably to increase the
administrative tasks undertaken at school level, and in addition, provide a qualitative
change in teachers' work.

When the teachers in this study were asked to evaluate any change in their workloads,
each of them responded that while several factors were evident, the common denominator
for them all was the enormous increase in administration and activities related to the
concept of self-managing schools, resulting in an intensification in their work. Reflected
in this trend is the original intention of the reforms to shift administrative functions from
central agencies to local schools, and which, this chapter will demonstrate, are counter-
productive to the original aims of excellence and efficiency.

Evaluating Change

Each of the interviewees, in describing the changes they had been aware of in their jobs,
mentioned a lack of time to do all the extra tasks now expected of them, and the way in
which those tasks were constantly added to their workload, without negotiation, by those
in more senior positions. This proliferation of tasks has impacted directly on the teaching
and school duties already in place. Teachers have been expected to provide extra
management but funding, staffing and other resources have not been increased to meet
those expectations. In pursuing the changes of the last five years, a shift in emphasis from
the students to other concerns can be observed [Wylie,1994].

When asked to evaluate the changes in his workload, James Williams said:

It's changed. I probably worked as hard before but I put all of my energy into
the classroom. I had no free time when I started - I did a lot of courses after
school for kids, and for teachers in the evenings. Now I would put in the same number of hours - perhaps I would cut down slightly because I have a family now, but the proportion of my time and energy spent in the classroom has diminished out of all recognition. I now spend a lot of my time and energy and a lot of my frustrations are to do with administration, with finances, and things like with staff with personal problems (as BOT staff trustee).

Enid Johnson too found that her workload has changed and particularly cites the impact of meetings on her work. Enid started teaching in 1968 and when asked to evaluate any change in her work, she said that she has less time now for teaching related activities.

*I probably don’t spend as much time as I did sorting out work and teaching. I tend to do a lot of it off the top of my head now because there isn’t time to sit down and plan lesson objectives. But the physical time has changed - we had lunch hours and I maybe taught hockey or netball and we had one staff meeting a week on a Monday after school. That was your meeting time. Your lunchtime was spent having lunch with your colleagues and it was very civilised. We occasionally had a meeting, but if you chose to do some sport with kids, well that was fine. We might have stayed and done marking - I did a lot more marking because I was doing marking subjects in those days so I took a lot of marking home. I would say that the pressure has more than doubled in those years.*

When asked when this additional pressure really became noticeable, Enid was specific:

*It got worse in 1986 when I came into Transition. But it was exciting and invigorating because it was renewal pressure and it was stimulating being in a totally new subject area with lots of teachers helping each other, working*
together to produce a syllabus, courses - it actually generated a tremendous amount of energy - although it was tiring. Now I just find that I think "oh God, how can I get through another day?" That's the impact it's having on me. It's just constant every day.

When asked to identify the source of the changes she considered that while some people might say it was because of social change and the way that is reflected in student behaviour, she could not agree.

A lot of people would say that the kids are getting worse - I think that's a bit of a myth. We tend to look back with rose coloured glasses and think "wasn't it lovely years ago?" I started teaching in one of the toughest schools in a Yorkshire dockland area. It didn't come any tougher. I don't think there was a lack of respect - I don't particularly suffer from that - I think I've been here too long, and they all know me too well. It certainly isn't the kids, it is everything you've got to do other than actually work with kids.

This view of the change in the workload is shared by many of Enid's colleagues and she often hears comments in the staffroom along the lines: "When are we going to teach the kids?" She says that "teaching the kids" has now become "secondary to shuffling little bits of paper" and going to meetings, working on numerous programmes or projects and filing returns for the Ministry.

We're all so busy doing everything else that's got to be done, with all the latest this and that, that teaching kids is really secondary. And it is a tragedy.

Harry Bryant has also described a trend towards intensification of his work. His area of responsibility in the middle management structure of his school is in pastoral care. He
finds that he has many administrative tasks asked of him as part of his role as the Form 7 Tutor.

When asked to evaluate any changes in workload Harry said he had noticed an increase in his workload in the last four to five years with regard to both teaching-related activities and the pastoral care role. He indicated that he was experiencing a proliferation of tasks from further up the hierarchy:

It's the little asks that I get from my boss - the counselling staff. I might be asked - there is an audit coming up for roll purposes - they'll want an update of the roll and they want an audit done on it. I have to go to the form teachers to ask them to fill out certain forms, it's a job that entails four to five hours over the next few days. I have a lot of those jobs which come intermittently through the year. It's hard to specify them but they come up every three or four weeks. However, it's on top of your workload and you're expected to do it.

Like Harry, Helen also has a Dean's job and a position of responsibility within a large department. However, unlike Harry, Helen is paid for her PR and she has six hours allocated as Fifth Form Dean, so she would appear to be more generously resourced and recognised in her situation.

She has previously experienced change within her work situation; when Helen first returned to teaching she discovered that the expected workload had increased. As she became more senior her classes became fewer but her workload still increased as she took on more roles, particularly over the previous three to four years. She is now in a situation where she is dealing with more people and she believes, because of the increased numbers of interactions and problems this brings, there is more stress associated with her work.
On top of that she has been willing to involve herself with implementing the new curriculum reforms and the new assessment procedures. These all add to the administrative component of her job:

*Over the last three or four years the number of tasks have increased. I am dealing with more people and I am on a lot more committees. I have also been involved in implementing new schemes and the demands of altering assessment.*

She says she willingly takes on extra work (for example in assessment), but finds that she does not get support in the other areas of her work while she does so. She has spent time helping to implement assessment reform and persuading staff in her school to participate in the expected changes, but the way this change has been implemented (without adequate trialling or resourcing) has created resistance.

Moana Awatere has seen enormous change in her work but although she has been affected by the administrative changes coming out of *Tomorrow's Schools* most of the change she refers to has been of her own making. In her school career over the past 15 years she has established a number of initiatives, for example, the immersion programme and the whanau programme. She now has a staff of seven where previously she was the only teacher. When she first began teaching she was the only Maori contact, this meant that she developed a number of roles - counsellor and matriarch, but she found enormous energy for this multi-functional task because she had a strong sense of mission as well as a supportive extended family:

*I’m there with the mission and I am there with other people too, so if I fall others can take over. Also, I would never be able to do it without my husband and my sons, and it is the people who give you the strength.*
When asked if her workload had changed, Moana said that her day was long, beginning at 7.00 or 7.30 am to deal with administration and mail. She says that the volume of mail has increased greatly but overall the workload began to increase when she was given her PR2 position. She found that with that came an increasing professional expectation for performance. The promotion was a recognition of the initiatives which she had been responsible for in her school. The work which she has been involved with has included an increase in writing schemes, establishing a bi-lingual unit and performing arts. Moana says that the workload became particularly heavy in 1990 but is even more concentrated now:

_I've also been involved in meetings for curriculum changes and the NZQA._

_That is to disseminate it to the teachers in the area - that would probably be a day a term. So I would go out for a day to a hui and I'd do two to three hours paperwork to get the stuff organised._

When asked to describe change in his work situation George cites the new curriculum changes as providing the most dramatic impact on his workload. He says that there is a new curriculum to be taught, new schemes to be written and new methods of assessment. He finds that the workload is added to because these areas have not been properly trialled in schools first. Many meetings have been required to organise these tasks both within his own school, and with Mathematics teachers from other schools, to ensure some sort of quality control. George identifies decentralisation of the education system as the key factor in pushing the responsibility for the implementation of the curriculum onto the schools. This is one factor which has been instrumental in increasing his workload as HOD over the last four years. He has been Maths HOD in his present school for a number of years. When asked to evaluate any increase in his workload George said it began with _Tomorrow's Schools:_
As soon as schools got more responsibility to do things - I was on the finance committee and immediately there were decisions to be made. We had to form committees and make decisions on that basis and so the tasks which we were responsible for and which increased, really came from 'Tomorrow's Schools'. There has been extra work and extra stress because of that.

George believes that Tomorrow's Schools was actually imposed on the teaching profession and that while he is not against change and felt it should have been brought in gradually: "The changes might be okay but the speed isn’t". George goes to say that the speed has created difficulties of its own, and as HOD he has had to steer his school’s Mathematics department through it.

Curriculum change - that really started impacting on us at Christmas 1993 and we really have had to start into that, that year. We had the moratorium on the curriculum - there was no change made on the timeline to accommodate that. The Minister said he didn’t expect it to be implemented right away but we heard that people who were having ERO reports would complain that the curriculum wasn’t being implemented quickly enough so we felt we still were expected to implement it.

Increased accountability has brought increased stress. George is aware that it brings additional pressure, but in spite of that he believes that it is a good thing. He feels that there has been a public perception that there is "a lot of dead wood" in teaching and while he feels that not a lot has been done about that, teachers have certainly made themselves more accountable for the things they do. He sees that accountability as ultimately being to the students and their parents.
We can point out that maybe we are not as bad as everyone thought we were.

It is a good thing we are accountable. We have to make sure that we have a professional image in the community as well as for our parents and kids.

However, while George is positive about this, increased accountability impacts in a number of ways, teachers find that they are expected to perform to a high standard within a work environment of accelerating change and many of those changes are far reaching. George believes a result of the reforms is that the entire educational climate has changed in a negative way. However some of those changes would have been acceptable to him in a different context:

I would have been interested (in the changes) but I would have liked to have got involved in a slightly more measured rate and to have trialled things out and done more training first. Yes, I was interested beforehand in that it was an innovative technique and idea and you don’t discount any of those without at least trying them first. There are some good things coming up. It’s just a matter of rate of implementation.

George finds the speed of change and the fact that it has been imposed on the education system has detracted from the aspects which he views more positively.

These comments indicate an increase in teacher workload as a result of the reforms in which devolution is a main theme. Notable factors in the way workloads have changed are the increased number of meetings, a constant requirement that small additional tasks be actioned (especially related to school record keeping) and an absence of support for changing teacher-related activities, such as curriculum and assessment. Teachers felt that their work time was being dominated by work other than teaching and that their energy was being diverted away from the classroom. Some administrative functions may have
been voluntarily taken on by some of these teachers in different circumstances, however they felt that the unrelenting flow of tasks, the lack of trialling prior to implementation and increased accountability, all contributed in a major way to an increase in stress.

Impact of Change.

The change brought about by the reforms is affecting teachers in their day-to-day roles in a number of ways. It has come from multiple sources and impacted in different ways. Administrative increases in one area have lead onto increasing tasks in other areas. This proliferation of tasks has caused role conflict for individual teachers as they strive to fulfil the requirements of several functions simultaneously, while remaining accountable for them all [Bridges, 1992].

James finds that his function as the BOT staff trustee, for example, impacts on the time he would previously have used for marking and preparation. As already detailed in Chapter Three, he has major administrative commitments as the NZQA contact person and the internal running of the school. When asked for the reasons for the change, James specified Tomorrow’s Schools and the changes to administration which occurred then. He is conscious that those changes moved tasks from a central agency to the self-managing schools but without the same resourcing.

We used to do administration - it used to be fairly trivial, where you were gathering statistics and forms for the Department - and then it became the Ministry. With the advent of ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ where the whole emphasis was on self-management, what seems to have happened is that a whole lot of tasks which used to be done centrally by people who did nothing else, have now been pushed down into our schools. We who are trained as teachers in the classroom have suddenly taken on the role of management administrators for
which we haven't been trained. Because of that we've had to evolve systems and policies - all of which take time and energy to organise, so you've got this proliferation of administration at the expense of your time in the classroom.

James observes that it is not only teachers who are affected by this proliferation of tasks, office staff are also greatly affected by the changes. Ten years ago his school had one full-time and one part-time office worker but now there are four people in the office as well as the Bursar who was at one time the part-time administration person.

When we had two people, one of them was there for the teachers for typing exams and that sort of thing. None of that is done any more and teachers are expected to do that themselves. We are all expected to have a computer at home to do our own typing. We do have one person employed to do our photocopying for us as long as it is in days beforehand. However that puts another pressure on you because in teaching, although you have an overall plan of where you are going, you might decide to deviate and it's got to the stage where you have to run that (photocopying) off yourself.

James says that the combination of all those things has impacted in a major way and as far as administration is concerned he spends a lot of time on the telephone, particularly with regard to financial matters. As the English HOD he spends a considerable time organising the purchasing of books and other resources. He says that with the greater emphasis being put on accountability, considerable care has to be put into the selection of classroom resources. James is a member of the staff finance committee and is very aware of the financial constraints under which the school is operating. In discussing his financial responsibilities, he says that he is very conscious of how every dollar is spent especially as he is also on the BOT finance committee:
When you sit on a finance committee you've got a buffer of about $2000 for the year and budgets of $60,000 to $75,000. We're on zero based budgeting so every item that you buy you've got to account for. It takes a lot of time because of the meticulous nature of these details and it is necessary that the money is spent well.

Some teachers' descriptions of the intensity of their workloads indicate that they are suffering from a sense of overload which they see as interfering with the traditional goals of education. Enid, for example, makes it clear that she believes that the impact of Tomorrow's Schools has resulted in student learning becoming subordinate to the administrative functions of the school. However, she believes that the students are unaware that this is happening because of the comparatively short time which they spend in a secondary school. She frequently sees staff involved in administration in the school getting to classrooms late, demonstrating a clear conflict of roles:

And I'll sometimes run out of this office because I'm running to teach Science - and I'll run off to a laboratory and I'll see kids standing outside a classroom. I'll open it and say "all right sit down, get your books out". The teacher will come - I know there are no teachers sitting in the staffroom - they're all tied up in administration or Deaning or dealing with kids who have been referred to them. And constant telephone calls. But I don't think the kids actually realise.

Enid does say that it is sometimes necessary to tell the students about this conflict, particularly when she is expected to attend a meeting at the same time as taking senior students in a Transition programme:

Twice this term I have actually sat my Sixth Formers down to get on with work in the classroom and I have had a meeting with other teachers at the same time. There just has not been time in the working week to fit in a meeting with
those teachers. When I was on contract duty (we have a discipline room called the contract room) I would very often have meetings with other teachers when I was supervising, because that was the only time that I could find - there wasn't a lunch time, there wasn't an afternoon slot.

Meetings are a major pressure for Enid and her colleagues and they mainly serve the administrative requirements of the school. In the past, management committee membership of her school was voluntary, but in 1994 membership was made compulsory for all staff. This means that all teachers are participating in the self-management process. It also, however, means that the number of meetings attended by staff has increased greatly.

There are constant meetings. You have a department meeting after school - that is compulsory. We have a staff meeting. This year every member of staff is required to be in school from 3.30pm to 4.30pm to attend a meeting and without permission from the Principal you cannot be excused.

We have gone into a new form of administration in the school and every staff member is required to be on a committee (until last year it was voluntary) and it meant that I and several other staff - mostly women - were involved in: equity, curriculum, personnel, guidance, staffing. I sat on five committees last year - now it's only one. But you can't say "sorry I won't be at your meeting" - we have to apply to the Principal not to be there.

Enid's meeting load and the way it impacts on her working life has already been discussed in Chapter Three. In addition to those functions (which include Careers and Guidance Department meetings) she is involved with Peer Appraisal, Shared Decision Making (a PPTA initiative) and an ETSA project. She makes the point that for every
committee she sits on there are usually several tasks including further meetings with other staff or the Principal.

While Enid's school Principal is good at acknowledging staff effort, she is also "very good at loading things on without realising just how much it's going to take out of you". Enid feels that she is often left with "the problem" as the Transition HOD; the Principal works intense and long weeks ("she'll often be here all day Saturday and Sunday, and her days start at 7.00am and finish at 10.00pm") and constantly loads her staff up with more work without being aware of how those extra tasks are actually impacting on either their professional or private lives [see Chapter 6].

Harry Bryant says that increased expectations from senior management are for him the notable manifestations of Tomorrow's Schools. The paper work has increased significantly and there are forms to fill in, on a constant basis. He says that the demands of the curriculum and increased administration have caused an increase in his workload. The expectation is that extra tasks will be taken on without negotiation and that those extra tasks which are taken on contain a high degree of accountability.

I think the way teaching is moving there's a higher expectation - this sort of answerability is in place. You answer to your HOD and as a Tutor I am answering to the Counsellor as well. I have regular meetings with them. I also have to sit on other classes as an ordinary Phys. Ed teacher and watch staff perform as appraisal of other teachers. That's about an hour a week.

So Harry is responsible to some degree for the standard of staff appraisal in his teaching area, and this is another area of responsibility which has been moved onto schools since Tomorrow's Schools.
Other aspects of school administration in which Harry is involved include implementing the new curriculum in Physical Education, and he says that they are also currently monitoring their report system. He says it is an on-going job for the whole year and has been taking approximately three or four hours per week. All of these tasks and functions collectively require time and in Harry's view, impact negatively on the basic teaching job. He is conscious of a change in teaching since he first began in 1978 when he says the workload was less than it is now.

*Today it is very high. If I ask is the workload benefiting my classes - I feel I am not a better teacher than I was in 1978. I feel the workload is too heavy and it is taking a toll on my teaching. Everything extra I put into it is administration and it is taking the toll and the energy levels too. As a teacher I am growing older and you have less energy as you grow older. I try not to let it affect my classes and I am trying to put in as much time as I used to as far as preparation is concerned. I think the students would pick up that perhaps I am under pressure workwise, although, as I say, I try not to let it affect my teaching.*

As far as meetings are concerned Harry says they are part of the job and he has a number per week. It is a pressure in terms of his time but he says it is not as bad as the tasks being imposed from above. He says it is that factor "which makes life difficult". Frequently he finds that these little tasks are not recognised and they come from both the Tutoring job and his subject area. However, he finds that the administrative tasks required of him through Tutoring tend to detract from the resources he can put into his subject area.

*In a way it takes you away from your own subject area which is a danger.

*Because you are doing so much on the administration side you can't do as*
much in your own subject area. Your own standards in your own subject area becomes eroded by this administration burden.

Harry feels that the most valuable resource is time! His frustration comes from not having sufficient time to do all the tasks required of him in all aspects of his work. Most of the unexpected workload comes within the context of his Tutoring role; he is expected to execute tasks within a short time frame to a high standard and without negotiation.

Helen Jacobs also says that she does not get enough time, saying she does not mark or prepare anything at school. Those tasks are done at home or at school after 4 pm. All her non-contact time goes into administration, pastoral care and other tasks.

Helen sits on a number of committees, these include the marketing committee (to market the school), staff welfare committee, school timetable committee and HOD's committee. While she is responsible for the Fifth Form in her role as Dean [see Chapter 5], Helen is also involved in extra-curricula activities - orienteering and stage managing major productions and these take large amounts of time at certain points in the year.

Helen has three classes (in 1994) but she normally has four or five. The senior management team has stipulated this as a concession that she has been overworked in the past. This is partly because she picked up a PR2 during the first term of the previous year when the timetable was not able to accommodate the change. Helen received the money but not the time. However, she said she would rather have the time and that the money is "really nothing when the tax is taken off!" Another reason for her larger workload is that she tended to take on an extra period for a class she says:

You either teach a class for three or four hours per week and it doesn't normally work out quite evenly. You can't say to a class "have that teacher for two hours and someone else for one".
Further, Helen says that she wasn’t given the option in the past as to the size of her workload:

*I wasn’t given the option - it comes from senior administration who in turn, have to meet the criteria which are determined by the Ministry.*

Helen says she enjoys all areas of work she is involved in, but she finds that the non-teaching areas impact on her teaching related activities. She says her teaching suffers because of deadlines imposed by other, usually administrative functions.

*If I think of the immediate one where we are refurbishing all our laboratories and developing them - we had a meeting a week ago with the architect and they said we have two weeks in which to get the plans ready. That’s from scratch! So that was not the school - that was the Ministry and their timeline when they will spend their money, as well as the architect. So that affects us and pressures us.*

Helen has observed a number of changes in the top levels of administration which have impacted further down. Whereas senior management had larger teaching and pastoral care loads, those functions have been diminished and now the Deputy Principal only supervises three study periods because he is taking on so many administration tasks. The Associate Principal is teaching two classes now instead of three or four. Helen says the tasks they used to do are now being done by the Deans and she believes that the administration demands from beyond school is one of the main reasons for her own increased workload. Helen says that the expectations from senior management are constant. For example, because they are marketing their school they have to prepare for an open day and an open night:

*I happen to be in the only decent lab so everyone will be trotting through my lab while I teach in it. And that’s just another hassle for every class I will*
have to sort out something appropriate for heaps of people wandering through, and I have to make sure that the lesson is structured in such a way that the kids can carry on without being affected. When we have open nights everything is going to be set up in my lab so it is a matter of carting things to my lab after school that day and returning it all before class the following morning.

In relation to Ball's findings [see Chapter 2, Management and Schools], Helen is subject to work experiences in a "changing institutional culture within which decision-making and management are set" [Ball, 1992:179]. Like the other teachers in this study she is subject to decisions which she may not be part of directly but which nevertheless involve her. This "culture" creates certain expectations; senior management requirements are also evident in terms of meetings. Helen says that meetings are imposed; staff meetings are 8.30 am, but classes begin at 8.40 am every morning. She also has particular administrative functions as the Dean and the several roles which she carries can lead to significant role conflict:

Being a Dean I have kids in my office till 8.30. I have a meeting from 8.30 to 8.40. I go back to my books to go to class and I have another bunch of kids there waiting. I'll be walking across the quad and kids will be coming at me - "I've got to get a card or so-and-so won't accept me in class" - so I turn around and go back to get the thing that the other teacher wants me to get then I get back to class and my class is standing outside the lab. The juniors in particular can't go in there without a teacher but senior classes know they can come and get my keys.

Meetings are a significant administrative pressure, not only because of the conflict they create by being superimposed on other functions in the school, but also by the way they take from the times which these teachers would normally expect to be able to re-energise,
or to take on extra-curricular involvement. Helen finds that in order to accommodate all the meetings she is expected to attend she has to use up to three lunch hours per week and three days out of five after school. Other meetings are arranged on an ad hoc basis.

*There are an increasing number of meetings - we seem to have had more meetings this week than I have ever known. We have more committees - we are applying for accreditation which means we have to have a quality management system in place. We've all had to go on quality management committees to get that system into place.*

Helen said that the decision to apply for accreditation had been made by senior administration so that their students could have the latest qualifications under the new curriculum framework; she says that "it comes back to competition between schools and the market". Schools are now being pressured to conform to business model requirements, and to market themselves to compete for student numbers. This affects individual staff in a variety of ways. For example, Helen says two of their staff were contracted by NZQA to write the booklet on accreditation for schools:

*We have to implement what they wrote about. As a school early on we got a national reputation because we were one of the first to be involved in Transition, we were involved in a pilot health scheme and we have to keep our image up as being first in. We have a strong sense of competition with other schools. We have to keep the roll up or else we lose our jobs. We are competing for student numbers.*

Moana says her greatest pressure is time, especially in terms of running the whanau, as well as lack of resources. However, she also feels the pressure of being the main focus
for anything Maori as well as the necessity of taking on a public relations role. Being politically sensitive to other school staff can also be time consuming:

*When we interview for the whanau, students come into a way of life, and when some students come across in the mainstream to the whanau I am very careful to manage things sensitively (with other staff). We must show that we know the procedures and we can’t look as if we are taking too much power for ourselves because we know there will be flak if we are not careful. Time is a problem to sort things out through the right procedures and to make sure people are not working against us.*

Public relations in the work place is one area which Moana finds time consuming, however, as she has also had to develop her own resources, she does tend to feel resentful of the time spent on such activities:

*One of the main things is the lack of resources and the lack of time to do resources in Maori - and the stress factor involved. Also - the Principal will say "It’s nice for you all to show up in the staffroom sometimes". And I think "And who for?" We don’t often go to the staffroom - it takes time to get up there and then people start to talk political issues, critically, when I just want to chill out.*

Moana finds that her job consists of a proliferation of tasks. A feature of her work is managing several tasks at once. She may be setting up a meeting with staff, spending some time with the nanny class, going into work on pronunciation with another group, and then set up a framework for other classes in the main school to visit the whanau. The administration factor threads through all of her work but there are some specific tasks which have been thrust on her which she believes someone else in the school should be doing, especially since she received the PR2.
It's a lack of definition of who does what - so anything Maori comes my way - for example, a survey on the number of Maori students - the Counsellor won't do it, I will have to, and I get a sense of being imposed upon.

When George Thomas began teaching he was considerably younger and much closer in age to that of the students. He feels that he received more feedback from them at that time and he thinks that although the outcomes probably haven't changed the expectations have:

*I am 20 years less tolerant, I can’t see me accepting the stuff (from the students) I am putting up with now - I’d like to get out.*

George believes that the extra pressures from student behaviour and expectation are made more difficult by the pressures caused by the reforms. He believes that he has learnt a lot of skills such as computing, people management and major organisational skills and that teachers generally are a highly skilled but under-rated group.

*I have to organise the BNZ Maths competition and I can’t help thinking that we as teachers would run rings around a lot of people in say, the banking industry. We notice that we have skills in organisation and we have skills which are greatly in excess of people we see in high positions in the bank and the only thing we have that they don’t have, as teachers, is job security (if you are in a stable school) and you have a pretty reasonable remuneration package. But I think the main skills I have picked up are organisational and people management.*

Within middle management George has developed administrative skills which he obviously appreciates and says that the actual principle of delegation downwards is quite
acceptable to him. He finds that the process of negotiation is still in place in his school, and he feels that he will only be asked to do things of which he is capable.

That's part of your job - they don't delegate tasks to you that you can't do and if they do it is by negotiation and you say "yes" or "no". It is much better to say "no I can't do that task". I do that now and I find out later if that is going to count against me. Teachers have got to be more supportive in our work (than in business) and that means we have a different outlook, for example, the higher up you go in a bank the more work you delegate and you take the can if something goes wrong. In a school the higher up you go the more you are expected to delegate.

George finds time a pressure. As an HOD he has always had tasks to do during the school holidays and he has often found the commitments he has to teaching have intruded on the holidays. The multi-functional nature of the HOD's job is largely responsible for this. In considering the comparisons to be made between schools in the current administration model and business he says:

You can't compare someone in private industry with an HOD's job. An HOD has so many (administrative) jobs, if you were paid for all the jobs you were doing you would be paid an exorbitant fee, there are so many different tasks and skills associated with it.

The HOD's job has always been a management position. George found the multi-functional nature of his position rewarding, until four years ago when the pressure of intense change and the addition of tasks imposed by curriculum and administrative reform impacted on his original job description. Although he feels in a position to negotiate with senior management additional tasks which they require of him, he still has to consider the consequences of saying "No" if he feels overtaxed. Further, while he feels no difficulty in
delegating tasks downwards onto members of his department, he nevertheless, is responsible for ensuring that any tasks so delegated are carried out. This particularly pertains to the implementation of the reforms over which George and others in middle (or senior) management have no control.

Teachers feel that they have taken on the role of management administrators without training and are being deluged by a vast amount of paperwork. This development affects both teachers and school administration staff who are no longer in a position to give teachers adequate ancilliary support. Financial accountability is now a major consideration and some staff face the responsibility of managing very large budgets. Meetings and other administrative activities are being superimposed on both teaching and discretionary time. Pressure from senior management appears to be on-going, tasks are constantly loaded on without any consideration as to their size and with little or no negotiation. An outcome of this is that tasks which were undertaken as extras in the past are now expected. Time has become the most important resource; teachers’ overwhelming impressions are that they are experiencing a proliferation of administrative tasks at the expense of the students in the classroom. There is certainly a strong implication through each of these accounts that teachers, although attending many meetings, are not really part of the decisions which affect them.
Response to Change

Threading through the responses of the interviewees comes a reaction to changes which have been imposed on people without adequate resourcing, especially of time and a sense of frustration at the way those changes impact on student learning.

James, for example, makes the comment that although he is being paid a salary which he regards as "inadequate", he finds it "ironic" that his time is being used "to do this sort of work where we’re saving dollars but I’m being paid what is considered to be a fairly high salary to save those few dollars". He says that there is more money flowing into the school but it is for administration, not for the curriculum or the "direct chalk face". The school he works for has taken on more salaried staff, but it is to benefit the administration, not the students. As well as staffing for administration, James finds that the cost of technology and computerisation has increased. The school is now expected to keep a detailed data base on the student population which is extensive and once again because of his involvement in the finances of the school he is often asked for advice and input. This can take him away from the classroom:

*The information we need to keep on students has grown out of all proportion - just to keep tabs on which parent the child is living with, which parent has which address, and all those things - we are expected to keep more and more of that information within the school and all of that takes an enormous amount of time and effort and computerisation. In our office in the last six years things have changed - six years ago we got our first administration computer. There was a lot of discussion about which system to use (the CBA or MUSAC) and in the end we opted for MUSAC - Now the bursar has got one and there are two in the office, one in the Maths room, one in the staff resource room*
and now we are talking about getting another. So we've got six and you've got
to find people to operate them, and all that is administration. When you then
leave the office and go to teach it is a relief - going to get a breath of fresh
air.

James clearly feels burdened by his involvement with the administration in the school and
says that he has felt imposed upon by the additional administration of the last few years
and obviously finds it a relief to get away from it and back into the classroom. He also
believes that this imposition of additional administration on schools would never work if it
was not for the fact that teachers are both multi-skilled and efficient.

_I think that a lot of teachers under-estimate the ability that they have - we have
multiple functions - and at the same time we have to be efficient because if
we’re not we couldn’t survive in the classroom and do all the other work - it
just wouldn’t work._

Of the skills which James has picked up by being involved in the school’s administration,
he says that they are extremely marketable and transferable to other employment. He had
found, for example, that when he went out of teaching for a year in 1987, that the skills
he had picked up in teaching (prior to the reforms) were very useful in the banking
industry overseas.

_The skills that you pick up in teaching (are valuable), especially when you’ve
been involved in administration; it is really amazing what you’ve picked up and
I think a lot of teachers could actually leave teaching and go into industry -
especially personnel management and PR work - they could do very well
because they’ve been forced to learn a lot of those functions._

When asked why he feels that teachers are so multi-faceted in their capabilities he says
that changes which have been imposed on teachers have encouraged their development:
It is a case of sinking or swimming. With any job change there is a metamorphosis which goes on all the time - we've been forced to take on functions which we're not trained for, and not paid for.

In spite of this, at times James is so disenchanted with the extra work which his PR 3 status brings that he is tempted to "throw in everything and become an ordinary assistant teacher". He makes the point that the thing he would miss most is his office, which he says, is so full of his teaching and non-teaching resource material, he would have a problem with storage.

*It is a necessity because it is the only place that you can actually leave things out - particularly if you've got those multiple functions. When I first became an HOD, I started off with a file box. I now have three file cabinets - two with three drawers, and one with two drawers. Of that, five are administration, and three are resource material; that is the proportion of my time and energy which now goes into administration or teaching.*

As mentioned earlier [see Chapter 2], a hallmark of the self-managing school is the adoption of quality management systems through which the school is to be run [Ball, 1992]. This is meant to encourage a sense of involvement by all staff and a process of democratisation. It is an essential element in the Tomorrow's Schools reforms and is supposed to give the school the mechanism through which it manages itself. James finds this requirement is yet another time management problem and another contradiction:

*One of the main things I find difficult to live with is the proliferation of meetings we have to have. It seems we have meetings just for the sake of having them, but they don't seem to achieve all that much. We are supposed to have these to run the place efficiently. One of the things which has been*
imposed on us is that we are so busy trying to create policies that we’ve got
into trivia - risk management for everything.

When asked which direction this was coming from, he said that the Principals were
receiving their instructions from the state agencies and they in turn, were putting pressure
on their staff to do more. In this regard Principals are being pressured into taking on
managerial functions, while schools are expected to provide measurable outputs. One of
the outward manifestations of this management model is the proliferation of meetings.

Another stress for many schools impacting on the way they are run, is the reduction in
resourcing. This is a particular problem in Enid’s school where the roll has fallen but the
needs of the school remain the same. It is a difficulty which poor schools in particular
suffer from. Recently Enid’s school faced a deficit of about $40,000 and the Principal
arranged a series of meetings with HODs to reduce their budgets. This places an
additional burden on both staff time and their attempts to meet student needs. It also
affects the way in which the school is administered, adequate ancilliary staffing is not
available so many of those tasks fall onto the teachers, especially those in middle
management. School functions still have to be covered and the cost of running those
remain static, regardless of how many students are on the roll.

Enid misses the support of the Department of Education from which she used to receive
valuable resourcing and advice. She understands that the reasons for the restructuring
were financial:

I think that since we have lost the Department that teachers have done its
work, yet I’m told that the government hasn’t saved any money by getting rid
of the Department. That’s something which fascinates me - I’d like to know
where it’s gone because it certainly hasn’t gone into the schools.
Enid is critical of what she feels is a reduction in support for her and teachers like her since the administrative reforms were put in place. She feels that she and those in similar situations are struggling to maintain teaching standards and are, at the same time, having the responsibility for the administration of the school imposed on them and this is having a major, deleterious effect on the energy levels of teachers:

*I feel that I am killing myself - as a lot of other teachers are doing, because we are not having the resources provided for us. We haven’t got the staffing to cope with the job, because we haven’t got the ancillary staff, because we haven’t got the money in schools.*

Harry has a similar response to the impact of the reforms. He finds that the demands of the job of Tutor are intense and on-going, that he is expected to complete administrative tasks within very tight time limits and that time is a resource which he would like to have increased:

*I would feel more comfortable with more hours for Tutoring. I need more time to carry out duties as a Tutor and I need more time to put into my own subject area. I need time to prepare for material which is placed on my desk and that I am asked to deal with within the next 24 hours. And only having four hours per week (to do the Tutoring job) life becomes very difficult. Time would be the most important factor.*

Although Harry asks only for more time to do the Tutoring job in his school, it is worth noting that he receives no further remuneration for this task. The position of Dean or Tutor is one of middle management, where tasks can be delegated downwards, however, unlike HODs, they are not recognised by salary increments.
Staffing allowances for schools are tied to the numbers of students on the roll. It is this factor which determines how much time the Principal has to allocate around various functions. Other resources are similarly dependent on student roll numbers. A dropping roll causes a reduction in all resourcing, from staffing hours to funding, so marketing of the school to preserve the same roll numbers and the same levels of funding has therefore become a priority. In spite of the best efforts of her colleagues to market the school successfully, Helen says that funding is still a problem. She says that they just do not have the funding to do what is needed. She finds that her budgeting is limited by inadequate school finances which is a great source of frustration for her. However, overall, the frustrations which Helen alludes to most frequently are a lack of time and a lack of real consultation.

*I don’t think we get the input we should have. We have totally unrealistic deadlines from Wellington, we can’t reply effectively. There are number of things sitting in my office and I just haven’t had the time to deal with them so we are not having time to look at things and we are not getting time to evaluate programmes.*

The bi-lingual programme which Moana has set up in her school does create a heavy workload for her. The sense of mission which she articulates has energised her and as previously mentioned, the backup which she receives from the wider Maori community has supported her enormously. In spite of the voluntary and generous quality of her (and her community’s) contribution, resourcing is still required. This particularly pertains to time. Moana sometimes finds a conflict between the demands of her mission and the requirements of the rest of the school. There is little patience, for example, if because of pressing Maori issues, she has not finished her reports on time.
If we haven’t got the backup what goes is our professional things like being seen in the staffroom, getting our reports done on time, all those little things. And the other thing that goes with me is marking, so I have to set aside a day every so often to do that. The workload is immense and maybe we are making the job bigger because we are so passionate about it.

So while Moana is energised by her sense of mission, she finds that she never has enough time to do all the tasks expected of her, but points to the enthusiasm which she has for the job as the expansion factor rather than the imposition of administrative tasks.

George is critical of the reforms because he believes the rate of change and the resulting increase in workload has not improved his teaching but has possibly detracted from it. He would like to be doing a lot more evaluation of the way he is implementing the reforms in his own school, and he feels responsible for not only running the department, but also implementing the curriculum reforms. It is these extra tasks, imposed on the existing role of HOD, which he says, creates difficulties:

We are talking about a change right across the whole area (of Mathematics). I should be doing a lot more evaluation of what I am doing. I am better organised this year and that’s made a difference and I think my teaching is no worse but it is not far better, as it should be. It should be much better - given where I am at, at my career. Not running to stand still.

The intensity of the change is affecting staff morale and energy. He says that the amount of work through the assessment changes for example, is going to increase significantly for no extra financial reward.

They are going to take assessment from being NZQA based. You must have external markers, examiners and moderators, for whom the responsibility is
external, to being entirely inside school with internal assessment as the norm.

All the responsibility is the school's. This will completely overload staff and they are likely to say "Goodbye, I am not interested."

Such a scenario would extend George's personnel management skills as HOD to the limit. Finally, although he appreciates the skills he has acquired as HOD, the intensity of the change is detracting from his enjoyment. He says of teaching that without the administration it would be "a fantastic job."

In responding to the demands of increased administration, teachers have become multi-functional, developing many skills without formal training. They have become efficient in the sense that they are able to provide several services simultaneously in a restricted timeframe. In becoming so flexible, are they fulfilling the neo-liberal agenda? In some schools there has been an increase in staff but this has often been to benefit the administration, rather than the students. A detailed data base is now expected and advanced computerisation is required so the administration benefits. Teachers were critical of what they felt was an unnecessary proliferation of meetings and management trivia. Reduced resourcing faced by all schools and particularly by those where rolls had dropped, placed an additional burden on teachers. The question was asked: if money had been saved through administration reform, where had it gone? A strong sense of frustration and exhaustion came through these responses. Deadlines were unrealistic, the Deans' position expanded constantly to accommodate student needs and administrative tasks which went with it. Teachers repeatedly complained of a lack of time and real consultation. Without adequate support, on-going administration and other mandatory school functions became difficult to manage and teachers repeated their frustrations that administration had detracted from teaching.
CONCLUSION

Management Structures

In their evaluations as to how change has occurred, these teachers all reported having experienced a proliferation of tasks. Accompanying the expansion of administration, schools are being run increasingly on business lines, promoting the twin ideals of efficiency and accountability. Wylie [1994: 100] has noted that one of the features of effective or excellent schools is collaborative decision-making. Teachers in her study, however, do not appear to be empowered by this arrangement; rather, the evidence seems to indicate the opposite and most saw the adoption of the new management structure, the greatly increased administration and numbers of meetings as detracting from their real work. The most difficult aspect of the committee structure was that of time. All of the meetings, and the tasks which accompanied them, seemed to significantly lengthen the school week. The proliferation of administrative tasks could also be seen as a means through which teachers are controlled as workers, through the process of proletarianisation [Connell, 1985, Apple, 1986]. Principals are able to direct tasks to them through the management structure, however, they are not bound to act on the recommendations of those committees [Lange, 1988]. Besides, a feature of this structure is that it has been imposed on, rather than negotiated with teachers. It could be argued that real partnership and collaboration can only exist when all parties are in a relatively similar negotiating position. Meetings are one area through which workload has been increased, but it is unclear whether teachers find that there has been any real benefit to them or schools as a result [Capper, 1994]. Feelings of negativity from staff may outweigh any gains through collaboration in this area.
Resourcing

Resourcing for all of these administrative changes has been limited. A lack of adequate staffing, funding and time has been described by these teachers. A recent request [Appendix 4] for information on resourcing for the reforms from the Minister, provided schedules on the implementation of operational funding and the teacher salaries grant scheme. The principle of resourcing for schools is made on a formula basis for both the operations grant and (for those schools which have opted into it) the salaries grant. Individual boards are then left to allocate resources to cover school requirements.

According to the teachers interviewed there appears to be a shortage of resourcing to cover all of the administrative and other functions now expected of schools. Teachers have particularly noted a proliferation of roles causing a conflict of priorities. Frequently, the demands of several roles have occupied the same time slot, so teachers have to juggle their commitments to attempt to fulfil all their functions. A particular feature of the current situation is the way in which extra roles can be imposed on teachers without warning or negotiation. The requests which constantly come from higher up (or lower down) the hierarchical ladder significantly intensified workload for several of these teachers. For one teacher, internal school pressures could be countered by negotiation but external pressure, such as curriculum or assessment change was seen as producing enormous stress due to the speed of those changes and the lack of adequate trialling or evaluation. A lack of negotiation was referred to repeatedly, consultation at school and national level was seen as inadequate; timeframes were too brief and skills or resources had to be quickly developed so that imposed tasks could be fulfilled. A lack of real definition as to the parameters of various roles has meant that expansion is a constant factor. Another strong feature of administrative change is the proliferation of extra tasks and roles which can be imposed on top of the existing job, which must still be maintained
to a high standard. However, consistent with Wylie's findings [1994:71] it is the teaching which appears to suffer as these tasks take on greater priority and this is related to a decline in teacher satisfaction with administration tasks.

**Accountability**

The accountability referred to by these teachers has created a link between teachers and the state, through their sense of professionalism [Apple, 1986]. Teachers are now held accountable for their own and others' performance in an increased number of roles. Minimal or no training has been offered for many of the functions they are now expected to take on; however, some have seen the administrative changes as providing the chance to develop an extensive range of skills. Further, although moderate reform to the education system was seen by some teachers as being desirable, they were critical of the way in which the reforms were impacting on schools and the inability to do their jobs. For a few of those teachers, a genuine interest and even passion for their areas of work had meant that at times they had been prepared to make sacrifices and expend an enormous effort to equip themselves with resources and skills, and to dedicate themselves to their work. The concept of imposing change on top of existing functions, without adequate resourcing, especially time, and then holding people accountable for the success of those changes, is a feature of neo-liberal reform [Sinclair, 1993, Ball, 1992], appears contradictory and exploitative. This increase in administration is not only deleterious to existing functions (especially teaching) but it may also require support at the expense of them. Wylie [1994] noted the increase in teacher workload was due to some extent to the reform's emphasis on accountability, and Bridges found that the gains made in decision-making were out numbered by issues of extra work, funding problems, the imposition of
responsibility. Teachers wanted to make input into policy making, slow the rate of change, and ensure adequate resourcing [1992:36].

Administration affects everything that occurs in schools, whether it be the curriculum, assessment, pastoral care, or data collection. It pervades all aspects of school life and threads through funding, management, and professional issues. All teachers are affected by it to some extent. However, it appears that teachers in the middle management strata are affected by the process of delegation from above and below [Murfitt, 1993]. In the MTS Report [Monitoring Today’s Schools, 1992] a negative effect on student learning was noted as a result of extra time being taken on administration. Wylie found that senior staff in primary schools were most affected by the extra work brought about by the reforms with time spent on administration having risen overall [Wylie, 1994]. Bridges noted that some teachers found that "time was being spent on paperwork instead of devising innovative relevant programmes "[Bridges, 1992:23]. Livingstone [1994] found that primary school Principals in particular felt burdened by expanding administration tasks. This study clearly reinforces the findings of previous research, the increase in administration is not conducive to either efficiency, or excellence in teaching.

The work of the teachers in this study is clearly affected by the proliferation of tasks emanating from administration. There is a demonstrable connection between administrative reform and the intensification of teacher workload. It seems that the symptoms of intensification referred to by both Apple and Connell [see Chapters 2 and 3] are clearly manifested in the work of these teachers, in which the proliferation of administrative tasks could well be at the expense of the classroom:
It (the increasing workload) certainly isn’t the kids. It’s everything you’ve got to do other than actually work with kids.

The proliferation of tasks described in this chapter reaches much further than just administration. It impacts on every other aspect of school life. The next chapter examines the increasing pastoral care role of these teachers and the tasks associated with the introduction of the new curriculum.
CHAPTER FIVE

PASTORAL CARE AND CURRICULUM PRESSURES.

*It really breaks my heart sometimes and I have to think "there’s a kid who wants a hug or a bit of loving or a feed," and I think "oh God, I’ve thirty kids there (in class) and a kid here who’s got problems"* [Moana, Chapter 5].

PASTORAL CARE

A system of pastoral care has been in place in New Zealand schools for many years as a response to the needs of students and recognition that schools should provide more than simply the teaching of subjects. The type of care available has tended to reflect the needs and times of schools’ contributing community. In the 1950s the Careers Adviser role was established in schools, as a response to the employment situation in New Zealand. Jobs were plentiful and this service was established to provide maximum benefit in terms of vocational choice to both student and employer. In the early 1970s Guidance Counsellors were established. These are full-time counselling positions filled by experienced teachers who have also undertaken post-graduate counselling training. The role of Guidance Counsellor was introduced as a response to growing social dislocation, the rise of poverty, and unemployment.

During the 1980s other strands were added to the pastoral care system. The Deans’ role was developed as an extension of the guidance system to deal with motivation, truancy, discipline and other student difficulties. Transition as a subject developed as a response to
the rising unemployment rate among young people, especially school leavers. In most secondary schools this position is full-time although the number of hours available for it is dependent on school roll numbers.

Some underlying assumptions in the provision of Transition Education have been detailed [Gordon, 1987]. The idea that training for work will increase the opportunities for disadvantaged young people, increase the skills within the workforce so that more efficiency and productivity will result. This is expected to lead to an expansion of the workforce and provide people with more flexibility and adaptability so that workers are better equipped for change and reskilling in the workplace.

In her analysis, Gordon maintained that each of these assumptions is at least partially incorrect, and that work training serves only to reinforce the existing segmentation of the labour market along gender, ethnic and class lines. Deskilling of the workforce [see Chapter 2] has been an escalating trend as technology has increased and the human component in many jobs has decreased. Increasing unemployment and specialisation is therefore a predictable outcome. She makes the point that:

it is hard to escape the feeling that young people are taught to be pliant, submissive uncomplaining thrifty and energetic workers in the face of an uncertain and gloomy future [1987: 129].

The value of work in people’s lives and its connection with self esteem of the individual has been made elsewhere. Shuker has made the point that:

If work is of central importance, in the way in which people view their lives, then obviously the availability of work is a major foundation for the social and economic well-being of society. This foundation is solid during periods of economic prosperity, but is severely tested in periods of economic crisis and decline [Shuker, 1987: 67].
In his discussion of the importance of work, Shuker refers to the work of Freeman-Moir [1984] who has also examined the role of work in reinforcing existing social structures. Periods of economic growth alternating with periods of economic crisis have both contributed to this, however the latter has tended to exacerbate the situation, schools have also had a part to play. In times of economic growth, school leavers who have gained qualifications have been able to acquire jobs with relative ease. However, during times of economic crisis, a contradiction has emerged between the educative role of the school and its role as a sorting mechanism. It has been against this background that Transition programmes have been developed. However, unless there is large-scale job creation, these programmes:

will merely function as a holding pen for the unemployed, (and such programmes) keep young people in limbo while raising their hopes of becoming employed [Shuker, 1987: 74].

At the same time, according to Freeman-Moir, the provision of guidance services and transition programmes can be seen as hegemonic:

in the case of work the idea of choice misrepresents the nature of the transition from school to work. Job preferences are not mere matters of individual taste but are determined by the class system of society [Freeman-Moir, 1981: 20].

While the rationale for transition education has been outwardly about the provision of employment skills and opportunities for disadvantaged students, the underlying agenda has been problematic and somewhat contradictory. Nevertheless it has been in recognition of the difficulties faced by school leavers in acquiring paid work and a marked increase in social problems related to poverty and unemployment which has led to the creation and development of Transition Education. Further, the concerns which are basic to these
programmes are inherent in the principles of pastoral care in schools generally and can be found in the roles which teachers take on, voluntarily or otherwise, in their work.

Each of the teachers interviewed in this study were affected to some extent either by the specific pastoral care component in their jobs (the Transition HOD, the Dean/Tutor, and the form/group teacher) or were more generally affected in their day-to-day teaching roles. Some experiences were specific, where students related well to individual teachers and therefore would share with them some private problem and seek appropriate guidance. Teachers would either be able to help the student to her or his own solution, or refer the student on for further guidance within the pastoral care network. However, in other more general ways teachers, were affected by social difficulties in the outside community manifesting themselves, in the classroom and the wider school environment.

PASTORAL CARE ROLES

All teachers have some connection with the pastoral care functions of their schools, although this varies for individual teachers and for individual schools. Some of the teachers interviewed in this study had substantial, specified pastoral care roles as part of their job descriptions [see Chapter 3], while others had a more generalised association with that area. All teachers, however, find that social difficulties pervade their work in some way.

I will first describe the pastoral care roles of these teachers and then deal with the role conflict which results as they attempt to fulfil several functions.

In his position as HOD English, James Williams is not directly involved with the pastoral care network except as a referral agency. He is however, affected by the general atmosphere which social change brings into the school and classroom, and the
expectations that the community has of teachers in responding to that change. These expectations are increasing as the concept of accountability takes hold in schools and James believes that parents see teachers as having wider responsibility for their children.

There are a number of factors which, if you look at the structure of families and the whole breakdown of the family unit and those changes, have obviously impacted on us as teachers. This is a single sex school from a conservative group of people and not necessarily wealthy people, the whole breakdown of the family unit has been pronounced - even if it has hit us later than other schools - and the whole business of coping with children from single parent homes where there are obviously traumas at home has affected us.

We are perceived as educators, babysitters, advisers, role models - a lot is expected of us. Parents expect it of us but no one writes it down in a job description - those things are just there.

So James feels a marked degree of responsibility is expected of both him and the school generally to support the student who is undergoing difficulties, even when those difficulties are caused by factors beyond his control.

George Thomas is a form teacher in his school (higher SES, coed.) and provides a remedial programme which he holds during two lunch hours per week. He does not hold other official pastoral care responsibilities but occasionally he finds himself providing some student support in this area. He also believes that student behaviour has declined in the last twenty years and this factor has impacted on his job:

I think the standards have declined, expectations have lowered, standards of student behaviour have declined. The standard of respect has declined. In the old days if kids were talking they'd take correction, but not now.
However, provision of pastoral care is not the intensifying factor in workload for him that it is for the other teachers in this study; George finds that the greatest pressures come from increased administration, added responsibility as a manager (HOD) and the implementation of the new curriculum in Mathematics.

Enid Johnson as the HOD Transition from a state school in a lower SES area, finds that much of her work is to do with student needs. While her position caters for all students and in particular those requiring employment skills, she often counsels students with personal difficulties. There is high unemployment in her school community and the social problems which accompany that affect her students. She says that the problems facing the students at her school have worsened over the last decade:

*Student needs are more pressing because there’s nowhere for kids to go. Those who are needing the most attention are those who would have already gone (in the past). I first came into Transition in 1986 - I ran three Transition classes. By the end of the year I would have had 5 - 7 kids left out of a class of 60 - 70. Because of work experience they would have all got jobs and gone to work. We have these kids to contain and we’ve got them in the 7th Form and therefore, instead of dealing with them in class timetabled time and getting them to their destinations then, it (the task of getting these students work skills) becomes pressing in the 6th Form.*

Enid’s job as the Transition teacher is made worse by the fact that her school is a "dumping ground" for other schools. She also now has an increasing number of students who, because of their behaviour, cannot be contained within the classroom.

*We pick up everyone else’s (other schools’) problems. They pass them on to us and we have to do something with them. When we (Enid’s school) can’t do
anything with them, I get the problem. You know, "do something with so and so", or "TOPs (Training Opportunities Programme) course please" - I've got notes all over here. I have a policy that no matter how desperate they (the staff) are, we will not put a kid out to nothing.

Enid's job as the Transition HOD contains a large administrative component in which form filling and information gathering are a part. Students may receive counselling when they are being considered for an out-of-school placement, but there will also be paperwork associated with each student contact time.

The overlap between administrative pressures and those generated by pastoral care, are also demonstrated by Harry Bryant who has a major pastoral care component as the Seventh Form Tutor at his middle SES, single sex school. Harry took on Tutoring when he had been teaching for a number of years and he wanted to extend his skills and interests. He took it on he says, for the intrinsic satisfaction it would bring to his work, but there was also a strong degree of expectation from senior management that if teachers are asked to take on extra responsibilities, then they should do so. However a strong sense of personal motivation comes through in his interview:

_I felt I had been teaching in one subject area for nine years without a break. I decided it was time to go in a different direction, and that's why I took on Tutoring. I thought I'd learn more about the administration of the school, and have more contact with one form level. I quite liked the idea of following one form level through._

When asked if his expectations had been fulfilled, Harry was enthusiastic:

_They (the rewards) were great in that you learn a lot about how the administration works - you also get insights into student behaviour which you otherwise wouldn't see and I found it very rewarding._
Student behaviour is an area which Deans (and Tutors) are expected to be able to help modify, whether it be through positive reward, or discipline. Virtually no training is given, although teachers are not usually asked to take on these positions unless they are experienced. Changes in student behaviour may originate from a number of sources, which may be school and learning based, or originate from their home situation, or reflect pressures and difficulties in the wider school community.

Helen Jacobs finds social pressures impacting strongly on her students. She says in her school (coed., lower SES) there are a lot of students with problems and a lot of her time is spent helping students and their parents. She finds that many of the difficulties facing students are the result of wider social problems; broken families, unemployment and economic deprivation.

*I seem to have a lot of students with dysfunctional backgrounds - it has increased - problems within families, broken homes. There's an increasing number of our students with financial problems. We spend an awful lot of time sorting student problems. I couldn't quantify it. Guidance staff are very busy doing this sort of thing too. And they just don't have the hours.*

The Dean (and Tutor) system is in place as the first point of reference for students with difficulties. It was designed and implemented during the early 1970s to augment the role of the Guidance Counsellor. The amount of time available for Deans of the different levels varies from school to school. Some Deans will have only one period per week and no remuneration, while in other schools this role will have a major acknowledgement from senior management with PR status and a major time allowance. Helen has PR status within her school, but not for the Dean's position. She does, however, receive a good time allocation and the Deans are called upon to fill in for senior management on
occasions, and she says that they are considered to have more seniority than senior HODs. They are therefore expected to make a regular input:

*We're all involved on the management HOD committee, so we have equal input into management, with the HODs. There are no PRs for Deans but we do have status. If the AP or DP are away the Deans take over their jobs. There is no extra money but we'd rather have the time. We couldn't do it without that.*

*(However) I believe there should be PRs associated with Deaning in our school because the job is so important - in our school it would be one way of relating that importance to another school.*

While Helen's school gives high (if unpaid) recognition to the Deans by linking them in with senior management, other teachers become Deans or Counsellors by implication.

Moana Awatere, while not an official Dean, is conscious of the problems faced by the Maori students in her (lower SES) school. She also calculates that she spends a minimum of one hour per week on Deaning. She is aware that statistically, Maori children have been an underprivileged group for a long time. Part of her own response to that problem has been to provide a positive and dynamic Maori language situation in her school, and to support and network with other teachers of Maori. By linking into the energy of the wider Maori community, she has been instrumental in developing a positive, interactive network, which is providing Maori students with strong Maori language skills, cultural identity and enhanced self esteem. Her sense of mission, the kaupapa, has been a key factor in improving the self esteem and status among the students with whom she has been involved. She gets a great sense of personal reward from her involvement with this process.
One of the personal rewards is teaching and seeing kids grow and I think we all share that—knowing we had a part in that mission. Now, hopefully, that’s why I’ve got ninety-odd kids in the whanau — and I’ve got fourteen Seventh Formers and five of those are fluent, and will be leaders. They’re getting equipped in different ways through the immersion programme. We just couldn’t do it through the option system.

In providing the immersion programme, Moana is also giving them access to self esteem building which might not otherwise be accessible to them.

Social Problems and Role Conflict

In her role as the Transition teacher, Enid obviously has pressure from other staff to find places out of school for the students with difficulties and puts pressure on herself to ensure that these students have somewhere to go to rather than straight out into unemployment. Many of her students simply do not want to be at school and their poor behaviour reflects this. However, home pressures often conflict with this desire and not always because these families value education. Raising the leaving age to sixteen and the proposal to raise the leaving age further to seventeen have also contributed to the schools’ difficulties in dealing with large numbers of students in the non-academic category.

They’ll do anything (training course) but they don’t want to be at school, and they’ve usually been thrown out of some other school, but Mum won’t let them leave because they’re the last child in the family and she loses her DPB.

Enid says she receives conflicting pressure from parents who do not want their children to leave school because their incomes will drop when that happens. So the social and economic pressures faced by students and their families are impacting strongly on both the school in general and Enid’s work in particular.
I have telephone call after telephone call from mothers saying - "if my child leaves school my money will drop." And I say "but your child will get a training allowance" and they say that it doesn’t make up for the DPB (Domestic Purposes Benefit), so the kids have to stay at school.

The variety of difficulties faced by her students is illustrated by a recent conversation Enid had with a student:

A kid came in the other day, a smile all over her face: "Mrs J - Mum said I could leave." I asked what had come over Mum. "Well she got drunk the other day, so I managed to persuade her and she said - 'Oh yeah - why the hell not?'" This same child has said over the years that she always waits for her mother to get drunk before she talks to her. The social pressures and the money pressures that are on the children in this school, are tremendous.

Enid says that while the teachers in her school are ready to refer a student on if they are not able to be "contained" in the classroom, they are nevertheless generous and supportive towards the students, often financially, but also for uniforms, food, and general nurturing.

We fork out for this and that. One teacher, a Dean, counted up to $1000 that he had given away in lunch money - kids just don’t have the money.

Kids have gone out to work - we’ve got all the tourism (course) kids out at the moment and we give out bus passes so that they can get half fare even though they’re dressed in "civvies" . I had to give out $10 for this one and that one, because there isn’t enough money - it’s $1.80 from (our part of town) , five days a week, and they haven’t got it; it’s not there. I mean, if my kid asks for $10 - I don’t think about it. But for some families there isn’t $10.
When Expo (Careers Expo) was on - they don't have $1 to pay for the bus fare. I see kids walking around here - they turn their shoes up - there's no soles in the shoes. Middle of winter - they're hungry, they're cold. A lot of kids won't go home from school if they're sick - they get looked after here and someone cares about them. They don't want to go home. "Don't send me home, Miss" and that's another pressure on teachers. It is a constant pressure.

The pastoral care component of Enid's work is driven to a considerable extent by the comparative poverty of her school community and because of this she is under constant pressure to try to ameliorate the difficulties in which her students find themselves. At the same time, partly because the school community is so poor, many able students who might otherwise have attended their local school have opted for better off, more middle class schools in other parts of the city. This process, a result of policies of school choice and competition, has caused a reduction not only in the number of academic students but the school roll as a whole. This has affected Enid's work by reducing the number of timetabled hours she has to assist students during the school week.

There are more pressures on me again because the roll dropped and therefore my hours dropped but the workload has gone up. Courses have to be provided, unemployment has gone up, and the workload is just increasing but they've taken away the time allowance to do it. My workload is getting bigger and bigger and here I am back teaching Science - which is just another pressure. I get a 'phone call from an employer and I think - "should I be over there teaching Science?" - and I try to talk to them very nicely and say "sorry I've got to go."
Enid says that she has a "tremendous" laboratory assistant who will get her lesson set up if necessary, because teaching a practical subject has pressures of its own. When Enid was teaching Science full-time, she was able to organise materials for a class while teaching the previous one. Now she is in a different laboratory for each class, which can sometimes be substandard (as a non permanent staff member she feels there is a tendency to timetable her into the worst laboratories), and this is in frequent conflict with the needs of the Transition students.

_You’re dealing with all this (the Science lesson and preparation) then you’ve got a kid who’s going through a leaving procedure - but you can’t see them because you’re over there teaching Science - that’s a pressure - everything coming at once._

While her role as the Transition teacher indicates a clear priority in helping students with difficulties, and as on of her primary roles is helping students, Enid often experiences conflict when she is required to operate in a different role in her school. As her school is situated in a community with high unemployment and related difficulties and as one of her primary roles is helping students into employment, it is a frustration to be taken away to fulfil other functions.

The Tutoring situation has provided Harry with an insight into the kind of social pressures which affect students. As noted earlier, he interviews a number of students per day about their progress at school and any problems. He finds that constraints of time pose difficulties in providing this service effectively and he has noticed an increase in the range and complexity of the problems being experienced by these students. While this is partly a result of these students moving into an older age group, it also reflects their exposure to certain social pressures. He says that jobs are not as available as they were
and this puts added pressure on boys in their last year of school. Further, because unemployment has increased, more boys stay on in the Seventh Form than would have done so in the past. This trend has resulted in a diverse number of HSC (Higher School Certificate) courses being designed in most schools to cater for an increasing non-academic group of students.

*There are still a lot of problems but they've got worse. Students are under added pressure as well as (having) expectations out there with the job market.*

*And the fact that they are staying on longer as well. The roll is now 170 whereas in past years it was around 100 - 120. So it has grown; students are staying at school longer to get some sort of qualification and they're using the Form 7 year as a chance to get jobs and move into work on that basis, rather than leave school and go on the dole.*

Harry says that his school’s Transition class numbers are quite big; there are two classes each with approximately fifty students doing the subject and during the year he is expecting a number of these to move on to jobs or courses, possibly bringing the total Form 7 roll down to 150.

Harry’s job involves meetings with members of the Transition and Guidance staff and all form teachers of Seventh Form students. He finds that any matters which arise as a result of those meetings usually have to be dealt with immediately, regardless of other considerations, such as classes or commitments. This time has to be found, but at the same time a contradictory expectation exists that this pastoral care function will not interfere with teaching responsibilities. This anomaly causes an enormous pressure for Harry as he strives to satisfy the requirements of conflicting roles.

*I liaise with the Guidance staff and all form teachers once a week for a meeting to update them on where I'm at with the form level and individual*
boys. I also want feedback from them as to how their form is going. I'm in constant contact with Transition and Guidance staff.

As a Tutor you are expected to carry it (any tasks) out immediately, regardless of the time or classes which you have. This means that you end up dealing with it at lunchtime, after school or evening if it can't be done during the day.

(Senior) management do ask constantly and you are expected to perform.

It (the task) is not allowed to interfere with the expectations in the classroom.

The expectations are so high for the teacher today that I can't allow the tutoring workload to affect my teaching. I can't be late for class. If I'm interviewing student I have to stop and he has to come back at a later date.

Extra time is being demanded and I find it over and above what's available in the four hours (allocated per week). You just find it in your own time.

Harry says that the pressures of pastoral care tend to be constant, although some times of the year are lighter and others are very intense. Different tasks are expected at different times of the year and the nature of the rolling Tutor situation has meant that each year provided a change in some tasks, over and above the basic management and counselling role. Overall, although he has found that he enjoys the job of Tutor, especially the insight it has given him into administration, student behaviour and the way senior management operates in his school, he was not prepared for the intensity of the workload.

The pressure never lets up but you have lighter patches - for example the end and beginning of the year are just horrific as far as workload is concerned. I come in one week early, for a start, over the Christmas holidays. That's full time for one week before school starts. It starts with students coming in for two full days - three days before that I'm preparing for the students to come in.
To carry out the basic job as Tutor, I couldn't do it in 4 hours. I have so many tasks - every year you roll on you have a new set of things to learn; for example this year as Form 7 Tutor I have some enormous tasks and I'm only learning as I go along. This year I have to run a number of formal occasions. And front up to a number of committees. There's no extra time for that - no extra time on top of what I had last year - but I've got a number of more important tasks. I had certain expectations but there has been a proliferation beyond that. You don't know from day-to-day or week-to-week as to which tasks are going to be required. I know the basic structure of the job as Form 7 Tutor - but it's the extra things which you're asked to do on top of that....

The demands of the Tutor's position are constantly imposed on the rest of Harry's work in the school. While he was aware that he should be available to students on a constant basis, it has been the expectation from senior management that he would be responsible for a proliferation of Tutor-related administrative tasks which Harry finds most difficult to accommodate.

In her role as Dean, Helen Jacobs is responsible for all students at Form 5. This includes academic progress, pastoral care and considerable parent contact. She also says that skill as a Counsellor is required for this job but she has had no formal training for it, any skills she has brought to the job she has acquired as a pastor's wife outside of the school.

As mentioned above [Chapter 3] Helen is allocated six hours per week to do the Dean's job, however, she finds that all of her non-contact time goes into her pastoral care role. As Deans are part of the guidance network Helen shares the guidance role as the Fifth Form Dean. While she has earlier [Chapter 3] shown an increase in her workload due to externally imposed administration, she is also affected by the withdrawal of external
supports. Student attendance is now entirely the school's responsibility whereas schools were once supported by outside agencies, government cost cutting has now shifted this problem directly onto the schools and if students fail to attend, it is teachers like Helen who deal with it.

Truancy is now a school problem. There's no truancy officer, so I've got to run around looking for where kids are. Then someone has to pass the information on - Guidance or the AP to to act on - but I've had to run around first. I can't just contact Social Welfare who used to handle this because they don't take responsibility now.

All of these expectations and functions add pressure. Helen’s own skills as a Dean have encouraged her to intervene to promote improved student behaviour and relationships, often involving the wider family. These are all time consuming processes.

Truancy, administration, social problems have increased and there are a lot more dysfunctional families. There's a lot more violence and we won't accept that, so it means we've got to have families in to talk and although the prime responsibility might lie with the Guidance Counsellor, in terms of actual numbers, it usually comes back to the Deans to deal with it.

So Helen finds that as part of the guidance network she takes on a much larger workload than the six hours she is allocated would indicate, and the cumulative effect on that area of her job serves to intensify her work considerably.

Moana is encouraged by the success of the immersion programme for which she has been largely responsible and feels that her students are benefiting from their participation. She is nevertheless extremely aware of the social and economic deprivation experienced by
many of her students and says that only some can overcome those initial obstacles to take advantage of what the whanau has to offer:

_Social problems are a problem - no money, lower SES, unemployed, - our area is like that. No money, no lunch. So they pinch. But we've got good Maori kids too; the mainstream part of the school (teachers have said) "the third form are bloody terrible this year" - but we notice it's getting better and better._

_What's happening is that we're getting our act together, so the kids are self selecting. They're coming for the kaupapa. It's pressure on the kid too. So if the kid's not equipped in the heart and in the head, they go back out. They've got to deal with it and the really naughty kids won't stay - they return to the main school._

Maori students who have difficulties are often referred to Moana, regardless of their placement in the school. She finds that she often operates as a Dean, and will receive referrals, or refer some students on to senior management. However, she often finds difficulty in finding time for both her pastoral care and her teaching roles. Moana does not receive an official time allowance for pastoral care, but says that she can spend up to six hours per week in that role.

_The kids need time to talk - and deal with problems - but in the end we're there to teach. So I've got to make that clear. Sometimes when I've got a good class and they're doing work, I can take the time. There's the point - sometimes there's a clash between helping kids sort out their problems, and teaching thirty others._

Many of the students who are in need of guidance are suffering from economic or relationship problems, and many come from families which are themselves struggling with difficulties such as isolation, or unemployment. While Moana often finds herself
distressed by the scope of these difficulties and the large numbers of students who are affected, she feels personally challenged into trying to help individuals.

_The statistics - Maori kids are the ones with the highest socio-economic problems (sic) and it really breaks my heart sometimes - and I have to think - “there’s a kid who wants a hug, or a bit of loving, or a feed,” and I think - "Oh God, I’ve got thirty kids there and a kid here who’s got problems." And sometimes you just have to deal with that problem. But sometimes that one child needs to be sacrificed. I have 100 Maori kids and 80% of them would be solo-parented. Most kids come with their own horror story - and we have to deal with that but we don’t have the support._

Moana is constantly aware, not only of the role conflict and the way it compromises her time, but also the way these concerns appear to impact on pakeha colleagues. She feels that the pakeha world will think: "Oh those people are trying to run things." At the same time she is concerned that the Maori view will be: "We’ve become institutionalised" or "We’re hopeless." So there is an additional conflict and a need for sensitivity in the way in which Moana has to deal with the difficulties.

Racism is an issue for Moana’s students. To help students deal with potentially inflammatory situations, programmes have been set up. Health Education (from a Maori perspective) and anger management are two successful initiatives, as well as on-going discussion with both students and parents about handling racism.

_Racism - for the kids, situations of violence often arise where the kids get into a fight and more often than not it’s because they’ve been called a black bitch, or a nigger, and they’ve retaliated. So we set up different programmes to help - but it all takes time._
Because there is this problem (racism), we talk about it with the kids and the parents ask too - "will they be discriminated against?" - and we say, "Yes sometimes they will." What we do is to teach them to handle it because it's there and we say - "We don't want you guys fighting them." Kids are young and haven't really matured, so they get provoked and hit out, and it's often them who get suspended. We haven't yet dealt with the cause, that will take time. That is an issue. Kids have to handle it.

In spite of these serious social issues which are all part of Moana's work, she still has major teaching responsibilities. She can never allow herself to lose sight of her primary function in the school, that of a teacher, with a strong sense of mission:

You have to be true to yourself. I know I need to perform in the classroom - I have standards about achieving in the classroom as a teacher, in spite of these other issues and the impact of social problems.

While she operates as an unofficial Dean, Moana is not given any extra time for this function and it can take up a number of hours per week. However, she is very aware of the background of social pressure experienced by many of her students and the way it impacts on them. Nevertheless, students who exhibit behavioural difficulties can be sent back to the main school.

Some of these teachers have specialised and formalised pastoral care roles in their schools they are all affected to some extent by the pastoral care network. In the writer's experience, teachers are either involved as form teachers or will have some classroom behaviour to manage which is affected by social difficulties. The extent that schools have these difficulties reflected in their students' behaviour is mostly reflected by the SES status of the surrounding community. Moana, Enid and Helen manage populations of
students who come from areas suffering from high unemployment and poverty. The nature of their roles vary but they each make a contribution to the positive management of students and their difficulties. It has been demonstrated in Britain that the organisation and structure of schooling does make a difference to the way working class adolescents respond to school [Brown, 1984]. While resourcing for these pastoral care roles varies, it is clear that for each of these teachers there is never enough time and the pressures are intense and constant.

CURRICULUM PRESSURES

In response to the neo-liberal demand for curricular designed to meet the requirements of industry and private enterprise, the curriculum is presently undergoing major change. In 1993 the *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* provided a clear statement of intention in its foreword from the Ministry of Education, indicating the scope and direction of those changes. In her introduction, the Secretary for Education, Maris O’Rourke, argued in favour of curriculum change as a response to the economic climate of the 1990s, and the changes which are envisaged in the future. She saw the education system as being instrumental in managing that change and providing industry with a suitably equipped workforce. Education is seen in this statement as being the vehicle for providing industry with a highly skilled and adaptable workforce. It is considered to be a significant factor in the economic recovery and it is partly through redesigning the curriculum that this is to be achieved.

Today, New Zealand faces many significant challenges. If we wish to progress as a nation, and to enjoy a healthy prosperity in today’s and tomorrow’s competitive world economy, our education system must adapt to meet these challenges. We need a
learning environment which enables all our students to attain high standards and develop appropriate personal qualities. As we move towards the twenty-first century, with all the rapid technological change which is taking place, we need a work force which is increasingly highly skilled and adaptable, and which has an international and multicultural perspective [The New Zealand Curriculum Framework, 1993:1].

O'Rourke goes on to say that curriculum change is one source of government initiated reform which is meant to assist these outcomes. She argues that only by providing a skilled work-force will we provide a secure place for ourselves in the global economy and that the key to this future success lies with the schools.

In a contextual statement at the conclusion of the document, a similarly strong connection is made between education, the labour market and the economy. The role of the curriculum is seen as pivotal in providing students with the necessary skills and knowledge as New Zealand moves into "rapid social and economic change"[ibid]. While changes in the labour market such as an increase in women's participation and high youth and long-term unemployment are touched on, so is the changing direction of New Zealand's trading relationships, from Europe to Asia and the Pacific. A significant statement is also made about current social trends:

At the same time, New Zealand is experiencing some disturbing social trends, such as an increase in the level of violent crime, an increasing number of suicides committed by young people, a high percentage of teenage pregnancies, and a high level of alcohol and drug abuse [ibid: 28].

While the impact of those disturbing social trends has been discussed above and while it is clear that all teachers face the impact of social change and pressure regardless of having official pastoral care roles in their schools, it is clear that this statement in the
framework moves the responsibility for managing the effects of those changes directly onto the schools.

So a number of pressures faced by the New Zealand community are clearly positioned, within this document as a major responsibility of schools and teachers. Many of those pressures overlap and inter-connect and they have provided a challenging context for teachers in the past. These social pressures have accelerated rapidly and it is conceded in this document, will continue to do so. Teachers will remain at the forefront of attempts to manage those challenges and implies that they could be held accountable for the way they manage externally-driven social change.

The Framework itself provides seven "Essential Learning Areas": Language and Languages, Mathematics, Science, Technology, Social Sciences, The Arts, Health and Physical Well-being, which are then further divided into subject areas. Each of these areas includes the development of a number of "essential skills": communication, numeracy, information, problem-solving, self-management and competitive skills, physical skills, work and study skills. The Framework includes a series of statements, the principles, which give:

direction (to the curriculum, and) are based on the premises that the individual student is the centre of all teaching and learning, and that the curriculum for all students will be of the highest quality. (They) affirm and reflect New Zealand’s identity (and) provide national direction while allowing for local discretion. All schools must ensure that the principles are embodied in their programmes [ibid: 6].

Attitudes and values to be fostered and encouraged during the education process are both generally and specifically dealt with. Recognition is given to the values which should be
reflected in schools and communities, for example: honesty, respect for the law, and tolerance. Non-sexism and non-racism are also included.

National curriculum statements are the detailed documents which ensure that each school is aware of its obligations in each area. Learning outcomes for all students are specified in which a series of strands are provided with achievement objectives:

These objectives are set out in a number of levels, usually eight, to indicate progression and continuity of learning throughout schooling from year 1 to year 13 [ibid: 22].

Assessment procedures are seen, reasonably, as an "integral part of the curriculum" [ibid: 24]. The purpose of assessment, under the new curriculum, is seen as essentially diagnostic and promotes the accepted educational view that it is to:

- improve teaching and learning by diagnosing learning strengths and weaknesses, by measuring students’ progress against the defined achievement objectives, and reviewing the effectiveness of teaching programmes. The information which teachers record from these assessments enables clear profiles of individual students’ achievement to be built [ibid].

This arrangement of profiling will be used for student, teacher and parent feedback. Assessment at key transition points, is to be introduced to identify student needs at:
school entry, (beginning primary school), the start of year 7 (Form 1), and the start of year 9 (Form 3). The aim of this series of assessments is to provide both schools and the government with information so that they can target resources more effectively. Further, item banks of nationally standardised assessment tasks are to be developed for the students of years 7 and 9. These banks are to be used by schools so that comparative testing can be made of the students against the appropriate national standards. It is
conceded in the document that the successful establishment of these banks will depend very much on the input and involvement of teachers and schools.

Student profiling for school leavers is another facet of curriculum reform. While many schools have provided this type of record, it will become a mandatory form of assessment, and will include a diverse statement of student ability:

This record will include an assessment of the student’s level of achievement in relation to the learning objectives and the development of the essential skills. It will also include a statement of the student’s performance in national examinations and qualifications, a section on personal qualities, and a summary of involvement in school activities [ibid: 25]

Senior secondary school qualifications are to be awarded through examination and assessment and are the responsibility of the NZQA. They will be based on the implementation of Ministry of Education policy, contained in the New Zealand Curriculum documents.

All of this curriculum change is seen as a major responsibility of teachers and schools, couched as it is in imperative language, there is a strong statement of expectation emanating from the document. Schools and teachers are clearly directed to follow the specific intentions of the new curriculum, as well as operating their school environments in such a way that disturbing social trends in the wider community can be modified.

Further, a closer connection between schools and the workforce is being promoted, to the extent that in some, close industry-school links are being established. Overall, an expectation is expressed that education should be the vehicle through which both society and the economy are to be improved. It is noteworthy that the business community is included in the consultation network in devising the new curriculum [ibid: 22].

A clear criticism is made of pre-reform education standards:
In recent years, governments, both in New Zealand and overseas, have produced major curriculum policies to reform outdated systems, to increase educational opportunities, and to raise educational standards [ibid: 28].

In order for this set of reforms to be implemented, the co-operation of the schools, and an enormous amount of energy on the part of the nation’s teachers is required, and obviously expected. A clear statement that boards of trustees are to take responsibility for implementing the reforms is made early in the document:

Under the terms of the Education Amendment Act 1991, these documents are defined as the national curriculum documents. It is the responsibility of boards of trustees to ensure that schools satisfy the requirements and expectations of these statements [ibid: 3].

The availability of resources to implement the reformed curriculum is not specified. The improvement of New Zealand’s educational outcomes appears to be expected via consultation with representatives of educational and community interests, some trialling of draft learning areas at school level, and the insistence that the New Zealand Curriculum Framework be implemented regardless of any shortfall in resources. How that determination to implement the new curriculum is impacting on schools in general, and teachers in middle management in particular, is certainly worthy of investigation.

In earlier sections of this study, it was noted that these teachers’ workloads had been greatly affected by increased administration due to the impact of the education reforms in the last few years. Part of that change has been to do with the increased emphasis on the HOD role in middle management, and the attendant tasks of staff and financial management, staff appraisal, and the implementation of curriculum reform.
HODs and others in middle management are responsible for the implementation of these areas and ensuring that their department staff members are delivering the new curriculum in ways that are considered appropriate. They experience pressure from above, through the expectations of government agencies, and senior management, and below, as their department staff seek input and guidance. The teachers in this investigation were asked about the impact of curriculum change on their work.

Resourcing

James Williams and the other members of his department are currently familiarising themselves with aspects of the new syllabus and assessment procedures. Although some courses are available, the help which they represent is minimal in comparison with the task of becoming well versed with the new requirements. James makes the point that neither he, nor the teachers in his department, have received adequate training for the expectations of the reforms, and although he attends HOD courses sometimes, he usually finds that these simply provide psychological support rather than tangible help:

We should have training (for the reforms) - it wasn’t well enough thought through for the implications of all those changes. It has been totally under resourced. We haven’t had any training for this sort of stuff. You have an HOD course occasionally - I find them valuable but only in that you meet other HODs to find that you’ve got the same problems. But in terms of dealing with all the things that are supposed to be going on - you just haven’t got the resources for them.

Curriculum pressures have been affecting Enid since she went into Transition education since the middle 1980s, when Transition was set up in schools to provide programmes for
an increasing number of non-academic students in the senior school. These programmes
cover general life-skills and employment strategies. She is responsible for overseeing the
Transition programmes delivered in her school, through a number of staff, none of whom
work solely in her department. Enid is aware that she has been under increasing pressure
as HOD since her school's falling roll has deprived her of full-time staff. She now has a
number of staff who teach in her department, but they are all specialists in different parts
of the curriculum. Her personnel differ every year depending on the timetable and she
finds that most of them do not regard her subject area as their highest priority. She finds
this situation adds to her workload and her sense of isolation.

_I feel more and more isolated. I work here and I go like a bat out of hell and
then I collapse on a Friday night and I think: "where did the week go?" (This
is a problem) especially with not working with a department, because all of my
staff - those that I used to have working full-time - went because of
redundancy, because the hours went (the roll fell). Now all staff belong to
other departments. And that's another pressure - working with staff who are all
working in other departments with all their department pressures - when do
they meet with me?

This creates difficulties for Enid in evaluating programmes, meeting student needs, and in
staff appraisal; she often operates as HOD, via pieces of paper:

_And so it ends up with photocopied pieces of paper going out. Then I end up
having to get it back in because there isn't time when we can sit down and
say: "Right - can I have all those returns in - have you filled out the the
information for me? OK - let's evaluate what we've been doing."

Enid believes that this problem is one of the worst pressures she faces as an HOD and it
has a negative and intensifying effect on her workload.
Moana, like Enid, has also developed the bulk of her subject area prior the curriculum reforms. She has in the past spent enormous amounts of time putting together a bi-lingual and immersion programme for the students of her whanau. Moana began teaching Maori at her school as a part-time teacher and now has a team of people working with her in an extremely successful Maori language programme which covers all subject areas from Forms Three to Seven. She is extremely pleased with the way the programme now runs:

*Before I used to do it on my own and I'm quite proud of how it's developed.*

*Now I've got teams of people working and I'm getting to a stage in my life where I'll slide out because things are going - it's taken a long time but it's working.*

Moana has been inspired by a personal belief in the kaupapa (which she describes as a sense of mission) which she brings to her work as a Maori language teacher. The impetus to expand the curriculum in her own subject, within her own school, has also come from the wider Maori community. She has received significant encouragement from the wider Maori community in her area to develop these programmes, in spite of the restrictions within the school as an institution.

*The people of the community which goes beyond the school (were responsible for this initiative). When I had been teaching for ten years I knew I was wasting myself - I had skills which I wasn’t using - language skills. I knew a guy who was involved in linguistics and who’d done research in Maori studies. We talked about it with the families - the kids weren’t getting the language and all that sort of thing. So I applied for a bi-lingual course at Waikato and it was the turning point of my life. But I actually went into it with a mandate from the whanau and I also had supportive staff from the Maori department*
who were hot on it as well. Since then we've set that up, but the restrictions were amazingly difficult.

An immense and energising enthusiasm has been forthcoming from Moana's community while she implemented her own reforms. She now feels that the work she has done and the changes she has established are being recognised positively beyond her school. Although she feels that the Ministry may not be particularly aware of what she is doing, she has had a lot of positive interest and enquiries from other schools.

The Ministry probably wouldn't have noticed straight off, but they probably do now because we've got quite a high reputation for what we do. Some of our stuff is sought after from other schools and we've staff who are writing units. The Principal will go to conferences around the country and he will talk about what he's got in his school. And that's recognition.

The value of community enthusiasm and personal commitment is clearly demonstrated through Moana's experience.

George, as a Mathematics HOD has found immense pressure while implementing the new curriculum framework. He has put a lot of time into this area on top of the tasks he already knew were expected of him as the HOD. While not necessarily critical of the reforms as such, he is very critical of the speed with which they have been implemented and the lack of resourcing which has meant an extra burden for teachers:

Resourcing is a problem. I was part of a group last year which got together and we wrote a unit for Forms 3 and 4, which put the objectives of the new curriculum together, and we've just about sold 350 copies around New Zealand with 383 secondary schools. That's obviously a resource that's crying out for a market, but HODs in Christchurch have done it. Why wasn't it contracted out
as part of the job? We didn’t get paid to do that, we didn’t make profits. All we did was to share the task. It should have been done by the Ministry.

George feels that the tasks which he has picked up in Tomorrow’s Schools have been imposed so rapidly that no-one has had the time or resources to implement them properly. He feels that he would have voluntarily taken a role in implementing the reforms had the process not been so rapid and intense.

All that is being forced upon us we would have come to voluntarily, but it is the speed we are having difficulty with. And that is being imposed. There are a few things that I disagree with - I think that assessment is a real problem, but in terms of curriculum change and management skills I think that I agree with most of the principles there. It’s really the speed with which things are being implemented and the timeframe which is the problem.

George is conscious that the amount of work which the curriculum and related reforms will bring to his job are going to increase even further. New methods of assessment are part of the reforms and it is intended that the schools will become more responsible for them.

Accountability and Performance

In evaluating the impact of the reforms, George is conscious of the pressures accountability brings to schools and individual teachers:

The amount of work through assessment is going to increase significantly for no extra money. They’re going to take assessment from being NZQA based where you have the external markers, examiners and moderators and for whom the responsibility is external, to being done entirely inside the school where internal assessment will be the norm. This is like School Certificate now, which
is internally assessed, where all the responsibility is the schools, but the marking of the exam is quite different (externally moderated). So why isn’t there an allocation of time and money for this task? We will have to take responsibility for the assessment.

This view has also been noted by Wylie [1994] who reported that an increase in assessment (71%) and administration remained the most prominent sources of teacher dissatisfaction with their work and raised questions about the adequacy of resourcing and training [ibid: 72].

One of the significant new responsibilities expected of HODs is an in-school appraisal system. This is closely linked to the implementation of the new curriculum, and new assessment procedures. In the research conducted by Mitchell et al [1992]. It was shown that many teachers and Principals see the appraisal system as being linked to issues of accountability, rather than student learning [also see Chapter 2]. Obviously, under the present accountability system, HODs are the people who will be called upon to oversee the requirements of the reforms, in their subject area in their schools, as stated in the new curriculum framework and its associated documents. James however, is very concerned as to how valid appraisal of performance can be conducted.

From a professional point of view, I think that if you’ve got experienced staff and they teach to the fullness of their ability, how are you going to assess them? If you compare the approaches of three different teachers to that of three different musicians, how are you going to make judgements about the way they play the same piece - if they are all good?

In considering how appraisal would affect a performance pay situation, should it be introduced, James is concerned that a wide variety of factors would affect any such measurement. Class size, level of student ability, subject aptitude and exposure, and even
the positioning in the timetable of the class time, are all factors over which individual
teachers have no control. If student performance is to be measured by assessment
procedures, are teachers similarly to be to be measured by student results?

*Do you pay people by the exam results of their class? That’s fair enough, but
look at the input - look at the difference in the standard of the student - what
background they’ve had in the last 4 - 5 years - or even the last 10 years.
Their intelligence is a factor, what period of the day you teach them, whether
you teach them on a last period on a Friday - which you can virtually write off-
or whether you have them second period of every morning where you get
much more input and the results should improve. How do you measure it?*

This factor is particularly cogent at James’s school, where religious education is taught
and the timetable staff are instructed to position all religious education classes in periods,
two, three, or four of the teaching day, because these are the times for optimum teaching.
This practice will not be to the advantage of other areas of the curriculum and the
teachers within those areas.

**Role Proliferation**

In his teaching subject area of Physical Education, Harry is heavily involved with
implementing the new curriculum framework. His subject area is one of those currently
being reorganised. Although he is accountable to the Physical Education HOD, he is also
Head of Athletics, thus operating a dual accountability within his subject area. Harry is
responsible for some teacher appraisal as well as the re-writing of programmes and the
setting up of new assessment procedures for students. He finds that the demands of
implementing the new curriculum conflict with his role as Tutor and says that the
expectations which accompany the concept of accountability add considerably to workload pressure:

_I think the way teaching is moving there's a higher expectation. This sort of answerability - you answer to your HOD, and as Tutor I'm answering to the Counsellor as well._

Harry is currently implementing the new curriculum, which is a very big undertaking, on top of his role as the Form 7 Tutor, a position which he says senior management have high expectations of, in spite of limited resourcing. The issue of time allocation was recently challenged in his school:

_All the Tutors got together to work out time requirements and had a discussion. We decided that the time allowance was not enough to do the job properly. Management was approached and they gave us the extra hour for the Senior Tutors. It wasn't enough. My view is that to do the job properly, it should really be a full-time PR position, perhaps teaching one class per week._

_But to do it properly on four hours per week, is an unreasonable expectation._

In the context of expressed requirements in _The New Zealand Framework_, the section entitled 'Attitudes and Values' sets out guidelines and expectations which pertain to pastoral care and guidance. Positive social values and attitudes are to be encouraged in schools, according to the document and teachers involved in the guidance networks in their schools, or Transition programmes, must make a direct contribution to that requirement. So the work of teachers such as Edna, Harry, and Helen, where this component is an agreed part of their job description, must be seen as a clear and binding expectation by the Ministry, of schools. Problems arise however, when curriculum expectations conflict and the teacher has limited resources, but must manage to fulfil several functions at once.
Helen’s work as a Dean provides similar difficulties for her as Harry described in his work. A large and important part of her job is that of Form 5 Dean, but as a Science teacher, and Head of Biology she is involved in the implementation of the new curriculum. She has taken advantage of positive professional development provisions available at her school and been on numerous courses, including curriculum and assessment.

Each year since being back as a full-time staff member, I’ve probably been on two or three courses. We do have excellent professional development at our school, so I can just about go on any course I want to. So I’ve been on a management course for HOD’s, I’ve done subject-related courses, ABA (achievement based assessment). I’ve done extra papers to do horticulture. The development has all been voluntarily done except for the ABA. All the rest has been for my own satisfaction.

So Helen has willingly thrown herself into extending her management and subject skills in a way that suits the requirements of the new curriculum, while retaining her personal enthusiasm. However, she no longer feels that she is as current as she would like to be in the Science area; there simply is not the time to be as conversant with the latest trends in her own subject as she would like which she says, is likely to prevent her from moving out of teaching.

I don’t have the current, up-to-date scientific and practical techniques, and so it is increasingly difficult to move sideways into a science area.

One of Helen’s recognised responsibilities (she has a PR) is to promote Science for girls. While gender issues have always been an area of concern for teachers and the accessibility of all areas of the curriculum for girls the subject of research and public discussion, it is also mentioned in the new curriculum document. At Helen’s school,
specific steps have been taken to make Science an attractive subject for girls and a PR
was set up for this purpose.

*I'm extremely aware of the effect of the environment on girls. There's a falling
number of girls taking Science at senior level so I'm trying to create the right
atmosphere for them to come into and not have the sterile traditional
environment. So I'm very conscious of gender issues - I've practically
developed the school's involvement with SOS which is "Schools' Opportunity
for Science" - this is a programme I'm running for all our Form 5 girls.

In her work as a Dean, Helen helps students and their families to sort out difficulties.
While she brought skills to that position which she had gained out of school, she has also
done a number of management courses which complement that role.
Like the other teachers in the study, Helen finds the intensity of demands in all these
areas difficult to manage without the feeling that something is not being done properly.
She feels that the aspect of her work which suffers most is her teaching.

*I don't have the time for being as innovative as I would like to be so I rely
very much on what I've done before. Often I will see things and I think - I'd
like to use that but I don't have time to do anything with it. I have all these
ideas in the background but I can't get the time to implement them and I find
that very frustrating because I think I could improve what I do, if I got the
time to do it.

George has been a Mathematics HOD since 1986. The intensity and speed of reform
which began in 1989 has been such that his original position has changed a great deal. He
expresses concern at the size of the task and in particular his role in implementing a new
curriculum and new methods of assessment, rapidly introduced into his school.
The department management side has increased enormously. I'm working harder now than I was four years ago in exactly the same job. I see 'Tomorrow's Schools' as the catalyst for the changes. I don't say the changes were bad, I'm just saying they were imposed too fast.

CONCLUSION

In the implementation of the curriculum and associated reforms, the Ministry has imposed a restricted timeframe upon an enormous task. The curriculum change itself is an immense and non-negotiable responsibility for all subject teachers, but HODs in particular bear the brunt of overseeing unit writing, assessment procedures, resourcing, teaching standards (appraisal), learning outcomes and other administration. Mitchell et al [1992: 21] have demonstrated that time is the greatest single problem faced by teachers in implementing the Tomorrow's Schools reforms and that appraisal requirements "seem to be just one further demand on teachers' precious time" [ibid]. In his survey on collaborative decision making in secondary schools, Capper observed that most teachers and Principals expressed concern over the issue of poorly performing teachers, but had little or no energy for the appraisal process. They felt that: "a central government demand was being met by some schools in a spirit of making the best of a bad job" [1994: 24]. Further, in examining the workload of primary school teachers, Wylie has observed a clear relationship between the increase in assessment and the "administrative emphasis on accountability in the shift to local school management" [1994: 73]. Support and resourcing for these changes has been minimal and has mostly been created within the schools. Insufficient trialling and training at local level has impacted on teachers. They are not sure that they are getting their programmes right and there is controversy among them about assessment procedures. They are implementing
these reforms as quickly as they can, because they are expected to, but doubts are being expressed by teachers about the quality of programmes and procedures they are able to deliver under such restricted circumstances, they do not have enough time or enough developmental resourcing. In terms of implementing the reforms, the principal difficulties for teachers lie in the tight timeframe, the lack of practical resourcing, a minimum of trialling or evaluation and the imposition of a proliferation of administrative tasks. Heads of Departments, in the middle management band of the school staff, have been particularly affected by this intensification of work. Of those teachers who were interviewed, only one was not adversely affected by the new curriculum reforms and she had been well supported by input from the local community.

Within the context of accelerating social change, (much of which has impacted negatively on the nation’s students), an increasing burden of pastoral care has been placed on schools. This has been acknowledged through reference to social issues in curriculum documents. While this factor affects all classroom teachers, it is those who are elevated to middle management through the pastoral care network as Deans, Tutors, or Transition teachers who must deal directly with the pressures of rapid social change.

A common underlying difficulty has been demonstrated through this study. Repeated reference has been made to task proliferation in which teachers have constant, additional and immediate pressures emanating from their several roles.

This chapter has demonstrated that middle managers in secondary schools appear to be facing a crisis in meeting the expectations of state agencies in the implementation of the imposed reforms, while at the same time attempting to meet the increasingly complex needs of the students and the wider community.
The multitude of tasks inherent in the implementation of the curriculum and the
management of social change combined with the administrative functions described in
Chapter Four burden these teachers with intensifying workloads. The next chapter will
investigate the core activities of teaching and the effects of these pressures on teachers'
personal lives.
CHAPTER SIX

PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS.

I don’t think that people realise what sort of pressure we are under and teachers asking for money, for example, is not thought of favourably by the average person. They still see teacher workload as being the same as it was fifteen years ago - whatever that expectation was. They still think teachers do six hours a day and they (the public) still think that teaching is about having thirteen weeks of holiday. [Harry, Chapter 6]

In this chapter I will set out aspects of professional concerns which are fundamental to the teaching situation. I will also examine ways in which the pressures resulting from the reforms are impacting on teachers’ personal lives.

The Tomorrow’s School’s reforms have brought many additional pressures to bear on teachers. While administrative and pastoral care pressures have increased, the introduction of curriculum reforms, and associated changes in assessment have also added enormously to their workload. However, teachers have always been under considerable professional pressure from their own colleagues, their students, and the wider school community, to perform to demonstrably high standards [Connell, 1985]. In addition, competent and enthusiastic teachers have always looked for a high degree of personal satisfaction in their work and one of the intentions of this study was to investigate the personal frustrations and the rewards currently experienced by teachers and the impact of their work on teachers’ private lives.
PROFESSIONAL FACTORS

In a leaflet distributed to schools in July, 1994, a series of criteria were set down, describing the satisfactory teacher. Put out by the Teacher Registration Board, it described six criteria which characterise the satisfactory teacher at all levels and details ways in which these criteria may be assessed. The criteria which identify a satisfactory teacher are as set out as follows:

The Registration Board has determined that a person is or is likely to be a satisfactory teacher who enables and encourages learning; has competence in the New Zealand curriculum and its assessment; has appropriate teaching techniques and management skills; plans, prepares and evaluates programmes of work; contributes to the work of the school or centre as a whole; and promotes health, physical and cultural safety.

Each of these criteria include detail as to how the satisfactory teacher is to be recognised. An example of this, under the category "enables and encourages learning" has the following description:

The indicators of this could be an enthusiasm for learning; teaching which encourages learning; parent, school or centre satisfaction with the results of teaching [ibid].

All of these indicators expect a high level of performance in all categories and overt evidence that these indicators are being practised. Phrases in the leaflet such as "the teacher should show an ability to talk about and put into practice the objectives of specific curriculum areas in relation to national curriculum requirements;" or "evidence of advance preparation for lessons," or "participates in activities with students outside the classroom" and "actively works to counter sexist and racist attitudes", all put pressure on the teacher in many areas of his or
her work. Further, the teacher is expected to "fulfil the obligations in the school charter" which indicates not only knowledge, but active pursuit of those goals, whatever they might be. The leaflet goes on to state that "these criteria are minimum standards applicable to all teachers at all times. Failure to meet them are grounds for de-registration" [sic].

All of these criteria are put together to clarify what is expected of a 'satisfactory' teacher, at all levels of school responsibility by the Teacher Registration Board. In the same leaflet, additional guidance is given to help ascertain if a teacher is meeting the criteria, with the suggestion that this checklist "could be adapted for use in the staff development programme" [ibid]. So teachers are being pressured to perform to exacting standards in all areas of school life. If they do not overtly fulfil the expectations described by the Teacher Registration Board, then they might face deregistration. The clearly stated expectations of these principles are likely to put additional pressure on teachers as they attempt to provide a proliferation of functions to the stated requirements.

It is clear from recent research, [Livingstone 1994, Bridges 1992, Wylie 1991-4], that teachers have always spent a significant amount of time on activities relating to the classroom, such as assessment, marking and report writing. Livingstone has shown that these activities take up the equivalent of over an hour per weekday, (5.2 hours) but that this is mostly done at weekends [Livingstone, 1994: 14].

Professional development and a miscellany of other school activities including school fairs, workshops and sports tournaments also add significantly to the professional duties expected of teachers which occur beyond the scope of the 25
hour teaching week and which in Livingstone’s study, extended to 54.5 hours per week [ibid.].

Bridges [1992] found that:

classroom teachers who have experienced both the ‘old’ system and

*Tomorrow’s Schools*, are on average working longer hours on ongoing

classroom and school duties, regardless of whether or not they have

changed school or position [1992: 14].

Further, Bridges found that there was an increase in workload associated with age

and:

Teachers in the 41 - 50 year bracket spend more time than others on

tasks related to decision-making and school image [ibid: 16].

This work included associate teacher work, curriculum updating, fundraising,
policy ratification and making staff appointments. Bridges has maintained that
these middle management teachers have a heavy workload either because of the
effects of delegation from senior management, or because they are improving their
promotion prospects voluntarily. Both Bridges and Wylie have established an
increase in the school week for all teachers. As noted earlier, Bridges found an
average working week of 51 hours and Wylie [1994] an average of 48.8 hours in
the working week.

Heads of Department and Deans in the middle management areas of school have
been subject to all the expectations described above by the Teacher Registration
Board as well as the specific requirements of their roles. Further, they are
affected within their schools by a variety of other factors such as staff
relationships, the concerns and interests of other staff, especially those of senior
management and the legitimate needs of students and staff within their areas of responsibility. Those in PR positions in this study expressed a sense of awareness that as they were paid for their positions, other staff had clear expectations that they would perform accordingly. The teachers who had unpaid recognition on the other hand, with TIC or Dean’s status were still expected to perform to a high standard many additional tasks which came with the job. In either case, a role in middle management was a source of major pressure and this came through clearly in all interviews, regardless of remuneration, position, or personal choice [see Bridges, above]. While each of the six individual teachers had a different situation to describe, they all had to deal with both positive and negative aspects of professional expectations, which came from either external or internal sources.

Status

In discussing the expectations which he feels as an HOD and PR holder, James Williams is conscious that while he has been accorded status in the past, this recognition is changing. He maintains that while the financial reward remains, he no longer feels that the recognition he used to enjoy is still there. He views his own situation as one which has changed greatly since he first took on his PR 3:

*With structures changing and emphasis being put on democracy and input, there is no longer any kudos with the PR system. There really hasn’t been any for me anyway. You actually don’t get respect because you’ve got a PR. You don’t get much of a financial reward - it’s a bit of a mockery. It’s about the same as having student teachers - the $2.00 per hour you get by the time you take your tax off is a farce. No one would actually go for a PR for the sake of having money. The reward is*
negligible. In essence what happens is that you have a PR - you get paid a certain sum for that position. I don't want to say that ordinary teachers within the department don't do a lot because they work hard too - but you have the responsibility for what goes with the PR. You are listed near the top of the staff list and the honour of having the PR (is a status thing) and basically if you got paid even more it would cause even more resentment among the people you work with who see you then as being paid for the same work (as they do) except that you are paid for all the extra administration. It seems a bit nonsensical to those who only teach.

It doesn't mean much.

James is aware of other equally competent teachers in his department being paid less than he is simply because he is responsible for the administraton of the department. This can create pressure in that other senior and experienced members of his department will be watching his performance as HOD critically, especially within the context of accountability and effectiveness of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. While this sense of accountability might be considered desirable under the new business model of Tomorrow's Schools, it may detract from the collegial approach which teachers have usually found to be encouraging of positive learning outcomes [Capper, 1994].

Harry Bryant has been conscious of professional expectations of him and in recognition has attended courses and made himself available for the additional, unpaid function of Tutor. While this position may lead on to promotion, it may also go unrewarded in a personal sense and Harry felt that senior management in his school expected him to take on this responsibility, after he had reached a certain point in his teaching career. He has observed that capable teachers who
restrict themselves to the classroom are likely to seem as limited by senior management.

After 9 years teaching it was regarded that I should do something by senior management. Staff who have remained in assistant positions and not done anything else have probably not been looked upon favorably by management, and are seen as having limited capabilities. Teachers who only teach, are not getting on even, though they are very good teachers.

When professional pressure was applied, Harry agreed to take on the very large responsibility as a level Tutor for five years, with no financial reward but the allocation (insufficient, as Harry points out in the section on Pastoral Care) of one hour per week which, subsequently, became three to four hours per week. It is worth noting that this time increase was available only after lobbying of senior management by all the Tutors.

Helen Jacobs has a PR2 with one PR point taken up as the assistant HOD, and the other as a limited tenure position to promote Science to girls. She is conscious of the professional pressures which accompany those jobs and the expectations of senior management of her, in giving her short term promotion.

I have a PRI as Head of Biology and assistant Head of Science, and a PR of limited tenure which I am due to lose, to work with girls in Science and development. I'll try to win it back but it will depend on what else is happening in the school. The top three administration people without negotiation decided to make it a limited tenure PR - I had been doing the work anyway, under a male who had a really slack attitude. It was just rewarding me for what I was actually doing.
So Helen is competing professionally to retain status and recognition for a job she was doing already. In her job as the Dean, Helen feels that the work she does is valued by the parent community, even though it may not be sufficiently rewarded within the school system. However, that fact in itself creates further pressure, in that parents feel that they can have ready access to the Deans.

*I guess I’m seen as a senior staff member by the staff but I am also aware that when I go off Deaning (sic) I will lose that status. I feel the Dean’s job is not recognised at other schools. I feel that it is recognised in my own school but in terms of stepping up and over to another school I would like recognition for it. The general community expresses surprise in that the Deans don’t get paid for what they perceive as a high status job where they’re coming to you as professionals. We, as Deans don’t get any official status but the parents we deal with obviously put a high value on what we do. Parents can contact us any time - the fact that they can do that during school time means something to them.*

Helen also thinks that while the parent community values classroom teaching, she says that some parents she deals with think that her only job is that of Dean:

*They don’t think we do any teaching - they don’t see how we can fit it in.*

Moana Awatere finds that in many ways it is difficult to differentiate between professional and personal factors because there is so much overlap between them. For her, teaching Maori and being involved with the Maori community is an interconnected process which involves her whole lifestyle. She has the support of her family and the wider Maori community in her teaching:

*The whole kaupapa - the whole community is involved. My husband is a relieving teacher, and my son is involved in Te Kura Kaupapa Maori.*
Her view of the status of the job is closely linked to the sense of 'mission' which she feels, her relationship with the Maori community is marked by a sense of mutual respect and co-operation and she clearly provides strong leadership in the revival of the Maori language. She has also achieved prominence through performing arts:

"Our performing arts has national status now. It's actually just developed so the status has come from being in a kaupapa for a long time and getting good at it. You don't go into it for the rewards but you work at it so hard and you get good at it and there is recognition. The Principal thinks "one of my staff is getting acknowledged."

In considering the issues of status for teachers compared with other jobs, George believes that applying the business model to education is not valid.

"In schools there is a fixed budget and we have no way of increasing productivity. If I run a carpet cleaning business, I can advertise and undercut other businesses and clean more carpets and make more profits. But as a school we can't actually increase the money by being better teachers. We can't have private industry-type arrangements in teaching - we don't have that flexibility.

In spite of the changes which he believes are having a negative effect on teaching as a profession, George feels that teacher status is still high within the community. Within his school, however, he is aware that as an HOD he has a certain amount of "muscle." While this may give him some hierarchical clout, the professional pressures which are implicit in being HOD remain strong and are very demanding of his time."
The status I have as an HOD - well school is a collegial thing and you really only see that work when you flex your HOD muscle. It's the fact that if you have to use it you can. Teachers don't give respect easily - not that I get disrespect - but teachers don't regard the divisions between different rungs on the ladder as meaningful as you would find, say, in a bank. You don't have keys to the executive washroom.

The status which all of these teachers enjoyed and which accompanied their middle-management roles were accompanied by pressures, either from other colleagues who required direct assistance, or from delegated tasks from senior management, or the professional tasks which were part of the "basic" teaching job, as well as additional tasks.

Pressures

Each of the teachers interviewed disclosed a high degree of pressure coming from the professional expectations of their jobs. These pressures, while containing some common elements, tended to vary according to their specific roles in the school. Basic school duties include time spent in supervision and extra-curricular activities, in addition to assessment, making and preparation and since Tomorrow's Schools, an increasing number of meetings [see Chapter 3]. James reports spending most of his lunch and interval time in formal or informal meeting situations and the cumulative effect of all these activities is to intensify the overall workload:

When you consider I have twenty contact hours, and my work day is from 8 am to 4 pm, and during that time there is a morning interval in which you are surrounded by colleagues. You don't normally talk about
recreational things - it's mostly professional. During lunch times you
have meetings and you are required to do supervision. Then there are
clubs and various other things you are involved with. I've kept myself
reasonably out of that - I've looked after chess and during the winter I
look after the ski team - but that involves going up the mountain. I
happen to enjoy that - I'm not complaining about it, but those things take
time. It's a commitment.

James considers that he is working a minimum eight hour working day and that a
significant time for preparation and marking must be found in addition to that.
James feels that public criticism of the length of school holidays is unreasonable
when all working hours are taken into consideration.

I have to admit that after twenty years I go into some classes without
preparation, and that's where your experience comes in - so if I do have
to do a lesson on Shakespeare's theatre, I can do it because I know it.
But it's still something which you've spent time accumulating. Of course
you also have marking - I've got 34 kids in my 4th form, for example and
while I was away with a group of overseas students in the mountains, I
set an assignment for that class. They had three hours of classes and for
that three hours of work, I had to spend over 20 hours in marking it. You
are constantly taking in assignments, especially in English. So if you take
into account the number of hours you actually work, I think the holidays
actually disappear - we actually have no more holidays than someone in
middle or senior management in industry.

On a professional basis, James feels that the pressures never diminish and that
even the holidays are taken up with school activities, so that any sense of gaining
energy at that time is minimal. As he has senior status within the middle
management structure of his school, he has often been called upon to do extra
tasks and has felt an increasing burden as parental demands have increased.
Recently, for example, parents at his school lobbied for the reinstatement of a
senior ball, which had, in the past been organised and run by staff with some
student input. Although an alternative function had been provided (still organised
by staff) parents complained to the Deputy Principal that they wanted to retain a
mid-year senior ball in order to compete with elite Christchurch schools. Further,
in a recent effort to fund-raise the school fair was organised and operated almost
entirely by the staff because parents were too busy. All of these areas of
expectation combine to provide a sense of constant pressure, which James says is
causing him to think about leaving teaching. He also feels that while the size of
his teaching workload is sufficient; it is the addition of all the other tasks which
makes him frustrated:

\begin{quote}
The size of the teaching load is quite reasonable, but when you look at
everything else which is demanded, I never feel I've done my job really
well. If I go back 15 years there would be weeks when I would say I've
prepared my work really well - I've taught well, the kids have obviously
enjoyed it and I've done all my marking. I actually never have the feeling
that I am completely on top of it all. It's not just a fact of getting older -
the increase in workload just doesn't allow you to catch up anymore.
Whereas a few years ago I would have taken in at least one essay per
week from each class, now I have to admit that it would be 3 weeks
before I take in another.
\end{quote}
James finds the students pressure him to return their work marked, but he frequently has to explain to them that the pressure of other work is preventing a prompt return:

> It's basically because there is pressure on you and you feel constantly hounded and you feel that you haven't done all the things which are expected of you. It's got to the stage that when you get to the holidays you take all sorts of things with you to do. You even go back to school to do things. For example the day after New Year's Day I went back to school to spend a morning taking photos for the school prospectus. All of those things - you can never get away from it.

Enid Johnson also finds a lack of time creates difficulties in providing what she understands to be the basics in her teaching job. As she is the Transition HOD, she has responsibilities which have already been detailed. She also has to fulfil teaching responsibilities in the Science department which, although adding to the pressure of her work, gives her an insight into the professional pressures constantly faced by other teachers:

> It is the only time I have contact with junior classes and it is good because I need to be kept in reality - what it is like to be a teacher with 30 kids in front of you demanding your attention instead of having a group of senior students in here. There is a positive side because I know what is happening to others out there.

Enid is aware of the same expectations from her colleagues as those experienced by James. Payment for responsibility tends to promote a pressure to perform, and
the sense that informal peer appraisal is constant within staff rooms. Enid says that although she once supported performance pay, she now has reservations.

_How do you actually say - do I work harder than someone who takes home 5 lots of marking to sit and mark and get through? Or someone who has all the senior assessment to get through? I mean, how do you say who gets rewarded?_

She is critical however, of teachers on her staff who do not appear to be pulling their weight and she and other staff members appear make judgements on the apparent performance of their colleagues. At the same time they do not wish to be seen as being professionally inadequate. There appears to be a constant sense of informal peer review. At the same time, however, there is a recognition that workload in teaching, for most teachers, is multifarious and constant.

_I mean we're not stupid - we can look around the room and say you lazy sod - you come in here at 12.15 (for lunch) and you leave at 1.15, and at 4.30 you walk out of the door and we all know there are teachers like that. But on the other hand I don't know who works harder - whether it's me who flogs my guts out all day or whether it's the person who spends the weekend tramping with kids, or whether it's the person who was out with the water polo kids all weekend. Who works harder? I don't know and I wouldn't like to say that I work harder than someone else. I think that 95% of all teachers give everything they've got to give in one way or the other and I can't say that I'm any better than any one else. And I don't want someone to say: "she gets paid for it - let her do it." After all I have been known to say: "he's on a bloody PR4 and look at what he does - nothing!"
This type of tension in any workplace is likely to cause additional pressure for the conscientious teacher and it will tend to exacerbate any difficulties rather than solving them. So perceived pressures from colleagues as to professional performance certainly affect Enid and the way she goes about doing her job. She clearly demonstrates a high level of awareness that she should be seen to be doing her job to a very high standard.

The expectation that teachers will constantly take on extra, professionally-related tasks regardless of how that might impact on other time such as holidays, is also demonstrated by Enid. In 1993, for example, she was involved in organising a national conference in her subject area. This impacted enormously on her time and energy, but she generally finds that holidays are used for school related work.

*I worked myself just about to a standstill to get the national conference off the ground. Then in the first week (of the August holidays) it was national conference 24 hours a day and by the time I'd died for a week and got over that, there was a week to get ready to go back to school. Summer holidays - I always work the first week of every holiday because I have kids out at work who can't go out to work at other times. I'm in here for the first week of every holiday and I work right up to Christmas at the summer holidays and then I'm back 2 weeks before term begins.*

Harry is also aware that the public expectation of teachers is that they enjoy a short working week and generous holidays, and that they see only the time spent in front of the students as being "work." He believes that the public are largely unaware of all of the extra duties which teachers are involved with, and the constancy of those tasks.
I don't think that people realise what sort of pressure we are under and teachers asking for more money, for example, is not thought of favourably by the average person. They still see teacher workload as being the same as it was 15 years ago - whatever that expectation was. They still think teachers do 6 hours a day, and they (the public) still think that teaching is about having 13 weeks of holiday.

Harry finds that his teaching spills over into those holidays; preparation, assessment, and the specific requirements of his particular job all make an impact.

If you didn't use some of your time for preparation in your own subject area you would be a fool - if you didn't use some of your time in the holidays to update your subject area - as well as courses, tournaments, and sports trips.

This factor is present during the term as well. He has TIC status for athletics, as well as being a Physical Education teacher, he is often called upon to coach for and organise sports fixtures and tournaments. These are commitments he finds often make inroads into his weekend time:

The last three weekends have been fully committed to school activities. One whole weekend related to a sports trip. Another two full Saturdays were taken up (with sport).

Harry says that the demands he makes of his colleagues often creates pressure. He is expected by senior management to perform certain functions as Form 7 Tutor. To fulfil these requirements he in turn makes requests of his colleagues:

As Tutor, I'm asking fellow professionals to perform certain tasks under pressure and sometimes the effects of that spill over because my
colleagues are under pressure. I'm asking them to perform a task because I'm asked to follow it through, so it creates extra tension.

The expectations of the Dean's job and the responsibility of the PR2 are not the only areas which impact on Helen's workload. She finds that the multifarious professional requirements of her total work situation to be extremely demanding.

I am a member of my subject association - it is not stipulated but expected - and you should be on the committee, which I am. I also find that my work suffers because you have to meet certain deadlines and I think of the immediate one which is re-furbishing all our laboratories and developing them. We had a meeting a week ago with the architect and they said we had two weeks in which to get the plans ready. That's from scratch so that affects us and pressures us. As the Dean I'm expected to be available whenever a parent wants - I'm expected to be at all these report evenings - I mean not one but several. I'm expected on outdoor education camps.

Helen also finds that as a woman she is expected to take on a more nurturing or domesticated role and she finds that this covers a variety of extra tasks:

It's assumed, especially as I'm a female, that I will. A lot of our women won't but I'm expected to as a senior woman who hasn't got little children. I'm expected to look after the so-called biological courtyard; I have to maintain it. I'm expected to look after the locker bays because I walk past them but I don't see why I should or why it should be particularly me, doing that.
(Other pressures) are committees which are instituted by the department and the PDC (Professional Development Committee). Then the top three people will want to come in and they say "don't change your programme" and I said to the Principal - "well if I don't change my programme I'll be going over the exam." He says that's fine, but when he walks in he says - "oh you're going over the exam" and walks out again. I end up feeling that I haven't done what they'd like me to do, and although they told me not to put on a performing lesson, that's what they really expected.

A lack of working space is a further difficulty for Helen. She has only got a cupboard to store her large stock of resources and while she shares an office with a colleague, she finds it inefficient; "you have to clear things away, and sometimes I have an appointment at the same time as my colleague does and it doesn't really work."

Helen's school competes for student numbers with four other co-educational schools in the area and because of the emphasis on self-marketing schools she says that a lot of staff time and energy is put into "writing schemes for attracting students." The anxiety caused by this situation tends to affect the way that teachers communicate about professional concerns. Helen believes that teachers are not consulted enough about the changes which are affecting them "and when they are it is a 'yes' brigade - probably because it suits someone at the top." She thinks that job insecurity plays a major factor in this:

I know that from my own school where people will say one thing to one group of people but publicly will either say nothing or appear to say what they think people want to hear.
Ten or fifteen years ago, Helen would have encouraged people into teaching. She now says that it is "not worth it." She says that the stress levels are too high and there is no real career structure.

Too much is expected. You lack time to do anything properly in a way that will be really satisfying. I advised my own daughter against it, but I would have said 'yes' ten or fifteen years ago. There is no career structure, it is not worth it. There is too much stress. The holidays are not compensation - the public and the Minister need educating if they think that 12 weeks holiday is a great reward. Because in my holidays I'm lucky if I get 2 weeks at Christmas. School will finish and I will be back there for a full week just trying to get resources sorted, clear out the office and deal with things. Then when I come home, I'll be preparing for next year. For example, I've got a pile of videos over there I recorded last year. Well, I won't take them into school until I've viewed them and I haven't had the time. I can't use them and neither can anyone else.

Moana finds it useful to clarify what the job "expects" for the money she is paid, while at the same time she says there are pressures and expectations from colleagues and the Maori community:

If it comes to a choice so you know you're doing what you get your money for - then you go mad trying to do all the other stuff - when it's so different. For example, going to a tangi - even then I don't go to all the tangis and I feel terrible. A month ago I went out for a day and I saved my time - I take the kids - it's part of my kaupapa. I don't have to fight
my Principal - it's some of the other senior staff (I have to persuade) -
some are racist. They never change, eh?

At times Moana finds a conflict between the expectations of the Maori community
and senior colleagues within her school, whose attitudes she feels are racist.
However, she will not let community concerns get in the way of student progress
and examination pressure takes priority if necessary.

We don't go because our mission statement and our general kaupapa is
that we want high achievement. If it's too much of a problem we don't go
but it's a conflict within. I know the kaupapa and unless I share that with
the people.... We have it on our brochure - 'Maori language is at risk', -
is being lost, and we need more help; most respond to that.

One of the ongoing professional pressures for Moana is the public relations time
she puts in with her Pakeha colleagues, relationship-building time with her own
staff, and teacher trainees.

One of the internal pressures is making time to PR (public relations) with
your pakeha colleagues - in the past there have been personality
conflicts, but now is OK. We have to work on relationships now and one
of my time management goals is to sit with my (own) staff and just talk.
I've got a List A teacher and a Te Atakura teacher (one year training)
and they didn't have a good training system so I support them - plus one
who's been teaching the same time - and we love to share what we've
been doing.

At times there is a conflict between Maori values and institutional ones, a problem
which Moana feels would be reduced if the language unit was autonomous and
separate from the school, and at times she feels as though she is "battling" with various areas of the school institution to do things in the Maori way.

We have a koha system where you give money - and I'm always battling with our executive officer. If you have to fight the institution too much you lose your energy. But we've a really good Principal who's been willing to accept the direction but we had to work hard to build that trust up.

Marking and assessment are a major professional pressure for Moana and she says that when the overall pressures build, these tasks are the first to suffer. She has learnt to deal with these tasks through time management and tries to plan ahead to get everything done.

I have to set a full day to do my marking. This is every so often - one of the things I did this year was to set every day some time to get my marking done. So if anything is going (not being done) I confess it is my marking.

Moana is heavily involved in the extra-curricular aspects of her work the more so because her entire life-style is involved and she is a song writer and performer, as well as a teacher. However, there are times when she becomes exhausted and feels that her commitment is overburdening her energy. She has found this, for example, with the organisation of the national Maori speech competitions.

We've got a big national speech contest for the schools, so all the Maori teachers will be there and I'm sliding out of that because I've reached my peak. And I'm saying, and my husband is saying: "God, you've got to get out of that one," and I say: "Yes" - I can sense when I need to. Then we've got to organise accommodation, and I've got to organise the
powhiri and I think I'm just about ready to say I can't take any more on.

I've just got to do justice to what I've got.

Moana says that she feels that she is working extremely hard for the education system, but she is doing it because she loves to do it, driven on by what she describes as her passion for the Maori language and culture, and her sense of mission in helping to preserve it. Although she is aware of the pressures which could discourage potential teachers of Maori, she does her best to encourage and support them.

When we're trying to encourage teachers into Maori teaching, we try to get them in and we need to set up a support network of Maori teachers because of the double load they carry. Most of the time, when we interview someone, I try to forewarn them about the workload so they know the pressure and expectation that will be upon them - but not too quickly or too soon or they may not come in. I get teacher trainees and they don't bloody come back. We work under an enormous workload and they see it. Then they go to schools with options and compare it with immersion and they can see both systems. I do say to Maori people - "we need you in teaching as fluent speakers and as role models - the money is OK if you stick with it."

Although aware of the issue of attracting people into teaching, George Thomas is critical of the system under which student teachers are presently recruited and trained. He does not believe that they are showing a desirable level of dedication compared with that which he put into the job when he began teaching and which
he says he is still prepared to give. While the workload has changed, he says that his input is still high:

In terms of input - I think I'm putting into the job as much as I ever was. I guess I notice it more when you look at what is coming through Teachers' College. I know that for me to go to Teachers' College I couldn't have done it if I hadn't been paid. I look at the students now coming through - they're not being paid and there is no real commitment there. People are looking at teaching as a short term method of gaining qualifications and experience and for lots of money and holidays. There is no real sense of vocation there. I guess I had that feeling but I also very quickly picked up an intense desire to help kids learn and I don't see that coming through these Teachers' College students. They don't really want to be teachers. As they come through (into schools) it's going to have an effect.

George feels that there is a link between non-payment of students and their attitudes:

I would attribute that trend to the time they stopped paying student teachers. When students were paid an allowance it was enough to give some value to what they were doing. But now students can't even afford to belong to their subject associations and the people who are capable of being good teachers are thinking -"why should I be penalised ? I might as well work for some decent money somewhere." In terms of myself I think I give just as much as I did and I will continue to do so.
George sees the fiscal aspect of the reforms as a mistake. Not only has the non-payment of student teachers undermined their professionalism, in his opinion, the user-pays policies adopted in education are also having a negative effect.

As HOD I have always had tasks to do for one of those (holiday) weeks. And I've never really had (spare) time since I was an assistant teacher. I also find that standing up in front of 30 kids is very stressful - you have to be very mentally alert and to stand up and keep up with the kids which could be any topic in your subject area - and some which aren't. You are expected to be able to answer them immediately, off the cuff and without preparation, and with enthusiasm. And that's very stressful.

The workload which George is carrying as HOD is large but he says that it is better than in previous years. As he is responsible for the school's timetable, he has reduced his teaching load by one class, bringing the number of teaching hours down to seventeen per week. Doing this has made him realise that rotating the HOD position around members of his department would be advantageous to all. He says that the task of HOD requires time, "and not necessarily extra money."

Last year I taught five classes which took 19 hours per week. This year I've got four at 17 hours and I'm noticing an enormous difference in that it's one class less in mental stimulation in front of the kids and I would think that instead of paying an HOD a PR3 allowance, they should be given an allowance from an HOD and a task, and I would quite like to hand that task around various members of my department who could be HOD for a year.
Even with the reduction in his teaching load by two hours per week, George finds that the overall increase in workload has affected his classroom performance. Because the reforms have brought such major changes right across the whole area, he feels that he never gets enough done for his classes. He also feels that it is largely due to the goodwill of teachers and their professionalism that the reforms are being implemented in spite of the existing demands of teaching.

*I don’t do anywhere as much preparation as I should - I just don’t have the time...I’ve put down 10 hours per week for preparation, but we’re talking enormous change...Picot said that the last system was a shocking system that was made to work by teachers’ goodwill. Now we have a new system which has been imposed on us and it is being made to work by the goodwill of teachers.*

Common to all of these teachers is the expectation that they will carry out certain basic tasks such as preparation, assessment, supervision, report writing and for some, major pastoral care roles. In addition, these teachers have tasks which take them into greatly increased management and curriculum development roles [see Chapters 4 and 5]. Failure to be seen embracing these roles may lead to accusations of a lack of professionalism, or at worst, deregistration.

While teachers in middle management have some recognisable status within schools and to some extent within the community, they are feeling considerably pressured by a myriad of tasks for which they are being held responsible. Under the *Tomorrow’s Schools* reforms, they are now held accountable for a proliferation of tasks, which are perceived by them as having been imposed rather than negotiated. These tasks are creating extra work for teachers to the extent that the
average working week has increased significantly over the previous five years.
This is consistent with the findings of Wylie [1994] who found that the average
working week for primary teachers had increased significantly since 1989,
although not as dramatically as primary Principals. Livingstone [1994] found that
the average working for primary teachers was 54.5 hours, indicating that at least
half the teachers' workload occurred outside of normal contact hours. My own
survey [Murfitt, 1993] found that the average working week in a specific
Christchurch secondary school to be 51.6 hours. In attempting to meet all of the
core requirements of teaching as well as the additional tasks, teachers have
experienced repercussions in their private lives.

PERSONAL FACTORS
All of the teachers in the study reported that the reforms had made an impact on
their personal lives and while prior to the changes in education they were used to
peak times of activity and demand, the intensification of their workload was now
having a major effect on their out-of-school time and their relationships inside and
outside of teaching. Each of the teachers interviewed have families [see Chapter 3]
and only one of them felt that the impact of the changes on personal life was not
negative. This is Moana, whose adult children and husband are involved in the
language programme which she runs. Further, four of the six teachers had
recently experienced some work-stress related illness, or injury. They all
expressed concern at the high and increasing levels of stress which they are
continuing to face and each of them expressed doubt that they could continue to
function adequately without experiencing a major health crisis or mental burnout.
However, they each referred back to the personal enthusiasm they have for teaching and student learning and it became clear that this was a major factor in their continuing in the job. Although working conditions and remuneration were discussed by each of them, they varied in their opinions as to the current relative value of each and in discussing other areas of work, teaching was usually compared unfavourably.

These findings are consistent with those of Bridges [1992: 36], Wylie [1994: 72] and Livingstone [1994: 24]. In their investigations into teacher workload, each of these researchers found that primary school teachers were experiencing high levels of stress due to increasing workload which impacted negatively on their personal lives. Further, in his survey of shared decision-making in secondary schools, Capper [1994] indicated that teachers under stress do not perform well in the classroom, nor do they provide positive role-models:

When teachers and principals are engaged in conflict, have morale problems or are exhausted, these conditions not only affect their classroom performance, but actually represent a curriculum case-study of the ways adults behave and the nature of adult life [ibid: 37].

Over-worked teachers are less likely to have constructive personal or professional relationships and are not likely to function well in the classroom, as the teachers interviewed for this study indicated. However, there were also positive aspects for these teachers both intrinsically and developmentally which emerged as the result of the changes.
Remuneration

James Williams cites both the additional $5000 he is paid and the one hour per week he is allocated as personal recognition for the PR 3 he has in English. However, he says that this "reward is peanuts by the time you take the tax off it's not worth doing." James also compares his present salary ($45000, before tax) with other jobs requiring comparable skills and qualifications:

If I was in a middle management position in industry, using the same kind of skills I would probably be earning $60000 - $70000 per annum, plus allowances. As far as holidays are concerned, I think that teachers' holidays actually disappear - we probably have no more holidays than someone in senior or middle management in industry. By the time you take into account the number of hours per week you actually work I think the holidays actually disappear. They (people in industry) have their peak times when they come home late, but they also have their down times.

Enid Johnson believes that she would be on a higher salary out of teaching and her conditions of work would be better than those she now experiences. She does however, cite the comparison of an acquaintance, who as a chef earned $2000 per year more than she did, during the mid 1980s. Currently, he earns $20,000 more than she does. However, she is not sure what sort of mechanisms should be in place to reward teachers.

Out of education - we'd be making a fortune. We'd be paid overtime - we would be given additional salary, or more status within the company, or you'd be given the company car. But I don't know how you reward
teachers because we’re all teaching 100% of the time. Sometimes you
can look and think "well done" - or I was responsible for that - great!

Harry is in the position where he can make comparisons with the private sector,
having worked there prior to his teaching career:

_I think I am underpaid. People on the outside don’t think so, but I think I
should be aligned to middle management in the task that I do. I think
seven years ago we were paid reasonably well but since then I think we
have dropped off considerably. Many staff are thinking about getting out
into different jobs - it can be difficult to get into new occupations.
I don’t like the pressure I’m under - it is constantly there. I’m still there
because I like the job that I do despite the workload I have. I would
like less of a workload. Basically I like working with young people. I like
the relationship, that hasn’t changed. I am still there for the same
reasons, but as I get older I enjoy the administration I am doing. Even
the Dean’s job - what I don’t enjoy about it is the extra pressure._

Helen is conscious of market forces within her own situation she would like the
recognition of further promotion, but will have to compete to retain that which she
has achieved.

_I guess I have got myself involved and I have had to learn to self-
promote. If I hadn’t learnt to do that I wouldn’t have got the PR2 I’ve
got. I didn’t like pushing myself forward but I had to. Compared with
overseas teachers we are poorly paid, and compared with what I could
have done with a BSc in the private sector when I first graduated I am
not well paid. I think I am getting $10,000 to $20,000 less than I would have if I hadn’t gone teaching. Of course, I have spent so much time in teaching that I haven’t really got the background to go into something else.

Moana feels well recognised by the income she receives and she is aware that she could feel vulnerable in making a change of career:

Money is a reward especially since the PR2. In the beginning we came in for the kaupapa and not the pay. Career paths are quite foreign to us. We haven’t thought about this before. We are more socialised into this sort of thing now but we think kaupapa, we think what’s good for the Maori language so the pay has come by the by. It’s time for Moana now, I want to do something for me but I’ve got financial dependants and I worry about leaving all that. I think I am gutless - I am afraid I won’t get that money - how will I survive?

George does not feel particularly well recognised by his salary and he feels that it does not compare well with what he could earn in the private sector:

I am not well paid but I am at the top end of the scale. I earn $50,000 and I can’t save money. We haven’t had a wage rise for some time and that irks me. I have increased my skills and if we are going to be in a user-pays situation then I should be paid more for doing that.
Time Allocation

James actually regards the time allocation he receives as part of his PR3 as a necessity, which, in some ways "is more important than money." He says that any extra time allocated is important because "the lack of flexibility is a problem" and time within the school week assists teachers to "do tasks effectively."

Harry has always found the Tutor’s role prone to expansion and steps have been taken in his school to provide more time for this pastoral care role:

All the Tutors got together to work out their time requirements and had a discussion and we decided that it wasn’t enough to do the job properly. Management was approached and they gave us the extra hour for the senior Tutors. It wasn’t enough, my view is that to do the job properly it should really be a full-time PR position, perhaps teaching one class per week, but to do it properly on four hours per week is an unreasonable expectation.

Helen finds the flexibility in her day really positive:

I’ve got the Dean’s job and I have a time allowance for Deaning. I wouldn’t have taken on that area if I hadn’t shown strong interest and they knew I had the skills. That’s important. By having the time allowance I can manipulate my day at least, it gives me more flexibility.

George maintains that the four term year will be a great advantage, especially as he currently works through most of his holiday time:
I'm looking forward to a four term year; ten weeks on and two weeks off. I can't remember having time when I could say, Okay let's go on holiday. I've never had that since I was an assistant teacher. Most teachers I know spend the first week of their holidays getting back down to ground from the mental high that you have to be on, recharging the batteries to be able to catch up in the second week. It is not a break. I could be just as happy turning up to school on a timetable basis to get things done. I would actually find that just as relaxing as having the holidays. The concept of glide time is what I am thinking about.

Reaction to Reforms

While James enjoys having input into the running of the school, he would prefer to avoid administration and go back to teaching only. He has some suggestions as to how that could occur, without what he describes as the "bureaucratic idiosyncrasies" of the previous administration system:

I feel that if administrators were trained - we used to have little pocket Hitlers in the department telling us what to do, but if we now had people who would do that for a number of schools and take away the administration from us and leave us to do our teaching - that would be ideal. There are a lot of hidden pressures but basically the fiscal philosophy has put a lot of strains on the whole school system. Most of these changes have been imposed from outside - and were not evolutionary. (Education) is not like working on a contract basis and sitting at a sewing machine and if you turn out 45 instead of 40 (things) you get a bonus - it can't be worked that way. We can't actually measure
exactly what we’re doing. The only measurement I’ve had is when people come back four or five years later and say "I remember this, or that was great." You get some insight into their lives. But you can’t serve students their exams on a platter and be measured that way.

Harry could not easily divorce the rewards he enjoys in teaching from the impact of an increased workload which he believes is caused by the reforms:

(The rewards) are intangible really, somewhat of a lesser workload. If I had more time I could prepare for my classroom teaching because that’s what I am employed for. I find that I am just under pressure preparing for my daily teaching tasks. I haven’t been in the position where the workload is unsustainable. I have just had to create the time. I’ve stayed fit so that is a help. I’m going to stop being the Tutor at the end of this year but if they stay with the same sorts of development as they have at the present time there will come a time when it is not a worthwhile occupation. This workload is coming from all the reforms. Education is in such turmoil at the moment I’m sure that in 20 years time they’ll say that the late 80’s - early 90’s were a horrific time for change in education. It must settle down in the next few years, but at this time it is very stressful.

George’s reaction to the changes in the education system is pessimistic:

The increase in workload cannot continue - the sorts of things we are doing now we are sustaining by enormous hard work. I cannot think of an HOD I have spoken to in the last two years who is not hoping to win
Lotto and get out of the system. Given half a chance anyone who won a substantial amount of money would do so and I think the amount of work coming through to us now is going to change and increase for no extra money.

Job Satisfaction

While each teacher pointed to areas of their jobs which they enjoyed, a continuing enthusiasm for teaching was evident. For example, James said he enjoys being able to make a contribution, but not at the expense of his teaching:

*The reward is the satisfaction of having some input. I don't actually like imposing things - I don't like making people do what I think they should be doing. I think we're in a profession where people have such a variety of styles that the only imposition that I can consider is valid is making sure that people are covering the syllabus and that it's being done effectively. So the PR system is not satisfactory as a power system. Status is totally unimportant - it should be more to do with your teaching reputation.*

James says that the most important reward he receives as a result of having a PR3 status, is the recognition and involvement that comes with it.

In considering the intrinsic rewards which James finds in teaching, he says that he would recommend the job to suitable people because he believes that it is still a "vital job, which has been undervalued in New Zealand for a long time". It is his opinion that the recruitment of good quality people is commensurate with a high quality education system. In his comment he also recognises the high proportion of women in teaching and some historical reasons for that:
I would still recommend people go teaching and make them aware of the frustrations as well as the reality that if you've got good qualifications and ability they can go further in industry than in teaching. I don't want to sound demeaning, but it gives women the flexibility to have children and a day which ties in well with their needs; for a man - I don't know if I'd go into teaching if I had my time over again although it was what I wanted at the time.

James has recently seriously considered moving out of teaching altogether. He does not find the promotion ladder satisfactory; when teachers are promoted, they spend less time in the classroom and more time in administration, which is not a situation which attracts him. He was however, promoted to middle management very early in his career, and reports finding that recognition was extremely satisfying at the time. It is the recent proliferation of non-teaching tasks which has been imposed on his teaching work which has had a detrimental effect on his enjoyment of the job. These extra tasks he says, are not being recognised, either by remuneration, or any other factor.

I still get a buzz out of being in the classroom. I still enjoy it. But you now have all this administration which has eroded all the teaching satisfaction. Obviously if they suddenly upped our salary considerably to compensate for that I would probably have not had the feeling that I'm being used - which is what I have at the moment. You feel that you've had this imposed on you - it was never part of the deal. They have the power to impose (the reforms) on you and to change your work conditions and requirements. You are not in a position to have much input into the changes and you have to do the basic amount (of work)
anyway. But you don’t get the reward for it. Market forces are not working for us.

Enid says that she does drive herself. She acknowledges an enthusiasm for her work which is quite clearly a reward in itself. She has enjoyed working with a number of people within the Transition area, especially when it was being established during the 1980s. But she says a feature of the reforms is that the pressures are now so great there is no time for mutual support and the help which used to be available from the Department of Education no longer exists.

When I look back a lot of it is self-imposed. I find it very difficult not to keep working. It’s self-imposed in that I don’t like to let a kid down. I never want to give up on a kid. I’ll do the best I can for a kid. It’s self-imposed because I used to enjoy working with Transition teachers - they are the most fabulous bunch that you could work with. It was stimulating, it was good. It still is but it’s the paper war that takes it all away - it’s the other pressures that have come. You don’t have people in the Department to help. There’s no support any more. We’ve all become so busy that we haven’t the time to to support each other as we used to.

Enid is resentful that the energy, enthusiasm and the work which she puts into her job goes unrewarded, unacknowledged and unsupported by the government and she feels that she and other teachers are risking their health to sustain a set of reforms which have been imposed on teachers and which may well undermine the needs of students.
Our kids don't stand a chance and eventually I can see the whole system of education collapsing - and I am flogging my guts out to support a system that is failing because of lack of support from the Government.

Harry has enjoyed the scope he has had for professional development:

I have taken a number of courses over the last five years and I have put in considerable time and I believe it should be rewarded. However, I didn't really do it for salary purposes but for the satisfaction of the job. I took on the other tasks because I had been teaching for nine years in one subject area and I needed to go in a different direction. The Tutoring job is seen as a promotional step at the school I am at. Tutors often go on to administrative positions or HODs - but not always, but is seen as a step. As far as Form 7 students are concerned you have status because they can consult you but outside of that you get very little. A lot of my friends wouldn't know that I carry an administrative task at school. People outside the school see a DP (Deputy Principal) or AP (Assistant Principal) as status positions. I did say before that learning about administration and how the school runs is very valuable for all classroom teachers and for me it has been as well.

Helen also enjoyed the scope she has found for professional development and the variety which her job brings, however, as mentioned earlier, she will have to compete to retain her position:

I enjoy all of these areas, I enjoy the mix. I used to have a lot of extra-curricular activities but I have dropped those. Not everyone has and our
school offers a really good mix, but I've tended to take up the
administration. A lot of the management courses I've done are a help in
that I am a Dean but the suggestion is that I'll roll off the top, but when
I am finished as senior Dean in a couple of years I'll roll off the top and
I'll no longer be a senior staff member. I'll be put in a classroom in the
back of beyond somewhere and someone else will take over my position.
It won't work in practice - two staff have already done this - one in
particular has already rolled off and she is now totally involved in the
department and has no admin. whereas she used to. I can see that
scenario for me and it is not what I want. I like the mix. I know also
that part of the view that is taken is that I could use my Deaning
experience when I apply for promotion, but the promotion just isn't
around. I am restricted to Christchurch so it is very frustrating. What
movement there is here is extremely competitive.

Helen is keen to take on extra work; perhaps it is personal ambition, or altruism,
or an issue to do with gender stereotyping:

I notice that the women are the ones who are willing to do extras. The
women will say 'yes' the guys 'no'. I feel frustrated because I cannot get
promotion - it just isn't there and I would have expected by now to have
got further. I know what my level of competence is, I feel that it's
recognised that it's there (informally). But there is no way of rewarding
it so there's a frustration. But I do have a sense of satisfaction in that I
am working with people which is what I wanted. I can get a lot of
feedback from kids who have appreciated what I have done for them -
unsolicited stuff. If the kids are happy and achieving or improving I'm
happy - that to me is where it's all at. I can say to myself well I've done a good job there, or that's a job I've done well. So it's that sense of fulfilment and satisfaction.

Moana has enjoyed the challenge and rewards of establishing a highly successful immersion programme for Maori language in her school and being able to develop her own skills and creativity within and beyond beyond the school situation. She is also conscious of gender issues having an impact on her job satisfaction:

I am a fluent speaker of Maori, which is my first language. I haven't got a written qualification but I've done Maori performing arts and I am one of the only Maori women involved at my level. NZQA may recognise my prior learning. I hope to take time out next year to do linguistics at 'varsity and maybe finish my degree. I love it. I've just started teaching bi-lingual English. I write too. I write songs for performing arts; we produce shows and concerts. I've been overseas to EXPO '92 and I love writing stories but you need time.

I've always been bossy so I've developed some managerial skills. I think I've improved and I'm organising things all the time. I think the managerial and professional skills have developed through the teaching but I am an empowered Maori woman and an empowered Maori woman is dangerous especially for middle class Pakeha men and Maori men at that. But I acknowledge I've picked up those skills and I've ended up getting more work.

Overall, I've taken on administration voluntarily because of the kaupapa.
The other personal reward is teaching and seeing kids grow and I think we all share that knowing we had a part in that mission. Also women's role - Yes I get recognition, nationally for my teaching and as a performing artist, but as a woman I am not seen as an authority. Teaching does provide rewards and when we went in for it we didn't go into it for the trappings as Maori teachers, we went in for the vision.

For George there are a number of factors which contribute to job satisfaction:

Most of the time teachers are respected members. Some people will make jokes about holidays but if you offer to swap their job for yours they'll soon change their minds. But I know a number of teachers who would get out of teaching tomorrow given half a chance. I think security of tenure is worth a lot and for those of us who are secure it would be very hard to be dropped off on the basis of performance. Looking at people in the bank if they don't perform they're out so I think having security makes a difference. (Also) I still enjoy teaching kids. I still enjoy seeing kids go 'aah' and discovering things for themselves and being able to do things they could not do yesterday. If you could give all my marking and assessment away - marking is a task I detest. I only do it because I have to or because in some cases I get paid for it. I hate marking as a means of assessment as I think it's just so after the event and it is depressing when the kids don't do well. Teaching does provide satisfaction still but (those satisfying features) have been eroded, part of it is being locked into teaching. We moan about it, but what else can we do. I guess one of the things about teaching is that we undervalue the
things we can do outside. We haven't been outside so we don't know what skills we've got that we could market. However, I think many teachers would get out if they could.

Like James, George also recognises the high proportion of women in teaching, and notes some anomalies for them:

For a woman teaching does provide equal pay, although maybe not equal chance for advancement. For my wife, who is deaf, she can't get a job which even gets 60% of my salary so I am looking at teaching for another 17 years. I would like to work for a big company and use my skills in teaching computing and maths and run seminars for staff. That would be absolutely ideal. You would meet people in travel and be recognised more. Many of us would be out very fast under present conditions if they were offered redundancies or Government Superannuation equivalent to what we now have.

George feels trapped, he can't move, he is a sole income earner, with handsome government superannuation when he retires in 17 years time - looking at an increasing workload.

I see an ageing group of teachers - they will either get out in the next decade or they will stay on in an increasingly disgruntled state and become dinosaurs - we are creating our own Jurassic Park in that respect.

Staff Relationships

James believes that the increase in workload has affected staff relations negatively.

The staffroom, while adequate, is very crowded, and he says that as it is a
converted classroom, and the bell rings inside it, giving staff the impression that they are not supposed to have any "downtime."

*Professionally there are more tensions than there were five years ago.*
People are more ratty - I think it's because of these pressures. Our staff are brilliant if you have a major crisis of some sort - they all pull round and they're really good. We have a stable staff - but if people live and work together, they do start showing signs of stress and they get snappy and start sniping. People are worried about the business of accountability. They feel threatened and need to cover their backs - who is watching, and why. Jobs are no longer secure and because people are so uncertain there seems to be less co-operation - people are much more careful about what they do and say.

Harry's view of his workplace:

*The physical environment is good. We now have a Tutoring office, we are all in the same room, it could be bigger but it is sufficient. All the Tutors are in one room and there is a couple of small rooms off the side for interviews. Staff facilities are quite good, the staffroom has been updated.*

Teachers are under pressure and have been for the last few years. At times you see it in the staffroom - the staff seem more serious and there are signs of stress among the staff. There is a feeling that staff are constantly under pressure. There is still excellent co-operation. Social things have declined over the years, although there was more of an effort lately to get social things going again.
Helen is positive about her school relationships:

At school there can be some niggles where staff feel pressures and difficulties arise, but on the whole they are good.

Moana says although she feels her staff relationships are good, there are wider implications:

Our women are good and enthusiastic. The Maori women are picking up and fighting a lot of the social issues; it is a colonisation thing, a power thing. There is a pecking order and Alan Duff touches on it, although not in a good way. Some of my male colleagues are lovely men, but it's just the things that men don't do, the little practical things like doing dishes and I am sick of that, they seem to expect to be looked after. For example I went back to the whare kai (dining room) and there were all these dishes left. It happens all the time and I have to tidy up the office afterwards, nobody will think to do it. It all adds to the workload.

George comments that the lack of relationships outside of teaching concerns him:

One of the things I am finding is that I have to work very hard to make relationships outside of teaching. I don't have really close friends because of the amount of work I have to do and I am committed most nights. I can't go home at 5 pm and turn off and go out socially or joining a club. I remember about 4-5 years ago I went to a night class as a pupil and it was very refreshing, but I find that I don't have any really close friends and I think that is almost entirely due to the pressure of the job.
Personal Relationships

Workplace stress also impacts significantly at home. James says that when he comes home he will want "downtime", but that as his own children have become older, they have demanded more of his time and energy. His children have noticed an increase in work-related tasks at home:

My kids say - why do you have to mark all the time? Why can’t you spend more time with us? You feel guilty at weekends if you take the whole weekend off and do nothing.

Harry finds that:

The pressure affects home and personal life. I tried not to take school problems home with me but the children notice when the job spills over and I don’t communicate as well with them because I have had a rough day. That can happen in other management jobs too. I take work home but it is the stress they notice.

As described already [Chapter 4], Enid’s school has moved into a compulsory arrangement whereby all staff are expected to be at school until 4.30 pm every day. She says that while this situation ensures a more equitable distribution of the workload which comes out of the meeting network in the self-managing school, it also creates difficulties for Enid in the care of her daughter.

I usually pick my daughter up from her school at 5.00pm. She sits in the library from 3.30 pm. She’s an only child so the pressure is on me - I am a solo mother. My kid has to sit and wait until I can pick her up from school. It’s another pressure on me. A lot of other mothers have this (problem) too, but they have their lunch times to do their shopping and
have their evenings free. While I've got meetings which finish at school at 4.30pm and another one in the evening. Who looks after one child at home alone? If there're two teenagers it's not so bad.

Helen finds her personal, home relationships suffer as a result of work stress:

I have good relationships with staff - home relationships, I just don't have time. My garden suffers, my husband does more, there is extra stuff he has to do so it puts a strain on him. We don't get time to see movies and other leisure activities. I actually have to plan to do that. We have to timetable these things, the pressures stop us from getting to things. On the whole things are thwarted.

Moana says that work pressure affects her at home:

When things are not right at home that affects me at school. Sometimes I push my husband away because I am so exhausted because of school, but I am really lucky that my family are so supportive and I have got a mother who is really wise and has been my mentor. Often there's pressure if things aren't right at home and you have got anger that you haven't dealt with. Bi-lingual teaching on its own is a heavy workload, but the other thing I always wanted was six kids and I had one of my own; not my choice, I lost three. I felt upset but others said I wasn't given these children so I could spend time on the cause.

George would like more time at home:

I would like to be with my children and wife more. My wife is unwell and has a disability. My daughters are aged 3 and 8. I come home so tired and the kids want my time and so does my wife and I just feel
drained. I watch a lot more TV than I used to just to get my mind wound down with something senseless.

Health

Work stress has had a significant impact on James’s health. Prior to the last few years, he used little sick leave but during the last four years he has become prone to influenza and in 1993 he suffered a hernia which he developed through work and spent seven weeks recuperating. He also has a tendency to develop a rash over his face whenever work stress becomes particularly intense.

Enid says she has come close to "burnout" and in spite of the fact that she loves teaching, she would hand in her resignation if she didn’t have to work:

   It is not because I don’t love teaching - but if I didn’t have to work,
   tomorrow I would hand in my resignation - after 27 years of teaching.
   Five years ago I would say that if I won a million dollars I would still come back to school tomorrow. I can’t say that now because I’m burnt out. I would find it very hard to be without kids but wouldn’t it be nice to be able to say that when my daughter comes home, I can talk to her. I also turned down a request from the Principal to go back on the BOT; the expectation was there - "Enid will do it." And then she said - "I suppose it’s a case of flogging the willing horse dead." I said "yes" - and it’s the first time I’ve ever had the guts to say "no." I’ve also gone off the Transition Teachers’ Committee. I just need to get my sanity back.

(Recently) we’ve had a member of staff have a heart attack in front of the kids. We’ve had a member of staff go off with a total nervous breakdown and they’re both experienced, superb teachers, not incompetent ones who
couldn't cope. A couple of years ago I had to have 3 months off because I'd been working for a month with pneumonia - I literally couldn't walk up the stairs. Last term I went to the doctor and he made me take several weeks off because of the state of my lungs.

Harry feels that his health reflects his level of fitness:

It is not too bad, I exercise to get rid of stress. I use it and feel it is important and stress hasn't affected my health because I exercise. I would stay in teaching in the immediate future but I would make others look at it long and hard before they took it on as a career. One of the problems is that if you are an assistant teacher what do you do after age 50? It seems to be hard to keep the same energy levels and keep contact with the student age group. It is a real problem for teachers over 50 who are not in administrative roles. Basically I still enjoy the job but it is the added pressures that are making teaching difficult. It's less enjoyable than it was because of those.

Helen finds she suffers from chronic fatigue:

The main things is fatigue. I am tired all the time, physical health is fine except that I have developed high blood pressure which is stress-related. I know that's what caused it. I am also having to take medication for that which annoys me. I can never sit down thinking I am on top of things because there is always something else to do. And that's mental stress; for example, I have got a pile of marking from a camp. I went away and took a biology camp with the Seventh Form. It's their internal assessment component. That was two months ago and I have still got some of it unmarked. The kids are yelling at me, "when are you going to
get it to us?" and I just say "Look I simply haven’t got time to do it." I have a sense of guilt the whole time because I haven’t managed to get it done yet and I don’t want to go to class!

While Moana’s health is good: "I never take a day off", George was recently diagnosed as suffering from high blood pressure:

* I was taking tablets for my blood pressure but I am trying to control it without pills. When I go back to the doctor this week I suspect he will put me back on medication. The stress is so severe. Most teachers will turn up crook rather than stay home and try to prepare lessons from their sickbed and I think that the Minister’s view that teachers are a bunch of skivers who take a day off at the drop of a hat is so far away from the truth it is really demeaning. Another thing is that too is that teachers are exposed to all the bugs that are in the community which go through the school like a dose of salts so we are in fact, incredibly hardy creatures. I play golf and that is my one stress release.

CONCLUSION

While these teachers have demonstrated that professional performance in their jobs has always been expected and desirable, they also indicate a greatly increased pressure on them to perform within a professional context. This is means that teachers must take on renewed and additional roles referred to earlier [see Chapters 4 and 5] and continue to provide those functions already viewed as basic to teaching. Failure to provide these functions may well lead to de-registration [see above]. Appraisal data has been seen by trustees as being useful to identify and reward "good" and down-grade or dismiss "weak" teachers [Mitchell et al
1993: 90] so it is possible that teachers will also view appraisal as a form of control. Further, it has been indicated that a commonly held view by teaching staff in secondary schools is that the heaviness of their workload can be connected to some extent to the failure of other colleagues. The heaviness of workload has also been seen as a failure by senior management to adequately administer the distribution of work. [Capper, 1994].

The work of Wylie, Livingstone and Bridges in establishing the increased length of the teaching week has been referred to, above. This research also indicated a negative effect on staff relationships because of workload as a result of the reforms. Wylie, for example, noted that 20% of teachers reported a deterioration in their relationships with their Principals. Livingstone's survey showed that leisure activites were affected individually, or in combination with other factors by 79% of teachers. Bridges indicated that 75% of teachers in her study believed that the implementation of Tomorrow's Schools had lead to decreased family and leisure time and 28% cited damage to relationships. Further, she found that over 10% listed specific health problems which had been medically linked to their jobs.

A recent survey conducted in Britain of infant teachers indicated that many had been driven to burnout although there had been no improvement in standards (with the implementation of the National Curriculum) [Campbell and Neill, 1994].

Gender issues also play a part in these teachers' circumstances. Two out of the three men interviewed commented their perception of teaching is that it is a "suitable" job for women; the three women interviewed commented on the expectations that they would nurture or be responsible for domestic details within
the professional environment. These findings are consistent with Court’s [1993] work in which she notes that:

Teaching, for women, is traditionally held to be an area where they can practise their nurturing, where for men it is an area where they are expected to lead [ibid: 6].

Biklen [1993], in an investigation into the relationships between mothers and teachers, found the social and gendered constructs to be similar. This was due to their relationships with children. However, both mothers and teachers wanted recognition, teachers wanted to be considered professionals with all the privileges that status entails [ibid: 172]. Implied in Biklen’s study, and reinforced by these findings (and those of Court), was the message that women would provide feminine patterns of "dependence, passivity, empathy, and nurturance" [Court, 1993: 10]. The women of this study were constantly affected by the covert expectation that they would conform to these versions of femininity. This expectation was another intensifying factor in the work of teachers in general [Connell, 1985, Apple, 1986: also Chapter 2], and women teachers in particular.

This survey of the reactions of secondary school teachers is clearly consistent with the findings of others. Bridges [1992] found that 10.3% of teachers she surveyed "listed specific health problems which had been medically linked to their work" [ibid: 36], and that "about half the of the teachers in the study did not think that they could sustain their current workload for a further two or three years" [ibid:37]. Livingstone [1994], said that 38% of the teachers he surveyed would leave if they could [ibid: 35].

All six of the teachers who were interviewed in this study indicated a negative impact on their personal lives due to increased workload, and although they were
conscious of some acknowledgement of status through their roles in middle management, they were clearly burdened by the increasing expectations and the expansion of their workload. Issues of accountability and efficiency, the central principles of *Tomorrow’s Schools* reforms, appear to be having an effect on these teachers’ work. They are overtly reminded that they will be held responsible for their performance under rapidly changing conditions; at the same time they are expected to provide an expanded service on minimal resourcing. As these teachers attempt to provide a "satisfactory" performance, in all of the roles they are now expected to enact, it is hardly surprising that their personal and professional relationships, their discretionary time and for some, their health should suffer. These teachers all exhibit task proliferation and skill diversification in their work, resulting in marked intensification in their workloads. Their desire to maintain the core teaching job is conflicting with the additional requirements which are being imposed on them, and the combination of these factors is resulting in a profound and largely negative effect on their private lives. In the following and final chapter I will discuss the implications of this situation, and its effect on the workload and status of teachers.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION - THE INTENSIFICATION OF WORK AND TEACHER STATUS

Picot said that the last system was a shocking system that was made to work by teachers' goodwill. Now we have a new system which has been imposed on us and it is being made to work by the goodwill of teachers [George, Chapter 6].

When are we going to teach the kids? [Enid, Chapter 4]

The main focus of the earlier chapters has been an examination of the effects of New Right reform on the work of secondary school teachers. This chapter examines the intention of the education reforms in relation to the teaching profession and the processes of work intensification and skills diversification which have accompanied them.

My chief purpose is to compare the aims of the reforms with outcomes as they affect teachers and their workloads and to re-examine the proposition that, as a result of the reforms, teachers and teachers' work has been relocated. I will also examine the long-term implications for education.

The control of teachers and their work has been examined in relation to their status. The framework within which teachers have viewed their work has previously been professional [see Chapter 1], with a preference for collegial rather than authoritarian styles [ibid: 1985: 132]. A key feature of professionalism is the possession of confidential autonomy in which teachers can develop their own work and practices [Connell, 1985:
173. Further, the "ideology of professionalism" [Apple, 1986: 45], links the idea that intensification and extended working hours which come with it, is evidence of increased status. Positive connotations of professionalism through long hours worked are undermined, however, by the negative implication of loss of autonomy and a lack of development, less control over work and diminished confidence from the client.

Picot's Taskforce Review [1988] appeared to undermine teachers' professionalism. Picot referred to the "dedication and professionalism of individual teachers" [Picot, 1988: 36], but attacked them for being involved in pressure group politics. He accused them of maintaining their professional interests and "protecting existing rights and attempting to capture any extra resources which might be available" [ibid: 23]. This view could be interpreted as a move to restrict teachers and their unions. These group pressures were seen as making it "difficult for policy advisers to maintain a detached stance" [ibid:24] and educational advisers were seen as taking on teacher interests at the expense of students.

This negative view of teacher interests was reinforced by criticism of management systems and a proposal for "effective management" [ibid: 43] and proper accountability by individuals and groups was put forward.

In picking up this framework in Tomorrow's Schools [Lange, 1988], specifics were set down which included the provision of a charter, bulk funding for both operations grants and teachers' salaries, and the consolidation of the private enterprise management model. The former was to provide the incentive for financial efficiency, while providing local flexibility and the latter was to provide clearer lines of accountability. The duties of the Principal were detailed and included the allocation of duties and objectives for staff as well as the development of performance objectives in addition to measures to assess that performance. Principals were also "expected to work in a collaborative relationship with
their staff, but will have the final responsibility for making decisions" [ibid: 11]. In addition, the school board of trustees became "the legal employer of teachers and as such will be responsible for instituting procedures of teacher appraisal and discipline" [ibid: 12]. Thus the foundations for the shift towards control of teachers and their workloads were established. Principals and boards were given contradictory messages about their roles. It was implied that while the former were to unite collaborative and authoritarian functions, the latter were to provide procedures for the appraisal and discipline of teachers.

The New Zealand education reforms had the machinery in place for the increased control of teachers by the beginning of 1989. These arrangements brought this country into line with reform process in Britain [Gordon, 1992a: 24, Sinclair et al, 1993], and USA [Apple, 1986: 18] where teachers and schools had been made the scapegoats for social and economic failure.

Since 1952 the secondary schools' union, the Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA) had developed a professional image, avoiding the word 'union' with connotations of male working-class manual labour when the majority were female, and upholding professional democratic principles. As a professional body, The PPTA had the capacity to influence education policy. However, in 1962 the first national industrial action was organised by the PPTA, creating an anomaly in terms of the image of professionalism. When the administrative reforms were set in place they combined the Keynesian ideals of community empowerment, with the neo-liberal view of choice and the market. These contradictory positions were not resolved but: "set up further sites within the state and between the state and the new Boards of Trustees" [Gordon, 1992a: 29].

A public sector context was provided for private sector principles [see Reduction of the State, Chapter 2] in which a system of contracts, "the school charter, a system of review
and an employment relationship between Boards, the principals and teachers" was paramount [Gordon, 1992a: 30].

As noted above, the purpose of the reforms was to turn the school system into a business managerial model. *Today's Schools* [Lough, 1990] follows on from *Tomorrow's Schools* and clearly reflects post-Fordist ideology [see Post-Fordism, Chapter 2]. Under this model, workers were employed by the BOT "employers (who) have responsibilities which include recruitment, appointment, review, training and remuneration" [Lough, 1990: 17].

Teachers and other groups involved in the educational bureaucracy had been seen by both the State Services Commission (SSC) and the New Zealand Business Roundtable (NZBR) as pursuing their own self-interest. In a report written for the NZBR, Sexton saw teachers as the most powerful group in education and promoted the idea that individual teachers should be contracted to boards [Sexton, 1991]. He proposed that teacher numbers should be reduced and that they should be viewed not as policymakers but as functionaries. Gordon [1992a] found that boards have resisted demands that they act as boards of directors and they have been working with teachers rather than against them. However, she says that teachers have been "excluded from central policy processes, derided by some State agencies, and yet report having to work longer hours" [Gordon, 1992a: 38].

The changes brought by the reforms have been based on the assumption that teachers are self-interested and inefficient. The official discourse and supporting neo-liberal literature, provided a framework to counteract what were regarded as deficits, by providing mechanisms to control teacher performance and ensure fiscal accountability. These mechanisms also appear to have resulted in a reduction of teachers' work from professional to proletarian status.
In his discussion of teacher workload, Apple [1986] provided details of how teachers have been affected by intensification [see Chapter 2]. He described the growth of curricula and other systems in education in USA which has made the intensification in teachers' work quite visible. Apple linked the proletarianisation of teachers through work intensification and specifically through the processes of deskilling (pre-packaged pedagogy), control of the curriculum, and administrative strategies [ibid: 24]. He maintained that this has resulted in worsening working conditions and a decline in teacher autonomy.

In Chapter 6, a trend to feminisation was noted. Labour groups which have a high number of women, such as teaching, tend to suffer from an increase in intensification as extra tasks are surreptitiously loaded into their work. This is a result of the connotations commonly associated with femininity, especially nurturing and passivity [Court, 1993]. The teachers in this study demonstrated throughout, a sense of urgency in completing tasks. Administrative detail appeared to threaten the time and energy available for quality teaching [Apple 1986: 44]. Getting the tasks done often became the most important activity and yet the question posed frequently by the teachers in this study was, "when are we going to teach the kids?".

Appraisal systems (linked in Tomorrow's Schools to discipline) have also been connected to a desire to control teachers' work [Walsh 1987: 147]. In this study, appraisal was often referred to as a requirement which was time consuming and which teachers seemed to tolerate rather than actively support.

The education reforms implemented in 1989 have been examined in detail. These have been instrumental in work intensification and a shift in teacher status. I now wish to compare the views of the official discourse and the process of intensification with the
results of this study and to examine the extent to which teachers and their work have been relocated.

The teachers in this study had all taken on management administration without training, they all reported greatly increased paperwork and a proliferation of administration at the expense of the classroom. Student needs appeared to be subordinate to the functions of administration as meetings and other administrative activities were superimposed on teachers' time. Pressures from above and the requirements of senior management were constant and the size of tasks was frequently not taken into account when delegation occurred. Little or no negotiation with teachers by senior management was a common complaint; what used to be appreciated or given as goodwill had come to be expected. Time was mentioned constantly as the most important and reduced resource. Teachers' altruism meant that they were prepared to work hard to see that students were not disadvantaged regardless of the impact of the reforms, but they resented administrative tasks which took energy meant for students. Deadlines for assessment and other administrative activities were often difficult to meet but there was a strong incentive to perform to those expectations. In the context of marketisation and the competition for student numbers, the incentive to appear at the fore-front of educational change became paramount. Teachers had become multi-functional, although they displayed high levels of competence those skills had been largely self-taught. Teachers acknowledged that a lack of prior negotiation and training for these skills encouraged feelings of being under-valued. Further, schools in poor areas were being under-resourced as rolls dropped but those facing problems of unemployment and social disadvantage needed more resourcing, not less. Some teachers had attempted to provide the shortfall for students in lower SES
schools by reaching into their own pockets to provide materially for them and all teachers at all the schools gave generously of their time.

Curricula pressures were immense, demands expanded constantly and teachers had expressed a sense of real urgency because time lines for curriculum change were being imposed on schools but without real support. Training was minimal if offered at all and little trialling or evaluation was given. The lack of resourcing was a constant concern in all areas and at the same time the reformed management model and its associated plethora of administrative tasks pervaded the school system.

The lack of resourcing was recently discussed by the Deputy Principal of one of the schools included in this study when describing the frustrations of his job:

_In managing a school you must remember that it’s not a business. We have 2 - 3 day management courses, but they are not significant and are no real help._

_In conversations with friends who are in business, they say they’d employ a computer systems person to do all this organisation, then they’d just dump it all on them. But we don’t have those people here - we have people like the HOD Maths, who’s running around getting as much as he can done (in computer systems) but he’s still got to be the HOD Maths._

Pastoral care and extra curricula pressures were as intense as ever and have, if anything, worsened. These difficulties have been recognised within the curriculum framework document. Schools have recognised the need to expand the onus of care beyond the curriculum and this has brought an additional workload. Deans have continued to get many additional tasks connected with student welfare and the potential for social difficulties affecting schools, appears limitless.
Teachers described the professional demands of their basic teaching jobs as already so pressured that the benefits of generous holidays were minimised. They constantly prioritised tasks, assessment and preparation time appeared to be a significant extra task over and above classroom interaction as they sought ways to meet the needs of students. These teachers said it was impossible to make comparisons between them (in terms of performance pay) and the lack of clear definition around jobs meant that tasks could expand without notice.

Each of the teachers interviewed in this study expressed affirmation for teaching as a vocation, however, they also displayed some features of exhaustion or burnout. They were working very long hours and this was reflected in the length of their working weeks. This situation was clearly impacting on their personal lives. Several were manifesting mental or physical symptoms of exhaustion or ill health and their professional and personal relationships were affected to some extent by work overload. Further, many of these teachers expressed concern that they would be unable to maintain the energy levels needed to continue at the same level of performance for much longer. Certainly, they were all aware of the long term problem of ageing while moving into a rapidly changing work environment. However, they could not easily envisage solutions, such as career change. This especially affected those already tied into teaching through superannuation packages, or those who felt restricted to the job they felt safe with, because they are the main income earners with dependants. Significantly, only one interviewee expressed intentions of moving out of secondary school teaching in the near future, although she was the one teacher who had unreserved enthusiasm for her job, because, in her words: "I want to avoid that heavy physical load. I want to be free to do other things".
Bridges [1992], Wylie [1994], and Livingstone [1994], have all provided evidence of the effects of the neo-liberal reforms on the intensification of primary school teacher workload in New Zealand. My own previous study [Murfitt, 1993], indicated a steady enlargement of teacher workload in the secondary school context. Gordon [1992a] provided an analysis of teacher re-positioning as a result of neo-liberal reform, and Whitty [1994] and Sinclair et al [1993] have discussed and examined the deterioration of teachers’ position, and that of their work, in Britain [see Chapter 2].

The chief features of the Tomorrow’s Schools reforms are accountability and efficiency. Accountability affects all areas of teacher performance: finance, resourcing, classroom and wider issues of management, and the delivery of the curriculum. It seems that the teachers in this study feel that they are being held responsible for a number of areas for which they have been given little training or resourcing. In particular, administrative aspects of their jobs were liable to expand at any time. A feature of the current management model has been a lack of negotiation accompanied by rapid change. Extra roles have been imposed on existing work without additional time allowances or other resources. Further, a lack of role definition had meant that areas of work often expanded by implication. If new roles or functions emerged in a school, or an existing task expanded, the teacher whose work already involved that area, or whose work was most closely related to it, was likely to be expected to take it on. ’Expectation’ was a word constantly found in the vocabulary of these teachers as they considered and described their work. Under pressure to fulfil a plethora of expectations, the teachers had become adept at managing several roles at once. Although most of them welcomed the chance to pick up management and other skills, they all expressed concern at the lack of time available to them. A frequent concern was the tightness of the timeframes imposed,
regardless of other requirements already in place. As a result, they seemed to be under constant pressure, which was exacerbated at certain times of the year by specific requirements. This pressure came partly because of the process of delegation downwards from senior management (and state agencies). It was also due to the expectation from the level below (assistant teachers), that these middle managers would assist or be responsible for the particular functions in the school designated to them.

One of the chief aspects of the reforms is the pressure which has been brought by the speed and scope of change. A main concern expressed by teachers was the speed with which they were expected to implement reforms such as the new curriculum, when they were given little or no training or time in which they could satisfactorily provide units of work, assessment procedures or management structures.

If teachers are going to be held accountable for their performance under Tomorrow's Schools they need to be adequately resourced. It appears that these teachers are under such pressure that at times their ability to function is impaired. Clearly, this has obvious and negative implications for the aims of the reforms, as for teacher morale and health.

Administration affects all aspects of schooling: curriculum, pastoral care, management structures, classroom organisation and general record keeping. It pervades all aspects of a teacher's work. These teachers were clearly inundated by an increasing administrative burden not only through their own specified jobs but also through the reformed management systems. These new management structures which are being imposed on schools (reinforced by the granting of accreditation) purport to provide a means through which democratisation can take place. It has been argued by the New Right that the adoption of a business management system will benefit the way the organisation is run
[Ball, 1992]. However, the teachers found that the extra workload brought by this imposed management system to be such, that it can be seen as ultimately counter-productive to the very essence of the reforms.

The lack of resourcing referred to earlier provides a clear indicator that the funding for education has been radically reduced. This has come about through a lack of adequate provision for the roles now expected of schools, and the expectation that school staff will lower additional functions. The proliferation of administrative and other roles resulting from the reforms has caused conflict for teachers in their work as they have striven to seek priorities while attempting to maintain standards in the classroom. This has lead to significant intensification in the work of teachers. The effects of increased administration have been discussed above. The effects of the imposition of a new curriculum and the scarcity of resources for implementation has been discussed: in one case, a two-day course was provided for teachers to become experts in certain assessment procedures. Failure to provide the requirements of the new curriculum, however, may lead to personal recrimination (for example Satisfactory Teacher Requirements) or withholding of accreditation. Once again, in the current climate where schools must market themselves, extra pressure is created to provide evidence of suitable performance. The whole concept of professionalism is one which appears to be undermined by the reforms; teachers are being held accountable for their own and others' performance through appraisal procedures and increased openness to community scrutiny. It is required that teachers work to professional standards and yet they are subjected to the features of diminished social standing; in other words, they are becoming proletarianised.

There is a problematic aspect to the reform in that changes have been imposed but under resourced, while teachers have been responsible for making them work.
Insufficient trialling, training and the imposition of too many tasks have led to teacher insecurity and loss of morale, which may well have wider implications for the longer-term delivery of education to students. Teachers' reactions to the reforms were generally negative; they rejected private sector ideology and the Post-Fordist model it operates within because students and student learning are not seen by them as static products [Connell, 1985]. Job satisfaction has been eroded by an enormous increase in administration, a lack of negotiation and the imposition of market forces on schools.

Gender issues are noted [Chapter 6]. The women interviewed had specific issues to address in the workplace and their jobs were made more intensive by the assumption that they would take on certain extra tasks. This factor links in with the feminisation of labour referred to above. It would appear that women may be vulnerable in particular ways to intensification and task proliferation [Apple, 1986: 45].

The "powerful ideology of professionalism" [ibid] has persuaded teachers to take on longer hours and it would seem that this predominately female workforce is open to exploitation. The State appears to be taking on an active role in reducing the status of teachers through the intensification of teachers' workloads. A combination of co-operative teacher altruism to maintain the interests of students and the hegemonic shift to the New Right, has been instrumental in the reduction of teacher status. Since the introduction of the reforms, teachers and their work appear to have undergone an attempt at relocation within the labour market. To a large extent they appear to have co-operated with the reforms, against their own interests, as they seek to balance the demands of neo-liberal reforms against the essential goals of teaching. However, teachers are articulating their concerns and recognising the deleterious effects which much bigger workloads are having on their health and their capacity to teach well. Further, they are showing some signs of resistance within their individual work situations. Underpinning the New Right reforms
lies the assumption that the key to the future in education is to be found in a private enterprise management model. The teachers in this study provide evidence that the success of the schools of tomorrow depend on a highly motivated and affirmed teaching force, located in a valued section of the labour market. This scenario is much more likely to come about if teachers, freed of administrative and management tasks, are in a position to pursue their passion for educating students.
APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Modified version of original survey [11 questions]

2. Assessment as to length of current school week. Particular emphasis on proliferation or otherwise of particular tasks. First step should have helped to ascertain these. Some measurement of those factors are basis for evaluating reactions to current workload.

3. **Evaluation** - has workload increased since 1989?
   - if so how? - what evidence?
   - additional jobs, pressures or expectations
   - perceived reasons for any changes
   [overall picture should emerge of change in workload with detail as to what, how & why]

4. **Qualifications and Experience**
   - Should qualifications and experience be rewarded? - if so, which ones and how?
   - Identify and describe areas of either Q. or E., or both which have been developed on a personal basis since 1989. Evaluate the extent of which this development has been voluntarily sought, and to what extent it has been imposed [and describe those factors].
   - To what extent have any personal developments in Q. and E. been rewarded? - if so describe the reward [status/money/time] and given an evaluation - is it appropriate? If not say what would be appropriate.
- Reaction as to sense of personal recognition - within own workplace and within general community - does the "reward" seem fair and reasonable? - give reasons.
- Specify any task[s] and/or responsibility which is presently expected but which is not rewarded. State an appropriate reward.

5. **Personal Reaction** - To what extent has any increase in workload/qualifications/experience been within or beyond the control of individuals? Note any qualifying comments.
- evaluation of adequacy of work conditions, remuneration as they affect individual teachers now.
- impact on relationships - professional and personal
- impact on mental and physical health
- ongoing career plans. Would these teachers recommend this job to others? - give reasons
- Does teaching currently provide satisfaction and rewards expected when they started? - evaluating comment.
Thank you for agreeing to answer these questions.

When answering please:

- EITHER tick the appropriate box
- OR state time in hour long units (eg. 1, 2, 1/2, 1/4, etc.)
- OR comment in the space provided.

In making an assessment as to the time spent in various areas please average out the time spent as a weekly slot. If, for example, you spend one hour per month on an activity, that will average out as a 1/4 on a weekly basis.

Although some of these categories vary from week to week a broad picture of time use for an "average" week is what I am attempting.

Please exclude the lunchhour when referring to the timetabled school day.
1. **STATUS**
   - Assistant teacher (full time)
   - Assistant teacher (part time)
   - P.R. Holder (state level)
   - T.I.C.
   - H.O.D.
   - Other

   If "other" please describe ____________________

2. **TIMETABLED, TIME ALLOCATION FOR YOUR PRESCRIBED WORK INSIDE THE SCHOOL WEEK.**
   (This question pertains to your agreed-upon job description)
   - Teaching
   - Administration
   - Sport
   - Cultural
   - Department Meetings
   - Other

   If "other" describe activity ____________________

3. **STATE TIME ALLOCATION AS**
   a) **SPECIFIC TEACHING SUPPORT** (ie "free" periods)
   b) **SPECIFIED ADMINISTRATIVE TASKS**
      (eg Dean, HOD tasks)

4. **EXTRA CURRICULAR: INTERACTION WITH STUDENTS**
   Column A = inside the timetabled school day
   Column B = outside the timetabled school day

   Extra Curricular: Sport
   - Cultural
   - Other
5. TEACHING RELATED ACTIVITIES

   Hours per week
   - Preparation of lessons
   - Assessment
   - Resource gathering
   - Curriculum development

6. MEETINGS

   a) State type in space provided
      Show time spent per week

      Total hours per week.

   b) Meeting Times
      (Column A = number of times
      Column B = total time)
      - Before school
      - After school
      - During timetabled school day
      - Evenings

   c) Activities related to meetings
      eg reading, consultation, data gathering, etc.
      - State time per week

   Comment: ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
7. **INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT**
   State hours per week.
   Comment:
   
   
   
   
   

8. **MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES: TIME SPENT**
   - Staff/Personnel Management
   - Staff/Personnel Training
   - Staff Appraisal
   - Finance, Dept. budgeting, etc.
   - Purchasing and selection of goods
   - Consultation with Staff re student programmes
   - Other (please specify)

9. **PASTORAL CARE**
   a) Status:
      - Form Teacher
      - Assistant Form Teacher
      - Dean
      - None of the above
   b) Time spent per week on:
      - Form administration and contact
      - Dean administration and contact
   c) Supervisory duties: (tick box)
      - Lunchtime supervision
      - Detention duty
      - Gate duty
      - Other
   d) Time spent on Pastoral Care for students:
      - Timetabled
      - Non-timetabled (out of school)
10. a) If there is an activity which you spend time in but is not satisfactorily covered by the above, please state what it is and in the boxes provided show the time allocation for it. Do not include time spent on this survey - it will skew the results!!

______________________________

Time spent: Activity
1) ___________
2) ___________
3) ___________

b) In the spaces below please list the committees you are presently a member of -

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

11. USE OF LUNCH HOURS

Please place appropriate letters in the boxes -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONDAY</th>
<th>TUESDAY</th>
<th>WEDNESDAY</th>
<th>THURSDAY</th>
<th>FRIDAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Regular meetings with other staff.
B = Regular student activity/contact.
C = Other school related activity.
D = Free for own use.

If there is more than one combination on a regular basis please indicate e.g. A/D

If you wish to make further comment please do!
# APPENDIX 3

## USE OF TEACHER TIME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>James Williams</th>
<th>Enid Johnson</th>
<th>Harry Bryant</th>
<th>Helen Jacobs</th>
<th>Moana Awatere</th>
<th>George Thomas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Status</td>
<td>HoD PR3</td>
<td>TiC PR1</td>
<td>Assistant Teacher PR2</td>
<td>TiC PR2</td>
<td>HoD PR2</td>
<td>HoD PR3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Time Tabled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time in teaching week</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Teaching</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Admin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sport</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cultural</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dept Meeting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Time For:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Teacher support</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Specified Admin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>S/visionx2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Extra Curricular</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sport</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cultural</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Hours p/w on Teacher related Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lesson Prep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Assessment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Resource prep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Teacher related Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lesson Prep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource prep</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum development</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 6. School Meetings

(a) Total hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6 1/2</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>7 1/2</th>
<th>2 1/2</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
(b) Before s/d  | 1     | 50 mins | -  | 1     | 1 1/4 | -  |
| After s/d   | 1     | 3   | 3  | 5     | 1/4   | 3  |
| During s/d  | 1 1/2 | 3   | 3  | 1     | 1/4   | -  |
| Evenings    | 3     | 2   | -  | 1/2   | 1/2   | 2  |
(c) Time spent meeting related activities

|          | 2     | 2   | 4  | 1     | 2 1/2 | 1 1/2|

#### 7. Professional Development

|          | 2     | 3   | 4  | 1 1/2 | 3-4   | 2-7  | 1/2 |

#### 8. Management Responsibilities

- Staff/ personnel
  - 1/2  | 1 | 4 | -  | 5 | 8 hours
- Training
  - 1/2  | 1 | 2 | 1/2 | Te Atakura total for all categories
- Appraisal
  - 1/4  | 1 | - | 1/4 |
- Finance
  - 1/2  | 1/2 | 1 | 1/4 |
- Purchase/ Selecting
  - 1/2  | 1/2 | 1/4 |
- Consultation re: Students
  - 1/4  | 2 | 2 | 1 | 30 mins +
- Other
  - 2    |    |    |    | 1 |

#### 9. Pastoral Care

(a) Status
9. Pastoral Care

(a) Status
   - Form Teacher  Y
   - Ass. Form Teacher

   - Dean
   - None of above

(b) Form contact
   Admin  1 1/4
   Dean contact
   1 hour  3

   (c) Supervision
      Y

   (d) Pastoral care
      - Generally Timetable
      - Non timetable

      1/4

   10. Other
      Activities
      6 cttees  4 cttees
      2 cttees + 7 cttees  4 cttees
      3 cttees

   11. Use of half lunch hours
      3 1/2 lunch hours own use
      5 lunch hrs = regular student contact
      5 lunch hrs school or student related activity
      2 1/2 lunch hours for own use
      5 lunch hrs other school related activity
      2 1/2 lunch hours for own use

   30 mins +
Dear Sir

I write to request information on the resourcing of Tomorrow's Schools for a research project I have undertaken.

As I am hoping to publish this project soon I would be grateful for your urgent attention to this matter.

Yours faithfully

Denise Murfitt
REFERENCES


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