

The Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession: Views from Inside and Outside the Profession

Interim Findings from the Teacher Status Project

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Research Report

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Teaching Profession: Views from Inside
and Outside the Profession*

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Executive Summary

Background

A concern to improve the status of teachers and the teaching profession has been inherent in government policy initiatives since 1997, when it was given prominence in a White Paper (DfEE, 1997) and subsequent documents such as 'Teachers meeting the challenge of change' (DfEE, 1998a). Underpinning the range of initiatives that ensued was the desire to improve standards in teaching and raise the status of teachers.

The Faculty of Education at Cambridge University, in association with the Centre for Mass Communication Research at Leicester University was commissioned by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in 2002 to embark on a four year study of the status of teachers and the teaching profession in England. The project's aims are threefold. They are:

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

Defining Status

We recognise the complexity of the concept of 'status'. The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary offers the following generic definition:

'Position or standing in society; rank, profession; relative importance' and
'Condition or position of a thing esp. with regard to importance'

This project has adopted Hoyle's (2001) three-part definition of 'occupational status' in the development and interpretation of the surveys conducted in this study. Hoyle distinguishes between:

Occupational Prestige - the public perception of the relative position of an occupation in a hierarchy of occupations

Occupational Status - the category to which knowledgeable groups allocate a particular occupation, where knowledgeable groups include e.g. civil servants, politicians, social scientists, educationists and, for the purpose of this study, teachers themselves.

Occupational Esteem - the regard in which an occupation is held by the general public by virtue of the personal qualities that members are perceived to bring to their core tasks e.g. their care, competence and dedication.

Methodology

In our attempt to understand the many perspectives on the status of teachers and the teaching profession we have adopted a multi-layered approach. The research design incorporates cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys together with a programme of whole-school and individual teacher case studies, and focus groups. A particular strength lies in the series of perspectives on status being obtained, which range from an 'outsider' view of status that is , that held by the general public, through the views of associated groups such as teaching assistants, parents and governors who have particular insights into teachers' work, to the 'insider' perceptions of their status held by teachers themselves. The following surveys were conducted in 2003. Public opinion, the media and teachers and associated groups are being surveyed again in 2005/6.

- 1 Public opinion survey
- 2 Media survey
- 3a Individual teacher survey
- 3b Associated groups' survey
- 3c Initial teacher trainee survey
- 4 Local education authority recruitment manager survey

The public opinion survey

The public opinion survey consisted of a module of multiple choice and open-ended items inserted into the March 2003 Office for National Statistics (ONS) Omnibus Survey. Face-to-face structured interviews were conducted with 1815 (66% response rate) randomly selected people aged 16 or over in the nine English Government Office regions, Scotland and Wales.

2. The media survey

The Centre for Mass Communication Research at Leicester University surveyed 17 National and five Regional newspapers' coverage of teachers, teaching and education between March to September 2003. Over 1300 articles were collected and subjected to systematic content analysis. The newspapers included National 'Quality' or 'broadsheet' papers such as The Guardian, The Times and The Independent on Sunday; National Popular or tabloid newspapers such as The Sun, The News of the World and The Mirror etc. and Regional newspapers such as The Birmingham Evening Mail and The Leicester Mercury etc.

3. The surveys of individual teachers, associated groups and trainee teachers.

This 'family' of surveys was conducted between March and September 2003. A questionnaire for teachers, covering aspects of occupational status, teacher professionalism and motivation to teach was constructed, and certain sections of it made up the associated groups' and trainee teachers' questionnaires. The teacher and associated group questionnaires were distributed in batches sent to a random sample of 996 primary and secondary schools. Responses from teachers were obtained from 44 per cent of the schools, but this represented only a 15 per cent individual teacher response rate. Nearly 900 participants from associated groups responded individually (18% response rate). A 29 per cent response rate (904 teachers) was obtained from questionnaires sent directly to teachers' home addresses. The trainee teachers' survey was conducted in ten higher education institutions selected to provide a good geographical spread. 270 trainees (76% response rate) took part in their final weeks of training.

4. The recruitment manager survey

An open-ended questionnaire was sent by email to recruitment managers, or those with responsibility for teacher recruitment and retention strategies, in all local education authorities (LEAs) in England in Autumn 2003. Respondents were asked what factors they felt might affect recruitment and retention of teachers in their LEA, with particular reference to teacher status. We received responses from 64 managers (43% response rate).

Findings

Public opinion survey

Respondents were asked to select occupations most similar in status to a primary or secondary teacher and primary or secondary headteacher and to give reasons for their choices. They were also asked to indicate three things that come to mind about the activity of teaching and to what extent they agreed with the statement 'teaching is an attractive career'. The main findings derived from face-to-face interviews with people over the age of 16 years were as follows.

- 50 per cent of the participants saw teaching as an attractive career.
- People who were positive about teaching as a career gave 'working with children' and 'doing interesting work' as reasons for their attitudes.
- People with negative attitudes to teaching mentioned 'having to control a class' and 'pay' most often as their reasons.
- The status of teaching appeared in the top six reasons given by those with both negative and positive attitudes to teaching but status was more likely to be given as a negative reason by people aged 55 and over.
- Primary and secondary school teachers were likened in social status (briefly defined as 'the respect and esteem in which a group is held in society') to social workers by approximately 40 per cent of respondents.
- Primary and secondary headteachers were considered closest in social status to management consultants by 30 per cent of respondents and to doctors by 10 per cent.
- The top three public perceptions of the activity of teaching were 'educating', 'responsibility for children' and 'having to control a class'. Activities such as 'preparing lessons' and 'preparing children for their future lives' were mentioned more often by people under 25, whereas people over 55 referred more often to 'controlling a class' and 'dealing with difficult behaviour'.

The media survey

The following results were extracted after analysis of 1356 newspaper articles, of which 865 articles (63.8%) were found to be actually about or relevant to 'education and teachers'. Of these, 40 per cent were specifically about teachers and 60 per cent were about education more generally.

- The status of teaching *per se* was rarely mentioned; where the word 'status' was used it referred to 'status quo' or the status of schools, e.g.

Beacon Status. Furthermore, although teaching and education rarely made the front pages, over half (59%) of education coverage was included in other 'news reports'.

- Quality papers and the Regional press coverage varied in emphasis. During the period of the survey, both types of paper gave considerable coverage to 'teachers' employment and pay issues' and 'government targets & new schemes for schools'.
- The Popular press, however, gave greater coverage to teacher involvement with court cases and teachers' lives outside teaching.
- Funding issues appeared in similar measure (appearing in 9.9% of all teacher/education related articles) across all newspaper types, reflecting shared concerns about 'funding shortages in schools and higher education'.
- Teachers themselves, the government and pupils were the three most common foci in the press coverage but education experts, pressure groups and opposition points of view were surprisingly under-represented.
- After coverage of national educational issues, coverage of education stories located in London and the south east strongly outweighed representation of stories from any other English region.

The two most prominent thematic foci of the coverage overall are 'teachers' employment/pay issues' and 'government targets/new schemes for schools'. Popular papers give prominence to interest in teachers' personal lives by devoting as much as 29 per cent of coverage to related issues.

Survey of recruitment managers

Recruitment managers were asked to respond to two open-ended questions concerning teacher status in their local authorities. They were asked to list both positive and negative factors (e.g. policies) in their authorities which they felt might have had an impact on the status of teachers, and to say what would be most needed to improve the status of teachers in their own local authority.

- Over a fifth (14) of managers felt that continuing professional development (CPD) activities have had a positive effect on teacher status within their areas.
- A fifth (13) of respondents also said that the workforce remodelling initiatives were having a positive effect on teacher status.

- Recruitment managers expressed concerns about financial constraints which had an impact on teachers' access to CPD. Almost a fifth (12) of respondents felt that such budget levels had a negative effect on the status of teachers.
- Recruitment managers (23) most commonly referred to items related to the improvement of working conditions. Items such as non-contact time, classroom support and work-life balance contributed to 'working conditions'.
- Respondents from 12 local authorities felt that CPD was important to improve the status of teachers.

The teacher, trainee teacher and associated group surveys

Status over the years

We asked teachers and associated groups to rate the level of status from very high (5) to very low (1), that they had held in 1967, 1979, 1988, 1997 and 2003, excluding years outside their personal experience. 907 teachers and 519 participants from associated groups provided ratings for 1967, and 2295 teachers and 868 participants from associated groups did so for 2003. In their assessments, all respondents perceived a steady and significant decline in status, where:

- the biggest fall was perceived to be between 1979 and 1988
- the rate of decline has stabilised since 1988
- teachers reported the greatest perceived drop in status, and teaching assistants the least, until 2003
- parents consistently rated teacher status higher than did teachers themselves
- in 1967 governors and teachers had the same, slightly less optimistic opinion of teacher status but after 1988 governors' mean ratings of teacher status began to exceed teachers' own ratings.

As mentioned above, for all respondents, the most acute fall in teacher status was perceived to have occurred during the years 1979 to 1988 following the election of a new Conservative government. This was a period of major review of education policies leading up to the 1988 Education Reform Act and the introduction of a National Curriculum, and Local Financial Management of schools, for example. Other research such as Woods et al., (1997) and Menter et al., (2004) suggests that continued policy change ever since, would seem to have contributed to low morale among teachers and shown in recruitment and

retention problems in some regions. Recently, however, the Training and Development Agency survey (Morgan, 2005), and the 'Education as a graduate career' research (Purcell et al., 2005) have found that teachers enjoy their work and that recent graduates in teaching careers experience greater job satisfaction than graduates in comparable occupations. This suggests that there may be a renewed optimism amongst teachers about their work.

Defining high professional status and the status of the teaching profession

Teachers and associated groups were asked to indicate, on a five-point scale, their level of agreement that each of 19 statements was characteristic of a high status profession and true of the teaching profession. Examples of the characteristics in the list presented to respondents suggested that 'A high status profession':

- offers an attractive life-long career
- enjoys positive media images
- enjoys high financial remuneration
- is valued by government
- is subject to external regulation.

Factor analysis revealed that the characteristics of a high status profession can be seen as having two virtually independent factors, namely, 'reward and respect' and 'control and regulation'. Our participants were 'not sure', but agreed weakly, that a high status profession is subject to external 'control and regulation'. They agreed strongly, however, that such a profession enjoys 'reward and respect' through three closely related strands, namely,

- being a respected and valued authority
- having a positive working environment
- being a trusted high performance profession.

Table 1 shows the pattern of agreement that each dimension of status was characteristic of a high status profession and true of the teaching profession.

Table 1 To show how far participants agree that each of four dimensions of status is characteristic of a high status profession and of the teaching profession

Dimension of status	This is characteristic of	
	A high status profession	The teaching Profession
Being a respected and valued authority	strongly agree	mildly disagree
Having a positive working environment	agree	Disagree
Being a responsible high performing profession	agree	Agree
Being subject to external control and regulation	mildly agree	strongly agree

As shown in Table 1 teaching was judged most similar to a high status profession through 'being a responsible high performing profession'. Participants differentiated firmly between teaching and a high status profession with large effect sizes on each factor. The biggest differences were for status through 'control and regulation', and through 'the working environment'

There was striking similarity between teachers', trainees' and associated groups' views on each of these dimensions of status. Thus all groups agreed that the teaching profession is 'subject to external control and regulation'. For example, teachers' and trainee teachers' average rating was 4.3 on a five-point scale, where 5 indicated strong agreement that the teaching profession is 'subject to external control and regulation', and the associated groups' mean was 4.2. With regard to positive working conditions, however, mean ratings of 2.2, 2.9, and 2.5 were given by teachers, trainee teachers and associated groups respectively, reflecting their shared disagreement that the teaching profession is characterised by comfortable working environment. Whilst teachers' views were most negative, trainee teachers were unsure. Bush (2005 p20) found that 25 per cent of headteacher respondents in her survey rated the working environment as being a 'very important' factor in the recruitment of teachers.

Overall, teachers' views were more extreme than the trainees or associated groups' on each dimension. For instance, teachers felt that greater voids existed between the teaching profession and high status professions, with teachers being the poorer recipients, in terms of being a 'respected and valued authority'.

The comparative status of teaching

All respondents were asked to rate 16 occupations, listed alphabetically, on a seven point rating scale from 'very low status' to 'very high status', to indicate the status that they felt each occupation both *currently held* and the status they *deserved*. The occupations are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Ranks of 'status currently held' and 'status deserved' of 16 occupations including headteachers and teachers

Rank	Status currently held (Occupational prestige)	Status they deserve (Occupational esteem)
1	Surgeons	Surgeons
2	Barristers	Doctors
3	Doctors	Secondary Headteachers
4	Solicitors	Primary Headteachers
5	Vets	Nurses
6	Accountants	Secondary Teachers
7	Management Consultants	Primary Teachers
8	Secondary Headteachers	Police Officers
9	Web Designers	Barristers
10	Primary Headteachers	Vets
11	Police Officers	Solicitors
12	Secondary Teachers	Social Workers
13	Nurses	Accountants
14	Primary Teachers	Librarians
15	Social Workers	Management Consultants
16	Librarians	Web Designers

As Table 2 shows, the ratings of *status currently held* by primary and secondary headteachers and teachers placed them in the lower ranking of the list. Within the profession, headteachers were rated above teachers, and secondary above primary. When considered in terms of *status deserved*, however, the teaching occupations moved into the upper half of the table, along with nurses. Together with other vocational and caring occupations, they achieved very positive status differentials between the status they were perceived to command and the status they deserve.

An important finding here was that although primary teachers were below secondary teachers in their ranking, and primary headteachers were ranked above primary teachers, the actual ratings hardly differed between primary and secondary. This suggests that the status gap between the phases may be being eroded.

There were some regional differences in terms of status deserved. It was evident that teachers in London and West Midlands gave teachers lower status ratings than did teachers in other regions. Associated groups in those two regions, however, were more likely than associated groups in other areas to give teachers higher status ratings. This suggests that teachers in London and the West Midlands undervalue themselves, although the people with whom they work hold them in relatively high esteem.

Professionalism in teaching

The teachers and other associated groups responded to a list of 33 statements about the work of the teaching profession by indicating the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with them. The list included 'teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum', 'collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching' and 'it is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise'. Factor analysis of their responses revealed five dimensions of teacher professionalism which include:

- teaching as constructive learning
- teaching as a trusted profession
- teaching as collaborating with parents and community
- teaching as an autonomous profession
- teaching as delivering standards.

The last three must be treated cautiously, however, as they were computed to be just moderately reliable and accounted for under 15% of the variance. The first four of these dimensions were similar to those found in the separate teacher and associated group analyses. There was wider divergence of opinion on 'teaching as an autonomous profession', with just positive agreement that 'central control of the curriculum undermines teacher autonomy' for example. The emergence of a factor entitled 'teaching as delivering standards', which highlighted competition and attainment, was notable in that both teachers and associated groups disagreed that this was representative of teachers' work. The views of the parents, governors and teaching assistants were very similar to each other, and all of these associated groups were more likely than teachers to see teaching as delivering standards.

Reasons for being a teacher

We asked practising teachers and trainee teachers on the verge of achieving Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) to indicate their reasons for being teachers. From a list of 27 possible reasons, they were also asked to say which were the three most important reasons for them. Overall, the top three single most important reasons for both groups were:

- 'because I enjoy teaching' (30% of teachers; 29% of trainees)
- 'working with children' (30% of teachers; 27% of trainees)
- 'to give children the best possible start in life' (26% of teachers; 35% of trainees).

These findings are similar to those of Hobson et al. (2005) in the 'Becoming a Teacher' project, which found that 98 per cent of trainees were either 'strongly' or 'moderately' attracted to train as teachers to 'help young people to learn' and 92 per cent of trainees wanted to 'work with children or young people'. In the status project, however, significantly more of the experienced teachers than the trainees chose pragmatic reasons such as 'attractive holiday entitlement' and 'having a good pension package', but under 3 per cent of either group chose 'the earning potential of the job'. 'Wanting to share my love of my subject' was 5th most common for the teachers (selected by 19 %) and 6th on the trainee teachers' list, selected by (21%).

Participants rated the 27 reasons on a three-point scale from 'not true' to very true', and factor analysis grouped these into five correlated factors shown in Table 3, in descending order from 'very true', which was true of the top two reasons, through to 'not true' for 'a job with comfortable status' being a reasons to become a teacher.

Table 3 Teachers' and trainee teachers' reasons for being a teacher

Practising teachers	Nearly qualified trainee teachers
Giving children a good start	Fulfilment
Fulfilment	Giving children a good start
Getting to grips with the job	Personal/ professional development
Personal/professional development	Getting to grips with the job
A job with a comfortable status	A job with a comfortable status

'Fulfilment' includes items such as 'feeling fulfilled in my work' and 'doing a job of which I can be proud'.

Summary

The Teacher Status Project has a number of special features, including the range of perspectives on status that it has investigated, and the way in which it has attempted to find a definition of high professional status, and used this to examine perceptions of the status of the teaching profession.

It shows that there are still large differences between the teaching profession and those professions judged to have high status in terms of 'reward and respect' and as 'control and regulation'. Teachers, trainee teachers and associated groups see the teaching profession as virtually on a par with a high status profession in terms of the training, responsibility and performance that teaching requires. On the other hand, at the time of our survey in 2003, they perceived a large discrepancy between the positive working conditions of a high status profession, and those of the teaching profession. Trainee teachers were the most optimistic group about all aspects of the status of teaching, whilst practising teachers were least optimistic.

The three most common public perceptions of the activity of teaching in 2003 were 'educating', 'responsibility for children' and 'controlling a class' while recognition of teachers' expertise, qualifications and the nature of their work was rare. Nevertheless, 50 per cent of the participants, and more men than women thought teaching was an attractive career and cited 'working with children' and 'interesting work' as the attractions. On the other hand, the view of teaching reflected in the media, is of a profession vulnerable in terms of pay and conditions, and subject to abusive students, and government targets and schemes. The surveys we shall carry out in 2006 will show whether and to what extent, the public, associated groups and teachers themselves think that the status of teachers and the teaching profession has changed and, if so, in what ways.

Chapter 1 Introduction and background to the Teacher Status Project

In Summer 2002, the University of Cambridge Faculty of Education, in collaboration with the University of Leicester Centre for Mass Communication Research, responded to a DfES initiative to bid for a four-year study of the status of teachers and the teaching profession in England. The bid was successful and the Teacher Status Project began in September 2002 with the following pre-specified aims:

1. *To establish a baseline and monitor changes in perceptions of teacher status and teacher attitudes over time*
2. *To understand the factors that influence perceptions of status and teachers' attitudes*
3. *To identify how perceptions of teacher status can be improved*

The Centre for Mass Communication Research at the University of Leicester provided a 'media strand' to investigate:

- the dominant images/representations of teachers and teaching in the content of print and broadcast news media in 2003 and 2005
- how these images might have changed over the preceding decade of print media
- the origins of these images and how they are influenced by the professional practices and views held by journalists and other media professionals
- the role played by these images in influencing the perception of the public, teachers and others involved in education.

The purpose of this report is to summarise the results of the first round of surveys, including:

- a public opinion survey conducted on our behalf by the Office for National Statistics (March 2003)
- the first media survey of print and broadcast national news (March - Sept 2003)
- the questionnaire surveys of teachers, support staff, parents, governors and just qualified teachers (March - Sept 2003).

Before presenting these findings, we address the concept of status, the problem of status in relation to teachers and teaching, and the context in which the project has been taking place.

Background to the project

Defining status

The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary offers the following generic definition of status: *'Position or standing in society; rank, profession; relative importance'* and *'Condition or position of a thing esp. with regard to importance'*.

This implies that the 'status of teachers and teaching' requires attention, at least, to the social standing and relative importance of people who are teachers, the rank and relative importance of teaching among other occupations, and in particular, the longstanding question of whether teaching is a profession, and if it is, the standing of teaching among other professions.

Carol Adams (2002), Chief Executive of the General Teaching Council, the primary purpose of which is to raise the status of teachers, speaking at a day conference entitled 'Transforming teacher status', referred to it as a 'nebulous concept' but suggested that people could probably agree on the characteristics of high professional status which she listed as:

having the respect of clients and the public at large, being trusted to act in clients' best interests within a framework of accountability, (and) experiencing appropriate reward for a complex and demanding role.(p.1)

Our research brief, however, required a broad conceptualisation of status taking in both 'outsider' perspectives such as those above, that is how teachers are viewed by other members of society, and 'insider' perspectives, that is how individual teachers view themselves, their work and their profession. Hoyle (1969; 2001) has addressed both perspectives in his long-established work on the status of teachers and teaching in England. In 1969, he linked the two, drawing attention to their interdependence:

The status of the individual teacher, his self-esteem, and the manner in which he performs his role are to some extent dependent upon the status of the teaching profession in society. This is more than simply the question of whether teaching is a profession ... (but) ... whether teaching enjoys, or is likely to enjoy in the future the prestige and privileges which are accorded in our society to such high status

occupations as medicine, law, dentistry, architecture ... which are at the top of the professional continuum (Hoyle, 1969, p.80)

The challenge he articulated then, is the same one that the government is tackling now.

In our study of the outsider perspective on status, we have adopted Hoyle's (2001) suggestion that 'occupational status' should be separated into three components. He proposed that these should be labelled consistently as:

Occupational Prestige - the public perception of the relative position of an occupation in a hierarchy of occupations

Occupational Status - the category to which knowledgeable groups allocate a particular occupation, where knowledgeable groups include, for example, civil servants, politicians, social scientists, educationists and teachers themselves.

Occupational Esteem - the regard in which an occupation is held by the general public by virtue of the personal qualities that members are perceived to bring to their core tasks e.g. their care, competence and dedication.

A major emphasis within this project, however, is the 'insider' perspective, the individual teacher's sense of their status. This incorporates notions of the *esteem* and *self-esteem* associated with being a teacher, of the *respect* with which teachers are treated and feel themselves to be treated, of the *authority* attributed to teachers, and the *confidence* of teachers in their professional expertise.

Having considered various definitions of status, our approach, in practice, has been to construct the teachers', and knowledgeable groups' (that is associated groups), definitions of a 'high status profession' from their responses to a list of statements drawn from our focus groups and the literature on professionalism and status (e.g. Hoyle, 1969, 2001; Lortie, 1975; Ball and Goodson, 1985; Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996; Sachs, 2003). The survey participants then compared the teaching profession with the same statements. This approach provided not only the teachers' and others' definitions of high professional status, but also shows how well teaching measures up to these definitions. The findings can be considered to represent both *occupational status*, in the eyes of teachers, and other associated groups, if they can be considered to be knowledgeable groups, as well as the *occupational esteem* of teaching in the eyes of parents and governors, as people who regularly come into contact with teachers, and witness whatever levels of care and competence they bring to their work. The views of the public

contribute to our understanding of general opinions of the *occupational prestige* of the teaching profession.

The problem of teacher status

Concern about the status of teachers and the teaching profession is neither new nor confined to England, as Cunningham's (1992) analysis of teaching's professional image in the press in 1950, 1970 and 1990 has shown.

Historically, the problem of teacher status led to the inauguration of the National Union of Elementary Teachers, soon to become the NUT, in 1870 (Bourne and MacArthur, not dated but probably 1970). Banks (1971), for example, listed the barriers to teaching, achieving what Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) more recently called 'classical professional status'. These barriers include:

- the nature of those taught (conceived in class, age or ability terms)
- the sections of society from which teachers have tended to be recruited
- the sheer numbers of teachers employed
- the number of women employed and the gender imbalance between leadership and assistant positions
- the qualifications required
- the salaries paid
- the autonomy teachers once possessed in practice but their exclusion from input into educational policy
- the lack of mystique, since all members of the public have been pupils at some time and crucially
- the lack of control of entry to the profession.

Hoyle (2001) provides a detailed analysis of the contemporary situation with regard to such factors.

Internationally, current concerns about recruitment and retention have, for example, been linked with the status of the profession in the Netherlands (Vermeulen, 2003), the USA (Ingersoll, 2001, p.499-534) and recent Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development projects (e.g. OECD, 2005). In New Zealand, Cameron (2003) was commissioned to conduct a review of research on teacher status, leading to a research project based at Massey University. The concept of 'status anxiety' was highlighted recently by De Botton, (2004) as a contemporary phenomenon but 'status panic' was identified 20 years ago among teachers in the USA (Webb, 1985),

'Teachers who once prided themselves on their advancement into the middle class are alarmed that the income of many blue-collar workers has caught up and even exceeded their own. Such a situation threatens teachers' sense of self-worth and social location' (Webb, 1985:79).

This 'status panic' was recognised by Ball and Goodson (1985:78) as having 'inescapable parallels' with the situation in Britain at that time. If Ball and Goodson were right, the decade that followed probably exacerbated the situation as teachers in England were subject to direct threats to their self-worth and social location in the 1990s. Woods et al (1997:151-2) referred to

a 'discourse of derision' in the national media directed towards their pedagogy and their achievement. Politicians and the press lambasted teachers, engendering a 'moral panic' over educational standards and teaching methods.

Such external and public unofficial evaluations, and the pressure of official, published inspection reports by the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED), have been connected with teachers' psychological health and student performance (e.g. Bowers, 2001; FitzGibbon and Stephenson-Forster, 1999). It is plausible that they might have exerted a depressing effect on teacher status, both in the eyes of the public, and in the eyes of teachers themselves.

The present concern about teacher status is linked, at least in part, with the apparent, and probably resultant, recruitment and retention 'crises' in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Smithers and Robinson, 2003, 2004; but also See et al., 2004).

'School-teaching' achieved *official* professional status when it was reclassified by the Office for National Statistics for the national census into Category 1 Division 2 alongside doctors, barristers, and clergy, but, as Hoyle (2001) pointed out, teachers' status 'rivals', social workers and librarians, were also promoted. Despite this, as Hoyle noted, a mismatch remains between teaching's new *formal* status as a profession, and popular perceptions of teaching, that is the way people refer to teaching as a profession. Hoyle distinguishes between the professionalization of teaching which he sees as the pursuit of status, and includes being an all-graduate profession and having high entry standards for example, and teacher professionalism which refers to the improvement of the quality of service, and involves the competence and dedication which contribute to occupational *esteem*. Principally, he suggests that as long as the image of teaching is associated with children, in school on a non-voluntary basis, and with the potential to get out of control, teaching's prestige will not change. Strategies

such as workforce reform first suggested in 1998 by David Blunkett (DfEE 1998a), and, more recently, teacher membership of multi-agency teams (DfES 2004:9) suggest that it is the public image of teaching and ultimately its prestige that the government has been aiming to change.

Our goal must be to make working with children an attractive, high status career, and to develop a more skilled and flexible workforce. (DfES 2004:10)

Finally, there is a reflexive role for teachers in raising their status. An unpublished report by the Centre for British Teaching (CfBT), was referred to in the Times Educational Supplement (Gardiner, 1998). Thirty 'knowledgeable others' including MPs, government officials, 'opinion formers' from the media, teachers, teacher unions and heads of teacher unions, and employment agencies, were asked to assess teacher status and 'examine the scope for re-branding the profession in the national consciousness'. Referring to the Teacher Training Agency advertising campaign, 'Nobody forgets a good teacher', the interviewees felt that teaching relied too much on an altruistic image. They suggested that teachers need to 'be accessible and accountable' with a 'united professional voice', which the General Teaching Council (GTC) might provide, and that there was a 'reputation gap' between the public's perception of the profession and their views of teachers they know personally. In particular it called for teachers to develop self-promotion skills and become more accessible and media-friendly. (Gardiner, 1998). The recent GTC (2005) Annual Survey suggests that teachers continue to accord themselves low status: some 90 per cent of respondents, and particularly older teachers rated the status of teaching as medium (47%) to low (43%) on a five-point scale.

The policy context

A raft of modernising initiatives was announced immediately the Labour government was elected in 1997, as it undertook to improve

'the image, morale and status of the profession' (through) 'better prospects, a rewarding career structure, less bureaucracy, more freedom to focus on teaching, a new professionalism, greater individual accountability, more flexibility and higher standards' (DfEE, 1998a: 13).

New policies with the potential to affect teacher status in the eyes of people both inside and outside teaching, were proposed in the White Paper, '*Excellence in Schools*' (DfEE, 1997) and reiterated in the Green Paper, '*Teachers meeting the challenge of change*' (DfEE 1998a). They included, for example:

- the introduction of performance management
- new standards for Qualified Teacher Status
- establishment of a General Teaching Council for England (GTCE)
- a new rank of Advanced Skills Teacher
- the creation of a National College for School Leadership (NCSL)
- National Professional Qualifications for Headteachers (NPQH)
- Fast Track Teaching Programme to develop future school leaders
- new tiers of school status including Beacon and Training schools
- workforce reform
- national strategies for the teaching of literacy and numeracy (e.g. DfEE 1998b)
- Curriculum Guidance for Foundation Stage (DFEE 2000).

These policies were planks in the government's agenda to modernise public sector occupations including teaching. A second round of initiatives, with reinforcements of earlier policy was introduced in the name of increased 'Trust and Professionalism' in Estelle Morris's¹ address to the Social Market Foundation in November 2001. She celebrated the apparent success of the government's strategies to raise standards (DfES 2001b) and presented the Prime Minister's benchmarks for public sector remodelling translated into their implications for teachers, as follows:

- High standards at key levels of the profession including entry and leadership, set nationally and regulated by a strong professional body
- A body of knowledge of about what works best and why, with regular training and development opportunities so that members of the profession are always up to date
- Efficient organisation and management of complementary staff to support best professional practice
- Effective use of leading edge technology to support best professional practice
- Incentives and rewards for excellence, including through pay structures
- A relentless focus on what is in the best interests of those who use the service - in education, pupils and parents - backed by clear and effective arrangements for accountability and for measuring performances and outcomes. (DfES, 2001a: 19)

Fulfilment of these objectives promised a 'professionalism for the modern world' and a vision of the 'teacher of the future' who:

has more status and more responsibility, and a better work/life balance, in support of higher standards of teaching and learning' (DfES 2001a p.14),

and would make teaching:

¹ Secretary of State for Education 2001 - 2002

a top profession, possibly even above all others (because) teachers have the ability to unlock the potential of the rest of society - including every future member of the other professions' (DfES 2001a p. 2)

The long-term aim, by 2012, is that:

'our best teachers have a status and role which makes them more like consultant doctors than either junior doctors or nurses, responsible for the most difficult teaching tasks and also for the organisation of other teachers and teaching assistants' (DfES 2001a p.18)

The initiatives referred to in Morris's speech, and the White Paper, Schools - achieving success (DfES, 2001b), refreshed those of her predecessor, such as the Excellence in Cities programme, investment in ICT and the creation of 'TeacherNet', and the learning mentors scheme and Learning Support Units. This White Paper placed strong emphasis on the need for the 'transformation' of secondary education through, for example:

- the Key Stage 3 strategy
- early careers professional development programmes
- professional bursaries for teachers to spend time in other schools, or providing educational material with a business, or training in a specific area
- the Fast Track programme for existing teachers and to attract the 'highest quality new graduates and career changers'
- expansion in the numbers of Advanced Skills Teachers.

The White Paper also set out the government's modernising plans which would remove various barriers to school autonomy (for the best secondary schools) through deregulation, reform school governance and involve parents more in their children's education.

Policies such as the national strategies can be seen both as professionalising, through giving specific skills, and deprofessionalising, or taking away pedagogical autonomy, (Breslin, 2002). They continue to fuel the debate about the effects of modernisation and its effect on teacher status and professionalism. Nevertheless, these continued government efforts to redefine teacher professionalism accompanied the (then) Secretary of State's announcement of a new era of trust between government and teachers (DfES, 2001a). In due course, we may see a significant change in how these efforts are experienced and construed both by teachers and by the wider population. The consequences for teacher status of current moves, for example towards a more differentiated

school workforce, and towards new ways of working in schools, are not easy to predict. The purposes of the research reported here are to identify, to describe, to quantify and to understand changes in teachers' status over the next four years, and to examine ways in which such changes might be related to government initiatives concerning the teaching profession. This report offers the findings of our baseline surveys, which will be used as the basis for judgements of whether and, if so, how perceptions of teacher status and professionalism have changed by 2006.

This report

The remainder of the report will present our findings based on:

- a public opinion survey
- a survey of media coverage of teachers, teaching and education
- a composite survey of teachers, educational stake holders including trainees, teaching assistants, governors and parents, and their views on high professional status and the status of teacher professionalism and for teachers and trainee teachers, reasons for becoming teachers
- a survey of LEA recruitment managers' views on the effects of teacher status on recruitment and retention of teachers in their LEAs.

The next chapter provides an overview of the methods used in each survey and then the report presents summarised findings of the public opinion survey and the media survey, before moving onto a more detailed consideration of the teachers' and associated groups' survey, followed by an examination of results from the survey of recruitment managers. The final chapter discusses some of the perspectives which have emerged from the study through the various surveys, some of which have formed the baseline for our final round of surveys and provided issues for consideration in our case studies.

Chapter 2 Methods for investigating the status of teachers and the teaching profession

Approach

Whereas other surveys appear to attach great importance to single items, our approach has been to examine how groups of items inter-correlate, showing how participants have responded in similar ways to the same items². This has allowed us to look for commonality in people's constructions of complex ideas such as status and professionalism.

The overall aims were translated into a series of research questions, including:

- *How do individual teachers view their status and professionalism, and the status of teaching?*
- *How do their views change, if at all, over a three-year period?*
- *What factors do teachers think affect their status, and what do they think can improve it?*
- *What reasons underlie these perceptions?*
- *How do newly qualified and early career teachers view their status and the status of teaching?*
- *How do the general public, and associated groups such as parents, support staff, and governors, view the status of the teaching profession in 2003, and how do these views change, if at all, by 2006?*
- *How or whether the status of teachers or teaching affects the work of local authority recruitment managers.*

Having identified common internal structures, or factors, we can consider how individuals and subgroups combine these basic factors in different ways. This psychometric and respondent approach to the measurement of perceptions of teacher status and professionalism, reported here, is complemented by whole school case studies which have been exploring individuals' understanding of the esteem in which they are held by their school communities and the wider public, and the factors that affect those understandings, and the status of the teaching profession. The overall approach therefore uses a mixed methodology.

² The GTC 2005 annual survey, conducted by NfER, has adopted a similar approach. The survey included a single item on teacher status, however, and found that, on a 5 point scale, the vast majority of teachers (about 90%) rated the current status of the teaching profession as medium to low.

The research design

The overall design of the project consists of cross-sectional surveys of a stratified random sample of teachers, associated groups (including parents, governors and support staff such as teaching assistants), and the general public in 2003 and 2006 as shown in Table 2.1. A sub-sample of the cross-sectional cohort of teachers forms a longitudinal sample and was re-surveyed at the midpoint (2005) of the project. A survey of trainee teachers at the end of their training courses in ten institutions around England was conducted in 2003, 2004 and 2005, and these surveys include longitudinal cohorts after the trainees have experienced one or two years in school. During 2003-5 an extensive programme of whole school case studies, as well as studies through focus groups of selected cohorts of teachers such as teachers of special educational needs, teachers from black and minority ethnic groups and teachers involved in continuing professional development and research have been carried out and will be accounted for in subsequent reports. This report focuses on the surveys conducted in 2003 and notes on the instruments and sampling strategies are detailed below.

Table 2.1 Surveys activities 2003 to 2006

Sample	Sample details	Survey 2003	Survey 2004	Survey 2005	Survey to follow in 2006
Teachers	Qualified teachers	✓		✓	✓
Trainee teachers	Teachers having recently completed their training	✓	✓	✓	
Associated groups	Parents	✓			✓
	Governors	✓			✓
	Support staff	✓			✓
General public	Members of the public over the age of 16	✓			✓
Media	A selection of news articles from newspapers, television and radio	✓			

1. The public opinion survey

In order to survey public opinion, we placed a module of seven questions in the March 2003 Office for National Statistics (ONS) Omnibus Survey. These surveys use face-to-face tightly structured interviews with about 2000 adults selected through a rigorous stratified sampling process which covers the nine government office regions of England, as well as people in Scotland and Wales.

The large national sample was drawn from the postal address file of 'small users' which includes all private households in Britain, stratified by region; proportion of households renting from local authorities, and socio-economic group of household reference person.

The achieved sample consisted of 1815 people aged 16 or over, each from a different private household in England, Scotland or Wales. This represented a 66 per cent response rate of the initial 2755 eligible addresses. A total of 821 men and 994 women took part, of whom 1563 were in households in England, 156 in Scotland and 96 in Wales. The sample was broken down into six age bands from age 16 to those over 75 with between 200 and ca. 350 in each age band except over 75s (138).

The questions

The questions, or 'module' entitled **Public attitudes towards teachers for Cambridge University** are shown in Table 2.2. We used Item 6 as a principal analytical dimension, to discover whether and how the views of those with positive attitudes to teaching differed from those with negative attitudes to teaching.

Table 2.2 Items included in the 'Public attitudes towards teachers' survey

Item	Question	Response type
1	Which of these occupations is most similar in social status to a primary* school teacher / secondary school teacher? Occupations : accountant, barrister, doctor, librarian, management consultant, nurse, police officer, social worker, solicitor, surgeon, vet, web designer	Single choice from list on card. (* half sample asked about primary, half about secondary)
2	Why do you think (selected occupation) is similar in status to a primary/secondary school teacher? Please us this card as a guide. – card shows 18 reasons including salary, nature of work, level of responsibility, status of teaching, contribution to society etc. and 'other - please specify)	Multiple choice from list of 18 (+ other) on card
3, 4	As 1 & 2 but for primary or secondary head teacher	
5	Thinking about primary and secondary school teachers, that is those who teach pupils aged between 3 and 18, when you think about the activity of teaching, which three things come to mind first?	Open ended question; no prompts; 3 responses coded against list of 21 reasons
6	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? 'Teaching is an attractive career.'	four point scale: Strongly disagree to strongly agree, or don't know / no opinion
7	Why do you say that?	Open-ended unprompted question: all responses coded against a list of 20 reasons; others recorded

The module included open-ended as well as multiple choice items, intended to explore, in a small number of questions, the relative status, or in Hoyle's (2001) terms, the 'occupational prestige', of teachers compared with people who work in a number of other occupations. Supplementary questions also ascertained the respondents' reasons for their judgements and their idea of what teaching involves.

2. The media survey

The Centre for Mass Communication Research at the University of Leicester, conducted a survey of references to teachers, the teaching profession, the education system and education policy in a representative sample of national newspapers and selected key television and radio news programmes. In addition, a selection of five Regional newspapers, based in regions where the main project was working more intensively, was surveyed. The media survey was conducted during the same period as the first round of surveys administered by the Cambridge team. The full sample of newspapers analysed in this report is listed in Chapter 4. The media survey used 'rolling week' sampling (i.e. Monday of one week, Tuesday of the following week, Wednesday of the following week etc.) over a six-month period (March to September 2003) in order to avoid the results being skewed by particular high-profile or controversial issues which may receive considerable, but short-term, coverage. The media coverage was systematically coded and analysed using the method of content analysis (Hansen et al, 1998).

3. The teacher and associated groups surveys

Teachers, trainee teachers and other associated groups (parents, governors and school support staff, the vast majority of whom were teaching assistants) took part in a 'family' of surveys in which the questionnaires were constructed of selected sections of the main questionnaire which was administered to teachers. This survey of associated groups provided a measure of what Hoyle (2001) labelled the 'occupational esteem' in which teachers are held, because this group of people were able to observe at first hand the personal qualities that teachers bring to their work.

The main questionnaire designed for individual teachers was constructed between October 2002 and March 2003. The contents were drawn from a wide range of sources including the research literature, DfES policy documents, notably '*Professionalism and Trust*' (DfES 2001a) and '*Time for Standards: reforming*

the school workforce' (DfES 2002), a series of preliminary focus groups with teachers, as well as taking into account advice from our Steering Group. The items were piloted on a national random sample of 200 teachers, and the final draft was checked for readability, layout and completion time by teachers in four local schools. It had three main sections, with subsections as shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Content of questionnaires sent to teachers, trainee teachers and associated groups

Questionnaire sections	Questionnaire Types		
	Teachers	Associated groups	Trainees
I Status			
Defining status: a high status profession and the teaching profession	✓	✓	✓
The status of teachers compared with other Occupations	✓	✓	✓
Change in teacher status over time	✓	✓	
Factors likely to affect teacher status in the future	✓		
II Professionalism			
The nature of teachers' work	✓	✓	
III Being a teacher			
Reasons for becoming a teacher	✓		✓
Reasons for being a teacher – now	✓		
Responsibility and respect	✓		

Ticks indicate the questionnaire sections included in the various types of questionnaires

Sampling and administration of the surveys

The surveys were carried out between March and September 2003. The achieved sample of nearly 2,350 teachers was drawn from two sources. The first was a stratified random sample of 1,100 schools, drawn from the NfER schools' database which includes all maintained schools in England³. The stratification was based on school type (primary, middle etc) region, size, and achievement using NfER's five-band classification based on national assessment results. Details of school governance (community, foundation, voluntary aided, etc) and LEA type (metropolitan, unitary, etc) for each school was also available.

³ The full database from which the sample was drawn includes all Community, Foundation, Voluntary-Aided, Voluntary Controlled, Community Special and Foundation Special schools. Independent schools are not present. The schools' sample was stratified by government office region, school type, school size and NfER achievement band.

Batches of 5-15 teacher questionnaires depending on school size were sent to schools via the headteacher, followed by batches of six of the shorter questionnaires to be distributed to two teaching assistants, two governors and two parents who were regular visitors to the school and would have realistic ideas of the work teachers do. Teachers in 44 per cent of the sample of 996 schools replied, but this represented only 15 per cent of the total number of individual questionnaires sent out. We cannot know, however, how many questionnaires actually reached the teachers themselves. The second source was a national stratified random sample of teachers from the GTC (England) database. A total of 904 teachers responded, providing us with a 29 per cent response rate. These response rates may limit the overall representativeness of the sample, but on the other hand, the actual sample profile was an acceptable match with national profiles of teachers for gender, age, ethnicity, school and regional variables. A telephone survey of 100 non-responding schools suggested that paperwork and questionnaire fatigue, best expressed by the remark, *'We're up to our eyes, duck'*, might explain the low response. Some schools had been receiving several surveys a month, and some had recently received and completed the 2002 Guardian/MORI/GTC blanket survey which included very similar issues.

A school-based sample was also used to facilitate the associated group survey. A total of 18 per cent (898) of questionnaires were returned by individuals but, again, we cannot tell how many were actually distributed by headteachers. Thirty five per cent of the respondents were teaching assistants or other support staff; 48 per cent governors, 36 per cent parents. One per cent (8) did not specify their role, and 18 per cent (166) reported more than one role (e.g. parent and governor).

The survey of 270 trainee teachers was conducted within an opportunity sample of ten training institutions selected to provide good national coverage and to include different routes into teaching, although 83 per cent were following PGCE courses in HE institutions. The sample included small proportions of trainees following the Graduate Teacher Programme, B.A. with Qualified Teacher Status, and those training through the School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) route, as shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 The participants of the composite sample

Participants	Frequency	Per cent
Individual teachers	2350	66.8
<i>Primary</i>	<i>1017</i>	<i>28.9</i>
<i>Secondary</i>	<i>1029</i>	<i>29.3</i>
<i>Middle, all age, special and unclassified</i>	<i>205</i>	<i>5.8</i>
<i>Missing</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>2.8</i>
Associated groups	898*	25.5*
<i>Teaching Assistants</i>	<i>326</i>	<i>9.2</i>
<i>Governors</i>	<i>428</i>	<i>12.2</i>
<i>Parents</i>	<i>319</i>	<i>9.1</i>
<i>Other</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>0.2</i>
Trainee teachers	270	7.7
<i>PGCE</i>	<i>219</i>	<i>6.2</i>
<i>PGCE fast-track</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>0.2</i>
<i>SCITT</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>0.9</i>
<i>Degree with QTS</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>0.3</i>
<i>Graduate Teacher Programme</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>0.1</i>
<i>Other</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0.0</i>
Total	3518	100.0

**18% (166) reported two or more roles so the total subgroup members exceeds the total returned*

4. The recruitment managers survey

The challenge to tackle the recruitment and retention crisis in the teaching profession is taken on by LEAs, to a large extent, through the work of recruitment managers. Their strategic cross-border work with other LEAs and collaborative work with schools provides this project with insightful perspectives with regard to issues of teacher status. As such, we have, through electronic mail, gained the views of this group of officers who have added further validity to much of the findings in other areas of the study.

We conducted an email survey of LEA recruitment managers in England during the autumn of 2003 and in cases where managers were not in post, officers with responsibility for teacher recruitment were asked to participate. Two of the questions referred to status directly:

1. *Can you suggest things that have happened within your LEA which are likely to have had an effect on the status of teachers?*

Participants were asked to identify up to three events which may have affected the status of teachers either positively or negatively.

2. *What, in your opinion, would be most needed to improve the status of teachers in your LEA?*

Of the 150 LEAs contacted by email, 64 responded providing a 43 per cent response rate. Their responses are discussed in Chapter 6 of this report.

In the next four chapters, we report the results of the public opinion survey, the media survey, the composite teacher and associated group survey and finally the survey of recruitment managers.

Chapter 3 Public perceptions of teaching and the status of the teaching profession

Introduction

Numerous surveys of public opinion on the image, trustworthiness and satisfaction with teachers have been conducted in the UK and elsewhere over at least the past half-century. Such surveys, concerned with status, provide indications of what Hoyle (2001) terms *occupational prestige*. In the past, these surveys have accorded teaching rather low prestige. Banks (1971:141-2), for example, cites Glass's (1954) survey of social mobility in Britain. This ranked elementary school teachers '*alongside the news reporter, the commercial traveller and the jobbing master builder, but below a non-conformist minister, and certainly below the traditional professions*' (Glass, 1954:34). Judge (1995:255) on the other hand, referred to the pre-national curriculum era as a time when teachers were seen as independent and professionally autonomous, when education was organised at local level and inspectors '*advised and warned but could not direct*'. He argues that subsequent events have had a negative impact on the image of teachers.

More recently however, teachers and teaching have fared better in public opinion polls concerned with factors that might be associated with status. In the months preceding the start of this project, relevant media coverage included, for example, BBC Radio 4's Today programme (2002), whose 'Professions vote' placed teaching the third most respected profession after doctors and nurses. Crace, writing in The Guardian newspaper, reported a poll conducted by the adult education agency, Learndirect (O'Hara, 2002), which asked 25-70 year old men and women their top ten 'dream' and 'nightmare' jobs. 'Teacher' was 7th on women's 'dream' list ⁴ after e.g. hotelier and working with animals, but just above nurse, and 8th on their 'nightmare' list after toilet cleaner and refuse collector. Teaching did not even appear in the men's top ten 'dream' jobs but was 5th in their nightmares after e.g. coal miner, office worker and toilet cleaner. A MORI poll of public opinion in 2001, found 64 per cent of the sample thought public services would be improved if there were improvements in pay and conditions for public sector employees. It referred to 'doctors, nurses and teachers' as 'among the most respected professions in Britain today' (MORI, 2002). Finally, a MORI Social Research Institute Education survey (MORI, 2001) found, for example, that 42 per cent of graduates described teaching as 'a job held in low regard' compared with 19 per cent of non-graduates, and suggested

⁴ After charity work, work with animals, artist, unemployed, hotelier and retailer

that *'The apparent day-to-day disadvantages of a teaching career greatly outweigh the personal and social advantages, as far as many graduates are concerned'*.

These and similar polls offer a confusing picture of teaching held in high regard by some and not by others. Further, Adams (2002) reported teachers themselves, all graduates and a majority of women, feeling that their profession has a poor public image. Perhaps these mixed views represent the effects of a 'reputation gap' (Gardiner, 1998), (see Chapter 1) between public perceptions of teachers in general, and their views about teachers they know personally. We constructed our public opinion survey against this background of varied opinions.

Survey and sample

Seven questions were inserted into an omnibus survey of public opinion being undertaken by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in the last two weeks of March 2003. As explained in Chapter 2, the survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews, and the achieved sample consisted of 1815 people aged 16 or over, each from a different private household in England, Scotland or Wales.

Is teaching an attractive career, and why?

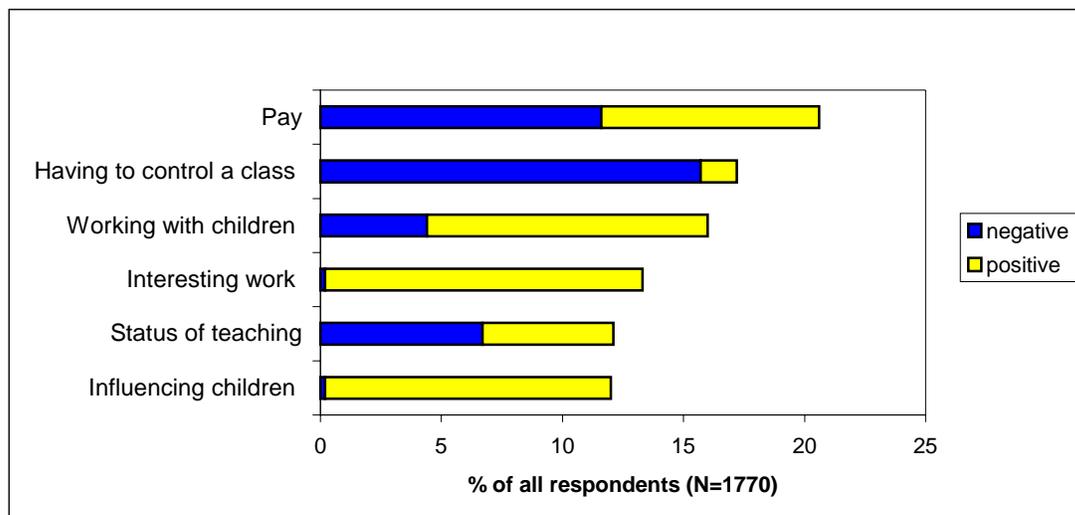
This question split the sample almost exactly in half with 50.2 per cent (889 people) agreeing or strongly agreeing that teaching is an attractive career and 49.8 per cent (882 people) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with this statement. A particularly interesting and important finding, however, was that being asked about primary teachers or secondary teachers made no difference at all to any of the following responses. In the past primary teaching has been seen as of lower status than secondary teaching (Banks, 1971; Hoyle, 2001), even by primary teachers, as discussed at length in the Plowden Report (1967, para 1114ff). Another interesting finding was that the 45 teachers who happened to be in our sample, were also evenly divided in their opinions, with more than half (25 teachers) saying teaching is an attractive career, 18 who disagreed, and 2 who did not know, or gave no opinion. The teachers' opinions did not differ significantly from the rest of the sample.

We asked people also why they found a career in teaching attractive or not. The reasons that were given, whether positive or negative, by at least 200 people are shown in Figure 3.1. This gives an idea of their relative salience, as well as the direction of the main attitude. The chart in Figure 3.1 shows that the **status of**

teaching was the fifth most frequently mentioned⁵, but as the graph shows, overall status did not influence opinion significantly in either direction. As we shall see below, however, status appeared to matter more to older people.

Next we shall consider separately the people who were positive about a career in teaching, and those who held a negative view some new reasons enter the lists.

Figure 3.1 Salience of reasons for seeing a teaching career as attractive or not



Source: *Teacher Status Project Public Opinion Survey 2003*

First the people who had a positive view of teaching as a career gave the reasons listed below (percentages in this list are of positive respondents: N = 881). It is interesting to note that holidays and career prospects now entered the list, pushing status into seventh place.

- interesting work (26%)

⁵ We acknowledge that its salience is very probably inflated by the question itself

- working with children (23%)
- influencing children (23%)
- pay (18%)
- holidays (15%)
- career prospects (12%)
- status of teaching (11%)

Whilst teaching as 'interesting work' was the single most common positive reason given, and one which increased in importance for older age groups, the involvement with children was the overwhelming reason for being positive about teaching, when *working with children* and *influencing children* are combined. The fourth most common positive reason was 'pay' but 'pay' was also the second most common negative reason. 'Amount of holiday' was fifth in the positive list and was mentioned by 129 people. Just one person, sarcastically perhaps, gave it as a negative reason.

The top six reasons given by the 889 people who saw teaching as an unattractive career were (percentages are of total negative respondents):

- having to control a class (32%)
- pay (23%)
- having a high workload (18%)
- status of teaching (14%)
- high level of responsibility (11%)
- lack of discipline or authority (10%)

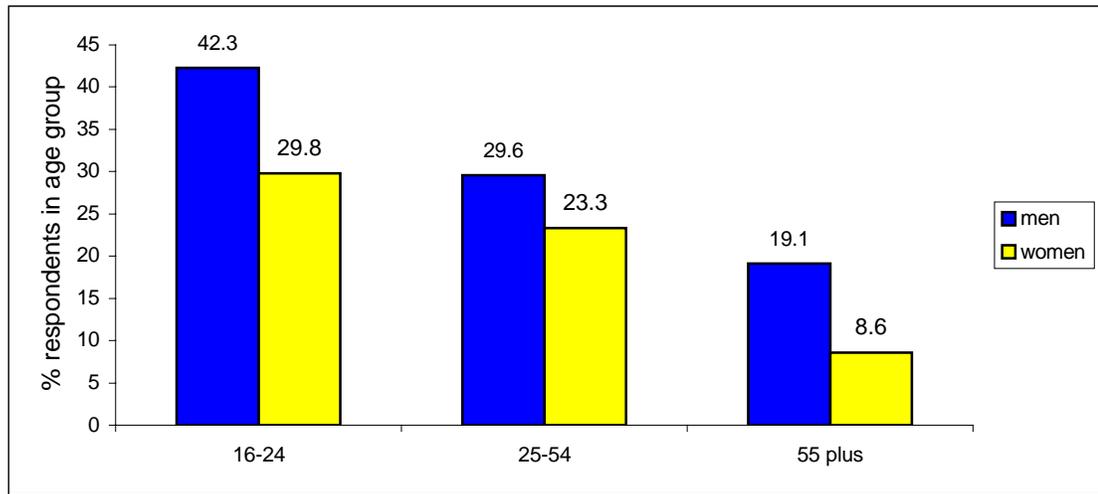
Again, being asked about primary or secondary teachers or headteachers made no difference whatsoever to whether respondents were positive or negative about teaching, or to the reasons they gave.

In our survey, slightly more men than women overall viewed teaching as an attractive career, but a greater difference appeared in the 65-plus age group, where 65 per cent of the men agreed that teaching is an attractive career, compared with only 49 per cent of the women.

Men's and women's reasons for liking or disliking teaching varied with their age group. Men aged 55 plus were significantly more likely than women in this age group to mention pay ($p < 0.05$) and the working environment ($p < 0.05$) as negative reasons. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 show how the reasons varied with gender

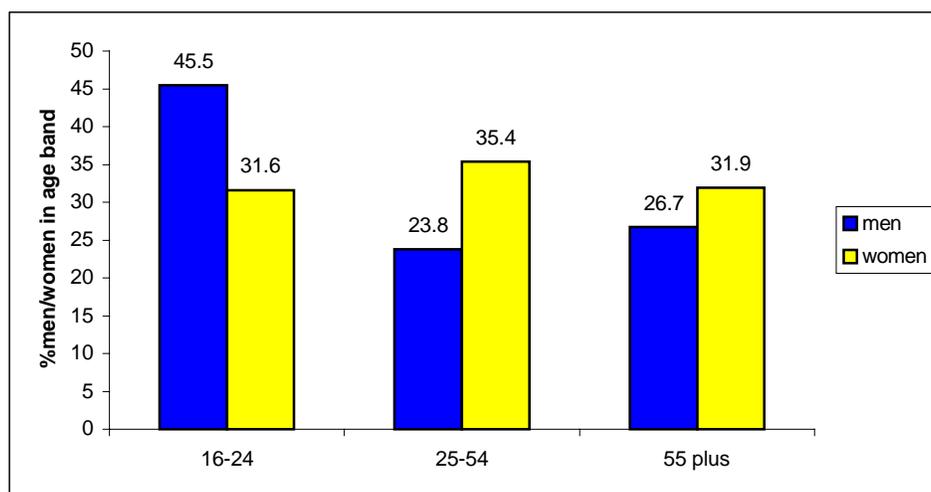
and age-group for 'pay' and 'having to control a class'. Pay was the most common reason given by men in the youngest and middle age ranges, but 'having to control a class' became more important than pay for men the oldest group.

Figure 3.2 Pay as a reason for seeing teaching as an unattractive career by gender and age group



Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

Figure 3.3 Having to control a class as a reason for seeing teaching as an unattractive career by gender and age group



Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

Other age and gender variations were found. In the youngest age-group (16-24) men were more likely than women to mention 'amount of holiday' as a positive aspect of a teaching career, but there were no gender differences in reasons for seeing teaching as unattractive. In the middle age-group, 25-54 year old men were more likely to see 'fringe benefits' such as pensions as a positive aspect, but women were more likely than men to give 'having to control a class' as a negative reason. In the oldest age-group, 55-plus, more men than women used career prospects as a positive reason and more men than women gave 'pay' and 'extent of independence' as negative reasons. Women, in this age group, however, were more likely than men to give 'working with children' as a reason for seeing teaching as attractive, but saw 'having to control a class' as an unattractive aspect of teaching.

Analysis of the data by various other characteristics of the respondents showed that attitudes to the attractiveness of teaching as a career were not affected by marital status, parenthood, number of children, personal income, nor indeed, highest educational qualification, or being a graduate.

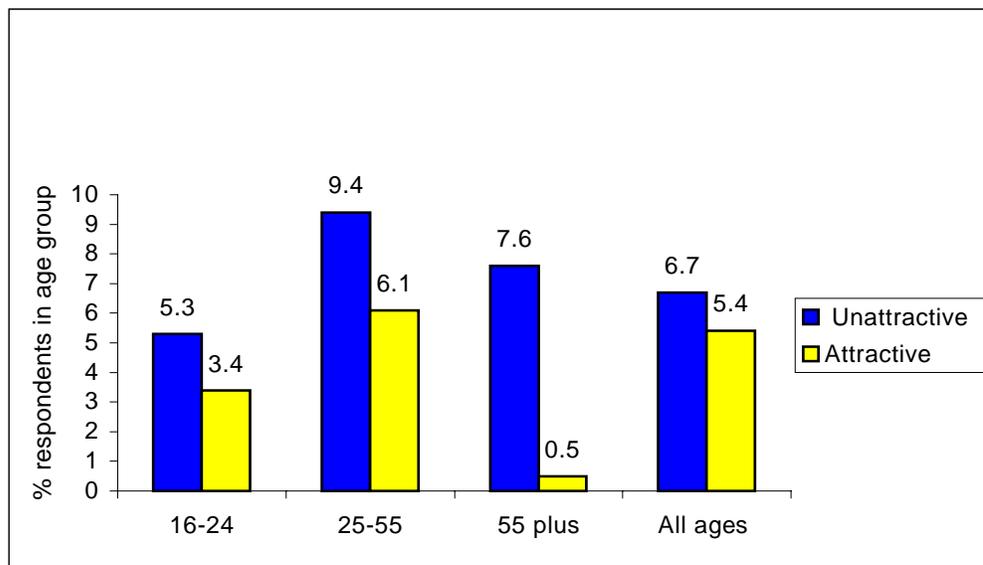
The influence of the status and image of teaching

We looked, particularly, at whether the status of teaching or its media image were given as reasons for positive or negative attitudes to teaching, but relatively few people mentioned either of these. Only 9 per cent of the under-25 year olds, and 12 per cent of 25-54 year olds mentioned status but it did not differentiate between those with positive and negative attitudes to teaching. Among the 12

per cent of over-55 year olds who did mention status, however, significantly more said it made teaching unattractive as a career as shown in Figure 3.4. In other words, the status of teaching appeared to make teaching less attractive to a small section of this older age-group.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the media image of teaching was mentioned by only 54 people (3%), but, as the graph shows, the majority (43) of these people associated it with a negative attitude to teaching as a career.

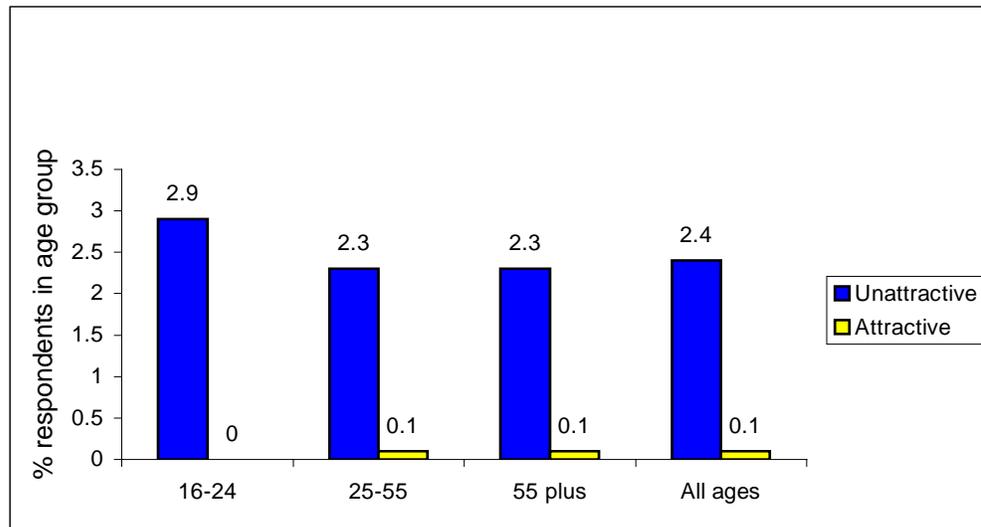
Figure 3.4 ‘The status of teaching’ as a reason for seeing teaching as an attractive or unattractive career by age group⁶.



Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

⁶ Figures 3.4 and 3.5 show the percentages of people who gave ‘status of teaching’ or ‘media image’ as a reason for seeing a teaching career as attractive or unattractive, within each age-band. Thus 5.3 percent of 16-24 year olds who saw teaching negatively gave its status as a reason.

Figure 3.5 The media image of teaching and teaching's attractiveness as a career



Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

The comparative status of teachers

The interviewees were shown a list of 12 occupations and were asked to say which was most similar in social status to either a primary/secondary teacher, and then to a primary/secondary headteacher. If requested, a definition of social status was given as, 'the respect and esteem in which a group is held in society'. The occupations, presented in alphabetical order were:

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

The occupations selected as most similar in social status to primary and secondary teachers are shown in Table 3.1. 'Social worker' was by far the most commonly selected occupation whether respondents had been asked about primary or secondary teaching. After 'social worker' and 'nurse', 'librarian' and 'police officer' were selected most often as most similar in status to both primary and secondary teachers, regardless of whether respondents viewed teaching positively or negatively. Men were more likely than women to liken the social status of primary teachers to that of say that nurses and librarians. 'Secondary teacher' was more often matched with 'police officer', than was 'primary teacher'. Occupations such as 'doctor', 'accountant', 'solicitor' and 'management consultant' were selected by about 3-5 per cent of the respondents, and the occupations of 'barrister', 'surgeon', 'vet' and 'web designer' were hardly used.

Table 3.1 Occupations most similar in status to teaching

Primary teacher		Occupation of similar status	Secondary teacher	
Men (%)	Women (%)		Men (%)	Women (%)
34	48	social worker	39	44
21	13	librarian	14	10
21	17	Nurse	11	10
7	5	police officer	10	9
6	9	don't know/no opinion	4	10
N = 367	N = 536	Total respondents	N = 454	N = 457

Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

Respondents could give more than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100

Women were more likely than men to match teachers with social workers, with 48 per cent of women matching primary teachers to social workers compared with 34 per cent of men, and 44 per cent of women matching secondary teachers to social workers compared with 39 per cent of men. Slightly more men than women compared primary teachers with nurses (men 21%, women 17%) and with librarians (men 21%, women 13%). Interestingly, respondents who were parents of dependent children were significantly more likely to compare secondary teachers with nurses rather than librarians, perhaps reflecting some trust in teachers as being responsible for the care of their children when children are in school.

There were some age-range differences among the selections. ‘Social worker’ was selected more often by younger than older respondents. In the 16-24 year old group, 47 per cent of respondents matched the status of social workers with primary teachers and 51 per cent with secondary teachers, whereas the respective percentages of respondents over 55 years old were 37 per cent and 40 per cent.

Although choice of other occupations were rare overall, significantly more people aged 16-24, and particularly young men, compared primary teachers with doctors, than did the older groups.

When these data on other occupations were broken down according to whether or not respondents view teaching as an attractive career, there was general agreement between the two groups on the relative status of teachers. The only difference was that respondents who viewed teaching as an unattractive career were significantly more likely to match primary teachers with librarians.

Reasons for judgement of teachers' social status

Respondents were asked to select three reasons from a list of 18 reasons why they had selected certain occupations as most similar to primary or secondary teacher in social status. Table 3.2 shows the most common reasons given for selecting a social worker.

Table 3.2 Reasons given for selecting a social worker as most similar in status to a teacher

Reason for choice of social worker	Primary Teacher (%)	Secondary Teacher (%)
Working with children/young people	71.2	70.7
Level of responsibility	30.9	31.5
Nature of work	29.0	33.9
Contribution to society	27.7	26.1
Level of public trust	28.8	22.7
Number of respondents	372	375

Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

Respondents could give more than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100

The interesting aspect of Table 3.2 is the very close match in rank order and percentage frequency for people who were asked about primary and secondary teachers. According to Hoyle (2001), primary teachers are usually regarded as of lower status. These findings, however, reinforce the point made at the beginning of the chapter, that being asked about primary or secondary teachers did not affect people's responses as to whether they found teaching an attractive career. It is worth noting also that only 12.4 per cent of the sample referred to the qualifications required. This was the 7th most common reason given, and suggests that qualifications may not be a salient aspect of the public image of teachers.

The social status of headteachers

Respondents were also asked to match primary or secondary headteachers with one of the occupations listed. We asked 876 people about primary headteachers, and the most common choices of comparable status were:

- management consultant (30%)
- social worker (14%)
- doctor (10%)
- accountant (10%).

894 people were asked about the social status of secondary headteachers and their most common choices of comparable status were:

- management consultants (35%)
- doctor (12%)
- solicitor (10%)
- accountant (9%)
- social worker (9%)

Slightly more women than men selected 'social worker', whereas men were more likely to select 'librarian' and 'nurse'. Amongst 16-24 year olds about one in two chose 'social worker' as most equivalent.

Table 3.3 shows the reasons given for suggesting that primary or secondary headteachers were most similar in social status to management consultants. As in the case of teachers, the same reasons were given in remarkably similar proportions regardless of whether respondents were asked about primary or secondary headteachers. The three most common reasons for this choice were:

- level of responsibility
- authority to make decisions at work
- qualifications required

These reasons were independent of the social and demographic characteristics of the respondents. It is interesting to note again the relatively low frequency of reference to qualifications required by those considering headteachers as similar in status to management consultants.

Table 3.3 Reasons for selecting management consultant as most similar in status to primary and secondary headteacher

Reason for choice of management consultant	Primary headteacher (%)	Secondary headteacher (%)
Level of responsibility	61.1	59.6
Authority to make decisions at work	52.5	45.7
Qualifications required	20.4	18.3
Nature of work	19.6	16.4
Public recognition and respect	15.7	15.8
Number of respondents	280	317

Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

Respondents could give more than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100

The most common reasons given by the 119 people who thought that primary headteachers were most similar to social workers, were:

- working with children/young people (61%)
- level of responsibility (42%)
- nature of work (25%)
- level of public trust (22%)
- public recognition and respect (20%).

It would seem that, after the nature of the work itself, responsibility and trust are commonly held views of primary headteachers. Only 8 per cent referred to the qualifications required.

When occupational status was given an independent rating score:

- men tended to give teaching higher status ratings than women
- people in Scotland gave primary teachers higher status ratings than respondents from other regions.

We found that people's attitude to teaching made no difference to their choice of occupations comparable in status to teachers or headteachers, except in one case. Those who selected 'librarian' as most similar in status to primary teacher were more likely to have negative views about teaching as a career.

Perceptions of the activity of teaching

We asked respondents to tell us what came to mind when they thought about the activity of teaching. This was a completely open-ended question. 1770 people responded to this item and the three most common responses were:

- educating (28.5%)
- responsibility for children (21.2%)
- controlling a class (20.5%).

These features were suggested by over 20 per cent of all respondents and did not vary with the respondents' overall attitudes to teaching. After these responses, however:

- people with positive attitudes to teaching as a career, were more likely to focus on educational aspects such as preparing lessons, coaching and guiding or their own experiences of school
- people with negative attitudes referred more to aspects such as dealing with difficult behaviour, stress and workload.

Men and women tended to see teaching in similar ways but perceptions of teaching varied significantly with age.

- Respondents under 25 years old described teaching as 'educational', concerned with inspiring children and preparing them for their future careers but also as 'not well paid'.
- 25-54 year olds were more likely to focus on responsibility for children.
- Respondents aged 55 and older focused more often on controlling a class, and dealing with difficult behaviour rather than aspects such as preparing lessons.

Parents of school-age dependent children appeared to have different perceptions of the activity of teaching from non-parents, as shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Comparison of parents' and non-parents' views of the activity of teaching

Activity of teaching	Non-parents	Parents of dependent school-age children
	(%)	(%)
Controlling a class	22.0	17.1
Responsibility for children	18.9	24.6
Preparing children for exams	1.9	3.7
Preparing children for future careers	6.0	10.4
Not well paid	4.0	6.6
Working with children	1.0	2.4
Number of respondents	1161	655

Source: Teacher Status Project - Public Opinion Survey 2003

All differences significant at least $p < 0.05$ (Chi-square)

Non-parents focused more often than parents on controlling a class, although 17 per cent of parents also had this view. Parents, on the other hand, focussed more than non-parents on teachers' responsibility for children, and their role in preparing children for their future career.

Finally, there were some regional variations in perceptions of the activity of teaching in that respondents living in Scotland referred more often to 'educating' 'dealing with difficult behaviour' and 'preparing lessons' than people living in the English regions or in Wales.

Summary

This survey of public opinion on the status of teachers and the teaching profession shows that people, in March 2003, were evenly divided when asked about the attractiveness of the career. Men were slightly more likely to be positive and men over 65 years old were significantly more likely to be positive than women over 65 years old.

People who were positive about teaching were most likely to say 'doing interesting work' and 'working with children' as reasons for their attitudes, whereas those with negative attitudes to teaching were more likely to mention 'having to control a class' and 'pay' as their reasons.

The status of teaching appeared in the top six most common reasons given by those with negative and those with positive attitudes to teaching, but it was seen as a negative reason by people aged over 55.

The findings also suggested that primary teachers were regarded as of equivalent status to secondary teachers in the public eye, and this was reinforced by the reasons respondents gave for their choice of occupation of comparable status.

The public's most common perceptions of the activity of teaching consisted, not surprisingly, of 'educating', 'responsibility for children' and 'controlling a class'. Significantly more under 25s, perceived teachers' work in terms of 'educating' and 'preparing lessons', whereas 'controlling a class' came to mind for significantly more people over 55 years old.

Chapter 4 Media and public images of teachers and the teaching profession

The media strand of the Teacher Status Project examined the portrayal and definitions of teachers and education in the mass media, with a view to establishing the role played by the media in the creation of public definitions and understanding of teachers and the teaching profession. Focusing on analysis of media coverage and media professionals, the media study aims to show: the dominant images/definitions of the teaching profession portrayed in the media and changes in such definitions during the last decade; the values, characteristics, status, challenges and rewards associated with teaching and emphasised in media reporting; who the key organisations, individuals and public political figures contributing to the public definition of the teaching profession are; and the roles and practices of journalists and other media professionals in the creation and communication of public definitions of teachers.

The media strand comprised the following main areas of research.

- Two 'rolling week' surveys of national and Regional newspaper coverage and of broadcast news coverage of teachers, teaching and education-related issues. Each of these lasts for a six month period, as explained in Chapter 1, to ensure that the results are not skewed by any particular high-profile or controversial issues which may receive considerable, but short-term, coverage. The first 'rolling week survey' took place from mid-March to mid-September 2003, and the second was carried out in the same period in 2005. Comparison of the two surveys across a two year interval will indicate whether, and if so how, media images and portrayal of teachers and education-issues have changed over time.
- A retrospective analysis of national newspaper coverage during the preceding decade is being carried out to map and understand the very significant changes that have occurred in the public/media image of teachers and the teaching profession over the period from the early 1990s till the present.
- Interviews with leading education correspondents and media professionals to examine the production of teacher- and education-related news. The aim of this activity is to find out how media images of teachers and education come about, and particularly, to establish how such images are shaped and influenced by the views and professional practices of

journalists and other media professionals involved in the production of 'education news'.

This report focuses on the results of the first 'rolling week' survey (March to September 2003) of national and Regional newspapers. The first phase media sampling period coincided with the larger study's analysis of teachers and associated groups, and began in the same month as the public opinion survey.

National and Regional Newspaper Coverage: the 2003 sample

The first phase sample of newspaper coverage comprised all coverage of teachers and education in 17 national daily and Sunday newspapers and 5 Regional newspapers, sampled as 24 sampling days selected on a 'rolling week' basis from 14 March 2003 to 15 September 2003 (Table 4.1).

All newspaper articles were sampled from the electronic full-text database Lexis/Nexis. Articles were selected for the sample if they included one or more of the following terms in either the headline or the first paragraph of the article.

- Words with the word-stem 'teach' (e.g. teaching, teacher, teachers, etc.).
- Words with the word-stem 'educat' (e.g. educate, education, educational, etc.).

This sampling definition produced a total of 1356 newspaper articles, of which 865 articles (63.8%, Table 4.2) were found to be actually about or relevant to 'education and teachers'. Of these, 40 per cent were specifically about teachers and 60 per cent were about education more generally. The fact that only 63.8 per cent of the total articles sampled were directly about teachers or education confirms the inclusiveness of the sampling strategy; it is a good indication that the search-keywords used were sufficiently broad to ensure that no 'relevant' articles would have slipped through the sampling net or been missed. The 36.2 per cent non-relevant articles were articles where the search-keywords appeared only in a passing context or were used metaphorically in a non-teacher/education context (e.g. 'teach a lesson' in a non-educational context, and 'convent-educated' or 'university-educated' when profiling an individual).

Of the 865 articles relevant to education and teachers, 47.2 per cent came from the Quality⁷ newspapers, 29.1 per cent from the Popular newspapers and 23.7 per cent from the Regional newspapers (Table 4.2). The Popular newspapers differed from the two other groups in that they placed a stronger emphasis on ‘teacher-relevant’ coverage. Approximately two-thirds (Table 4.3) of the relevant coverage in the Quality and Regional papers was about education generally, with approximately one-third being specifically about teachers. By contrast, just over half of the Popular papers’ coverage was about teachers and just under half about education more generally.

⁷ The national daily and Sunday newspapers have traditionally been categorized as ‘Broadsheets’ and ‘Tabloids’ or as ‘Quality’ and ‘Popular’ papers. In this report, the labels ‘Quality’ and ‘Popular’ are used purely as a conventional descriptive shorthand, synonymous with the traditional Broadsheet/Tabloid categorization, and no evaluation of quality is implied or intended.

Table 4.1: Newspaper titles by type

Newspaper type	Newspaper title	Number of articles
Quality		
Nat. Daily	The Guardian	238
Nat. Sunday	The Observer	27
Nat. Daily	The Times	173
Nat. Sunday	The Sunday Times	58
Nat. Daily	The Independent	94
Nat. Sunday	The Independent on Sunday	18
Nat. Daily	The Daily Telegraph	83
Nat. Sunday	The Sunday Telegraph	14
Nat. Daily	The Financial Times	26
Popular		
Nat. Daily	The Sun	73
Nat. Sunday	The News of the World	19
Nat. Daily	The Mirror	73
Nat. Sunday	The Sunday Mirror	6
Nat. Daily	The Express	71
Nat. Sunday	The Sunday Express	11
Nat. Daily	The Daily Mail	70
Nat. Sunday	The Mail on Sunday	14
Regional⁸		
Reg. West Midlands*	The Birmingham Evening Mail	84
Reg. East Midlands*	The Leicester Mercury	73
Reg. North East*	The Newcastle Evening Chronicle	58
Reg. London*	The London Evening Standard	49
Reg. Yorkshire & Humber*	The Yorkshire Evening Post	24
Total		1356

* Standard Government Office (GO) Regions, in use since 1994

Table 4.2: Teacher/education relevance by newspaper type

	Teacher/education relevant		Teacher/education not relevant		Total	
	Row %	Col %	Row %	Col %	Count	Col %
Quality papers	55.8%	47.2%	44.2%	65.8%	731	53.9%
Popular papers	74.8%	29.1%	25.2%	17.3%	337	24.9%
Regional papers	71.2%	23.7%	28.8%	16.9%	288	21.2%
Total	63.8%	100.0%	36.2%	100.0%	1356	100.0%

Source: Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003

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

Table 4.3: Teacher or education relevance by newspaper type

	Teacher-relevant	Education-relevant	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Count	Row %
Quality papers	35.8%	64.2%	408	100.0%
Popular Papers	52.4%	47.6%	252	100.0%
Regional Papers	32.2%	67.8%	205	100.0%
Total	39.8%	60.2%	865	100.0%

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003*

Types of Newspaper Articles

The analysis sought to establish the prominence of teacher/education coverage within each of the three groups of newspaper, as well as to establish the particular article types or formats predominantly used for such coverage. Three key findings emerge from this analysis: 1) teacher/education issues are a prominent news issue, but 2) very rarely front-page news, and 3) teacher/education issues are a matter of considerable public interest or concern (this latter conclusion is based on the prominence of Letters to the Editor - especially in the Quality newspapers - and of Comment/Review articles, see table 4.4). Overall, teachers and education made the front pages only nine times (1%) during the sample period, and only in the Quality newspapers (news coverage during much of the sampling period was dominated by the Iraq war and the Hutton Inquiry). Despite the relative absence of teacher/education stories as front page news, the finding that 59.1 per cent of the articles on teachers or education appeared as 'news reports' is nevertheless a clear indication of the prominence of teacher/education issues on the news agenda.

Table 4.4: Article type by newspaper type

	Quality papers	Popular papers	Regional papers	Total	
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Count	Col %
News report	39.7	76.2	76.6	511	59.1
Feature / profile	19.4	4.4	10.2	111	12.8
Comment / review	16.7	7.1	6.3	99	11.4
Letter to the editor	18.1	6.0	4.4	98	11.3
Survey / investigation	2.7	2.8	2.4	23	2.7
Editorial / leader	.7	2.8	0	10	1.2
Front page news	2.2	0	0	9	1.0
Other	.5	.8	0	4	.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	865	100.0

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003*

The 'news report' format was particularly pronounced in both Popular and Regional newspapers, where this particular format accounted for over three quarters of the coverage of teachers and education. Teacher/education issues were the subject of editorial or leader comment in only 1.2 per cent of articles overall (0.7% in the Quality newspapers and 2.8% of Popular newspaper articles).

Feature/Profile articles, Comment and Review articles, and Letters to the Editor were relatively prominent at between 11 and 13 per cent of articles overall. These three formats were much more prominent in the Quality papers than in the two other categories of newspaper, although Feature/Profile articles also figured relatively prominently in the Regional papers. It is especially noteworthy that Letters to the Editor were particularly prominent in the Quality papers, and least prominent in the Regional newspapers. It would have been reasonable to expect Letters to the Editor to be prominent in the Regional papers, which in many other respects seem to cultivate a much closer 'dialogue' with their readers than the big national newspapers.

National/Regional focus

Teacher/education issues are by their very nature relevant to all geographical regions of the nation; yet, the national media are heavily concentrated in the nation's capital. How far then is media coverage 'nation-wide' or, alternatively, predominantly focused on London or particular regions? Where a particular geographical location or focus was mentioned in the newspapers, this was coded and analysed in terms of the standard Government Office Regions (GOR), which have been in use since 1994. As expected, national newspapers have a predominantly 'UK national' focus (Table 4.6), while Regional newspapers (except the *London Evening Standard*) focus predominantly on their particular geographical region, but with some reference also to 'UK national' issues (Table 4.5). While four of the Regional papers focus on their particular region in between 75 per cent (*Yorkshire Evening Post*) and 89.4 per cent (*Newcastle Evening Chronicle*) of their articles, the *London Evening Standard* stands out with 48.5 per cent of articles taking a UK-national focus and 27.3 per cent an own-region (London) focus. In terms of the geographical focus of coverage, the *London Evening Standard* is thus considerably more akin to the national newspapers than to other Regional newspapers.

The main finding of interest from the 'geographical focus' analysis is not, however, in the comparison between national and Regional newspapers, but

rather in the region-imbalances within the national newspapers as a whole and in the pronounced differences between Quality and Popular national newspapers (see table 4.6). When not adopting a general 'UK-national' perspective (41.1 per cent of articles), the national newspapers focus either on Scotland (national and Regional) (10%) or on the South East (8.8%) and London (7.1%). With a further 3.2 per cent of articles focusing on the South West, the south of England is the geographic focus of close to a fifth (19%) of all coverage. The North West and the West Midlands are each the geographical focus in 2 per cent of articles. Wales, Northern Ireland and the remaining regions of England are each the focus in less than 2 per cent of articles. There is particularly little coverage focusing on the North East, the East Midlands and Northern Ireland.

Table 4.5: Geographical focus by Regional papers

Government Office Regions	Birmingham Evening Mail	Leicester Mercury	Newcastle Evening Chronicle	London Evening Standard	Yorkshire Evening Post	Total
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
UK national	7.1	4.1	8.5	48.5	15.0	14.1
The West Midlands	80.4	0	0	0	0	22.0
The North East	0	0	89.4	0	0	20.5
The East Midlands	0	81.6	0	0	0	19.5
Yorkshire & Humber	0	2.0	0	0	75.0	7.8
London	0	0	0	27.3	0	4.4
The South East	0	0	0	6.1	0	1.0
The South West	0	0	0	3.0	0	.5
Other countries (non UK)	1.8	0	0	3.0	0	1.0
More than one place mentioned	7.1	10.2	2.1	6.1	5.0	6.3
Not clear from article	3.6	2.0	0	6.1	5.0	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003

Table 4.6: Geographical focus by Quality and Popular papers

Government Office Regions	Quality papers	Popular papers	Total
	Col %	Col %	Col %
UK national	48.8	28.6	41.1
Scotland	3.4	20.6	10.0
The South East	5.4	14.3	8.8
London	8.6	4.8	7.1
The South West	1.7	5.6	3.2
The North West	2.2	1.6	2.0
The West Midlands	2.5	1.2	2.0
Yorkshire & Humber	1.7	1.2	1.5
East of England	2.0	.8	1.5
Wales	0.0	2.8	1.1
The North East	1.2	.4	.9
The East Midlands	.7	1.2	.9
Northern Ireland	.5	.8	.6
Other countries (non-UK)	7.6	11.1	8.9
More than one place Mentioned	7.4	1.6	5.2
Not clear from article	6.4	3.6	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003*

There are some surprising differences between Quality and Popular newspapers: over a fifth (20.6%) of articles in the Popular newspapers focus on Scotland - compared with only 3.4 per cent of Quality newspaper coverage - and another quarter of articles on the south of England (South East, South West and London), compared with 15.7 per cent of Quality newspaper articles focusing on the south of England. The Popular papers, also interestingly, make relatively frequent reference to countries outside the UK (11.1% of articles, compared with 7.6% of articles in the Quality papers).

In general then, the Quality papers tend to deal with teacher and education issues from a 'UK-nation'-wide perspective, and when focusing on other regions, they do so more even-handedly (with the possible exception of London, which is the focus in just under a tenth of Quality newspaper articles) than the Popular papers. The Popular papers are more likely to have a region-specific focus, although this focus tends to be either Scotland or the south of England, with comparatively little focus on what lies between.

Themes/Issues

One of the key objectives of the analysis is to answer the questions:

- What issues or topics do the media predominantly focus on in their coverage of teachers and education?
- How does the relative distribution of these issues change over the lifetime of the project, and over longer periods of time (as demonstrated through a ten-year retrospective analysis of press coverage of teachers and education issues)?

Table 4.7 gives a preliminary and highly condensed picture of the relative distribution of thematic emphases across the three main types of newspaper analysed. The present analysis then gives a first insight into the public media-agenda on teachers and education, into how the newspapers represent the public and political agenda on education. The two most prominent concerns (Table 4.7) are Teachers' Employment/Pay Issues and Government Targets/New Schemes for Schools. These two issues together are present in a third of all coverage. The third most prominent thematic focus, surprisingly, is Teachers in Civil or Criminal Cases (including cases concerning inappropriate sexual relationships between teachers and pupils, sexual and other abuse, financial misconduct, etc). The prominence of this theme stems largely from its unique prominence in the Popular papers, where 29 per cent of the coverage revolves around teachers in legal cases. The preoccupation, in the Popular papers, with this particular issue-domain or aspect of education is, as implied by the label 'Popular papers', closely related to the core mass-market news-values of 'controversy', 'human interest' and 'crime'. In this context, it is perhaps only surprising that the Regional newspapers – which could reasonably be expected to pursue a similar broad Popular appeal as the national tabloid papers – seem much more akin to the Quality newspapers in their degree of coverage of Teachers in Civil or Criminal Cases.

The 'status of teachers' is interestingly rarely commented on in a vocabulary that includes the word 'status' itself. Although the word 'status' appeared 82 times in the corpus of newspaper articles (62 times in the Quality papers, 12 times in the Popular papers and 8 times in the Regional papers), only once was it used to refer directly to the desire for recognition and 'higher status' for teachers.

Table 4.7: Thematic focus by newspaper type

Theme	Quality papers	Popular papers	Regional papers	Total
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Teachers' employment & pay issues	18.5	13.1	17.2	16.6
Govt. targets & new schemes for schools	17.5	12.7	18.6	16.4
Teachers in civil & criminal cases	7.6	29.0	8.3	14.0
Funding shortages in schools and higher education	10.3	9.1	9.8	9.9
Examinations reform	8.4	7.5	12.3	9.0
Teaching of certain subjects in schools	11.3	5.6	3.4	7.8
Issues facing pupils after leaving school	9.4	5.6	6.9	7.7
Bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers	4.7	8.3	5.9	6.0
Teaching awards/tributes to teachers	6.2	2.0	9.8	5.8
Social issues & their impact on schools	4.9	3.2	10.3	5.7
Other issues specifically involving students	3.7	6.0	6.4	5.0
State versus private education	5.9	3.2	2.0	4.2
Profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions	5.9	2.0	2.5	3.9
Media coverage & portrayals of schools & teachers	4.7	4.0	2.5	3.9
Teachers' lives outside school	.7	8.7	2.5	3.5
Other issues specifically involving parents	2.0	1.2	2.9	2.0
Govt. statements on teachers' and ministers' views on education	2.7	1.6	0	1.7
Other issues	10.8	6.0	14.7	10.3

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003*

Column percentages do not add up to a 100, as up to three separate themes could be coded for each article.

The percentage figures denote the percentage of articles in each newspaper category making reference to a particular theme.

Class strugglers: New thinking needed on failing schools

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

The most common uses of the word status were in the standard expression 'status quo' and in expressions referring to the categorisations of schools or other educational institutions ('Beacon status', 'charity/charitable status', 'university status', 'star status'); other, less common, expressions included 'qualified teacher status', 'training status', 'equal status' and 'international status'.

While the word 'status' is thus rarely used to refer to the 'status of teachers', many of the themes listed here do, however, have a direct or indirect bearing on

the media and public definition of teachers' status. This is particularly so in the case of the themes 'teachers' employment and pay issues' (which may be generally *supportive* of teacher status issues, if only in terms of highlighting for political and public debate the plight of teachers), 'teachers in civil or criminal cases' (which would tend to have a distinctly negative effect on the public image – and status – of teachers, by drawing attention in particular to misconduct, to 'bad apples', to unprofessional conduct or criminal individuals). By contrast, the theme 'teaching awards/tributes to teachers', which occurs in close to 6 per cent of all coverage, makes a distinctly positive contribution to the public image of teachers' status and the teaching profession, and is possibly quite unique – at least in terms of sheer relative prominence – to media coverage of this particular profession compared to media coverage of other professions, such as the police, social workers, nurses or doctors.

A further, but much more indirect, indication of how various thematic categories may have a bearing on the public image of teacher status stems partly from the theme 'teachers' lives outside school' and partly from the finding that the professional identifier – teacher – is frequently used in news stories which are not specifically about either teaching or education. In both cases, the fact that the person described in the news story happens to be a former or current teacher, may be of little significance to the key issue or focus of the story; yet, the identification of the person as a *teacher* is clearly used as a convenient news-shorthand for conveying a particular connotation or identity. As indicated previously, the 'status of teachers' is rarely referred to in media coverage through the direct or explicit use of the word *status*, but it is clear from the identifier-labelling of people as teachers in news stories, which are not about teaching or education, that being a teacher is seen as an important characterisation, and one which means something to the public and is easily recognised. The qualitative analysis will pursue this line of investigation further to try and establish, *inter alia*, whether the values and status associated with the label *teacher* are relatively uniform, variable across types of media, and/or changing over the time-span covered by this research.

A sense of serious funding and resources problems in the education sector is conveyed through the prominence of both 'teachers' employment and pay issues' and, more directly, through 'funding shortages in schools and higher education', which appears in 9.9 per cent of newspapers coverage overall, and is further distinctive by being of similar prominence across the three different categories of newspaper. 'Examinations reform' is the fifth most prominent thematic focus,

and particularly prominent in the Regional papers, where it comes in third place after 'employment/pay issues' and 'government targets'.

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

There are very considerable variations in thematic emphasis across the Regional newspapers (Table 4.8), reflecting, in some cases, genuine regional differences in the kinds of issues, challenges and problems facing schools and teachers in a particular region, but reflecting also possible differences in editorial policy/priorities and journalistic/news-gathering practices. A fuller picture of the extent to which the latter impinges on thematic emphases is being gained from a separate part of the current research, interviews with journalists and media professionals.

The *London Evening Standard* and the *Yorkshire Evening Post* again (as also noted in relation to the geographical focus above) stand out as giving particular relative emphasis to some of the same themes as the national newspapers: 'government targets & new schemes for schools', 'teachers' employment and pay issues', and 'examinations reform'. The *Yorkshire Evening Post*, however, differs considerably from the national picture on three other themes: thus, there is no coverage at all in this newspaper of 'teaching awards/tributes to teachers', but a high prominence (compared with other Regional newspapers) given to the themes 'bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers' (15%) and 'issues specifically involving parents' (15%).

Table 4.8: Thematic focus by Regional newspapers

	Evening Standard	Birmingham Evening Mail	Yorkshire Evening Post	Newcastle Evening Chronicle	Leicester Mercury	Total
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Government targets & new schemes for schools	34.4	10.7	20.0	21.3	14.3	18.6
Teachers' employment & pay issues	34.4	16.1	30.0	8.5	10.2	17.2
Examinations reform	12.5	17.9	30.0	2.1	8.2	12.3
Social issues & their impact on schools	0	21.4	5.0	10.6	6.1	10.3
Funding shortages in schools and higher education	6.3	7.1	5.0	12.8	14.3	9.8
Teaching awards/tributes to teachers	12.5	16.1	0	4.3	10.2	9.8
Teachers in civil & criminal cases	15.6	7.1	5.0	0	14.3	8.3
Issues facing pupils after leaving school	6.3	5.4	5.0	12.8	4.1	6.9
Other issues specifically involving students	0	1.8	5.0	10.6	12.2	6.4
Bullying & disruption against pupils & teachers	9.4	7.1	15.0	4.3	0	5.9
Teaching of certain subjects in schools	6.3	0	5.0	0	8.2	3.4
Other issues specifically involving parents	0	3.6	15.0	0	2.0	2.9
Profiles of unusual or outstanding educational institutions	0	0	5.0	4.3	4.1	2.5
Teachers' lives outside School	0	1.8	5.0	6.4	0	2.5
Media coverage & portrayals of schools & teachers	6.3	3.6	0	0	2.0	2.5
State versus private education	3.1	1.8	0	2.1	2.0	2.0
Other issues	12.5	8.9	0	23.4	20.4	14.7

Source: Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003
Column percentages do not add up to a 100 as up to three separate themes could be coded for each article. The percentage figures denote the percentage of articles in each newspaper category making reference to a particular theme.

Like the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* gives comparatively little coverage to 'teaching awards/tributes to teachers' (4.3%), a theme which enjoys a particularly high prominence in the *Birmingham Evening Mail* (16.1%) and a lesser, but still comparatively high, prominence in the *London Evening Standard* (12.5%) and the *Leicester Mercury* (10.2%). The theme 'funding shortages in schools and higher education' is particularly prominent in the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* (12.8%) and the *Leicester Mercury* (14.3%), while the *Birmingham Evening Mail* stands out from the other Regional newspapers in its emphasis on the theme 'social issues & their impact on schools'.

Actors in teacher/education coverage

The analysis of 'actors' (people/institutions/organisations) is important for understanding who is identified by the media as the key people or agencies – stakeholders – in the education discourse, and, perhaps more importantly, to understand who, in the public forum of the mass media, define what teaching and education issues are about, and who is responsible for dealing with and resolving the education issues of the day. This analysis first examines the range of actors referenced in the newspapers' education coverage, and then proceeds to look specifically at those actors, who – by being quoted directly by the newspapers – become the key voices in the education debate, and the key claim-makers or definers of this debate.

The selected news coverage of teacher and education issues includes reference to a very diverse range of 'actors'. Just under three quarters of this diverse range could be grouped as members of particular identifiable major categories (teachers, pupils, government, parents, etc.), while just over a quarter were too diverse, and individually too infrequent, to justify further major categories, and were therefore grouped under a single 'other' category.

The 'other' category (27.4% overall, Table 4.9) is particularly pronounced in the Popular and the Regional newspapers (at 31.7% and 37.6% respectively, compared with 19.6% in the Quality papers). This should be seen partly in relation to the different thematic emphases, which characterise the Popular press in particular and to a lesser extent the Regional newspapers, and partly in relation to the defining stylistic and format differences between these two types of newspaper and the national Quality newspapers. Thus, Popular and Regional newspapers put a greater emphasis on 'engaging' their readership through the use for example of 'vox pop' quotes, and it is these – amongst other factors – that

contribute to the much higher percentage of ‘other’ factors compared with the Quality papers.

Table 4.9: Actors quoted or referred to by newspaper type

	Quality papers Col %	Popular papers Col %	Regional papers Col %	Total Col %
Teachers	43.8	73.0	42.0	51.8
Government	56.5	40.1	24.4	44.1
Pupils/students	30.1	31.0	53.2	35.8
Headteachers	12.5	14.3	17.6	14.2
Parents	12.7	15.1	14.6	13.9
Higher education sources	18.3	8.7	9.8	13.5
Teacher trade unions	16.1	11.1	10.7	13.4
Non-departmental public bodies	11.0	6.0	9.8	9.2
Police/law enforcement & legal Profession	3.9	13.1	7.3	7.4
Campaign/pressure groups	7.3	9.1	3.9	7.0
Local Education Authorities	4.2	2.8	16.6	6.7
Education experts	9.8	5.2	1.5	6.5
Opposition	8.8	6.0	.5	6.0
Local government	1.5	2.0	14.6	4.7
Published media reports	6.8	2.4	2.0	4.4
Other sources	19.6	31.7	37.6	27.4

Source: Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003

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

The percentage figures denote the percentage of articles in each newspaper category making reference to a particular type of actor.

The key protagonists (as individuals or as representatives of institutions, agencies, organisations or groups of various sorts) in the newspapers’ coverage of teacher and education issues are: teachers and headteachers (who are quoted or mentioned in 51.8 per cent and 14.2 per cent of the coverage, Table 4.9), the government (quoted or referred to in 44.1% of the coverage), pupils/students and their parents (35.8% and 13.9% of the coverage), higher education sources (13.5%) and teacher trade unions (13.4%). Less prominent actors (quoted or referred to) include: QUANGOs, LEAs and campaign/pressure groups (at 9.2%, 7% and 6.7% respectively), police and members of the legal profession (7.4%), education experts (6.5%) and perhaps most surprisingly, members of the political opposition parties, who are quoted or referred to in only 6 per cent of the newspaper articles. Given the relatively ‘politicised’ nature of public debate about teachers and education, the most surprising finding from this analysis is

perhaps the extent to which the debate is dominated by the government (quoted or referred to in 44.1 per cent of the articles overall) with a comparatively very low referencing of the political opposition (6% of articles overall).

The Regional papers – while in general very similar to the national papers in terms of the type and rank order of actors quoted or referred to – differ considerably in their heavy emphasis on pupils/students (single largest actor group, quoted in 53.2 per cent of articles, in the Regional papers), and, more expectedly, in their higher emphasis on LEAs and on local government. LEAs appear in 16.6 per cent of Regional newspaper articles, compared with only 4.2 per cent and 2.8 per cent of national Quality and Regional newspaper articles. Local government is quoted or referred to in 14.6 per cent of Regional newspaper articles, compared with only 1.5 per cent and 2 per cent of articles in Quality and Popular newspapers. While less pronounced, it is also worth noting that Regional papers rely more heavily than their national counterparts on headteachers. The explanation for this difference will be explored further through the interviews with journalists, which form a separate section of the media analysis.

The Quality newspapers stand out from the other two groups with a particularly high emphasis on government sources, who constitute the single largest actor group in these newspapers and are quoted or referred to in over half (56.5%) of all articles. The Quality papers also place considerably more emphasis, than Popular and Regional newspapers, on higher education sources (18.3% of articles, compared with 8.7% and 9.8%), education experts (9.8% compared with 5.2 and 1.5%) and published media reports (6.8% compared with 2.4% and 2.0%).

The single most prominent actor group in the Popular newspapers is teachers, quoted or referred to in nearly three quarters (73%) of all Popular paper articles. It is the prominence of teachers in the Popular papers which places this actor group top overall, as neither Quality or Regional newspapers have this group in top position. The only other remarkable difference in the Popular newspapers, when compared with Quality and Regional papers, is the particular emphasis on police and legal sources (13.1% of articles, compared with 3.9% and 7.3% in the Quality and Regional papers). This corresponds with the Popular papers' thematic emphasis on 'teachers in civil/criminal cases', identified under the previous analysis of thematic focus.

Key claims-makers/definers

In the national newspapers, the education debate is very predominantly defined by the government (quoted directly in nearly a fifth, 19.4%, of all articles), teachers (17.9%) and teacher trade unions (11.6%). campaign/pressure groups, higher education sources, headteachers and education experts are also quoted directly relatively frequently, appearing in between 7-10 per cent of articles. The political opposition parties are quoted directly in only 6.3 per cent of national newspaper articles and local government and LEAs hardly at all.

Table 4.10: Actors quoted directly by newspaper type

	Quality papers	Popular papers	National papers	Regional papers
	Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %
Government	19.8	18.9	19.4	4.9
Teachers	14.1	23.6	17.9	18.4
Teacher trade unions	12.5	10.2	11.6	6.8
Campaign/pressure groups	8.9	10.2	9.4	3.9
Higher education sources	10.9	6.3	9.1	7.8
Headteachers	10.4	5.5	8.5	24.3
Education experts	8.9	5.5	7.5	1.0
Opposition	6.8	5.5	6.3	0
Parents	5.7	6.3	6.0	7.8
Quangos	5.2	5.5	5.3	5.8
Police/law enforcement & legal profession	2.6	6.3	4.1	2.9
Pupils/students	4.2	3.1	3.8	10.7
Published media reports	1.6	3.1	2.2	0
Local government	1.6	1.6	1.6	7.8
Local Education Authorities	1.0	.8	.9	5.8
Other sources	6.3	14.2	9.4	12.6

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Media Survey 2003*

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

The percentage figures denote the percentage of articles in each newspaper category making reference to a particular type of actor.

The main differences between Quality and Popular papers (Table 4.10) concern their quoting of teachers and headteachers, where the Popular papers are more likely to quote teachers (who are the single most prominently directly quoted source in the Populars), while the Quality papers are almost twice as likely as the Popular papers to quote headteachers (10.4% of Quality newspaper articles compared with 5.5% in the Popular newspapers). The Quality papers are more likely than the Populars to quote higher education sources (10.9% compared with

6.3%) and education experts (8.9% compared with 5.5%), while the Popular papers (reflecting their thematic emphasis on news stories about civil or criminal cases involving teachers – see above under the analysis of themes) give particular prominence to the direct quoting of police/law enforcement/legal professionals (6.3% of articles compared with 2.6% of Quality newspaper articles).

The Regional papers differ considerably from the national papers in terms of the rank order of directly quoted sources (Table 4.10). The government, campaign/pressure groups, police and legal professionals and education experts are rarely quoted and the opposition political parties were not quoted directly at all in the sampled Regional newspapers. Headteachers are the single most prominent directly quoted source in the Regional newspapers, appearing in nearly a quarter (24.3%) of articles. Teachers are also a prominent source of direct quotations (18.4%), as are pupils and students (10.7%). The particular prominence of directly-quoted pupils/students in the Regional press is interesting and reflects the different style of 'reader-address', which characterises the Regional press when compared with the national Quality press in particular, namely a much stronger emphasis on a direct engagement (through the featuring of selections of quotes – and often photographs of readers in the local community) with their community of readers. The more direct engagement with and featuring of stakeholders from the local region of the newspaper are also reflected in the relatively much higher prominence given to parents (7.8%), local government sources (7.8%) and local education authorities (5.8%) in the Regional papers compared with the national newspapers.

Summary

The analysis of national and Regional newspaper coverage of teachers and education issues in 2003 shows that teacher/education issues are prominent news issues across the Quality, Popular and Regional press, but rarely as front-page news material. The relative prominence of the formats Letters to the Editor and Comment/Review articles indicate that teacher/education issues are a matter of considerable public interest or concern.

The national newspapers generally tend to cover teacher and education issues from a 'UK-nation-wide' perspective, but where specific geographical regions are identified in the coverage, the focus is heavily slanted towards either London/the south east or Scotland. The Popular papers are more likely than the Quality papers to focus – where a regional focus is identified – on either Scotland or the

south of England (the south east, the south west and London), with comparatively very small percentages of coverage on what lies between. With the exception of the *London Evening Standard* (which 'behaves' more like a national newspaper in terms of the geographical focus of its coverage), the Regional newspapers, not surprisingly, focus almost exclusively on their particular regions, with only very small amounts of coverage devoted to a UK-national perspective.

The two most prominent thematic foci of the coverage overall are 'teachers' employment/pay issues' and 'government targets/new schemes for schools'. These are followed closely by, in third place, the thematic issue cluster of 'teachers in civil or criminal cases' (comprising news stories concerning inappropriate sexual relationships between teachers and pupils, sexual and other abuse, financial misconduct, etc), although the prominence of this theme stems mainly from the Popular papers. While 'status' is rarely referred to with this particular term, an image of the status of teachers is communicated through many of the prominent themes. The 'teachers in civil or criminal cases' theme thus contributes to a distinctly negative public image – and status – of teachers, by drawing attention to the misconduct, unprofessional conduct or criminal activity of individual members of the profession. By contrast, many of the prominent thematic clusters are supportive or positive in the sense that they highlight, as legitimate concerns, the challenges and problems teachers face or they directly highlight the achievements of teachers or tributes/awards to teachers. Status is also implied by the significant use of *teacher* as an identifier/label attached to people described in stories, which are not specifically about teachers or education.

The discourses under several of the most prominent thematic clusters (including the theme 'bullying and disruption against pupils and teachers') contribute to a distinct sense of a profession under siege: of (mostly) decent, hardworking, professional, committed teachers under attack from, inter alia, funding crises, resources cuts, a deteriorating infrastructure, frequent changes in education policy, a deterioration in the value of pensions, job-related stress, a decline in social values, a rise in violence and discipline-problems, and increased government interference. The sense of a profession under siege is also projected in a prominent strand of coverage (under the most prominent thematic cluster 'teachers' employment and pay issues') concerned with professional status, with de-professionalisation, and with hierarchy and differentiation within the profession.

There are considerable thematic variations across the Regional newspapers, reflecting a combination of genuine 'key-issue' differences across regions and possible differences in editorial policy/priorities. The top thematic foci of the *London Evening Standard*, and to a lesser extent the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, resemble those of the national newspapers, while the *Yorkshire Evening Post* distinguishes itself from both the national newspapers and other Regional newspapers in providing no coverage at all of 'teaching awards/tributes to teachers' and a much higher emphasis, than its peers, to the themes 'bullying/disruption against pupils/teachers' and 'issues specifically involving parents'. The theme "funding shortages in schools and higher education" is relatively much more prominent in the *Leicester Mercury* and the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, while the *Birmingham Evening Mail* has 'social issues & their impact on schools' as its single most prominent thematic focus.

In the national newspapers, the education debate is very predominantly defined by the government, by teachers and by teacher trade unions. Campaign/pressure groups, higher education sources, headteachers and education experts are also quoted directly relatively frequently. The political opposition parties are conspicuous by only infrequently 'having their say' in the coverage, and, perhaps less surprisingly, newspaper articles in the national press very rarely quote either local government or LEAs.

Chapter 5 The teachers', trainees' and associated groups' survey: the view from inside

The survey described here was administered in summer 2003 and consisted of a questionnaire for teachers which included the following topics.

- The status of the teaching profession compared with that of 'a high status profession'.
- The status of teachers over the years.
- Comparative status of teaching and other occupations.
- Changing status.
- Teacher professionalism.
- Becoming a teacher, and being a teacher.
- Respect and responsibility.

Questionnaire construction, administration and sampling details were presented in Chapter 2.

Two shortened versions of the teacher questionnaire, with relevant topics selected, were prepared for associated groups and for trainee teachers. The associated groups, namely, support staff, governors and parents in the same schools as the teachers, were asked about the status of teachers and the nature of teachers' work. The trainee teachers, who were just completing their training courses and were on the verge of achieving Qualified Teacher Status, were asked about the status of teachers, and their reasons for joining the profession. Table 2.4, in Chapter 2, gives a breakdown of participant figures.

The return rates and numbers of participants are presented in Tables 5.1a and 5.1b.

Table 5.1a Teacher, trainee and associated groups participation rates

Participants	Distributed	Returned	Response rate (%)
Teachers: individual sample	3169	904	28.5
Teachers: school-based sample	10,082	1516	15.0
Associated groups (school-based sample)	6790	1019	15.0
Trainee teachers	356	270	75.8

Table 5.1b The main categories of participants in the teachers and associated groups surveys

Group	Number	Percentage of Composite sample
Primary teachers	1017	28.9
Secondary teachers	1029	29.3
Middle school, SEN, others	205	5.8
Teaching assistants	326	9.2
Governors	428	12.2
Parents	319	9.1
Trainee teachers	270	7.7
Total participants	3518	

Percentages do not total 100 because 18% (166) of the associated groups held two or more roles.

This table shows the main groups of participants. See Table 2.4 for more detail.

Teacher status over the years: Is there a problem?

In order to ascertain whether or not the respondents perceive any problem in relation to the status of teachers, the teachers and other associated groups were asked to give their impressions of the relative status of teachers on a five point scale from 5 = very high to 1 = very low at five educationally significant dates. These were:

- Publication of the Plowden Report 1967
- Election of a Conservative government 1979
- The Education Reform Act: introduction of the National Curriculum and Local Management of Schools 1988
- Election of a Labour government 1997
- Date of survey 2003

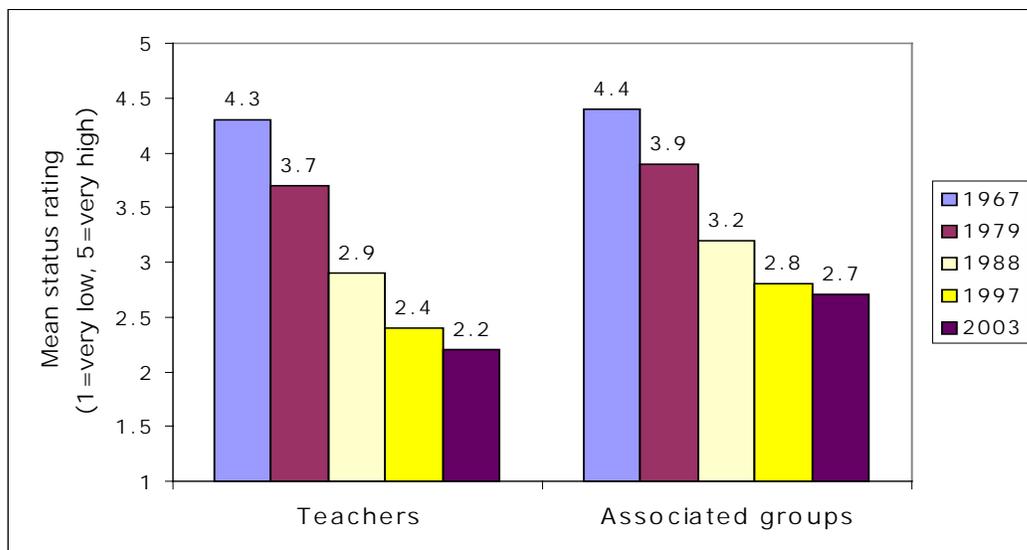
Respondents were invited to comment on any dates that were within their personal experience, even if they were not teaching at the time. 907 teachers and 519 participants from associated groups provided ratings for 1967, and 2295 teachers and 868 participants from associated groups did so for 2003 (For more detail, see Appendix to Chapter 5).

Figure 5.1 compares teachers' and others' ratings of the status of teachers over the years. It is notable that teachers consistently rate their status lower than do the other groups in each year. The overall decline in ratings of status, and the

differences between the groups are statistically significant. This is congruent with research which shows that teachers tend to underestimate public views of their status (e.g. ATL, 2002).

All groups perceived the biggest fall in status to have been between 1979 and 1988, following the election of a Conservative government under Mrs. Thatcher. This was the period leading up to the introduction of the national curriculum, and local management of schools. It signalled reductions in teacher autonomy, in the influence of LEAs and increased calls by the government for teacher accountability to parents and governors. Figure 5.1 shows that the rate of decline decreased for all groups between 1997 and 2003, but the difference between teachers and the others was greatest in statistical terms at the time of the survey.

Figure 5.1 Teacher status over the years: comparison of teachers' and associated groups' ratings of the status of teachers

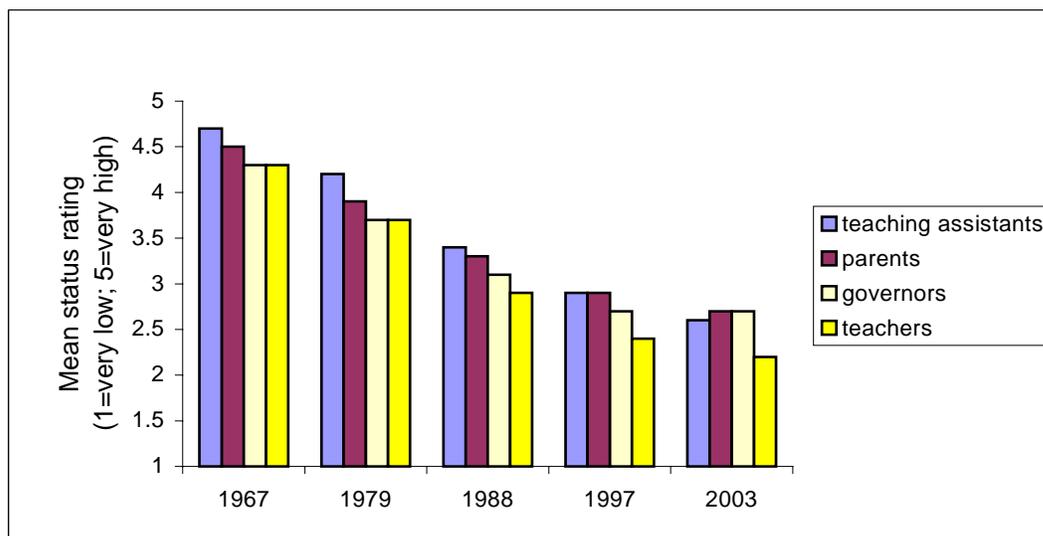


Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

Figure 5.2 shows how the separate groups rated teacher status over the years. Teaching assistants gave the highest rating, and teachers the lowest rating in each year until 2003, when teaching assistants' ratings dropped below those of governors and parents. An interesting feature here is the split between governors' and teachers' ratings. 1988 saw the advent of Local Management of Schools (LMS) and an emphasis on teacher accountability to governors. It coincides with governors' rating of teacher status being relatively higher than

teachers' own, a trend which continues in 1997 and 2003. Furthermore, by 1997 following the protracted 'discourse of derision' (Ball, 1990), which might have been expected to have a negative effect on parents', and governors' ratings of the status of teachers, these governors' and parents' ratings declined at a lower rate than those of teachers. The governors and parents who took part in this survey are those who were closely associated with their schools and so personal loyalty may be a factor, but one could argue that their knowledge of teachers' work might also sustain their views. In this sense, the views of these teaching assistants, governors and parents represent relative optimism in terms of Hoyle's occupational *esteem*, based on their awareness of the qualities teachers bring to their work. In contrast, the treatment of teachers at that time, by politicians, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector and the media during the 1990s, and the further erosion of autonomy between 1997 and 2003 might be expected to depress teachers' occupational *prestige*.

Figure 5.2 The status of teachers over the years according to teaching assistants, parents and governors, and teachers



Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

There were some regional differences in the perceived decline in teacher status between 1967 and 2003. In relative terms, teachers in London, the north east and east midlands perceived the greatest decline in status. Associated groups, on the other hand, saw a lesser decline, particularly in the east of England, the south west and south east. The largest difference in opinion between these two groups was in the north east with teachers reporting greater decline and associated

groups, less decline. In summary, the participants in our survey clearly perceive a steady decline in the status of teachers since 1967 and this suggests that teacher status is a problem facing the current administration.

Profiles of definitive status according to teachers, trainee teachers and other associated groups

Rather than impose a definition of status on the participants, we decided to find out how they would define it in terms of 19 statements drawn from the literature on professional status and referred to earlier. Respondents rated each statement from 1 'strongly disagree' through 3 'Not sure' to 5 'strongly agree' as true of a 'high status profession'. Table 5.2 below includes examples of the statements (for more information see Appendix 5).

The results revealed that our respondents defined a high status profession in terms of two strong, virtually independent, dimensions. These were '**status through reward and respect**' and '**status through control and regulation**'. Whilst these two dimensions underpin the teachers' views and those of associated groups, when these groups were analysed separately, the combination of teachers, associated groups and trainee teachers provided a more refined definition. The 'Control and regulation' dimension was unchanged, but the 'Reward and respect' dimension split into three inter-correlated dimensions. These three aspects of status help to break down the complex nature of the concept of status. At the same time they are highly correlated and can be combined usefully into the single factor of '**reward and respect**'.

Table 5.2: Definition of a high status profession

Definitive status scale	Examples components	Reliability
Status through respected and valued authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enjoys positive media images ▪ Is valued by government ▪ Has members who are the recognised authority in their area of expertise ▪ Enjoys high financial remuneration 	0.84
Status through control and regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Is subject to strong external controls ▪ Is subject to external regulation 	0.65
Status through the working environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enjoys high quality working conditions ▪ Offers an attractive life-long career ▪ Is one for which there is strong competition to join 	0.69
Status through responsible high level performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them ▪ Demonstrably maintains high levels of performance ▪ Has members who have lengthy professional training 	0.80

Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003

The ratings of ‘**status through control and regulation**’ show participants’ uncertainty about external control and regulation as characteristics of a high status profession. This factor accounts for 10 per cent of the overall variance. Its reliability (0.65) is rather modest, but its value as an independent factor, virtually uncorrelated with the other three closely correlated factors, cannot be ignored in our attempt to extract the participants’ definition of high professional status. With its two constituent items, ‘subject to external control’ and to ‘external regulation’, this dimension had the lowest mean ratings, which were just above the midpoint (3.0) of the scale. This indicates that slightly more participants agreed than disagreed that external control and regulation were characteristics of a high status profession, but that there was considerable uncertainty.

The group of items which make up '**status through respected and valued authority**' suggests that status is defined by media image, having the respect of clients and being valued by government. This was the strongest and most reliable dimension accounting for 36 per cent of the total variance. All three groups of participants agreed strongly that this was characteristic of a high status profession.

The second dimension replicates the findings from the separate surveys. It accounts for six per cent of the variance and is almost completely independent of the other three dimensions. '**Status through the working environment**' reflects status through working conditions and non-financial rewards, and being a profession that people are keen to join. Participants 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that this characterises a high status profession.

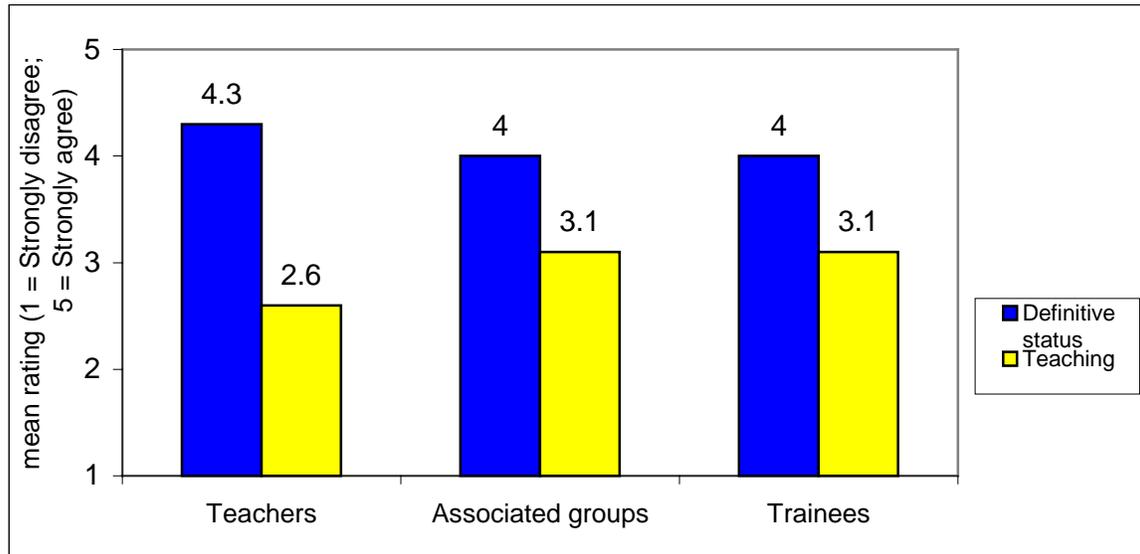
Finally, '**status through responsible high level performance**' represents the performance aspects of a high status profession in terms of public trust, professional autonomy, as outcome perhaps of lengthy training. This dimension accounts for five per cent of the variation.

Respondents were then asked to rate the teaching profession on the same items that they had rated a high status profession. Figures 5.3a to 5.3d⁹ show these comparisons. The results show dramatic differences between perceptions of a high status profession and perceptions of the teaching profession on three of the four scales. The differences were highly significant and have large effect sizes. Views on 'status through external control and regulation' were very similar across all three surveys (Fig. 5.3b) with teaching clearly perceived as being subject to external control and regulation. Governors were significantly more likely to agree strongly with this, than were parents or teaching assistants. Status through external 'control and regulation' was the only dimension on which ratings for teaching were higher than for a high status profession. 'Status through working conditions' produced the largest differences between a high status profession and teaching, for all three groups. Teaching and a high status profession were regarded as most similar when high status is defined through responsible high level performance. Only the teachers rated these as significantly different. The associated groups perceived relatively little difference, and the trainees, as they ended their training, saw no difference at all.

⁹ Within the associated groups surveys, parents', governors' and teaching assistants' ratings were very similar (sometimes identical) and so are not reported separately.

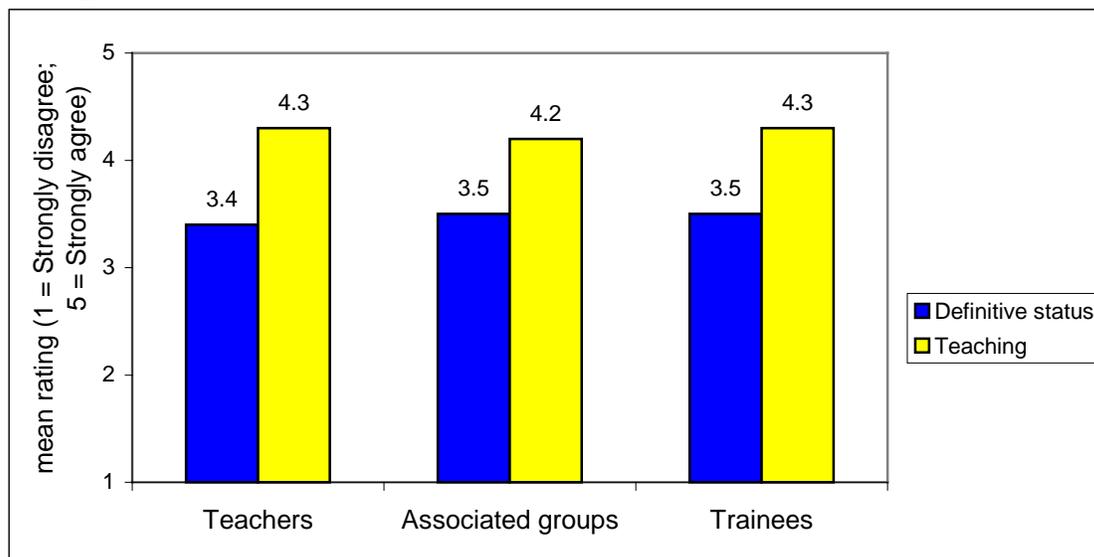
These findings show that teachers, associated groups and trainees agree that the teaching profession differs considerably from 'a high status profession' on three of the four dimensions. The findings suggest that if the working conditions and non-financial benefits of teaching could be improved, if external control and regulation was relaxed, and if teaching were seen as a respected and valued authority part of the gap between the perceptions of a high status profession and the teaching profession would close.

Figure 5.3a: Factor 1 Participants' views of status defined as being a respected and valued authority



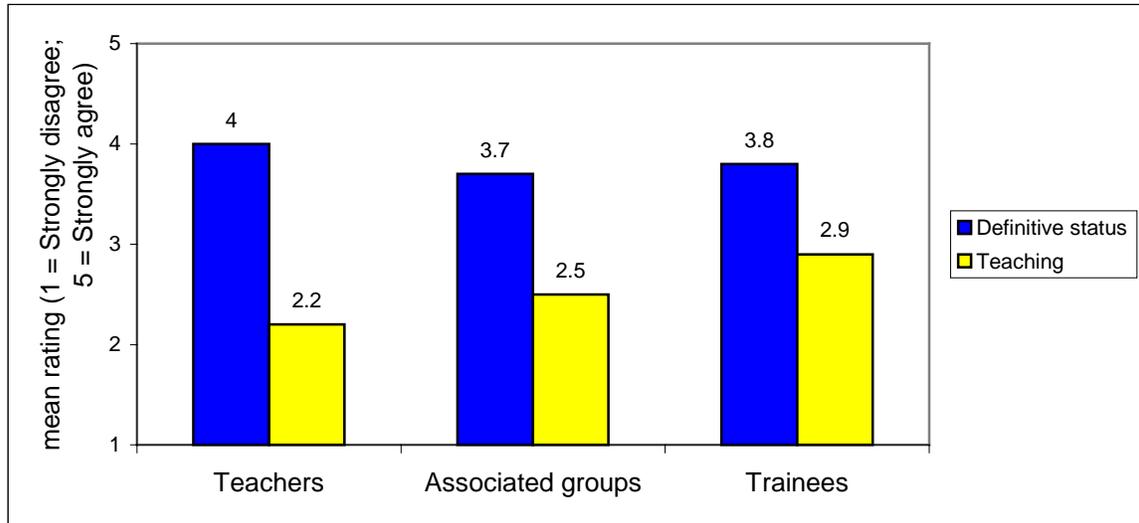
Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

Figure 5.3b: Factor 2 Survey participants' views of status defined through external control and regulation



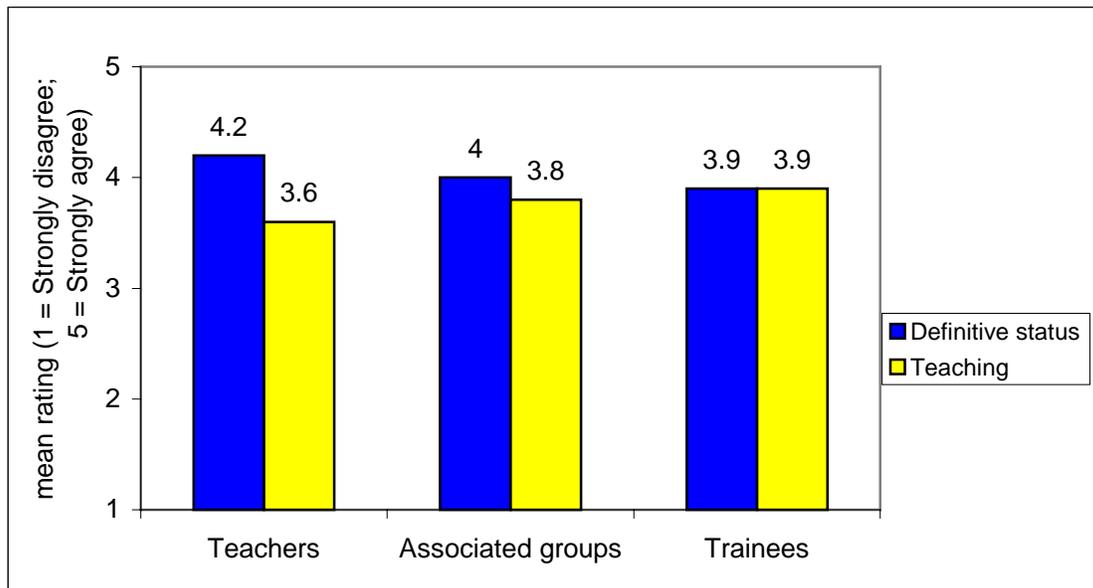
Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

Figure 5.3c: Factor 3: Survey participants' views of status defined through the working environment



Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003

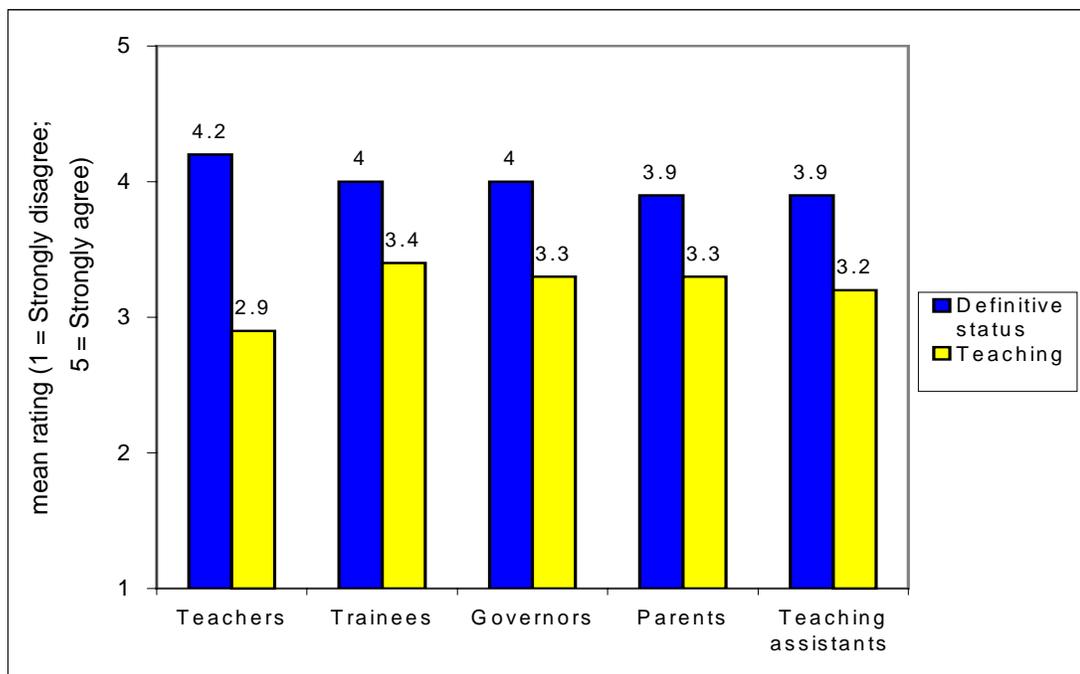
Figure 5.3d: Factor 4: Survey participants' views of status defined through responsible high level performance



Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003

Figure 5.4 shows the results for each separate group on the combined status dimensions of status through reward and respect. The similarities between the associated group groups' ratings are evident. The teachers perceive the greatest status differential between teaching and a high status profession, and are clearly most pessimistic as regards the status of teaching. The trainee teachers, on the other hand, are the most optimistic. Their impressions of reward and respect in a high status profession were slightly lower than those of experienced teachers, but marginally higher as regards the teaching profession.

Figure 5.4 Teachers', associated groups' and trainees' views of the status of the teaching profession compared with a high status profession



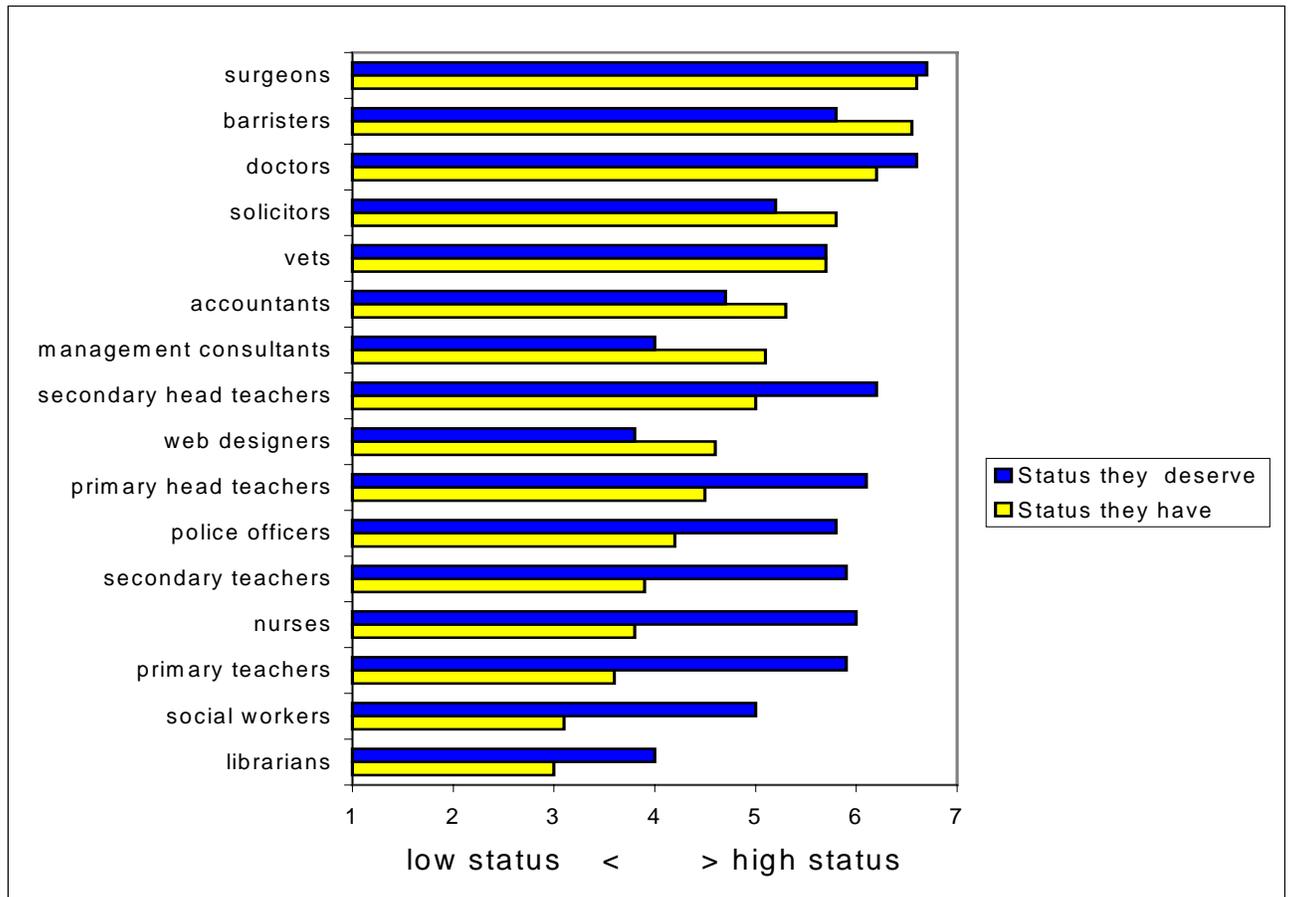
Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

How does the status of teaching compare with the status of other occupations?

Our surveys asked teachers and associated groups to rate the status of primary and secondary teachers and headteachers on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 meant very low status and 7, very high status. They were also asked to rate the same 12 non-teaching occupations that had been used in the public opinion survey. The list of

occupations was presented in alphabetical order and results of respondents' ratings are summarised in Figure 5.5 below.

Figure 5.5: The relative status accorded each occupation and the status that respondents considered these occupations deserved



Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003

These results of the perceived 'status they have' ratings could be interpreted as showing teachers' ratings of what Hoyle (2001) called the *occupational prestige* of other occupations, since teachers are also members of the public, as are the other associated groups and trainees. Since all those surveyed here were deemed knowledgeable about teaching, then Figure 5.5 also represents ratings of Hoyle's *occupational status*. The 'status they deserve' ratings can be considered to reflect Hoyle's, *occupational esteem* which depends on the perceived dedication, care and competence that practitioners bring to their work. We had asked that the associated groups who took part were regular visitors to the school who would

come into contact with teachers' work. Their judgement of deserved status should be a reasonable estimate of esteem, therefore. On comparing 'prestige' and 'esteem' for each occupation we found them closely matched for surgeons and vets. Esteem exceeded prestige to a considerable extent, however, for teachers, nurses and social workers. For barristers, accountants, management consultants and web designers, however, prestige appears to have exceeded esteem.

The ratings within the teaching profession reflect previous research, as reported by Hoyle (2001), for example, that headteachers appear to be accorded higher occupational status than teachers, and secondary teachers appear to be accorded higher occupational prestige and status than primary teachers. Although the mean ratings for the occupation of teaching result in this descending rank order - from secondary headteachers followed by primary headteachers, then secondary teachers and finally primary teachers - the actual differences in the ratings of the status deserved by primary and secondary headteachers and teachers were very small, only 0.1 and 0.05 respectively. This means that participants rated primary and secondary teachers very similarly in terms of status deserved. These results add further weight to the finding of the Public Opinion Survey, reported in Chapter 3, that primary and secondary teachers were accorded the same levels of social status (see also below).

Associated groups and trainees rated teachers' deserved status significantly higher than did teachers themselves, suggesting that teachers under-estimate the esteem in which they are held by these groups. There were some interesting regional effects in the perceived status of teachers within the groups. London teachers and teachers from the West Midlands tended to depress the status rating of their own job, whilst participants from associated groups were more likely to give teachers a higher rating. As reported earlier, the Public Opinion Survey had presented respondents with the same list of occupations, and they had been asked to say which occupation they thought was closest in social status to primary headteacher and primary teacher, or to secondary headteacher and secondary teacher. Comparison of the placings in these two surveys enables us to compare what Hoyle referred to occupational *prestige* (the public's view in relation to hierarchy of status of occupations) and occupational *esteem* (status accorded by those who see how they go about their tasks).

In the Public Opinions Survey, primary *and* secondary headteachers were seen as most similar to management consultants by 30 per cent and 35 per cent of the respondents respectively. The next most common choices for primary

headteachers were social workers (14%) doctors (10%) and accountants (10%) of respondents. Secondary headteachers were likened to doctors by 12 per cent and solicitors by 10 per cent. These results suggest that the public place headteachers of both phases in higher status positions than do teachers or associated groups. This seems to confirm suggestion of a perception gap between teachers and others about their status noted earlier.

To summarise the findings on comparative status, headteachers were accorded higher occupational status by teachers and associated groups, and secondary headteachers and teachers were accorded higher status than their primary counterparts. Secondary headteachers ranked 8th, after management consultants and above web designers. Primary headteachers were ranked 10th, above police officers. Secondary teachers and primary teachers were 12th and 14th respectively between police officers (11th), nurses (13th) and social workers (15th). We have argued that these ranks reflect occupational status. In terms of the ratings of 'status they deserve', or occupational esteem, the ranks were 3rd and 4th for secondary and primary heads, and 6th, and 7th for secondary and primary teachers respectively. The positive status differentials accorded headteachers and teachers, and the very small differences between the two phases suggest that their occupational esteem outweighs their occupational status, and that the gap in differential respect for the two phases may be closing. This is supported by our findings in the Public Opinion Survey. In London and the West Midlands however, teachers appeared to devalue their own deserved status, compared with associated groups in these regions who promoted their teachers' deserved status to a greater extent than did associated groups in other regions.

Teacher professionalism: the dimensions of teachers' work

The teachers and other associated groups were asked to show their strength of agreement, on a five point scale, with a list of statements about the work of the teaching profession. The statements were derived from the literature on professionalism and from teachers in our focus groups. We found five coherent ways of construing the various statements but offer this solution cautiously, since three of these factors achieved very modest reliabilities and it leaves 60 per cent of the variance unexplained (Appendix to Chapter 5)

The first, '**teaching as constructive learning**' emphasises continuing professional development, creativity and readiness to learn new methods, as well as collaboration with other teachers. Whilst the analyses from both samples are almost identical, the teachers included 'being involved in research' as part of

'teaching as constructive learning'. For the associated groups, this item was linked with teaching as a collaborative activity, probably reflecting school-university partnerships. In the combined analysis however, the research item does not contribute reliably to any factors. This aspect of school teacher and university teacher professionalism could be related to the differences in occupational prestige accorded these occupations by the wider public (see Sachs, 2003)

The second, '**teaching as an autonomous profession**' combines two items concerned with the effects of central control on teachers' professionalism. This dimension showed moderate agreement but with double the amount of variation in opinion compared with other factors, that central control undermines teacher professionalism.

The third factor, '**teaching as a trusted profession**' is a very close match to a factor in the associated group survey. As shown in Table 5.2, it combines statements about trust, integrity, and the desirability of having an 'influential and independent professional body' for all teachers, with those teachers evaluating their work, using their professional judgement and directing other staff in the classroom. In the teacher survey, however, the two 'trust' items formed a single precise factor, whereas the other items were not aligned with any particular set of views about teachers' professionalism.

The fourth factor was a new factor which emerged from the composite sample. '**teaching as delivering standards**' is a negative factor, meaning that the respondents disagreed that the items were representations of teachers' work. They disagreed, for example, with the statement that 'a competitive ethos strengthens professional practice' or that 'the primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards'. In the survey of teachers' opinions, the majority of these items were not consistently associated with any of the factors.

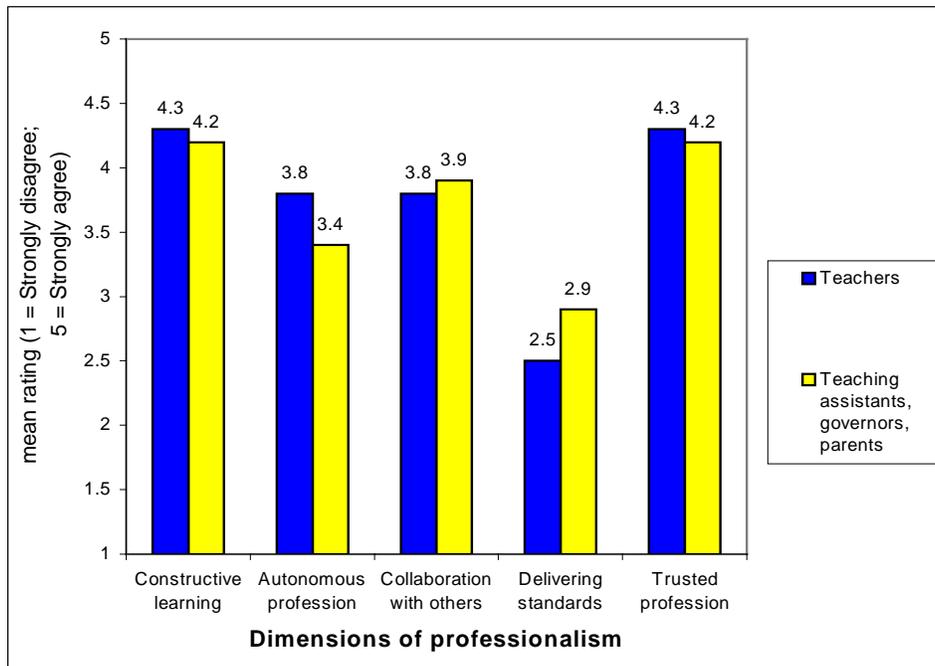
Finally, factor 5, '**teaching as collaboration with others**' refers to collaboration and partnership with parents, the community, members of other professions, as well as taking pupils' views into account. It is made up of almost identical sets of items found in the separate analyses of the teacher and the associated group samples.

Variations on dimensions of teacher professionalism

There were some significant differences in the strength of agreement about aspects of teacher professionalism between teachers and associated groups.

- Whilst 'teaching as constructive learning' and 'teaching as a trusted profession' were strongly agreed with by both teachers and associated groups, teachers' levels of agreement were significantly stronger.
- Teachers were less positive than associated groups about teaching as a collaboration with others. That is understandable but indicates also perhaps a willingness by associated groups to be more involved in decision making, and/or to see greater parental and community involvement.

Figure 5.6 Teachers' and associated groups' views of teacher professionalism



Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

- The two factors where large differences between the teachers and associated groups were found were 'teaching as an autonomous profession', and in particular 'teaching as delivering standards'. While both groups tended to respond negatively to these items, teachers were more forthright in their disagreement. The relative means are shown in Figure 5.6.

Why do people become teachers?

New and experienced teachers' reasons for being teachers

We asked practising teachers and the trainee teachers their reasons for being teachers today, by asking them to rate a list of statements on a three point scale from 'not true' to very true'. We found that the reasons came together in five conceptually coherent, highly inter-correlated and reliable, factors. The factor means are shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Practising teachers' and trainees' reasons for teaching today

Reasons for teaching today	Experienced teachers (N ca 2295)		Trainee teachers (N ca 267)	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Fulfilment	2.53 **	0.50	2.80 **	0.31
A job with a comfortable status	1.65	0.42	1.64	0.44
Personal/professional development	2.22 **	0.58	2.41 **	0.58
Giving children a good start	2.64 **	0.40	2.72 **	0.36
A challenging job	2.34 *	0.52	2.28 *	0.49

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

* $p < 5\%$, ** $p < 1\%$, sample difference (*t*-test, Mann-Whitney)

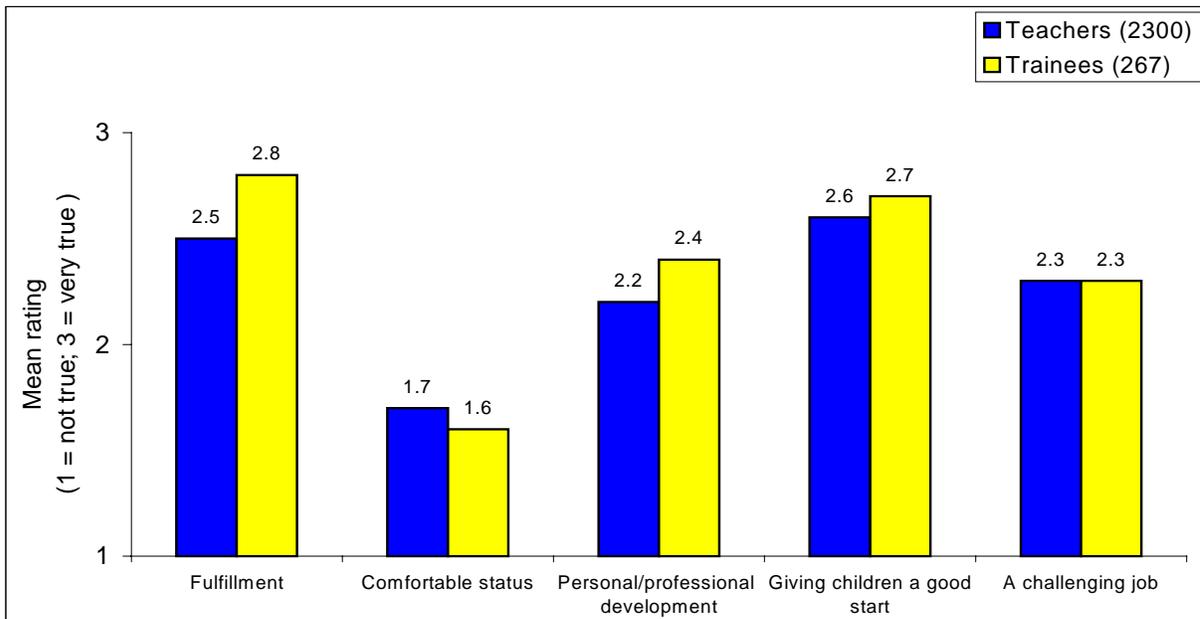
The factors were labelled in terms of their constituent items as follows:

- fulfilment
- a job with comfortable status
- personal and professional development
- giving children a good start
- a challenging job

These factors have acceptable reliabilities between 0.7 and 0.8 apart from the last, 'challenging job', which has a more modest reliability of 0.6.

As Figure 5.7 shows, the greatest difference between the practising and the trainee teachers was the degree to which they agreed that, for them, it was *very true* that '**fulfilment**' provided a reason to teach. This difference achieved a medium effect size. It included items such as 'to feel fulfilled in my work' and 'to do a job of which I can feel proud' and was *very true* of the majority of respondents. Trainee teachers rated 'Fulfilment' as the most true reason, whereas for practising teachers this was the second most true reason.

Figure 5.7 Teachers' and trainees' reasons for teaching today



Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

For the practising teachers, the fourth factor, **'to give children a good start'** achieved more *very true* ratings. These included reasons such as 'to help children become members of society' and 'having the opportunity to promote understanding'. Thus at this stage of their careers, we might say that the trainees were still seeking personal fulfilment, whereas the practising teachers focused more on children's needs. Whilst personal and professional development (e.g. 'having opportunities for life long learning' and 'the chance to further my own knowledge'); constituted the next group of reasons for trainees, for practising teachers, it was 'having a challenging job' and 'being able to work as part of a team', and 'being able to use managerial skills'.

'A job with comfortable status' was least likely to be true as a motivation to be a teacher today, and this had a wider spread of opinion than for the other factors. Individual reasons include 'having a high status occupation' and 'being respected by the general public'. This group of reasons however showed a regional difference, albeit with a small effect size. Respondents in London were less likely to say that this was true of them whereas those in the north west and west midlands were more likely than the rest to say that this was true of them.

The teachers and trainee teachers were asked to say which, for them, were the three most important reasons. Overall the top three were:

- 'because I enjoy teaching' (29%)
- 'working with children' (28%)
- 'to give children the best possible start in life' (27%).

There were differences between the two groups. Trainees appeared perhaps more idealistic and were significantly more likely to say that 'wanting to give children the best possible start in life', 'to do something meaningful with my life', having 'opportunities to exercise creativity' and to 'feel fulfilled in my work' were true of them. Practising teachers, on the other hand, were more likely to select 'holiday entitlement', 'challenging job', 'good pension package', and 'being able to work as part of a team' as important reasons for teaching now.

Primary teachers were more likely than secondary teachers, to say that 'fulfilment', 'personal and professional development', and 'giving children a good start', were very true of them. These differences were small however, and there were no differences between the two phases as regards having a job with 'comfortable status' or 'having a challenging job'.

Finally, we invited respondents to note any 'other things which inspire you to teach'. Responses were grouped into 11 categories (number of comments in brackets) and included:

- helping children to develop/understand (512)
- receiving feedback from parents and pupils (202) e.g. *'Rewards of smiles at the end of every day'*
- financial and non-financial benefits (67)
- love of subject (58)
- working with pupils with Special Educational Needs (20)
- the variety in the job (101) e.g. *'the moments of humour every day'*
- curriculum opportunities, research and challenges (18)
- only one category included negative responses (23) such as, *'too many government initiatives that close down inspiration'*.

Practising teachers were more likely to refer to helping children progress, and getting feedback from parents and pupils. The trainee teachers, just at the end of their training courses, had not yet had time to build up experience to use reasons such as these.

Summary

This long chapter has presented the results of the teacher, associated group and trainee surveys. The trainee and associated group questionnaires were shortened versions of the teacher questionnaire.

The results have shown considerable similarities in the views of teachers themselves, trainee teachers, parents, governors and associated groups as regards the status of teachers and the teaching profession. Differences in opinion between these groups consist of differences in strengths of opinion rather than in direction. The status of teachers was deemed to have fallen steadily since 1967, until 1997, when the perceived rate of decline reduced considerably. Primary and secondary teachers and headteachers, were placed in the lower half of a list of 12 other occupations, just above social workers but just below management consultants, when rated on a 7 point scale for the level of social status they possess, although it was clear that participants felt that they are worthy of much higher status, just below surgeons and doctors when asked what status they deserve.

All groups perceived big differences between the characteristics of the teaching profession and a high status profession in terms of reward and respect, and external control and regulation. Reward and respect were not considered true of the teaching profession, whilst external control and regulation was considered very true of teaching. Trainee teachers however, considered the teaching profession equivalent to a high status profession in terms of status through responsible high-level performance. Teachers were the most pessimistic group on every dimension.

Teachers' and trainees' strongest motives for being teachers were to give children a good start in life, and to have a fulfilling job, whilst the strongest dimensions of teacher professionalism to emerge were teaching as constructive learning, including Continuing Professional Development, being creative and being ready to learn new classroom methods, amongst other things, and teaching as an autonomous profession.

Overall the results concerning the status of teachers and teaching directly show much ground needs to be covered if teaching is to be a high status profession by

2012. Our 2006 survey will show whether teacher status is perceived to have improved since 2003, and how far it has to go to achieve high status.

Chapter 6 Survey of Recruitment Managers

Introduction

Through collaboration with the national network of recruitment managers and the Training Development Agency, these managers initiate and support a range of initiatives to improve the number and quality of teachers that are available. Clearly, these managers have intimate information about recruitment, retention and teacher status within their particular geographical location that would be useful to this Teacher Status Project. This strand of the study sought to obtain the views of managers with regard to the status of teachers, specifically.

Methods

During the autumn of 2003 all Local Education Authority¹⁰ (LEA) recruitment managers in England were asked to respond, by electronic mail, to two questions specifically about status. In cases where managers were not in post, officers with responsibility for teacher recruitment were asked to participate. Of the 150 LEAs contacted by email, 64 responded providing a 43 per cent response rate.

The 64 responses were arranged into three major LEA groups (see Table 6.1), in order to aid analysis. LEA groups included Greater London Metropolitan District, Other Metropolitan Districts (that is, those outside Greater London) and Non Metropolitan Areas.

Table 6.1 Summary of participant LEAs

LEA type	Number of email questionnaires despatched	Number of email questionnaires returned	Response rate %
Greater London Metropolitan District	33	18	55
Other Metropolitan Districts	36	13	36
Non-Metropolitan Areas	81	33	40
Totals	150	64	43

¹⁰ Local Education Authority (LEA) is used here, rather than the current terminology 'Local Authority' because this was appropriate in 2003 and so was used in the survey.

The questions

Two status-related questions sought recruitment managers' views about a range of issues related to the recruitment and retention of newly qualified and experienced teachers. The questions were:

1. *Can you suggest things that have happened within your LEA which are likely to have had an effect on the status of teachers?*

Managers were asked to identify up to three events which may have affected the status of teachers either positively or negatively.

2. *What, in your opinion, would be most needed to improve the status of teachers in your LEA?*

Factors having positive impact on status

The three items most commonly suggested by recruitments managers, were 'continued professional development' (CPD), 'remodelling' and 'celebrating success'. Fourteen respondents identified, CPD as having a positive effect on status. This was particularly the case in metropolitan boroughs outside London where a third (5) of the managers who responded felt that CPD had a positive effect.

Thirteen respondents felt that 'remodelling' the workforce was having a positive effect on teacher status and was seen as particularly important by managers in Other Metropolitan Districts, where over a third of respondents, from these areas, saw remodelling as having a positive effect on teacher status.

Seven respondents thought that 'celebrating success' had the potential for raising status. This is most noticeable in responses from managers from Greater London areas where one in six respondents mentioned these practices. This may be related to the findings of the media strand of this study where national newspaper coverage was found to give greater emphasis to London and the south east.

The remaining items in Table 6.2, 'housing support', 'LEA relations', 'piloting initiatives', 'pay and promotion' and 'positive local press' were all thought to

have a positive effect on raising teacher status but there are marked differences in the responses of different types of local authorities.

Table 6.2 Items having a positive effect on status

	All respondents	Greater London Metropolitan Districts	Other Metropolitan Districts	Non-Metropolitan Areas
No response	20	4	3	13
CPD	14	4	5	5
Remodelling	13	3	5	5
Celebrating success	7	3	1	3
Housing support	6	4	0	2
LEA relations	6	1	1	4
Piloting initiatives	6	5	0	1
Pay/promotion	6	3	3	0

*Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Recruitment Managers 2003
N = 64 More than one response could be given*

‘Housing support’ issues were considered, to a greater extent by managers from Greater London areas than either of the other two areas, to have a positive effect on status. The two managers from Non-Metropolitan areas who mentioned housing were situated in locations where housing costs were relatively high. Interestingly, ‘housing support’ was not mentioned by managers from Other Metropolitan Areas, which might suggest a greater variation in types of housing and related costs available in these areas.

Factors having negative impact on status

Table 6.3 shows a large proportion of respondents (almost one third) who do not offer any suggestions regarding items which might impact negatively on the status of teachers. Almost a fifth (12) of respondents, however, felt that ‘budgets’, which includes the lack of available funds to enable access to CPD, was seen as having a negative effect on status. This should be seen in relation to the responses from the 14 managers (Table 6.2) who were positive about the effects of CPD on the status of teachers.

Eleven respondents felt that the negative portrayal of schools and teachers in the press was damaging to the status of teachers. Managers from Greater London areas (almost a quarter) were, proportionately, more concerned about this.

Ten recruitment managers felt that a ‘lack of stability’ within the Local Authority had had a negative effect and, once again, respondents (4) from Greater London appeared to be more concerned than their counterparts elsewhere. Also, five

managers from Greater London were concerned about the effects of the high cost of housing whilst managers from Other Metropolitan Districts did not mention housing.

Table 6.3 Items having a negative effect on status

	All respondents	Greater London Metropolitan Districts	Other Metropolitan Districts	Non-Metropolitan Areas
No response	22	5	2	15
Budgets inc. CPD	12	3	2	7
Negative press	11	4	1	6
Lack of stability	10	4	2	4
High housing costs	6	5	0	1

*Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Recruitment Managers 2003
N = 64 More than one response could be given*

Improving the status of teachers

The second question, which asked ‘What would be most needed to improve the status of teachers in your LEA?’ allowed respondents to offer as many ideas as they wished. The most common response was ‘working conditions’ which was offered by over a third (23) of managers (see Table 6.4). For the purposes of analysis we included responses such as non-contact time, classroom support, work-life balance, better quality of life in this category. The majority (13) of managers who mentioned working conditions were from Non-Metropolitan Authorities. Fewer Managers from Other Metropolitan Authorities and Greater London areas, where five respondents in each LEA group, agreed that improvements in working conditions was needed to improve status. CPD was stated as necessary to raise teacher status by slightly less than a fifth (12) of all managers, closely followed by pay and positive press (10 managers).

Table 6.4 Items most needed to improve the status of teachers

	All respondents	Greater London Metropolitan Districts	Other Metropolitan Districts	Non-Metropolitan Areas
Working conditions	23	5	5	13
No response	10	2	2	6
CPD	12	3	3	6
Pay	10	4	2	4
Positive press	10	4	1	5

*Source: Teacher Status Project – Survey of Recruitment Managers 2003
N = 64 More than one response could be given*

Summary

Around a third of recruitment managers did not suggest things likely to have had an effect, positive or negative, on the status of teachers in their LEA and 10 managers were unable or unwilling to suggest items necessary to improve status in the future. As we found during the media strand of this study, the word status is rarely used in relation to the notion of teacher status.

Improvements in working conditions appear to be seen by recruitment managers as having the most potential for raising the status of teachers, particularly in those outside Greater London and in Non-Metropolitan areas. In Other Metropolitan LEAs, recruitment managers saw remodelling the workforce in schools as having the greatest impact on raising teacher status.

Continued Professional Development was seen as an important issue in response to both questions. It was the area most frequently seen as having had a positive effect on teacher status by all respondents and particularly so in Metropolitan areas outside Greater London. It was also rated second after working conditions, as the area that would be most needed to improve teacher status. Conversely, many recruitment managers felt that restricted access to CPD due to budgetary constraints was having a negative effect on teacher status.

Chapter 7 Perspectives and insights

This final chapter will draw out some perspectives and insights gained from the research presented in the body of the report, in its assessment of the status of teachers and teaching in England in 2003. It will note questions raised by the findings for consideration in case studies and surveys to be completed in 2006. It does not attempt a comprehensive summary of the findings. Clearly the potential effects on teacher status of recent and current reforms, including the National Agreement on Raising Standards and Tackling Workload, and moves towards teacher membership of multi-professional teams, for example, will be of great interest when we make our final report.

Features of this study

This project is original in several ways. Firstly it considers both insider and outsider perspectives of status in the same study (see below for an explanation of these terms). Secondly, it includes a series of sources, namely teachers themselves, teaching assistants, trainee teachers, governors, parents, and the general public whose perspectives on teacher status are offered at increasing distances from, or proximity to, teachers and their work. These sources have responded to the same questions, and their responses have been subject to the same analyses. Thirdly, in examining status, we have obtained participants' versions of the characteristics of a high status profession, as well as their views of the status of the teaching profession. This provides two measures of the status of the teaching profession: one in its own terms, and one in terms of any differences between teaching and a high status profession. The latter shows the ground that needs to be made up in quantitative terms, whereas the former shows the nature of the terrain (e.g. level of external trust in teachers, the nature of their working conditions) if teaching is to be regarded as a high status profession by teachers and others. Fourthly, it includes a documentary survey of media coverage of teachers, teaching and education as a mirror of public opinion, made at the same time as the questionnaire surveys. Last but not least, the surveys go beyond simple questions about status, to include views on teacher professionalism and motivation to teach, highlighting the frustrations of professionals such as the secondary school teacher who complained that teachers *'know how to teach, and can judge what the kids need but do not have the time, flexibility or physical resources'*.

Previous writing and research on the status of teachers in England, from the 1960s onwards (e.g. Banks, 1971; Hoyle 1969; 2001) indicates its multifaceted and ambiguous nature. Hoyle (2001) identifies prestige, status and esteem as three different aspects of occupational status, distinguished by the degree of informedness of the 'status-defining' group. Thus he suggests that 'prestige' refers to the status definition of an occupation by the general public, 'status' is defined by those knowledgeable of comparable occupations, and 'esteem' by those who can observe the qualities that individuals bring to their work. The several perspectives adopted in the present study recognise these differences, but include also teachers' own perceptions of their status and the factors that might affect it.

'Outsider' and 'insider' views of status

Our use of 'outsider' refers to the collective view of people who are not teachers and whose opinions are based on what Hoyle (2001) calls the *semantic* status of teachers: that is, whether teaching is referred to habitually as a profession by other groups. This, along with the prestige of teaching is affected in turn by the public's image of teaching. Hoyle differentiates this from teachers' recently

achieved *official* status which classifies them alongside doctors and barristers on the one hand and, alongside nurses and social workers, on the other. The semantic status may be influenced by factors such as the qualifications, behaviour, opinions and lifestyles of teachers themselves, the way they are presented in the media both in news reports and in fiction, the way they are spoken about by other people, the conditions in which teachers work, and the way they are treated and referred to by the government, for example. By 'insider' views of status, we mean teachers' own perceptions of their status. These perceptions form a second order phenomenon, which teachers abstract from the attitudes and behaviour of other people and external agencies, including government, towards them. It may also be influenced by the individual teacher's self-respect, self-esteem and self-concept which may operate as lenses to refract their perceptions of the status, respect or esteem emanating from external sources. In addition to these outsider and insider views, there exists also a range of intermediate outsider perspectives, from people who work closely with teachers and so determine, in Hoyle's terms, teachers' occupational esteem. Teaching assistants, for example, witness the working lives of teachers, the challenges they face and the levels of care and competence they bring to their work on a daily basis. Parents and governors who are closely associated with their schools are also in a position to determine teachers' occupational esteem. We shall begin by considering the insider and intermediate perspectives, and move out from the centre to consider the outsider views of the public, and the views reflected in the press

We have included a few spontaneous comments made by teachers who felt strongly enough to write in the space provided on the questionnaires. A sizeable minority of teachers wrote comments and these were frequently negative. The quotes illustrate these teachers' points of view and strength of feeling but do not purport to be representative of teachers' views in general.

The insider and 'informed' perspective: teachers' and associated groups' perceptions of the status of teachers and teaching in 2003

This project has shown that in 2003, teachers, trainee teachers and associated groups (support staff including teaching assistants, governors, parents) alike defined a high status profession as characterised by reward and respect, combined, marginally, with some external control and regulation. The reward and respect aspect included being a valued and respected authority which enjoys positive media images, high quality working conditions in an attractive life-long career, is trusted by the community, and shows high levels of performance after a lengthy period of training. Large significant discrepancies were found, however, on three out of four dimensions between these perceptions of a high status profession and those of the teaching profession, by teachers themselves, trainees

and the education associated groups. The single exception to this, and the only point of equivalence between the teaching profession and a high status profession was trainee teachers' judgement that the teaching profession is equivalent to a high status profession in the sense that it is a responsible, trained and high performing profession. In contrast to a high status profession, however, teaching was seen by all parties as highly subject to external control and regulation. This view is illustrated by the comment of one of the teachers who said '*the status of teachers has been undermined, repeatedly over the last two decades, as a result of them adhering to government policies and initiatives that many opposed at the outset*'. Respondents also felt that teaching was seen as not having good working conditions, nor being seen as a respected and valued authority.

A further important, though not entirely new, phenomenon which is reinforced by our findings is that teachers tend to underestimate the esteem in which their profession is held by others. This is evident from a variety of sources in the surveys presented here. First, we found that teachers perceived greater differences between a high status profession and the teaching profession than did the associated groups or the trainees. Teachers judged teaching to receive less reward and respect, to be less likely perceived as a trusted, trained and high performing profession, and to be more subject to external control than did associated groups or trainees. Secondly, teachers perceive their status to have fallen faster and to a lower level over the years since 1967 than do governors, support staff, parents or trainee teachers.

Thirdly, when asked to say what status teachers had, and what status they deserved, the associated groups and trainees promoted teacher status more than did teachers themselves. In all these respects, this low collective self-esteem could militate against any early improvement in the status of the profession. The finding that trainees' and younger and more recently trained teachers' views were also less negative, though not actually positive, than their more experienced colleagues about reward and respect for the teaching profession may be a sign of improvement, which we shall test in the final survey.

The nature of teachers' work: teacher professionalism

For decades, as indicated in the introduction, the status of teaching has referred to the question of whether teaching is a profession. As Hoyle (2001) has pointed out, teaching officially achieved *professional* ranking in the Office for National Statistics classification for the 2001 census. Much of the literature relevant to teachers' status focuses on the properties of an occupation in achieving professional status, or in its professionalisation, in this sense. For example, having high level entry requirements, and the establishment of the GTC as a regulatory body for teachers, might be such properties. Whilst this reclassification ought to guarantee improved occupational status and prestige for

teaching, in practice it may not because, as we have seen in our public opinion survey, the image of teaching is so strongly connected with 'the ever-present need to maintain control ' (Hoyle, 2001, p.143). Meanwhile, the statutory imposition of standards for training, national assessments, and strong prescriptions for teaching, for example, may have contributed to the teachers' sense that the teaching profession is not trusted or valued by government, and that central control of the curriculum and of assessment, undermine teachers' professionalism (see e.g. Mahoney and Hextall, 2000; Johnson and Hallgarten, 2002). This view is supported by a primary school subject leader who said that *'there is a need for the government and other bodies of professionals to recognise the integrity and professionalism of qualified teachers and stop asking them to prove everything every day, week or term. We are professionals and should be left alone to teach and not spend hours filling in forms, plans and evidence sheets!'*

Given the present variety of models of professionalism, the government's intention to create a new professionalism for teachers (DfES 2001a), and the GTC's (2002) Statement of Professional Values and Practice and recent Code of Conduct (GTC, 2004), our exploration of teacher professionalism in 2003 showed a not surprising instability of opinion. Although the five factors that emerged from our surveys were conceptually coherent, they explain only half of the total variance and three were of modest reliability. Thus, whilst they appear meaningful, we must be cautious about their interpretation, and we shall have to await the results of the final survey to judge their stability as dimensions of professionalism. The overriding finding as regards teacher professionalism is the similarity of views between teachers and associated groups, such that differences between these groups were differences in strength of opinion rather than direction of opinion. For example, the results show that associated groups and teachers were negative, about 'teaching as delivering standards', but teachers' views were more strongly negative. Similarly teachers and associated groups were positive that central control undermines professionalism, but associated groups were less positive than were teachers. Of particular interest in the next round of surveys will be issues of collaboration and trust, within working relationships in schools and with parents and community, following the implementation of the National Agreement on Raising Standards and Tackling Workload, which was signed in January 2003 and was in the early stages of implementation at the time of the present survey.

Motivation to teach

In common with other recent surveys (GTC 2005; Smithers and Robinson 2004; Bush 2005), we found that the reasons people gave for choosing to become teachers were overwhelmingly to do with working with children, that is, vocational rather than professional. Our factors showed that this desire to 'give children a good start in life', and to have a challenging job, outweighed the desire

to teach because of its status, image or the material aspects of the job, or what we have called 'comfortable status'. When our teacher sample was divided between those intending to stay in the profession and those who said that they would leave within five years, the leavers were more likely to have been motivated to become teachers by these aspects of 'comfortable status'. We found that primary school teachers were more concerned than secondary school teachers about giving children a good start (perhaps because they are responsible for children from the very beginning of their school careers), about having personal and professional development, and about finding fulfilment and pride in the job. Our finding that trainee teachers' highest motivation was to 'find fulfilment in their work' and 'have a job of which they could feel proud' might indicate a difference in priorities in terms of the personal versus professional concerns between new and experienced teachers. This remains to be seen. Our longitudinal surveys of trainee teachers as they gain professional experience will inform this question, and may have special implications for recruitment managers to whom we now turn.

Central to the role of LEA recruitment managers is the strategic support of schools with the recruitment, retention and training of teaching staff. With responsibility for collaboration through the provision of information and guidance, recruitment managers are placed in a unique position, having scope to balance LEA, school and teachers' own requirements in order to develop effective strategies.

Located between insider and outsider perspectives, recruitment managers have articulated teacher requirements from an informed position. Perhaps the most vivid parallel between the views of recruitment managers and teachers were evident in their observations with respect to the significance of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) to the role of the teacher. We found that teachers viewed CPD as essential to the recognition of teaching as a profession, and it formed part of their motivation to stay in teaching. Likewise, recruitment managers identified CPD activities, in their areas, as having the single most positive effect on the status of teachers. This finding is reinforced by the concerns of recruitment managers about the adequacy of funding provision to support CPD demands among teaching staff.

The outsider perspective: public opinion and the press

In our Public Opinion Survey, teachers' occupational prestige - that is their place in a hierarchy of occupations - was assessed most often to be similar to that of social workers, because of the nature of the work, namely working with young people or children. The training and qualifications required to become a teacher were evidently not salient issues, and yet were recognised, after authority and responsibility, as necessary for becoming a headteacher. This could indicate lack

of knowledge of teachers' qualifications, since until the development of the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH) in 1997, and the 2004 requirement that all new headteachers must hold or be working towards NPQH, there was no difference at all between teachers' and headteachers' qualifications. Headteachers, both primary and secondary, were likened most frequently in status to management consultants, and second most frequently to doctors. The reasons given for this choice concerned responsibility, authority to make decisions and the qualifications required. Internationally, notably in Finland, raising the level of training and entry qualifications seems to have contributed to raising the status of teachers (Santiago, 2005).

The 50/50 split of public opinion about the attractiveness of teaching as a career, and the positive attitude of the older age groups of men, especially those over 65 to teaching as a career, may contribute eventually to an improvement in the status of teaching, despite the extent of feminisation of teaching.

Pay remained a highly salient determinant of the attractiveness of a teaching career, but rather than being a negative aspect, it was also likely to be an incentive. The prominence of pay and funding issues for schools in the press at the time of the survey, when a shortfall in schools' budgets had been announced may be a factor here.

The dominant negative image of teaching, for all age groups, however, was of teaching as 'having to control a class'. This reinforces Hoyle's (2001) view that it is '*the ever-present need to maintain control, and the consequences of even partial loss of control, which shapes the image of the teacher to the detriment of the prestige of the profession*' (2001:143). With government intervention, through target setting, emerging as one of the more prominent themes in both Quality and Regional newspapers, consideration must be given to the view espoused by a primary school teacher who felt that '*Teachers do not now command the same respect particularly due to government intervention that gives the idea to the general public that teachers don't know what they're doing.*' That said, younger participants in the public opinion survey, offered images of the activity of teaching which were more relevant, arguably to education and teacher expertise, and less focused on aspects such as workload and stress, than their older counterparts..

A further finding from the Public Opinion Survey could be interpreted cautiously to suggest that the differential in status between primary and secondary teachers may be showing signs of diminishing. This was most evident through the public opinion survey selection of the same occupations as most similar in social status to primary and secondary teachers, and to primary and secondary headteachers. It was reinforced in the teacher and associated groups

survey, in terms of the status teachers deserve, based on their occupational esteem in the eyes of parents, governors and support staff. Awareness of this finding, and examination of the factors which might underlie it, and which are being explored in our case studies, might go some way to suggesting that Hoyle's 'intractable barrier' to teachers achieving higher occupational prestige, may be being eroded. Again this will be examined in our case studies and tested in the 2006 surveys.

The media survey

Finally we shall look at some points emerging from the media survey. The first concerns regional differences. Reference to teachers and education in London and the south east were more frequent than those about other parts of England thus potentially misrepresenting the situation in the rest of England. Articles referring to the north east and east midlands were particularly rare. Since the other surveys have identified some regional differences, notably in the north east and London, we shall look more closely at regional issues and Regional press in our case studies.

A second point, as a primary school teacher suggested, is that prominent themes in the press emphasise negative issues of: *'The status of the teaching profession is very much affected by the media's approach and by the general public's lack of awareness of the workload and the pressures that teachers are subject to.* These are issues of concern which are potentially conjuring up images of a profession under siege, subject to pay disputes, externally imposed targets and schemes and under-funding. These occupied over half the coverage in the national and Regional papers. When combined with the space devoted to teachers involved in court cases and suffering bullying and disruption at the hands of their pupils, it may seem surprising that half of the participants in our public opinion survey saw teaching as an attractive career. On the other hand, this sense of a profession under siege' is of decent, hardworking, professional teachers undeservedly beset by the problems listed above. In this sense, the newspapers may be conjuring up a picture of teachers as innocent victims of current government policies, in contrast to what both Woods et al (1997:151) referred to as *'politicians and press lambast[ing] teachers'* (our emphasis) during the 1980s and 1990s and to the assessment of practitioners such as the headteacher who said that *'there are too many experts out there and the 'professionals' are being undermined'*. Whether articles on more obviously positive issues, such as the teaching awards or students' academic successes, will have become more prominent in the second media survey remains to be seen.

Summing up

Estelle Morris spoke of raising the status of the profession by 2012 so that the 'best teachers ... have a status and role more like consultant doctors than either junior doctors or nurses' (DfES 2001a:18). The assistant headteacher at a primary school shared the former Secretary of State's vision commenting 'all of the occupations that need to be seen as higher status are generally deemed as low. In general, the British public view teachers, doctors, nurses, police, fire etc. as low status. I would be delighted for teachers and the education profession to receive the accolade they richly deserve'. To summarise the research presented here this document has reported the results of the baseline surveys conducted in 2003. These have shown that the distance between the status of the teaching profession and that of a high status profession was extensive according to teachers themselves, trainees and to associated groups. The status of teachers, in the public eye, was more commonly deemed equivalent to that of social workers rather than doctors, although 10 per cent of the sample likened primary and secondary headteachers to doctors in social status. Our case studies and longitudinal surveys will help to examine the effects of status raising policies, prior to a final survey in 2006. Those results will show whether any progress has been made in enhancing the status of teachers and teaching at Morris' halfway mark. We shall leave a more optimistic last word to a teacher who said:

I'm proud to be a teacher. This was not the case in the '80s. I feel responsible for promoting a positive image of teaching to new teachers. (Primary deputy head)

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Appendix to Chapter 3

Public Opinion Survey: reasons for seeing, or not seeing, teaching as an attractive career.

Reason	Total mentions (%)	Negative	Positive	Effect size
Pay	365 (20.6)	205**	160	small
Having to control a class	304 (17.2)	278**	26	large
Working with children	284 (16.0)	78	206**	medium
Interesting work	235 (13.3)	4	231**	large
Status of teaching	214 (12.1)	119	95	-
Influencing children	212 (12.0)	4	208**	large
Total numbers	1770	881	889	

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Appendix to Chapter 5

Status rating over the years: samples compared

Year	Teacher sample			Associated group sample		
	Mean	Std. Dev	N	Mean	Std. Dev	N
2003	2.21 **	0.90	2295	2.67 **	1.06	868
1997	2.39 **	0.84	2189	2.82 **	0.93	825
1988	2.93 **	0.96	1898	3.20 **	0.89	724
1979	3.72 **	0.94	1509	3.87 **	1.04	672
1967	4.31 **	0.79	907	4.39 **	0.84	519

** $p < 1\%$, Mann-Whitney, sample difference

Positive ratings are above 3.0

Defining a high status profession

Mean scores on the four factors

Sub-scale	Overall Mean	Std. Dev	N
1. Successful, societal image status	4.17	0.59	3633
2. Status through control and regulation	3.45	0.85	3410
3. Status through the working environment	3.90	0.67	3394
4. Status as trusted, autonomous professionalism	4.13	0.55	3379
5. Composite respect/reward status (1+3+4)	4.13	0.52	3273

Status of the teaching profession

Four dimensions to define the status of a profession

Status factor 1: Status through respected and valued authority

Statement	Correlation with total minus item
c3 Enjoys positive media images	0.67
c8 Has the respect of clients (in the case of teaching, pupils)	0.65
c9 Is valued by government	0.62
c5 Enjoys high financial remuneration	0.61
c6 Has members who are the recognised authority in their area of expertise	0.61
c4 Has a powerful and independent professional body	0.56
c1 Offers an attractive life-long career	0.51
RELIABILITY	0.84

This factor accounted for 36 per cent of the variation in the sample.

Status factor 2: Status through control and regulation

Statement	Correlation with total minus item
C10 Is subject to strong external controls	0.48
C7 Is subject to external regulation	0.48
RELIABILITY	0.65

This factor accounted for 10 per cent of the variation in the sample.

Status factor 3: Status through the working environment

Statement	Correlation with total minus item
C17 Enjoys high quality working conditions.	0.59
C12 Is one for which there is strong competition to join.	0.48
C19 Enjoys substantial non-financial rewards.	0.45
C14 Has high status clientele.	0.40
RELIABILITY	0.69

This factor accounted for 6 per cent of the variation in the sample.

Status factor 4: Status through responsible, high level performance

Statement	Correlation with total minus item
c13 Is trusted by the wider community to perform a service for them.	0.66
c15 Has responsibility for an important service.	0.59
c16 Demonstrably maintains high levels of performance.	0.58
c18 Has members who have the autonomy to exercise their professional judgement in the best interests of their clientele.	0.54
c11 Has members who have lengthy professional training.	0.51
c2 Has mutual respect between colleagues.	0.51
RELIABILITY	0.80

This factor accounted for 5 per cent of the variation in the sample.

Definitions of a high status profession across the three groups

Sub-scale	Teachers	TAs, parents, governors	Trainee teachers
1. Status through respected and valued Authority	4.26 ** (0.59, 2274)	3.98 (0.53, 840)	4.01 (0.56, 249)
2. Status through control and regulation	3.44 (0.87, 2291)	3.48 (0.81, 859)	3.47 (0.79, 260)
3. Status through the working environment	3.97 ** (0.68, 2277)	3.72 (0.63, 861)	3.83 (0.62, 256)
4. Status through responsible high level Performance	4.21 ** (0.54, 2273)	3.98 (0.52, 851)	3.91 (0.58, 255)
5. Composite respect/reward status (1+3+4)	4.21 ** (0.52, 2222)	3.96 (0.46, 811)	3.95 (0.50, 240)

***p<1%, sig. above the rest*

Five dimensions of teacher professionalism based on a composite sample of teachers, teaching assistants, parents and governors

Label	Statements	Reliability	Mean ± 0.44	Variance %
Factor Teaching as constructive learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continuing professional development is essential Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good learning It is important for teachers to be creative Teachers must always be ready to learn new classroom methods Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies Teachers must be able to manage a complex learning environment. 	0.75	4.29 ± 0.44	17.8
Factor Teaching as an autonomous profession	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism Central control of assessment undermines professionalism 	0.90	3.67 ± 0.09	7.7
Factor Teaching as a trusted profession	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Being trusted by the public is important for teachers Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher Good teachers evaluate their practice and learn from this Being trusted by the government is important for teachers Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions Teachers should be responsible for directing and supervising support staff in the classroom An influential and independent professional organisation for all teachers is desirable. 	0.66	4.29 ± 0.39	5.2
Factor Teaching as delivering standards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment. (Reversed) 	0.53	2.62 ± 0.54	4.6
Factor Teaching as collaboration with others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effective teaching involves collaborating with parents as equal partners Teachers should develop working relationships with the local community It is important for teachers to address individual learning needs High quality teaching involves collaborating effectively with members of other professions More emphasis should be placed on the process of learning The teaching profession should take into account the views of the pupils 	0.67	3.85 ± 0.48	3.6

N = 3015

Source: *Teacher Status Project – Survey of Teachers 2003 & Survey of Associated Groups 2003*

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