Teachers' Work Lives
The View from Relief Teachers, Transferred Teachers and Teachers
Implementing Educational Change

Editors
Trudy Cowley
John Williamson

Contributors
John Williamson
Penny Webb
Trudy Cowley
Rick Churchill

Papers presented as part of a Symposium at the 25th Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education
Hobart
29th November, 1995

Published by the School of Education, University of Tasmania, Launceston, Australia.

About the Authors
Mr Rick Churchill is studying for his Doctor of Philosophy in Education degree and is a Lecturer in the School of Education, University of Tasmania at Launceston. His previous roles include that of school Principal and statewide curriculum consultancy with the South Australian Department of Education. He is presently consultant to a Tasmanian Department of Education and the Arts project which introduces global perspectives into the Studies of Society and Environment curriculum.

Ms Trudy Cowley is studying for her Doctor of Philosophy in Education degree and is a Research Assistant in the School of Education, University of Tasmania at Launceston. She was awarded First Class Honours and the University Medal from the University of Sydney for her Bachelor of Education degree. After her graduation, she taught Maths, Science, Information Management and Information Technology for three years. Prior to her studies at university she worked as a computer programmer. As part of her Research Assistant work, she has recently worked as Project Executive Officer of the Australian component of the
OECD study investigating innovations in Science, Maths and Technology Education.

Mrs Penny Webb is studying for her Doctor of Philosophy in Education degree at the University of Tasmania at Launceston. She has taught in Tasmania and overseas at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. For the last five years she has adopted the dual role of researcher/practitioner in a phenomenological investigation into relief teaching. She sees her previous wide-ranging teaching experience as a significant factor in helping to identify the complex relationships within the teaching and learning settings in Tasmanian schools.

Professor John Williamson is Head of the Department of Secondary and Postcompulsory Education, School of Education, University of Tasmania at Launceston. He worked as a school teacher prior to graduate study at the University of Leicester, UK. He has published widely in the areas of classroom processes and practices, curriculum implementation and evaluation and teacher education. Recently he was consultant to the OECD international study of Teacher Quality and was Director of the Australian component of the OECD study investigating innovations in Science, Maths and Technology Education. Currently he is working with Prof Phillip Hughes and Assoc Prof Joan Abbot-Chapman to examine teacher competencies as part of a ARC Large Grant. He is a Fellow of the Australian Teacher Education Association and co-edited the South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education for six years.

Table of Contents
ABOUT THE AUTHORS
TABLE OF CONTENTS
"HEWERS AND DRAWERS?": THE WORK LIVES OF TEACHERS  JOHN WILLIAMSON
INTRODUCTION
TEACHERS' WORK LIVES: THE 1980S
TEACHERS' WORK LIVES: THE 1990S
WAYS OF COPING IN A CHANGING CONTEXT
THE PAPERS IN THE SYMPOSIUM
'JUST A RELIEF TEACHER' PENNY WEBB
INTRODUCTION
PERSONAL CONTEXT
WHO ARE RELIEF TEACHERS?
WHAT THE RESEARCH SAYS
A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A RELIEF TEACHER
Period 1: Grade 9 Science
Periods 2 & 3: Grade 8 Speech and Drama
Recess duty
Period 4: Grade 8 Maths
Period 5: Grade 7 Design and Technology
Main staffroom
Lunch duty
Period 6: Grade 10 Science
Period 7: Grade 9 Social Science
Staffroom

REFLECTIONS ON THE DAY'S RELIEF TEACHING
DIRECTIONS: YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW
TEACHERS IN TRANSITION: A NEW VIEW TRUDY COWLEY

INTRODUCTION
KEY ELEMENTS OF THE LITERATURE
Teachers in Transition
Expert Teachers
Quality of Teaching

INVESTIGATING TEACHERS IN TRANSITION
Interviews
Observations

IMPACT OF TRANSITION ON TWO TEACHERS' WORK LIVES
Story 1: Peter
Transfer Process
Philosophy of Teaching
Impact at the Professional Level: Quality of Teaching
Curriculum and Content Knowledge
Pedagogical Skills (Teaching Strategies)
Reflection On and In Practice
Empathy (Student and Staff Relationships)
Managerial Competence (Discipline and Administrative Skills)

Impact at the Personal Level: Job Satisfaction
Stress

Story 2: Alison
Transfer Process
Impact at the Professional Level: Quality of Teaching
Curriculum and Content Knowledge
Pedagogical Skills (Teaching Strategies)
Reflection On and In Practice
Empathy (Student and Staff Relationships)
Managerial Competence (Discipline and Administrative Skills)
Impact at the Personal Level: Job Satisfaction
Stress

CONCLUSION
Implications

TEACHERS' WORK LIVES: THE VIEW FROM TEACHERS IMPLEMENTING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE RICK CHURCHILL

INTRODUCTION
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
RESULTS
The Educational Changes Seen by Teachers as Affecting Them Most in Their Work
Unfamiliar Practices Replacing Established Work Patterns
“Hewers and Drawers?: The Work Lives of Teachers”

John Williamson

Introduction
If we were asked to describe a typical teacher's day how would we respond? Would it be any easier if we were asked to describe a typical term, month, week or day in, say, each of the years 1970, 1980, 1990 and 1995? For many of us, the nomination of a designated time-frame would be useful as we would be able to use our own experience to talk generally about major changes in curriculum, pedagogy, the nature of the student population, involvement with the wider community, and so on. Recollections such as this are useful in providing a rich picture, but they all carry the usual limitations of memory and personal anecdote; for example, they focus on some issues to the exclusion of others, they place undue emphasis on some memories and so on. Recognising and accepting the limits, however, we would still have details of a dramatic change over the last quarter of a century in what it is that teachers do in their work lives.

If we were to ask current teachers the same two questions there would be much more detail, but essentially the same story; that is, the nature of teachers' work is now significantly different to what it was 25 years ago.

The papers in this Symposium seek to chart and analyse some of the changes that have occurred in teachers' work lives over the recent past.
Connell (1985), arguably, was the first educational researcher in Australia to view teaching as "work" and to provide detail about the experience of teaching as a "work life". His pioneering book, Teachers' Work, was based on a series of interviews with 100 Years 9 and 10 students and 128 of their teachers conducted between 1977 and 1978. In an earlier publication from the study, the central role of teachers in understanding, "what made a difference", was noted:

Our argument must ultimately focus on their situation and their problems ... It becomes very important, then, to get accurate bearings on the social situation of teachers, the constraints they work under, and the possibilities open to them. (Connell, 1982, p 120)

Not only did the project begin to look at Australian schools, students and teachers to address some of the key factors affecting education, it did so by bringing together three levels of analysis; personal life-history, institutional life of the school, and large-scale outside influences.

Connell provides several pages that describe the range of the tasks undertaken by the teachers who were involved in his project. These include those that we are all familiar with; for example, lesson preparation, classroom management, organising and marking tests, keeping records, interacting with other teachers in the same content area or year group, implementing new curricula, integrating new materials, and so on. These are the things that those outside schools see as the teacher's work. Connell also mentions the "extra curricula" matters such as the Parents and Citizens meetings, staff meetings, department meetings, and so on, which are often overlooked by those outside teaching.

The breadth and complexity of the teacher's work life is obvious even from the very brief description above and it dispels the notion of teachers as generally, "nine to three-ers".

TEACHERS' WORK LIVES: THE 1990s

Significant economic and social changes have characterised the first few years of the 1990s. To cover in detail the changes that have occurred in teachers' work lives in the 1990s would require a major essay. It is sufficient here to record:

1. There has been a major change in the school student population. This has occurred as a result of the increased retention rate which has followed the various governments' efforts to make completion of a full secondary school career the norm for Australian youth.

2. There have been major changes in the curriculum and teaching approaches to accommodate societal demands and students' needs and aspirations. For example, the Dawkins' statement, Strengthening
Australian Schools (1987), used the national stage to point to the need for change in many aspects of schooling, including the adoption of common major areas of knowledge and skills for schools and a more nationally consistent approach to reporting student progress. These were subsequently adopted by the Australian Education Council (AEC) in 1989 as, "Common and Agreed Goals for Schooling in Australia" (ref?). Some of the changes resulting from these policy decisions are now readily seen in the National Statements and Curriculum Profiles.

The Finn Report (1991), which looked at young people's participation in postcompulsory education and training, and the Mayer Report (1992), which emphasised the need to prepare young people for the world of work and proposed seven Key Competencies, added several layers of complexity to the changes which were occurring.

Recently the Australian Vocational Certificate Training System (AVCTS) has been introduced and it is likely to have a further major impact on senior secondary schools.

In teaching practices we can see major changes in the ways that students are facilitated in their learning. Following the adoption of policies such as inclusion, for example, students who have a physical or intellectual disability are now included in on-going classes rather than segregated into some form of 'special class'. In other situations, as a consequence of the different student population staying on at school, teachers have been required to move from a more didactic presentation approach to one that is more learner-centred, and often more activity or hands-on focussed.

3. In each of the curriculum areas the knowledge base has increased dramatically. The reviews of Science and Mathematics in teacher education programmes, for example, indicated that the content in the typical teacher education programme was not adequate for the students starting in the workforce in the 1990s.

4. The nature of the relationships with the wider school community have changed significantly. There has been a major devolution of responsibilities from central authorities to the school, which is now expected to be more responsive to its community.

The above factors indicate a dramatic change in the nature of teaching and teachers' working lives. There now appears to be increased pressure for more far reaching change in all aspects of teaching. This extension to the teacher's role has been described as "professionalisation", and the increased pace of change as "intensification" (Hargreaves, 1994).

WAYS OF COPING IN A CHANGING CONTEXT
In this turbulent school environment many teachers found the amplitude, frequency and pace of change overwhelming. Researchers began to describe the 'coping strategies' of teachers as they grappled with fewer resources, conflicting expectations, pedagogical and curriculum change and so on. (See for example, Hargreaves, 1978.) Some teachers began to revise downwards their expectations for their self-fulfilment in teaching. Many became cynical or disenchanted and lowered their commitment to teaching. This was particularly the case for mid or late career teachers (Huberman, 1993).

On the other hand, some teachers appeared to flourish even in the most difficult of situations. Nias (1989), for example, describes how many teachers were able to maintain and develop their sense of self and worth.

This brief sketch has demonstrated the need for comprehensive reforms to improve the quality of teachers' work lives. How is this occurring?

Policies at system, school, or classroom level need to acknowledge and be appropriate for the context. With the recognition of teacher quality (Williamson, 1994) as a major concern in addressing the issues described above it is possible to see a more comprehensive set of policies being developed and implemented; even if not within the one system or level within a system. Williamson (1994) has outlined these policies in some detail; briefly, they range from a more effective preservice teacher education programme, through a more effective inservice programme, the use of appropriate teacher evaluation or appraisal procedures, the development of alternate careers in teaching; for example, to be able to shift in and out of teaching and industry, and so on. These reforms are underway. They need support and commitment not only from all involved in education but the wider commitment also.

THE PAPERS IN THE SYMPOSIUM
The papers in this symposium all deal with aspects of teachers' work lives in a changing context. There are important features that should be noted about each of them. First, they consider teachers and teaching as a central concern for policy makers, system level authorities, senior school staff, educational researchers, and so on. Second, they show teachers in a variety of contexts, but in each of them there are significant changes to which the teachers are generally responding rather than being proactive. Third, they show the professional practice of teachers.

References


'Just a Relief Teacher'

Penny Webb

INTRODUCTION

Relief teachers have been described as 'key figures' (Galloway, 1993, p167) but little is known about their lives. This paper 'sets the scene' and forms the first component of an ongoing investigation into the nature of relief teaching. The description of a day's relief teaching assignment in a Tasmanian high school (October 1994) provides an insight into the attitudes and ambiguities faced by relief teachers.

It enables others to accompany the researcher/relief teacher and to find out what it is like to be 'just a relief teacher'. Notes made during the day describe the teaching context, the different expectations from administrative and teaching staff, and the researcher's personal observations, responses and reflective thoughts on relief teaching. There is little 'free' time. The researcher takes classes for four teachers, five subjects and four student grades. She is on duty at recess and lunch time, as well as teaching for the full
seven-period day. Interpretive comments illustrate how the relief teacher negotiates the hidden curriculum to minimise the escalation of unwanted problems. Issues evident in the literature such as the isolation, powerlessness, or role ambiguity of relief teachers (Shilling, 1991; Galloway, 1993) can be shown to affect critical aspects of school and system management. A study therefore from a practitioner’s perspective can provide knowledge that reduces the growing disparity between what is expected and what is possible, and lead to more effective educational practices.

PERSONAL CONTEXT
The title of the paper, 'Just a Relief Teacher', signifies the paradoxical nature of relief teaching. It is a phrase used by many relief teachers to introduce themselves; it is also a dismissive phrase echoed by pupils, teachers and the educational community. Why is so little known about relief teachers? Few researchers have investigated the nature of relief teaching or attempted to unify the kaleidoscope of relief teaching experiences (Shilling, 1991). Who are relief teachers? From personal and anecdotal evidence, the predominant response either stated directly or implied is that relief teachers are 'babysitters'.

As a practitioner, I was affronted by the implication that relief teachers, as one regular teacher put it, "are not much good, they are just there to collect the dollars." I had previously taught overseas at all levels of education. Relief teaching had seemed an excellent introduction into the Tasmanian educational system in 1983. It also provided the flexibility to fit in with family and business commitments. I saw myself as a professional. My aim was to fill the gap left by the absence of the regular teacher, whatever that gap might be. I enjoyed the variety of schools, teaching in primary, special and district schools. I chose eventually to work in high schools. Subjects such as Maths, English, Home Economics or Speech and Drama challenged and extended my teaching repertoire. Work was usually provided, although I always carried a selection of teaching materials of my own. Teaching within a range of subjects requires an awareness of organisational styles, timing and a sensitivity to the culture of each school. 'Success' in a practical Home Economics class is measured in terms of not only having the cakes cooked on time but the washing up completed by the end of the lesson. A relief teacher therefore has to judge the amount of organisational structure needed in each class setting.

Action research and participant observation enabled me to examine some of the underlying influences in the classroom. I saw how 'problems' such as student unrest, or even the lack of an appropriate key to the classroom or cupboard could affect the relief teacher's day. A 'problem' therefore became a source of interest, an opportunity for creative problem solving and perhaps a means to unlock the hidden
curriculum. A regular teacher is familiar with students, a relief teacher knows little of student backgrounds and therefore requires additional skills in order to cope with the unexpected. I learnt to take little at face value and developed an ability to 'read' class dynamics within a few seconds of entering the classroom. I had worked out my teaching boundaries as I became more experienced. Classroom management requires different techniques from managing sports. 'Having a field day' takes on a whole new meaning for students only too aware of a relief teacher with limited background knowledge of student names or rules. The minefield of the safety, legal and professional implications for the relief teacher go far beyond 'babysitting'. A relief teacher has an ambiguous role.

In the last few years I have searched to understand far more than the subject matter of a lesson. I studied conflict resolution and group dynamics. I learned to read the culture and climate of a school in order to judge how to be an effective relief teacher in each setting. Almost imperceptibly, my awareness extended from a personal level to an awareness of patterns within the educational system (Webb 1995a). Many relief teachers were refusing to work in particular schools. It did not surprise me to hear that a school had unmanageable students in a relief teacher's class. What did surprise me were the quick-fix solutions which buried the problems still deeper. Attitudes such as, "the relief teacher is well paid; let him/her get on with it!" failed to consider the implications for the school if a relief teacher was unable to cope. Many schools blamed the relief teacher, sometimes with reason, instead of looking at a wider picture. Had the relief teacher gained the necessary skills and support to succeed? There were no professional development or induction programs for relief teachers. Attendance at a seminar on say, behaviour management could prove costly. In addition to paying the cost of the seminar (free to regular staff), a relief teacher might forfeit a day or more's work. Sometimes work was scarce, depending on the time of year or the availability of other relief teachers. Enquiries to the Department of Education and the Arts produced sympathy but no action. It was assumed that relief teachers 'who wished to get on' would make the necessary sacrifices. Data collected from interviews with relief teachers in 1991-1992 showed that many relief teachers were increasingly unable to cope but did not know what they were doing wrong (Webb, 1995a).

Since then 'problems' experienced by relief teachers have become mainstream. Increasingly, my own sense of professionalism has been challenged as a relief teacher. Though I hardly dare admit to myself that at times I have succumbed to 'babysitting'... overwhelmed not by the mountains but by the grains of sand in my shoes and the quicksands around me. Students who have 'lost' pen, paper and motivation; work that has lost integrity; people who have lost respect and perhaps even lost their way. It is time to change direction and look at relief teaching holistically and as a concept that includes the attitudes and values of the hidden curriculum as well as the organisational aspects.
WHO ARE RELIEF TEACHERS?
Relief, substitute or supply teachers are the terms used for emergency teachers who cover for staff absences in schools. In Tasmania they are employed by the Department of Education and the Arts, but are funded in part by the individual schools. Payment is for a minimum of two hours and a maximum of five hours per day. The Relief Teacher Service, based at one of three branches of the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES), links schools and relief teachers. A school coordinator, usually the

Assistant Principal (AP), may also contact a relief teacher directly. Sometimes a relief teacher has advance warning but often has to respond quickly, like any other emergency worker, and within half an hour of a telephone call be teaching in one of a number of schools, classes or subjects. There is the additional uncertainty of casual employment. The telephone may not ring that day, that week or that month. One relief teacher described the relief teaching uncertainty as similar to arrival at an international airport: a newcomer may feel overwhelmed as s/he attempts to make sense of the fragments of information; those more familiar with the scene are able to move purposefully and with less stress; and the frequent flyers can assimilate the changing rhythms and patterns within their lifestyles.

The issues (experiences and events) that concern relief teachers form a large part of the hidden curriculum of relief teaching. As a researcher/practitioner I have studied the response at first hand. The conversation goes, "Where do you teach?" "In local high schools." A look of interest, "What exactly do you teach ...?" The conversation continues until the mention of relief teaching. It produces one of two reactions: open body language, a smile, a laugh, "Oh yes. I've been a relief teacher too!" The conversation flows with comment, anecdote and vibrant accounts of classroom life. It has humour and pathos, insight and drama. The second reaction, however, is quite the reverse: negative body language, a certain wariness, even distrust. A friend who worked for the tax department experienced a similar reaction. He had learned to respond evasively. The mention of relief teaching, like tax, is loaded with innuendo. An examination of the language used to describe the relief teaching context gives vital clues to the hidden curriculum. Relief teachers and relief teaching seem to be a source of problems. Further questioning has revealed that some relief teachers are to be seen as 'anyone off the streets', 'lambs to the slaughter', or a 'rough sort of person'. In a primary school context some have been described as exhibiting poor management skills: 'baby pacifiers who dish out a stream of photocopied work sheets', or who 'hype the children up with games and lollies' or 'one step removed from volunteer Sunday school teachers'. It is also true that some teachers accept relief teaching roles because they have not 'won' regular appointments. They may be just a relief teacher as a stepping stone to more regular employment. Whether a relief teacher works by choice or necessity,
s/he is employed to fill a gap left by the regular teacher's absence.

That gap is seen differently from varying administrative, teaching and student perspectives. How does the context of relief teaching influence the relief teacher's role? Relief teachers and students interviewed have described the relief teaching experience in terms of conflict. Relief teachers are seen as 'fair game', they 'cop the flak' and get 'rolled up' by the students. Drake (1981, p 74) felt disheartened that even the "most qualified and dedicated available, are seldom successful in their stand-in roles." He indicated that the substitute teacher may be a professional colleague in theory but in practice the perception by the whole educational community is of an 'outsider' who can hold the fort in an emergency, but is forgotten as soon as the emergency is over.

WHAT THE RESEARCH SAYS
Researchers have little to say about relief teaching. Shilling (1991) reviewed the 'modest' amount of research on relief teachers, in contrast to the growing amount of research in other areas of teaching; for example the subjective construction of teaching as work. He examined the sociological aspects of casual supply work. Supply [relief] teaching, was seen to be a 'highly demanding' form of teaching, substantially different from regular teaching and characterised by lack of continuity, status or support. Huberman (1993) provided a graphic example of the 'invisibility' of relief teachers. In his book, The Lives of Teachers, which examines the professional lives of 160 teachers over a five year period, Huberman confirmed that "one-quarter of the responses evoke supply or substitute teaching" (p30). Indeed 44 per cent of the youngest teachers (5-10 years' teaching experience) had been substitute teachers, yet Huberman writes less than half a page (out of 264 pages) to describe this aspect of teachers' lives.

Galloway (1993) supported these findings. Her response to the literature on supply teaching was entitled, Out of Sight, Out of Mind. In a two year study, she found that substitute teaching occupied a low priority in academic research, policy documents or reports. At the individual, institutional and national levels of the education system, the casual teacher is considered an important emergency resource, but neglected in terms of research or training. As a result, little is understood about the day to day concerns, the practical realities for administrators, or the broader employment issues such as ensuring substitute teachers are of 'acceptable quality'. The Chilver committee noted that problems concerning substitute cover were leading to an 'increasing unwillingness' by principals to release classroom teachers from the school for inservice training (Galloway, 1993, p 160). Inservice training was seen as one method of reducing the 'hidden shortages' of teachers. There were often not enough substitute
teachers in the 'shortage subjects' which added to the difficulty of providing replacement cover. Recommendations to provide inservice training to make supply teaching a more attractive option were seen by Galloway as "superficially very straight forward ... in the Alice-in-Wonderland context of supply where the ironies are inescapable: authorities are enjoined to recruit more supply teachers yet many do not know how many they currently have" (pp 161-162). The paper concludes that supply teachers are 'key figures' in better understanding the "key social relationships and critical processes of teaching and learning that currently operate in schools" (p 167).

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A RELIEF TEACHER

The relief teacher's life therefore operates at a number of levels. At the surface level in this example of a day's teaching, the relief teacher/researcher tries to follow routines and instructions. At a deeper level, she has feelings based on her values and experiences. These enable her to make judgements about the context based on her interpretation, not only at the time but later as text. The duality of the researcher/relief teacher role creates ambiguities too. She has to balance teaching, observing and note-taking in a dynamic environment. The conversation between the relief teacher and the Principal could be interpreted in several ways. No further written comments were added by the researcher at a later date. Such conversations illustrate the inherent ambiguity of the relief teaching context. Further detail could identify the Principal and school. The day's teaching therefore evolves largely as it was seen at the time. Too many additional explanations made later by the researcher would serve to change the nature of the experience. This paper looks at relief teaching from a participant's perspective where 'everything happens at once.'

"Can you teach tomorrow?" It was the coordinator from the relief teaching agency (CES). Experience had taught me to be wary. "Which subjects?" I agreed to take Maths and Science if they were 'straight-forward'. Practical lessons outside one's subject area, and in an unfamiliar school, are rarely successful.

The following day I reached the school at 8:30 am. My routine was different but my mind was clearer. Usually I cannot plan ahead. I have to leap into action: from home to classroom in thirty minutes. Even with the advanced warning I still wondered what the day would bring. I had visited the school several months earlier but did not know the present coordinator. I went to the Assistant Principal's office, was greeted by the AP/coordinator and handed the timetable and a map of the school. The information made little sense to me. I asked for clarification of the staff members' names, as only initials had been given. Such apparently trivial details have far reaching consequences for a relief teacher, attempting to make sense of an unfamiliar environment. I knew I would be challenged. I was
'supervising' classes that day for three teachers, four grades (12-16 year olds), five subjects and for the full seven periods. A few minutes later, duty for the whole of recess and half of the lunch hour were added. This duty was apparently for a fourth teacher who was on camp.

Period 1: Grade 9 Science
I found the work in a folder in the main staffroom and glanced through the day's teaching. The first lesson, Grade 9 Science, was in Room 4. I checked my map of the school and found the laboratory then double-checked with nearby students as there was no room number on the door. Luckily it was not locked. I entered, wrote my name on the board and the instructions for the lesson. I glanced around the lab. It was clean, new and elegant. I went to the door and poked my head into the corridor. A bunch of students were casually grouped, "Relief?" "We haven't got you, have we?" "Who are you?" "Where's our teacher?" The group, mostly boys, walked in and took down all the stools from the benches. At least there was a pattern of expectations at the start of the lesson. How many students should there be? I had no list. I looked down the corridor. It was empty. I stepped back into the room and introduced myself. I told them I did not know why the teacher was away and handed them the photocopied worksheets headed, What happened when the boy monster met the girl monster? It comprised a series of instructions which had to be followed in order to convert units of mass into a code which would reveal the answer. I expected some comment on the title and got it. The grade 9 boys, had some ready suggestions mostly of a sexual nature. A relief teacher has to determine which behaviour to ignore and which to challenge. I chose to ignore the comments at that time but later, by talking to the students, discovered that the comments stemmed from a Personal Relationships course, especially for the boys, conducted by a visiting nurse. There were unresolved questions which had surfaced. One boy was angry. He did not see why he should be given instruction on 'private' matters. We talked for a few minutes, others joined in the discussions. I took his comments seriously and answered them as well as I could. Soon the boys settled and worked, their queries had been acknowledged. It may have been easier for them to talk to a stranger. Frequently student reactions from one school lesson, even days earlier, can surface in another lesson. I believe this is particularly apparent in a relief teacher's class when the usual pattern of the day is changed. (I remembered occasions when students recounted lessons I had taken as much as three years' earlier.)

So the lesson continued. I walked around the group checking and chatting. I had identified the owners of five daily Report Sheets which had to be signed and a mark given for attitude, work output, punctuality and having correct equipment. After fifteen minutes several students had not yet started writing. They claimed they 'could not' follow the instructions. They 'did not understand the problem ... any of it.' I smiled inwardly, this response was a familiar one.
After a few probing questions, I was able to determine the extent of their involvement and if necessary provide additional clues or challenges. It was easy to resolve the difficulties for those students, for example, who had only glanced at one side of the worksheet, so only had half of the information. Others wanted me to solve it for them. One boy in particular was rude, intentionally or not. "You [sic] ... supposed to be a teacher ... won't give me help!" In fact, he had challenged me a few times, then put up his hand and asked for help. When I had gone to his bench, however, he had studiously continued talking to his friend and ignored me. When I walked away, he wanted me back. Power seeking? Attention seeking? "Please see me at the end of the lesson." (I would talk to the student when his friends had left the class thereby reducing the opportunity for a potential classroom drama).

I filled in the Report Sheets signed them, and wrote a few comments about the lesson to the absent teacher and warned the class the lesson was finishing. As the class left, I made sure the (detained) student remained. He was still muttering. I tried to talk to him. He still felt disadvantaged and claimed, "It wasn't my fault." He felt he had not been 'helped'; he 'had not understood the class instructions'. Why had he written on the worksheet when there had been clear instructions, both written and verbal to do the work in his book? Once again he claimed he 'didn't know'. Was it part of a larger pattern of behaviour? I had no time. I had no class list, but he gave me his name and that of his grade teacher. I would see her at recess, with a comment, not a complaint. In this way she could use the comments or not, as she wished. (I saw my responsibility as providing feedback but leaving management options for the regular staff. I did not intend to load them with extra problems that had to be 'followed-up' after I had finished the day's teaching.)

Periods 2 & 3: Grade 8 Speech and Drama
The brief talk over, I rushed to the hall for Speech and Drama. I had been told the regular teacher would start the double lesson. She was in school but needed the time for other commitments. I introduced myself. The teacher explained that the class groups had requested extra time for rehearsals. It was therefore their responsibility to use the time wisely. She talked to the groups and clarified which groups could work on the stage and which could not. She warned me discreetly about one boy who was not in a group and 'might need help'. I suggested that he team up with a capable girl who had finished rehearsals. The arrangement worked well. I reinforced the positive aspects of their work where I could and asked each group to write a note for their teacher to explain what its members had done. Initially I watched events from a distance: one group worked outside the hall, another on steps, a third on the stage, a couple of groups out of sight. I listened for giggles and thumps, and periodically went to
check if they needed to discuss any aspect of their work. I was impressed. The students worked intensely and with enjoyment. I was asked to view one rehearsal. I remembered how, as a child I too, had enjoyed performing for an adult audience. Only one group seemed to be wavering back and forth between a casually social and a more purposeful level. I showed my interest in their work and chatted. I felt that they would not remain involved for the full eighty-five minutes. I was right. After about an hour this group of three girls raced a couple of times round the hall, their feet banging and voices echoing. The other groups called out in annoyance. I beckoned to the girls and showed them a note that I had written about them. "Do you think that this is a fair account of what you have been doing for the last few minutes?" They looked rather surprised. "You've done well so far. How about improvisations ... miming ... theatre sports?" They went off and were quiet. Later I found the top of a table had been unscrewed. The screws lying nearby. I questioned them. "It was like that." There was no way of knowing.

Just before eleven o'clock I got the groups together in a circle and we had a brief talk. I was pleased with the way the lesson had gone. "You can go now." There was a flutter of surprise but they went out quietly. I puzzled about the reaction and then realised that this school had a bell at the end of lessons. Probably my watch was thirty seconds fast. It was only when the bell did not go that I double-checked my timetable to find two time schedules were detailed on it. I had selected the wrong one and had let the students out ten minutes early. Too late to retrieve them. I wrote the teacher's note, checked that every corner of the hall was tidy and went to the staffroom. I needed to see the grade leader, get a cup of coffee and be ready to find another teacher who would direct me to my area of duty. The bell sounded as I reached the staffroom. I found the visitors' cups and used my coffee.

I had just finished talking to a grade leader and was making my way out for duty when the Principal came up to me. It was the first time we had spoken. Instead of a greeting, I was confronted with a direct observation, "I don't know if you realise that you let your class out ten minutes early?" "Yes, I misread the timetable." "I found some students wandering around and I blasted them. They had no business going early. They should have told you."

Recess duty
Then to Recess duty. Clutching my bag and visitors' coffee cup, I elbowed the doors open. A relief teacher has no office nor place of safety to leave personal belongings, so in addition to my handbag, I carry a briefcase with chalk, board markers, scissors, paper, pens, emergency work, and coffee as this is not always available.
Luckily I found the teacher on duty fairly easily. I asked about the rules. "The kids are usually good. Just see that their games don't get out of hand." He showed me where to go at lunch time for duty. It was a beautiful fresh spring day. The students were running and talking. There were no problems. I wished I had my sunglasses. There had not been time to get them from my car.

Period 4: Grade 8 Maths
After the break, I was listed to teach Grade 8 Maths. I needed to go back to the staffroom to return the cup, get my folder of work, check the classroom from the map of the school and head upstairs. The class is there before me waiting quietly. We go through the introductions. Have I met them before? They remember a time six months earlier. I tell them I do not know why the teacher is away, but he has set some maths and I will go over any difficulties they cannot resolve. I try to be positive, minimise ambiguities and 'settling in time'. The usual student 'test' occurs after a couple of minutes. Hands go up, "We can't do it. We don't understand." "What don't you understand ...?" I put the responsibility on them or give confidence to those who just need a helping hand. It's algebra and I feel easy with it. Some students in the class speed through the work and give the rest a sense of challenge. I enjoy their pleasure. The lesson is soon over. The bell takes me by surprise. I make sure the class leaves quietly, blackboard (with teacher’s instructions) cleaned, chairs under desks, no paper on the floor. I check the school map and stride on to the next class.

Period 5: Grade 7 Design and Technology
The corridor is tangled with moving trails of students but the scene is fairly orderly. The next class is at the end of the technical block. Twenty-seven students are waiting quietly. A good start. I haven’t taught them before. I have been given green graph paper and the name of a girl who will get scissors for the class. While she is gone I check the work from their textbooks. The students have to cut out a square, triangle and kite shape on squared paper and fit them together, drawing round the outlines. They make patterns. It was a simple exercise but very creative. Some students realised they would have a more easily-managed template if they scaled up the textbook diagrams. Others matching square for square ended up with minuscule shapes that were tricky to cut out with the large scissors. It was one of those rare lessons where both I and the class were focussed on the same goal. We learned from each other, played around with ideas and possibilities and there was not one moment of wasted time nor an unmotivated student. The bits of paper were cleared up and twelve scissors went back to the neighbouring class. I felt I could teach and relax, although this was the first time I had met this class. (These comments were made at the time. Later I realised what they implied. The students were motivated and involved in the task. They had taken responsibility for their own
learning. I therefore had no need to monitor the behavioural aspects and emotional tone of the class to balance challenging group dynamics. Instead, I enjoyed their enthusiasm and they welcomed me to their class. Anecdotal evidence has shown such occasions are increasingly rare for relief teachers.)

The corridor was almost empty by the time I had finished cleaning the board and writing notes for the teacher. Most students had eagerly made their way outside to the canteen, one or two trailed by the lockers. My feet echoed in the emptiness. I journeyed down corridors, each evoking powerful images. I passed the workshop area, with glimpses of machines, wooden cabinets, of photographs and overalls, into the next building, where the walls of the corridor were covered in paintings. I felt refreshed by the students' sense of commitment and energy, then a sense of amazement as the next corridor revealed a length of shimmering polished floor and dark blue paintwork. How many hours of polishing? I passed the sombre doorways of staffrooms, listed with teachers' names, each firmly closed. Alice-in-Wonderland? Narnia? Colditz? I was an outsider, what metaphors would I use? No one was in sight. The effect was subterranean, a symbolic sense of mystery, even surprise that so many people apparently, were hidden away behind closed doors. Perhaps each room was a necessary retreat? There was little visual sense of life, but in one area, a lingering smell of baking brought a reminder of the morning's activities. My shoes clicked onwards. I swung through wooden doors into a walkway, a brief explosion of bright green bushes and sunlight, before returning to another enclosed administrative area.

Main staffroom
About ten teachers were inside the staffroom sitting in a row by the long window. I had returned to check the afternoon's work before my playground duty. I located the staff pigeon holes to return photocopied sheets and my comments from the lesson. This took a couple of minutes. The contents of some boxes were spilling over the name tags, and I needed to check through each row and eventually ask for help. The absent teacher's box was located; still marked with his predecessor's name. Another teacher asked if I would like to take her Special Education classes the following week. That day's work would be a radically different assignment, with classes of remedial and advanced groups of students to supervise. We discussed the range of students and work. I grabbed a coffee, no time for lunch, asked when the second duty started and was back in the fray outside. I had to patrol a playground and grassed area.

Lunch duty
There was another member of staff on duty. He answered my queries on school rules and duty requirements, pausing to call out to a boy who was running past, "You OK, Jeff?" The boy nodded, glanced over his
shoulder at three or four boys who were pursuing him, and kept running.

Half a minute later he wheeled back towards us, still pursued; the teacher beckoned, "Here a second, Jeff." The boy slowed down and the others realising they were being watched, soon scattered. "You're feeling a bit hot?" ... mutual eye contact ... the boy laughed and walked off. I sensed the teacher's quiet control. He taught art. I wondered if familiarity with the students' backgrounds or his visual training had helped him assess the non-verbal group dynamics from the widespread groups of students. He turned to me, "It's a thin line between being chased ... and being hounded."

I walked back to my area. Girls were stretched out, sitting and sprawled on the tarmac. I noticed a flurry. One boy was carrying a girl and she was protesting. He had made some sort of statement and put her down again; no complaints, just chatting and laughter. Other students were on the grass by the classrooms ... Should they be in that section? I wandered over to a group who were kicking up dust and discouraged them. Their black shoes were transformed into moleskin suede, the ground like a dust bowl fringed with green grassy shoots. It was spring, blossom in the air and they had probably spent all morning in a drab school classroom. They kicked the ground a few more times then ambled off.

Period 6: Grade 10 Science
When the bell went, I raced back into the staffroom to collect my work.
I had Grade 10 Science. I was not sure if the handouts on Electricity were just for these students or if they were intended for other classes too. I glanced at the questions. There were only a few. I told the students to write in their books and not to mark the photocopies. I wrote the instructions on the board and confirmed I would collect the handouts at the end of the lesson. That requirement is not only more business-like, but it reduces their potential use for graffiti or as an ongoing source of paper missiles to aim at the waste paper basket or other students.

Only eleven students were present. I had no class list. I asked them to sign their names on a list while I helped some students with the work. Two extra names were written so I double-checked the names of those present by discretely looking at their books during the lesson. This is not easy, as some books are covered with pictures of pop stars or musicians rather than student names. Lack of information diminishes the relief teacher's status and increases his/her vulnerability in a classroom situation.

Relief teaching also increases in complexity if the students are able to 'get away' with inappropriate behaviour. I had completed the register check when I noticed another student had entered and was talking to two of my students. As he had not contacted me, I challenged him. He explained that two Grade 10 boys must leave the class to do a sports' test. He was unable to give me a note from the
teacher, 'because of the shortage of time'. I told him that I would take their names in order to explain their absence from the Science lesson. There was a slight hesitation. I asked for the name of the other teacher, there was another hesitation, "I don't know his name. He is a relief teacher." I commented, "That's a coincidence, two relief teachers! What shall I write on the note?" By this time the two students thought they had "better continue their Science" and that they "would have to do the test another day." The visitor left. I was curious and later asked them directly if they thought they were being set-up, as they admitted that the 'test' was a surprise to them. They were not sure. I was pleased that my personal relief teaching management policy had stood the test. (I had 'read' group dynamics, questioned students without accusing them, had a written record for feedback if necessary, and maintained student accountability. Indirectly I had possibly prevented future challenges to myself.)

Period 7: Grade 9 Social Science
The final period was Grade 9 Social Science. I checked the plan of the school and found it was in another building. The class was sitting down, waiting for me. Although no work had been left by the absent teacher, the coordinator had checked with a head of department who had been covering the previous day and had arranged for the group to continue with a negotiated study. The library had been booked. More changes: a change of teacher, and venue. I needed the class to go to the library without further delay, or their attention would be lost. I took the register, the only one given to me that day, I explained what was required and asked the students to put up the chairs. A few were still left, so I asked three boys to complete the task while the rest went to the library. I hovered in the corridor watching the class go one way but waiting to praise or complain to the boys who were asked to put up the chairs. They had put up a couple and were about to slink out, but when they saw me, they continued.

As I reached the library, I realised that I should have given instructions for the class to sit together. It is very difficult for a relief teacher to organise classes if student groups are intermixed. Luckily the librarian had shepherded them into one area and also gave a short talk on which resources were available on the subject of Bushrangers. Some students worked well, others flung themselves around, looking at other books. I kept them on task, nagging, coaxing, enthusing, or checked that they would complete the work at home. There was no other class there, so I did not worry if the noise was slightly higher.

I was tired. A regular teacher supervising for another teacher might mark books and expect the students to work independently. A relief teacher has to be seen to be active all the time or s/he is open to the comment, "Look at that relief teacher, she's doing nothing! She did
not make the kids do their work." In a high school situation, the day's timetable is diverse, a relief teacher has to cope with enormous changes and in addition may supervise an average of one hundred and fifty different students each day. There is minimal time to recover or plan ahead. At times this unsettled environment creates a hidden tension both for the relief teacher and class, which can develop into confrontation and power struggles, particularly if a relief teacher adopts an authoritarian approach, without having the resources to back up any demands. In this class I talked to individuals rather than groups, listed the students' names and work they had completed, and also made a few notes for the regular teacher. The period was soon over ... the chairs put up, paper off the floor and student bags checked. I remembered that library procedure from a previous occasion a year ago. The library aide offered to photocopy my teaching comments. She asked how I felt. "Wrung out", was the reply.

**Staffroom**

I collected my salary claim from the coordinator and went into the staffroom. At the time I just wanted to sit down quietly before driving home. There were three members of staff there, also unwinding. They asked me how the day had gone. "I've had some good classes." I had. I wish I could say more. A relief teacher is a visitor. There are unwritten expectations in the staffroom. Any comments or action considered out of turn and the hierarchical barriers are down. I remembered one occasion when my seemingly 'helpful' suggestion to an AP about relief teaching had provoked a stinging response, "I am not going to be told what to do by a relief teacher!" I was surprised and somewhat shocked. I had worked in that high school for over four years. From that occasion I resolved to continue giving written feedback for classes I taught, but never to offer advice about relief teaching unless it was sought. "How much does a relief teacher get paid now?" As I replied, I thought philosophically of 'cost' and 'value', 'supervision' and 'teaching', the duality of relief teacher and researcher and the growing disparity of what is expected and what is possible in practical terms. All examples of the complex and delicate balances between the interpersonal and professional roles of a relief teacher.

**REFLECTIONS ON THE DAY'S RELIEF TEACHING**

The day's teaching provides an insight into the dynamic changes inherent in a relief teaching context: the abrupt change from home to school; interdisciplinary changes often outside a teacher's area of subject expertise (Science, Speech and Drama, Maths, Design and Technology, Science, Social Science); changes in student ages and abilities (grades 7-10); and changes of time and place. A lesson lasted 35-40 minutes. Each teaching space demands procedural changes. The teacher went from the administrative area, staffroom, laboratory, assembly hall, staffroom, playground, staffroom, classroom, technology...
block, staffroom, playing field, staffroom, laboratory, classroom and library, staffroom. The six visits to the staffroom were needed to collect work, locate grade leader, make coffee, retrieve personal relief teaching materials (there was no secure space to leave personal belongings), and put teaching notes in the individual staff pigeon holes. How do all these changes affect the relief teacher? The student/relief teacher relationship? About ten minutes during the day was 'free'. The relief teacher therefore was allocated little time to integrate with the other members of staff, find out about school culture, eat lunch or even to be seen as a 'colleague'.

Unlike regular teachers, a relief teacher may not know the name, personality or teaching style of the absent teacher. The work provided may be from an unfamiliar book or film. How does the work link to wider goals? Is it any wonder that the relief teacher becomes seen as 'Jack of all Trades' and 'not a real teacher'? What messages are conveyed to the students? The relief teacher is also part of the changing context so there is ambiguity; while coping with change s/he is also creating change. A relief teacher has to be certain of his/her philosophy, boundaries and techniques in order to provide stability. In this context many of the classes were 'waiting' for the relief teacher. There was a sense of stability and routine. From personal observation and experience, it is evident that in schools and classes unable to cope with additional change within the school day, an unknown relief teacher is 'the last straw' and behaviour problems escalate.

What was the role and status of the relief teacher in the context described above? In this context it was seen administratively. There was little time for induction, the Principal talked directly about administrative requirements. For some AP's the 'thrifty' use of relief teachers implies good housekeeping, as each school has a budget for relief teaching requirements. A relief teacher therefore is seen in terms of a timetabled assignment rather than understanding the reality. Few schools have attempted to define the role of a relief teacher, nor ask for feedback from the relief teacher. There are few policies on relief teaching, either in schools or in the Department. There is no professional development provided for relief teachers yet the relief teacher was expected to teach the work provided, fill in report sheets and act 'professionally'. How much information was provided for the relief teacher?

Regular teachers however, see the school from a different perspective. They can identify staff initials, visualise school management structures and understand school policies. They have a personal framework from which to operate. They have 'internalised' their knowledge of the school and do not realise that a newcomer, as at an airport, looks for different 'clues' on each visit; slowly building a comprehensive picture. In addition to coping with change, a relief
teacher has to 'acquire' knowledge about school policies such as behaviour management (report sheets), routines for photocopying or library procedures. Such knowledge is fragmented. Teachers often refer to each other by their first names, yet administration sheets have surnames or initials or other abbreviations. Regular teachers ask for students' names, relief teachers recognise faces. Some schools do provide a folder of information. How many schools have compiled it in conjunction with the visiting relief teachers? From personal experience, there is frequent ambiguity such as the mixture of insider/outsider information, or lack of time to assimilate that information, before the relief teacher is thrown into a very active role.

Lack of knowledge reduces a relief teacher's status in the school. S/he is seen to be vulnerable. Students are quick to test the relief teacher's boundaries and knowledge. There were several examples of student strategies noted, such as providing an incorrect class list of student names, and inevitably more which were not noticed. Questions could be asked about legal responsibility when the relief teacher is responsible for students in the class and does not know names. This relief teacher was responsible for behaviour in the playground but did not know rules. There are interesting questions to ask about pay, duty of care, accountability, equal opportunity and even discrimination (Webb, 1995a). It is easy to see how the lack of a clearly defined role for a relief teacher produces many problems.

A relief teacher has to fill an administrative gap, and a teaching gap, and this inevitably produces uncertainty for students. An experienced relief teacher has developed strategies for accountability. In a primary school where a relief teacher might have a class for the whole day it is possible to establish a personal system of classroom management. In a high school context, where a relief teacher may have to teach more than one hundred and fifty students in a day, group dynamics can work very powerfully for or against the relief teacher. If a relief teacher feels vulnerable, students pick up the hidden messages shown verbally and non verbally. Both student and relief teacher react according to expectations and strategies built up over time. At times the strategies become complex. A relief teacher has to avoid conflict as s/he has no role authority. Examples of student strategies and potentially disruptive behaviour were evident in the description of the day's teaching context. The relief teacher needed stamina and ability to respond positively. A sense of humour is useful too. A relief teacher (student/novice) unable to anticipate challenges from individuals or groups of students needs additional support. For the relief teacher/researcher these observations were a small percentage of what could be recorded during the school day.

There are several questions which could be asked about this day's relief teaching. Why did the relief teacher/researcher not complain?
As researcher, she recorded her daily teaching experiences. She selected this day (from one of a number) to underpin further research on relief teaching. The extremes of experience would provide evidence of the organisational gaps, links and mismatches of relief teaching. It was important therefore to present the 'reality' of relief teaching and not one specially modified for her benefit. Obviously a lot happens quickly and the selection of data could be challenged. This day's teaching assignment is not unusual. Data collected from other relief teachers in high schools confirm similar experiences a year later. The researcher wrote down what she could at the time. She had refined her observational and action research skills over a number of years and had developed flexible teaching skills. She had also studied her personal learning and teaching preferences in an attempt to understand any personal bias. For those who might suspect this day was an exaggeration, a 'loaded' example, the researcher gave some indication of her personal background and rationale and reflective impressions. She was motivated by a sense of inquiry and of understanding the deeper themes of relief teaching. The day's observations balance the emotional with the physical patterns of the school day. The paper is not intended as judgement on a school but an attempt to examine the process of relief teaching from a single viewpoint.

DIRECTIONS: YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW
In the past the lives of relief teachers have been largely invisible and the relief teaching context considered an insignificant factor in school administration, classroom management and educational research. Relief teaching was assumed to be similar to regular teaching. Problems were attributed to the relief teacher's lack of skill or motivation. Indeed relief teachers were seen as babysitters. They were a flexible labour force, employed to supervise the class in an emergency. As a consequence little feedback was requested or expected. Anecdotal evidence indicated that 'problems' such as disruptive student behaviour in a relief teacher's class were accepted as inevitable and the relief teacher was provided with little training or support. If a relief teacher could not cope, another would be employed. Administrators too had few guidelines or policies within the school. Coordination had generally evolved on an ad hoc basis and relief teachers were forgotten as soon as the emergency was over.

It was time to change direction and focus. A five year ongoing research project places the relief teacher centre stage. It has examined issues seen as important by relief teachers and examines the strategies they use in the relief teaching context. Evidence has indicated that relief teaching is different from regular teaching and for the first time created a theoretical framework from which to examine relief teaching holistically (Webb, 1995a). 'Just a Relief Teacher' focusses on one day's teaching seen from a single relief teacher's perspective. The paper describes her journey through the
day. She enjoys the independence and diversity and looks beyond the photocopied worksheets to discover the relationships and patterns of lived experience. Notes taken at the time give a sense of the process of relief teaching, closely observed. A further paper explores the phenomenological aspects of this research (Webb, 1995b). Together they 'set the scene' and enable researchers, administrators, regular and relief teachers to travel individual paths within a common landscape.

In a broader sense, the lives of relief teachers present similarities with those of other casual and contract workers. What induction is necessary to help them cope? Conversely, what are the implications for the organisation if an employee cannot cope? How would a novice relief teacher have managed, given a similar day's relief teaching? What could student teachers learn from relief teachers? There are many trails to explore. It is innovative research which crosses traditional school cultures and boundaries. An examination of the lives of relief teachers will provide a better understanding of the processes as they are experienced by participants; direction for school policies and practice; and a significant new approach to organisational research.

References


Teachers in Transition:
A New View
Trudy Cowley
INTRODUCTION

A new teacher transfer policy was introduced by the Department of Education and the Arts (DEA) in Tasmania in May 1994. This policy has since been revised because of concern from teachers and their union about its content and implementation. The policy states that all teachers must teach, at some time in their career, for at least three years in a non-preferred location school (ie schools in remote locations or which are difficult to staff), and that all teachers' contracts are up for review every three years in the case of non-preferred location schools, or five years for preferred location schools and all promotable positions.

This could mean that teachers are transferring to a new school every three or five years. This has many ramifications for both the professional and personal working lives of teachers, both beneficial and detrimental. Very little research has been conducted on the implications of transfer between schools for teachers' quality of teaching and job satisfaction. Research in this area could inform decisions taken at the policy level in Departments of Education regarding transfer of teachers.

The data for this paper is taken from the pilot study phase of my PhD research which is concerned with investigating the impact of transfer between schools on the professional and personal working lives of teachers. In particular, it is concerned with determining the impact of teacher transition (ie transfer of teachers between schools) on the quality of teaching of expert Maths/Science teachers. Expert teachers were chosen as the focus because the Tasmanian transfer policy specifically targeted teachers of 10-15 years' experience in one school or one type of school (ie preferred location schools) for transfer, specifically to non-preferred location schools, and experience is a necessary but not sufficient condition of expertise (Berliner, 1994; Ericsson & Charness, 1994).

In this paper I will first present a summary of the literature relevant to this research. Second, I will describe the methodology of the research project. Third, I will present an outline of two case studies from my pilot study which will discuss the impact of transition on these teachers' work lives. In conclusion, I will identify common threads from the two case studies and suggest ways in which teachers can be supported during their transition to lessen the impact on their professional and personal working lives.

KEY ELEMENTS OF THE LITERATURE

The literature pertaining to teachers in transition is scant, and mostly conducted in the United States. This is of concern when teachers in all states of Australia are required to undergo transfer between schools. This problem is exacerbated in Australia by the
isolated nature of many of its schools. What are the implications of transfer for the professional and personal working lives of teachers in transition between schools?

Teachers in Transition
An American study (Mager et al, 1986) on Changes in Teachers' Work Lives investigated teachers in many types of transition, including teachers transferring between schools. The findings of this study were based on a series of interviews with teachers before and after transfer. Mager et al (1986) drew the following conclusions from their interviews:

(i) there exists an initial period of adaptation to the change;
(ii) some teachers recognise an annual rhythm when they are transferred;
(iii) teachers experience increased levels of stress due to the change process;
(iv) teachers in transition require special support, both from the school and their colleagues;
(v) each teacher's experience of transition is unique, but there are common threads of experience;
(vi) teacher job satisfaction, which is influenced by transition, influences the classroom learning environment (i.e., lowered job satisfaction has a negative impact on classroom learning); and
(vii) teachers need to feel some control over the change process if they are to react positively to it.

Expert Teachers
Based on recent research by David Berliner and colleagues, Berliner (1994) outlined five specific stages in the development of teachers' expertise from novice to expert, what I term the novice to expert continuum. These are:

(i) novice level (deliberate);
(ii) advanced beginner level (insightful);
(iii) competent level (rational);
(iv) proficient level (intuitive); and
(v) expert level (arational).

Not all teachers reach the expert level, even teachers with many years' experience, though experience (10 years or so) is usually a prerequisite for achieving expertise (Berliner, 1994; Ericsson & Charness, 1994). Those that do reach the expert level, according to Berliner, exhibit certain behaviours compared to novices, one of which is that "experts excel mainly in their own domain and in particular contexts" (1994, p167). This suggests that teachers at the expert end of the novice to expert continuum might well experience transfer differently to teachers at the novice end of the continuum. As Berliner stated, "we should regard expert knowledge as, for the most
part, contextually bound ... And this raises problems for transfer" (1994, p168).

Thus, when expert teachers are removed from the domain and/or context in which they have experience, it is unlikely they will continue to operate at the same level of expertise in all respects. They will need to gain further experience before re-establishing their expertise in their new school (Mager et al, 1986; Berliner, 1994). This may take some time and involve changes to their style and quality of teaching.

Quality of Teaching
Williamson (1994) identified five dimensions of quality teaching which have been used in this research as a framework for investigating changes in the quality of teaching of teachers in transition. I have determined that truly expert teachers would exhibit high standards in each of these five dimensions, which are:

(i) curriculum and content knowledge;
(ii) pedagogic skills (ie teaching strategies);
(iii) reflection on and in practice;
(iv) empathy (ie student and staff relationships); and
(v) managerial competence (ie discipline and administrative skills).

INVESTIGATING TEACHERS IN TRANSITION
The data for this paper are taken from case studies from the pilot study phase of my PhD research project. In the process of testing out my research instruments, I observed and interviewed three maths teachers in transition during Terms 1 and 2 of the 1995 school year. The data from two of these case studies are reported here.

Interviews
For Case 1, Peter1, interviews were conducted before transfer (one) and after transfer (three: one day, one month and one term after transfer). For Case 2, Alison, a single interview only was conducted after transfer. These interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. The interview schedules used for the two cases were not identical, however the information requested was essentially similar.

Observations
Peter was observed both before and after transfer on several occasions. Alison was not observed at either of the schools reported in this paper, but was observed at another school to which she has since transferred. Observations included:

(i) written notes on teacher behaviour;
(ii) completion of a Classroom Observation Schedule on teacher behaviour;
(iii) administration of a Classroom Environment Survey to students; and
(iv) teacher shadowing throughout the school day.

Peter was also asked to complete a log of how he spent his time each day, both before and after transfer.
IMPACT OF TRANSITION ON TWO TEACHERS' WORK LIVES

The two case studies reported here involve mathematics teachers transferring between Tasmanian government schools. Both teachers were recommended to me as expert teachers by colleagues. My observations of their teaching supported these recommendations; both teachers were definitely at the expert end of Berliner's novice to expert continuum.

Changing from one school to another can be both beneficial and detrimental to teachers' work lives. To what extent it is beneficial and to what extent it is detrimental can depend on many interrelated factors, including: support from administrators and colleagues; point of occurrence in teacher's work life; type and philosophy of schools transferring from and to; necessity to relocate self and family; reasons for transfer (ie voluntary, involuntary, due to promotion); adaptability of teacher to change; level of teaching expertise; and classes and subjects taught at each school (Mager et al, 1986, Berliner, 1994). The impact of these factors on the professional and personal aspects of teachers' working lives will be explored in the following two stories of transferring teachers based mainly on interview data.

Story 1: Peter

Peter is a mathematics teacher who transferred from Koala High School, located in a remote rural district of Tasmania (a non-preferred location school), to Echidna High School, located in one of Tasmania's major urban centres (a preferred location school). Peter transferred to Echidna High School at the end of Term 1 1995 because of a promotion to AST3.

Peter started teaching at Koala High School when he completed his teacher training as a science and maths teacher; he taught there for nine years. In Term 1, 1995 he taught grades 7, 8, 9 and 10 Maths and a Science class. All classes were mixed ability, except for grade 10 Maths and the Science class, which were top stream classes. Peter's grade 7 Maths class was also his pastoral care group.

Peter had his own classroom at Koala High School, located at some distance from his staffroom. His classroom had a small resources room located off it behind the blackboard. Peter was able to use this room effectively for disciplining students. Peter's attitude to his work was highly professional and dedicated. He had developed a reputation in the school amongst the staff, students and parents as an excellent teacher.

Peter taught more classes at Echidna High than he did at Koala High, but saw them for less time. He taught grade 8 Maths (bottom stream), grade 9 Maths (bottom and middle streams), grade 10 Maths (bottom stream), and grade 8 Science (mixed ability). Only Maths classes at
Echidna High School were streamed. He also taught an interest class on Friday afternoons. For pastoral care, Peter had a vertical group of grades 8, 9 and 10 students. Peter had his own classroom for teaching Maths at Echidna High School, located close to his staffroom.

In Term 1 of 1995, Peter's classes had been taught by two teachers (for part of the term each) and several relief teachers. This caused problems for Peter; according to him one month after transfer, "... some of these problems happening now wouldn't have happened if I had started here at the start of a year" (17 July, 1995).

Transfer Process
Peter was not happy about transferring to Echidna High School during the middle of a school year.

... I'm a bit unhappy about it happening half way through the year. I think that's letting the kids down and I've tried to negotiate for it to happen at the end of the school year, but, it's not possible. (10 May, 1995)

Thus, even though Peter did have some control over his transfer, in that it was due to a promotion to AST3, he did not have any control over when the transfer occurred.

Philosophy of Teaching
When asked how he saw himself as a teacher, Peter responded:

I used to want to be an expert, but I know that's not possible now, so now I see myself as a learner, I learn alongside the kids. ... And I try to reflect on my practice. ... [I] just look for opportunities to improve, just try and get better... I'm not a teacher, I'm a facilitator of learning. (10 May, 1995)

Accordingly, Peter had a constructivist view of students' learning. He believed, "kids make meaning of their own personal experiences and you've got to somehow just facilitate a whole wide variety of experiences for those kids" (10 May, 1995).

Regarding assessment, Peter commented, "I hate giving kids grades ... I want to make an individual comment about where they are ... I don't want to classify people" (10 May, 1995). He likes to keep assessment as student-centred as possible, only using grades when absolutely necessary. He stated, "I enjoy giving the students no formal assessment, and just looking at where they are at and where they need to improve" (10 May, 1995).

Impact at the Professional Level: Quality of Teaching
Peter predicted that the quality of his teaching would suffer, at least
initially, when he transferred to Echidna High School:

... I'm fairly confident I'll be able to manage the teacher role, but I think I'll get worse to start with. There will be a little bit of take-up time there while I build relationships with the kids and work out the school structures. I think I'll spend more time on low level tasks ... just getting used to what the actual routines of the place are and less time on high level tasks which I regard as dealing with kids' learning. (10 May, 1995)

This was indeed the case after his transfer. Peter made the following comment after his first day at Echidna High School:

I thought I'd get a bit of a working over, but I thought I'd be able to stand at the front of the class and say, "Listen", and the kids would listen. And I was amazed when they didn't. (20 June, 1995)

And, after one term at Echidna High School, Peter made the following comment:

I reckon I was offering nearly a Rolls Royce education where I was before, because I'd been there for so long and was so well entrenched and I didn't have to go through a lot of the hassles of building relationships because kids sort of knew my expectations early. The discipline wasn't a problem in the room. Then the other main aspect of teaching, the preparation was done. It fitted the context, it fitted the resources of the school and stuff. All my preparation fitted that. And so, I had individual kids making meaning and moving forward, making their own progress at their own individual level ... not all the time, but probably as much as you could expect to working within the constraints I had down there. Now, I'm not achieving any of that much at the moment in this place. (17 July, 1997)

Many of the things which Peter felt were important as an educator, which were happening at Koala High School, were not occurring at Echidna High School. His quality of teaching had definitely suffered a decline.

The following sections consider the changes in Peter's professional working life by focussing separately on each of Williamson's (1994) five dimensions of teaching quality.

Curriculum and Content Knowledge
Peter was not as well prepared to teach at Echidna High School as he had been at Koala High School. He was knowledgeable about the Maths and Science curricula, but did not have the necessary lessons and resources prepared to support his teaching. As he stated:

I teach ... six classes, which is more than I taught at Koala ... I see
them for less time each week, which I think actually involves more preparation because I'm seeing more kids for shorter periods of time. And, I don't like it as much. There's no doubt that it puts more of a preparation load on ... coming in to the school, picking up ... six new classes is very different from how I was operating at Koala ... where you'd teach something for a few years in a row, you never took on a whole heap of new things at once ... I've been thrown straight into preparing heaps of different stuff, and while some of the stuff I've pre-prepared works sometimes, it doesn't always work, and I'm having to prepare what fits the context that I'm in at the moment. So, I've been jumping around a bit, trying to use things I've used before, because I just haven't had time to prepare a lot of other good stuff for them. (5 September, 1995)

Peter also teaches an interest course at Echidna High School.

I've just changed, I had Motor Vehicles for the first half of the term, now I've got Forensic Science, and that'll go to the end of the year. And that's put an enormous amount of pressure on as well ... It's one of those awkward preparation things and the school hasn't been all that well set up for it. So, I've had to go looking for heaps of information, I've never taught it before. (5 September, 1995)

Besides having to prepare new lessons and resources at Echidna High School, Peter concurrently had to change his teaching strategies to fit the new context.

Pedagogical Skills (Teaching Strategies)

Peter had developed a standard lesson structure for his classes at Koala High School.

I have a routine lesson plan ... which is to get attention, set the task, let the kids explore the task as an individual or in a small group, then reflect upon the task. Now, that could happen over a period of two weeks for an extended task or it could happen a number of times in a lesson; those four phases could happen for a five minute mental arithmetic exercise. They always happen. (10 May, 1995)

Peter could not use these four phases of his lesson effectively at Echidna High School because of the different context. As he said at the end of term:

... as far as using those four lesson stages, then taking action is really the only one that is happening at the moment. And, they're not taking as much action as they should be. (5 September, 1995)

To illustrate, prior to transfer, Peter commented that the getting attention phase of his lesson plan was completely context free, whereas
the following three phases were not.

I'm far more confident in dealing with the last three when I'm comfortable with the context and stuff than I am when I'm uncomfortable with the context. (10 May, 1995)

However, upon transfer, Peter found that he had trouble even getting the attention of students at the beginning of a lesson. He found, in fact, that getting attention was not context free. The key phrases which he had employed at Koala High School held no significance to the students at Echidna High School. The routines were not established. As he stated:

... that phase that I told you wasn't there [at Koala High School] really all that important, getting attention, is actually vitally important I've come to realise, and I've had to use different ways of doing it. (5 September, 1995)

Overall, Peter's philosophy of teaching was being tested at Echidna High School as it did not fit with the students' philosophy of learning. As he commented:

I'm sort of really fighting against just shoving the textbook in front of them. I know that's what they expect me to do. But, in the end, philosophically, I can't cope with that any more. (17 July, 1995)

As Peter was having difficulty getting the students at Echidna High School to learn in the manner with which he felt comfortable and operated within, he spent a lot of time and energy asking himself questions, trying to determine how best to interest his students in learning.

Reflection On and In Practice
Peter continually reflected on his teaching both before and after transferring to Echidna High School. At the end of term, he stated that adapting to Echidna High School was forcing him to be more reflective. He reflected a lot on how to better handle his classes, improve his teaching, establish relationships with the staff and students, and generally begin to fit into the school. Much of this was reflected in his interview comments, such as, "I'm questioning my ability to handle whole classes a bit more at the moment, I suppose" (5 September, 1995) and, "sometimes I don't think I give kids perhaps enough busy work" (5 September, 1995) and:

I still reflect, but I'm reflecting about different things I suppose. Before I was reflecting about the fact that things were going fairly well and ... how could we really put the icing on the cake. Now, I'm just reflecting about how can I even get to first base, so that things are actually going to operate reasonably well. (5 September, 1995)
Peter felt he had been, "shoved in a time machine and shot back six years or so to what things used to be like" (5 September, 1995), to a time when he was still a novice teacher, as he had to re-evaluate things about his teaching and education in general which he had previously thought through. Much of this reflection was about the nature of the relationships he was establishing with students and staff.

Empathy (Student and Staff Relationships)
Peter's relationships with his and other students at Koala High School were warm, supportive and caring. Additionally, the students at Koala respected him and immediately responded to his disciplinary actions. When asked to describe the type of relationship he had developed with his students at Koala High School, Peter replied:

I try to let them know that they're all important to me. Their learning is important. It doesn't matter what level they're at. I try to give them all as much attention as they need. (10 May, 1995)

He also said he thought he had established a friendly and relaxed relationship with his students: "Because I feel more in control myself, then I think the relationship is more relaxed with the kids" (10 May, 1995).

At Echidna High School, Peter had not developed a friendly and relaxed atmosphere with the students. Quite the opposite in some cases. He did not feel as in control himself, and he had less face-to-face teaching time with each of his classes. As he said, "you can't develop as much rapport because you're seeing more people for shorter periods of time" (5 September, 1995). He later added:

I've got very little rapport with the larger classes, especially ... they think I'm just a fill in, a relief teacher, because they've already had two teachers before I got there and they think I'm just another fill in. And, they've just got a bit 'cheesed off' with it, basically. So, I'm not achieving many things. There's no working environment in the classroom like there should be. (5 September, 1995)

and

It's just a pity that the personal relationships within the room aren't better ... they just don't allow anything of much quality to happen in most of the classes. (5 September, 1995)

The students with whom Peter had most difficulty at Koala High School were those who showed no respect for other people or for themselves. Peter's one basic rule was: "You should respect other people and the environment, generally" (10 May, 1995). Students in Peter's classes at Koala High School respected one another. However, as Peter stated about the students at Echidna High School:
What I think has really struck me is the kids have very little respect for other people, including adults, and their respect for the surroundings and the environment is just virtually nonexistent. (5 September, 1995)

He also said, "Respect, had it at the last place, haven't had it for most of the time at this place from the kids" (5 September, 1995).

The students Peter considered to be the best to teach were those who were prepared to try and improve. He had encouraged most of his students at Koala High School to adopt this philosophy. Before his transfer, Peter stated:

I very rarely ever get discouraged in the classroom because I think I've got most of the kids now at the stage where they're happy to accept where they're at and try and work forward. (10 May, 1995).

However, at Echidna High School, Peter felt, "Kids do not operate in the way that I would like them to. They show little initiative and little desire to learn" (5 September, 1995). However, he also felt that it wasn't a school-wide thing, he didn't think it was a part of the school culture. He thought it may have been a function of the low level classes he was assigned. Furthermore, Peter made the following statement about his relationship with his students at Echidna High School.

We're in continual conflict at the moment because I'm trying to make them change, I suppose, faster than they want to or take them somewhere where they can't even see that they need to go. (5 September, 1995)

During the end of term interview, Peter used the analogy of war to describe the relationship between himself and his students at Echidna High School.

And, unfortunately, I sometimes just see these kids as casualties of the process because it may well be that for kids in the future to achieve and see me as meaning what I say, then these kids are going to have to cop a fair bit of negative stuff throughout the rest of the year. (5 September, 1995)

Peter felt it was vital for students to have a clear idea of the expectations you set for them as a teacher and that it was important for him to set those expectations. Students at Koala High School knew what Peter expected of them, both in terms of behaviour and learning. Peter's students at Echidna High School had not yet adopted Peter's expectations. Additionally, Peter's expectations, to some extent, kept changing at the beginning whilst he adjusted them to better suit the students.
Peter also felt it was important for students to know your reputation as a teacher and was trying to establish one at Echidna High School. Peter had been established as a good and respected teacher at Koala High School. Upon his transfer to Echidna High School, his reputation did not transfer with him. The students at Echidna High School gave him a hard time while they waited for him to prove himself as a good teacher. The students at Echidna High School had a reputation for being hard on beginning teachers. As Peter stated:

[...]

Consequently, Peter felt there should be some sort of support network in place for teachers new to the school. There was no set policy in place or person to act as mentor for him when he started. After discussing it with his Principal, Peter volunteered to investigate how to put in an improved support structure for beginning teachers the following year.

Peter had developed a good working relationship with his colleagues at Koala High School and felt that he got on quite well with them. However, he preferred structured situations for interaction with colleagues to unstructured situations. He also added that sometimes he felt a bit isolated.

With respect to the school administrators, Peter expected them to support him both in discipline and other matters. He stated:

I'm at a stage now in the school where I've been around so long that I don't really have to deal with them all that much. They don't interfere with me all that much and I'm fairly happy with the freedom level that I'm given. (11 May, 1995)

At Echidna High School, Peter initially felt a bit estranged from the rest of the staff, especially the maths staff. He felt that he had little respect from the teachers at Echidna High School to start with because they were still "sussing him out". However, as the term progressed, Peter began to feel more comfortable with and accepted by his colleagues.

The staff at Echidna High School provided some support to Peter during the settling in phase. He found their "off-the-cuff remarks" useful; for example, to use the pastoral care teachers more.

I wasn't quite tuned in to how the structure of the school operated ... Just by listening to people, you occasionally pick up a snippet like
that and it helps you change what you're doing or gives you a line of inquiry that you weren't sure about before, or informs you about some resources you didn't know existed or something like that. You've got to keep listening I think. You can't absorb all the information that you're supposed to start off with, so you just do the things you have to do to start with and just keep listening when people say other things that sometimes help. (5 September, 1995)

Peter felt it was very important for him to establish a reputation as a good teacher amongst his colleagues, as it was amongst his students. At the end of the term he stated:
You've got to build a reputation in the place and if you're seen to be just slacking around, not doing anything, it doesn't help. It's an awkward time, trying to build a reputation. They've got nothing to work on, except what they see you doing, and if you're not doing anything then that's your reputation, and it's very hard to turn that around. So, I suppose, you've got to just work a bit harder than you normally would to start with ... the PR [sic] is going to be quite important for helping me to build a reputation. (5 September, 1995)

By "PR", Peter meant asking other staff members about various students, and letting other teachers know what he was trying with his classes, so that staff didn't judge him only upon the basis of what they saw when they walked passed the classroom. He also relied on the student grapevine to let students know that they would be followed up.

Managerial Competence (Discipline and Administrative Skills)
At Koala High School Peter had developed a set routine for dealing with discipline problems in his classroom. When students broke the classroom rules (which the students were clear about), Peter would give them a warning. Upon subsequent misdemeanours, Peter would progressively isolate the student within the room (by moving them desk and all), then isolate them in the resources room behind the blackboard. If they still acted up, he would remove them from the class altogether. Students could work their way back into the classroom if their behaviour improved. Peter stated it like this:

For disciplining students, the general [routine] that I'd use is people would get a warning, but a warning for one person is also a warning for a larger group. ... So, I move fairly smartly to consequence mode ... I use a set of consequences I suppose which have increasing severity. (10 May, 1995)

and

... any disciplinary hassles are dealt with in the students' own time. Learning time is not to be disrupted for dealing with behaviour things like that. So, if I see that it's going to cause a major disruption to the learning time then I just exit the student and they have to deal with that before we get back to the next lesson basically so we know where we stand for the next time. ... I try to make the point to them it's a privilege to be in the classroom, not a right. (10 May, 1995)
In his teaching at Koala High school, Peter employed this disciplinary philosophy and it worked effectively. However, upon his transfer to Echidna High School, Peter was unable to employ this philosophy, basically because there were too many students in each of his classes requiring disciplinary action. Peter had expected this. Before his transfer, he stated, "I think I'll have more trouble handling the classes" (10 May, 1995) at Echidna High School.

As the term progressed Peter felt he was able to manage his classes better, though never to the degree he had managed them at Koala High School.

But, after a month, oh things have improved. I mean some kids know they should sit and work quietly and they are expected to do something. If they don't do something there will be consequences for it, but I can't impose consequences on all the ones that I'd like to because it's just overwhelming. So, that's a bit of a hassle. (17 July, 1995)

Peter spent more class time disciplining students at Echidna High School, therefore, less learning was occurring. He also spent more out of class time disciplining students. At the end of the term, he stated, "... the kids are starting to take just a little bit more notice of me in a discipline way because they know I've been following kids up" (5 September, 1995). He was starting to develop a reputation. However, he later added:

Discipline is a real problem. ... we're still sussing each other out. They're starting to get some idea of my expectations, but the way they're acting is so far away from the way I thought they should be acting that we're all just getting frustrated at the moment. (5 September, 1995)

In his pre-transfer interview, Peter stated that routines were "an imperative part of classroom management" (10 May, 1995) and My classroom management routine, when I go to a new school, I'll use that straight up because it's the one that I know, but if it doesn't seem to be working, then I'll try something else. (10 May, 1995)

One of his initial problems at Echidna High School was establishing these routines with new groups of students. One month after transfer, he stated:

I'm still trying to catch up with what happened in first term ... They've set their routine and they're trying to make me fit their routines, and I'm trying to do the opposite. So, what is it? The irresistible force and the immovable object at the moment. (17 July,
Accordingly, Peter's teaching strategies were also causing him disciplinary problems. He was using pedagogical techniques and routines that the students were not used to.

And that's caused me a lot of hassles, at the moment, because it's mucking up the class management. It's so far away from what they're used to doing that they just go ape. (17 July, 1995)

Impact at the Personal Level: Job Satisfaction
Peter was far less satisfied with his role as teacher at Echidna High School than he was at Koala High School. When asked before his transfer how satisfied he was with his job/career, Peter replied, "Very, I love it" (11 May, 1995) After his transfer, Peter's attitude changed slightly. One day after transfer, he commented that for this first time in his teaching career he had not felt like coming to school on the second day, because his first day at Echidna High School had been so difficult. One month after his transfer, Peter similarly stated:

I'm not quite as enthusiastic. I still really believe that schools can make a difference and in the end I'll probably be getting somewhere, but just on a day by day basis, I'm just finding myself starting to switch off a bit because, I suppose, it's continual negative reinforcement. ... I don't look forward to turning up for work as much as I did at Koala. (17 July, 1995)

And, one term after his transfer, Peter commented, "it's probably the least effective term I've had in my whole career ... even when I was a first year teacher" (5 September, 1995) and "I've had to adjust my expectations. I suppose I thought I was going to be wonderful, but I'm not, with the classes, I mean, as a first move as a teacher" (5 September, 1995). Peter believed, however, that his job satisfaction at Echidna High School would improve over time, especially when he started next year with new classes.

Peter employed several strategies to help him make it through his first term (and year) at Echidna High School. Mainly, he concentrated on his "little successes". As he stated:
While I wouldn't say that I'm happy with any one class ... I don't think I've got any one class really going for it, but there's little individual things starting to happen, and I've just got to take them as the pluses at the moment and aim for a good start next year. That's my aim at the moment. (5 September, 1995)

and

I've just got to make sure I'm sane at the end of the year and ready for a fresh start next year with new groups that I think I can achieve something with. (5 September, 1995)

Prior to transfer, Peter commented, "I'm pretty adaptable. I seem to be able to change my spots to fit a variety of situations very rapidly" (10 May, 1995). This was reflected in the way Peter attempted to cope with the problems he faced at Echidna High School. He tried out different ways of managing his classes and different ways of teaching them in order to try and find methods that suited the particular classes of students with whom he was dealing, and he remained optimistic about his future teaching at Echidna High School even though he was under a great deal of stress.

Stress

Before his transfer, Peter was feeling stressed. As he stated:

I'm under pressure a bit at the moment because I've got so many of the personal things to arrange as well as the work. I'm trying not to be concerned about going there at the moment, I'm just trying to do my job here. (11 May, 1995)

In some ways he expected this stress to increase when he transferred, and in other ways to decrease. As he said:

I expect to be under a bit more pressure than I am here from that point of view [student discipline] ... So, I think the teaching will be hard. (11 May, 1995)

Accordingly, at the end of term, Peter stated that at Echidna High School:

I've felt under more stress, there's no doubt about that. I've had to follow up more kids. I've had more negative reinforcement, far more. I've been treated pretty poorly by some of the kids, abused. But, like that hasn't really got me down. I've sounded off probably a bit more at home than I would have normally ... I sort of expected that would happen. (5 September, 1995)

So, Peter definitely experienced a greater amount of stress due to his transfer. This was evidenced by his poorer health. As he stated,
"I've had two days off this term actually ... I don't get sick, so that's an indicator" (5 September, 1995). He later added, "health has been a bit of a worry ... my voice has broken down a bit more than it has in the past" (5 September, 1995).

Story 2: Alison
Alison is a mathematics teacher who transferred from Kookaburra College (a preferred location school) to Platypus District High School (a non-preferred location school) at the beginning of 1994 after spending part of 1993 away from teaching. Alison's transfer was involuntary and was arranged whilst she was out of the country.

Alison started teaching part-time at Kookaburra College in her final year of teacher training. She then taught there full-time for four years plus part of 1993 before she went overseas. In 1991, during her time at Kookaburra College, Alison took a year off from teaching to work as a curriculum officer with the DEA. Whilst at Kookaburra College, Alison taught mainly Mathematics, with some Health.

At Platypus District High School, Alison was the teacher for grades 8, 9 and 10 for three subjects: Maths, Science and Computing. As she said:

I was put in a pressure situation because I was the only teacher of three subject areas, two of which I had never taught before. No lab tech, no computer tech ... (21 June, 1995)

Additionally, all of her classes were composite (6/7, 8/9 and 9/10), which made teaching more difficult.

I did sort of have the 6/7s which were the worst class in the school. I had them a few times. But the 8/9s which were my home group, that's the second worst class. (21 June, 1995)

Alison also took a prep/1 class for science towards the end of 1994, and as she said, the 8/9 class was also her home group (ie pastoral care group).

Alison transferred out of Platypus District High School at the end of the 1994 school year. Thus, she only taught at Platypus District High School for one year. The interview quoted here took place after leaving Platypus District High School.

Transfer Process
Alison was not at all happy about the way that her transfer was handled by the DEA. As she said:

When I was transferred my problem was not that I was transferred. I thought, "well that's fair, everyone's got to have a turn." But, it
was the way it was done, the fact that I was away, so I wasn't there to argue my case, and yet, I had to come back and find a whole new place to live and move to a whole new place and everything ... I found that really hard and I wrote a letter to that effect to the District Superintendent and [they] never responded. [They] never even wrote a note ... and the other problem was that they'd promised me an acting AST3 position for the first term and when I got home and rang the Principal, [they] didn't know anything about it. So, I just burst into tears. (21 June, 1995)

Impact at the Professional Level: Quality of Teaching
Alison believed her quality of teaching suffered upon her transfer to Platypus District High School. As she stated, "I think I was still a good teacher, but I don't think I was as effective because I was just really struggling the whole time" (21 June, 1995). She later added:

I wasn't as competent last year because [I] was up against the wall a lot of times. I just was so flat out ... I know that those kids didn't get the best education from me that they could have, and that's ... a really hard thing to wear. (21 June, 1995)

Curriculum and Content Knowledge
Alison found that her planning and preparation for lessons dramatically changed after transfer to Platypus District High School because her knowledge of the curriculum content was not as strong as it had been at Kookaburra College. Additionally, she had composite classes, so she had to plan for several different lessons within the one lesson. As she stated:

I was mixing chemicals I hadn't even thought about for eight years. Fixing computers, and of course what I learnt as a computer sub-major eight years previous, or seven years previous, was useless. I mean, although I ... sort of knew basically what I was doing and I managed to pick that up, but ... I was it, and there was no class sets of texts ... there was some prepared stuff for computing which was good, but not for anything else and so I was under a lot of pressure. (21 June, 1995)

and

... in the grade 9/10 class for example, there were ... eight maths syllabuses running at the same time. So that's eight different ... lots of assessment, if not eight different lots of prep ... and same with the 8s and 9s. Obviously there's diversity within the 8s, and then I had the 9s on only two syllabuses because we didn't have the top 9s in that 8/9 stream. And then I had some prep/1s for science towards the end of the year. I didn't have a clue what you teach little kids ... I just didn't know, I'd never dealt with little kids. (21 June, 1995)

As she said, Alison didn't know what to teach or how to teach her prep/1s for science. She relied on their regular teacher to help her
out there, but still found it difficult. As she said, "I'd go in there, I'd be really nervous. I'd be heaps more nervous than anything else" (21 June, 1995).

Subsequently, Alison felt under-prepared for lessons at Platypus District High School, yet when she was at Kookaburra College, if anything, she was over-prepared for lessons.

I've never felt so panicked about actually being ready for a lesson.

Like, with science in particular, because you just can't fudge it. You can't just um and ah and get them to do a few mental quiz problems while you work out what ... to teach. I mean, you've got to have the chemicals mixed and everything ready. (21 June, 1995)

Pedagogical Skills (Teaching Strategies)
At Kookaburra College, Alison had thought of herself as a teacher who was a:

mover and shaker, innovator, leader of lots of new things ... and not just in maths. I developed a health education subject that had never been taught before, and so, I'd consider myself a fairly innovative and a good teacher. I think I'm a good teacher. (21 June, 1995)

However, at Platypus District High School,

... it was just head down, bum up, work my guts out. I mean ... I've always worked really hard. I work nearly every night of the week and at least one day on the weekends ... but, at Platypus, I could maybe get out of there once every three or four weekends because I literally couldn't leave because I just had too much to do ... I actually found my time off was very limited during the day, so that's why I worked really hard. So there, I mean still really hard working, and I guess I tried new things, but I really felt I was just grasping. It really was day to day. (21 June, 1995)

Since Alison was also the laboratory technician, that meant she had to prepare all the chemicals for experiments as well as prepare the lessons. However, she did try to make it interesting for the students by doing lots of experiments and providing minimal written theory. This often necessitated her bringing in ingredients from home. As she said:

I had to bring from home lemon juice and all these things because I'd had a budget such that wouldn't support me going to buy those things, so I'd just bring washing up liquid and when we do the acids bases stuff and ... to make red cabbage indicator, I had to come to Launceston. I had to get someone to buy it for me and bring it in, send it down and stuff. Just logistical nightmares. (21 June, 1995)
Alison also found that she spent a lot of her time, especially on weekends, reorganising the areas for which she was responsible, especially the science and computing areas.

I'd spend my weekends at the school photocopying stuff for the kids because there weren't books and just all that sort of stuff, trying to reorganise ... So I just had to start from scratch and I completely reorganised the computer room and I was cataloguing all the programs we had according to age appropriateness and a small description about each ... (21 June, 1995)

Reflection On and In Practice
Alison believed her reflection on practice had changed after her transfer to Platypus District High School.
I guess I started to measure my success by different things. At Kookaburra it was more an end result, a constant achievement through criteria, but basically an award at the end. Whereas, at Platypus, it became if I could actually keep them interested. And that's all that mattered to me. (21 June, 1995)

Additionally, her reflection on practice changed her philosophy.

... I actually changed my philosophy quite strongly about Maths. I've always said that Maths is vital and that everyone should do Maths. [However, these kids] actually know less maths, they have less maths skills and that frightens me and I don't know where that fits into my view of how important it is to be a maths teacher and to teach maths and stuff. But that was a really scary thing to realise that some kids were worse after four years more of maths than they were at the end of primary school. (21 June, 1995)

Empathy (Student and Staff Relationships)
Alison found it difficult to establish good relationships with the students at Platypus District High School. As she stated:

I really didn't like quite a lot of those kids, and that was really hard ... there were a few kids there that were really not nice people at all, and I found that really hard to not let that show. (21 June, 1995)

Alison found this difficult, because she had always tried to develop a caring relationship with her students. She sometimes felt, especially at Kookaburra College, that she cared for them too much. However, later, Alison stated that she didn't feel the transfer had altered her relationship with students that much.

No, I don't think it's changed a lot, although of course it does at the beginning. But, at the beginning of any year you're harder, but if
you've been in a school for a while you're known. But then, at Kookaburra it was only two years, so you're not really known like you would be in a high school. (21 June, 1995)

At the start of each school year, Alison was always nervous with her new classes.

At Kookaburra, I used to always be nervous ... because they were new kids every year. You'd never see your old faces that you might have had a few of last year or anything, they were new kids. So that was always really scary. But, I was really confident in my teaching and with material and stuff, so I'd be all right. (21 June, 1995)

At Platypus District High School, Alison again was "petrified" to teach her new classes at the beginning of the year, but as she said:

I had so much support from my colleagues and everyone saying, "Well, you're such a good teacher you'll be fine and you'll be fine, you'll be fine." (21 June, 1995)

Alison's colleagues at Platypus District High School were very supportive, as had been her colleagues at Kookaburra College. Alison stated, "my colleagues at Kookaburra were incredibly supportive ... I had a lot of support from that end." Her colleagues at Kookaburra College fought on her behalf against her transfer, until she requested them to desist. At Platypus District High School:

When I got there, obviously everyone was lovely, it's such a very nice staff and the community were really keen to sort of meet me. I had stewed fruit on my doorstep and invites for dinner which are really lovely things to happen up front. (21 June, 1995)

Nevertheless, Alison felt she lacked support from the parents. During the year she spent at Platypus, only three parents came to parent-teacher interviews. Additionally, Alison did have differences with her Principal at Platypus District High School. As she stated:

I had major run-ins with my Acting Principal, so I went to [the District Superintendent] and said, "I can't work with [my Principal], get me out of there. I don't care where to ... I just need to be back in town. I can't cope out there any more. I can't cope anywhere near that [person]." (21 June, 1995)

Managerial Competence (Discipline and Administrative Skills)
Alison found it more difficult to manage her classes at Platypus District High School than she had at Kookaburra College, even though she was regarded by her colleagues as a strong disciplinarian. She
stated:

And because I'd had trouble with the discipline of kids [at Platypus District High School] and I'd never had trouble with discipline, ... it's not ever been a weak point of mine, but I just felt that I was just really, I mean, the water was just under my nose. I really felt quite desperate at times. (21 June, 1995)

Alison also felt, like Peter, that she lacked support in matters concerned with discipline from the hierarchy in the school.

But support in terms of discipline and stuff, the school's gone so far caring and sharing that the teachers aren't supported sufficiently. [The kids will play the system in that situation] and there are some there that do that and I found that really really frustrating because that level of defiance and misbehaviour ... I've just never seen tolerated to that extent. So, I didn't feel that I had support there. (21 June, 1995)

Impact at the Personal Level: Job Satisfaction

When asked what the transfer to Platypus District High School had been like for her, Alison replied, "that was horrific ... it was horrific in lots of ways." She later added:

I was in a lot of pressure and I was under a lot of pressure and I didn't have anywhere to escape to ... So, basically, it was shitful [sic] and I was very unhappy. (21 June, 1995)

However, Alison was a confident teacher and had a lot of faith in her ability as a teacher. She thought she was a good teacher, and this belief did not change after her experiences of transfer. She said, "basically, I think I'm a good teacher and I'm an organised teacher, but I think I'm pretty hard on myself" (21 June, 1995). This caused her a lot of stress and her ability to cope with the stresses of transfer was not as strong as she would have liked.

Stress

Alison was under a lot of stress at Platypus District High School. When asked what words came to mind to describe the transfer process, Alison suggested words such as: painful, stressful, difficult, scary, and "exciting, but in ... like a fear and trepidation sort of manner" (21 June, 1995). She later added that the transfer from Kookaburra to Platypus, "personally was dreadful, professionally it was very stressful" (21 June, 1995). This affected her health.

I had stress leave. I had two weeks stress leave ... I was not well, I had morphine and valium and I had migraines, so I was just trashed for a while. And, that's not like me either. I'm really strong emotionally, normally. (21 June, 1995)
At the beginning of the year at Platypus District High School, Alison was under a lot of stress because she was adjusting to a new school, new students and different curricula:

I worked really hard and I was really scared, probably more scared than at any other time, but ... thing is, you've got to be petrified don't you in a new place? (21 June, 1995)

Alison had difficulty dealing with the students at Platypus District High School, and this was a major cause of stress.

They really used to get me to the point where ... I'd be in class, I'd be teaching and I'd be trying to keep my voice controlled and stuff and I'd be perspiring ..., my head would start to pound. I mean, I was really under pressure. (21 June, 1995)

The stress Alison felt about teaching at Platypus District High School didn't seem to improve as the year progressed.

... last year, I'd be in tears just to have to get up in the mornings and go to school. I'd just think, "Oh, I can't, I hate it, I just hate it, I can't go, I hate it." And I don't feel that here because I don't have all those pressures and strains on me and I guess because I'm back amongst my friends and all that sort of stuff. (21 June, 1995)

Upon her transfer to Platypus District High School, Alison found it difficult to adjust to living in a small rural community after having never lived in the country before. As she stated:

I've never lived in a small country town before and I found it really hard that everybody wanted to know everything ... and I was away from family and I was away from friends. I was away from a familiar environment and living situation. (21 June, 1995)

CONCLUSION

Mager et al (1986) found in their study that each teacher's experience of transition is unique, but there are common threads of experience (point (v) outlined above). This was true for Peter and Alison. Common threads they experienced included:

Unhappiness with the way the transfer process was implemented for them.
Recognition that their overall quality of teaching was affected negatively by the transfer.
More time spent preparing for lessons at their new school.
Feeling they could not use their familiar teaching routines and strategies effectively at their new school.
Belief that their reflection on practice had changed with the move to their new school.
Difficulty establishing the same types of relationships with students at their new school as they had had at their old school.
Receipt of support from their colleagues.
Management of the classroom environment was more difficult at their new school, yet neither previously had experienced discipline problems to that degree.
The expressed wish they had received more support from the hierarchy of their new school regarding discipline.
Lowered satisfaction with their job after their transfer.
Increased stress after their transfer.
More health problems than usual due to the stresses of their new school.

Many of the other findings from the Mager et al (1986) study were also supported by the stories of Peter and Alison. Both Peter and Alison experienced or were still experiencing an initial period of adaptation to the change. Peter felt he would not be wholly adapted until the year after his transfer when he started a new school year with new classes. Alison never really adapted before she transferred out of the school. Both Peter and Alison experienced greater levels of stress due to the change process. Special support from the school and their colleagues was required by both Peter and Alison. Their lower levels of job satisfaction influenced the classroom learning environment in a negative way; that is, less learning occurred because of increased managerial problems and reduced quality of teaching. Neither Peter nor Alison felt in control of their transfer process; Peter did not want to transfer part way through the school year, and Alison's transfer was arranged when she was out of the country.

It must be pointed out, however, that neither Peter nor Alison were totally negative about their transfer. Both managed to find positive aspects in their situation and both still believed they were good teachers. Peter felt that he had to concentrate on the positive aspects to survive and also felt that things would improve in his second year at the new school when he started off a new year with new classes. And it must be remembered that the stories of Peter and Alison are not necessarily typical.

Thus, yesterday Peter and Alison had been happy and effective teachers at their old schools. Today they were adjusting to a new situation in a new school. This was causing them a lot of stress and, they believed, it was impacting negatively on their teaching. Yet, tomorrow they felt things would improve and they could reach the level of expertise they had established at their old school. They also would have learnt something along the way which could inform their future teaching. The results do suggest, however, that making a change in professional assignment has a more substantial effect on teachers and the work of teaching than is generally recognised (Mager et al, 1986, p353).

Implications
If these case studies were typical of the wider teaching population, then the implications of these findings would indeed be serious. However, these are only two cases out of many. Indeed, some teachers' transfer experiences are opposite in nature, as my current research indicates. Yet, it is still important to aid those teachers who do find transfer to a new school difficult in order that they can find job satisfaction in their new school and re-establish their teaching level of expertise as quickly as possible. Transferring to a new school with a culture alien to all previous experiences would be akin, in many ways, to beginning teaching and would thus require similar support structures.

In order to achieve this, several approaches could be considered, including:

Providing teachers with knowledge of and access to their new school, its procedures, policies, philosophies, etc before their transfer. Providing a mentor for the transferring teacher in their first term or so at their new school. This mentor could possibly be someone who recently has transferred into the school themselves. Setting up and coordinating a support group within the school which incorporates all beginning and new teachers to the school. Making available counselling services where necessary, especially regarding stress management. Making available professional development support where necessary, particularly for curriculum content and classroom management. Allowing new teachers to a school a lighter timetable for their first year (as with beginning teachers in some schools).

The Tasmanian Department of Education is in the process of establishing a support program for transferring teachers (involuntary transfers), and they are including approaches 1-4 in their program. However, approach 5 would appear to be essential in a support program such as this considering the increased load on new teachers to a school regarding planning and preparation, adjustment to the new school's operating procedures, and discipline matters. For some teachers who transfer between schools with completely different cultures, the change is enormous and settling in to the new school can be very similar to their first year of teaching. Many schools have recognised the need for providing a lighter teaching and administrative load to beginning teachers, why not for newly transferred teachers?

References

Teachers' Work Lives:
The View From Teachers Implementing Educational Change
Rick Churchill

INTRODUCTION
The concept of change has been at the forefront of educational theory and practice for over thirty years. Indeed, in Australian state education systems, evidence of a capacity to manage change effectively is regarded by applicants for appointment or promotion as the key to their success in the selection process. The change guru for many of these hopeful applicants is Michael Fullan. In one of his recent works, Fullan (1995) identifies four eras of change, with each coinciding approximately with succeeding decades beginning with the 1960s, and with each of these eras characterised by ever-increasing complexity in the nature of the change environment. Thus, the nature of the change context in the 1960s related to the adoption of innovations; in the 1970s change processes centred upon issues related to effective implementation; while in the 1980s the change agenda featured responses to simultaneous multiple innovations. In the 1990s, however, Fullan sees the change context as being characterised by unpredictability and dynamic complexity (Fullan, 1995, p20). Increasingly, Fullan appears to be coming to concur with the view of Peter Senge that the way forward in the present and future environment is by responding to change through finding ways of helping members of organisations manage inherently complex, unstable situations (Senge, 1990).

Fullan's erstwhile collaborator, Andy Hargreaves depicts the current situation as part of the postmodern age (Hargreaves, 1994). Furthermore, in this postmodern era, Hargreaves sees education, and therefore teachers' professional contexts, as being characterised by a number of paradoxes. For Hargreaves, the complexity of contemporary teachers' work lives is multiplied by seemingly contradictory states of affairs in areas such as parental responsibility (many parents have given up on the things they most want schools to stress), control
(devolution of decision-making to the school level is accompanied by tighter central regulation), and globalisation (increasing pressure to globalise students' learning experiences via the Internet is accompanied by the development of somewhat parochial national curricula). More particularly, however, Hargreaves now sees change itself as a paradox, pointing out that our increasing focus on preparing students for a somewhat uncertain future generates increased nostalgia for a more simple past characterised by traditional subjects, basic skills and singular values (Hargreaves, 1995).

The situation in Australian educational settings is quite consistent with the scenarios depicted in this literature and, in all State education systems, contemporary change initiatives have appeared in many guises. Similarly, an emerging local interest in teachers' work (Carr, 1995; Connell, 1985; Logan & Dempster, 1992; Crowther, Caldwell, Chapman, Lakomski & Ogilvie, 1994) is coming to complement the international literature which describes the characteristics and feelings associated with the work lives of teachers (Lieberman & Miller, 1992; Huberman, 1993; Little & McLaughlin, 1993). In this theoretical context, research was conducted in two of the smaller Australian State systems with a view to discovering what effects recent educational changes were having on their teachers' work lives.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
The study was conducted in 87 primary and secondary schools from the state education systems of Tasmania and South Australia. A multi-site, multi-method approach was adopted for the study (Churchill, Williamson & Grady, 1995), with 89 teachers completing a lengthy survey instrument and 37 teachers participating in semi-structured interviews. The survey data were gathered to supplement the interview data and to assist in examining the problem from a variety of perspectives and through a number of lenses; however, the results outlined and discussed in this paper were obtained through the interviews alone. Matters related to three research questions are examined in this paper:
Which educational changes do teachers see as having the greatest impact on their working lives?
How do teachers see their working lives being affected by educational changes?
How do teachers say they feel about educational changes and the quality of their work lives?

The sample of 38 teacher interviewees was not selected randomly. Rather, participants were chosen from randomly selected schools, with these schools being collectively representative of the types and locations of schools found within the state education systems of South Australia and Tasmania. The participating teachers ('teachers' were defined as those who spent at least 80 percent of their school-hours' work time actually teaching students) were identified through negotiations between the researcher, the respective school principals and those teachers at each school who had expressed their willingness
to be part of the interview process.

All interviews were conducted at convenient times in private at each interviewee's school during the second and third weeks of the final term of the 1994 school year.

In order to guard against sole interviewer effects, two research assistants were trained to conduct half of the interviews. Thus the 18 Tasmanian interviews were shared between the researcher and one assistant, while the 20 South Australian interviews were shared between the researcher and a second assistant. Both research assistants had some experience in education in their respective states, although neither was employed as a teacher (in the terms of the definition cited above) at the time of the study.

A semi-structured interview schedule was developed by the researcher for the study. Consisting eventually of 12 main items with a number of prepared prompts or probes, the schedule was the product of an extensive pilot program involving interviews with 13 teachers outside the study sample, review and amendment by a panel of five eminent educational researchers and, finally, modifications in response to the two research assistants' preferences for patterns of language which they found more natural.

With the permission of each of the subjects, the interviews were audio-tape recorded and, later, transcribed. The draft transcriptions were then sent to the interviewees who were invited to make any amendments they felt warranted. This opportunity to amend the draft transcripts was not designed merely to ensure that the transcripts accorded with the subjects' recollections. It was also intended that this process would allow the interviewees a second avenue through which they could express their views. Thus, more than half of the 38 interviewees made significant amendments - alterations, explanations, additions and deletions - to the draft transcripts. Therefore, this opportunity to amend the draft transcript resulted in data the interviewees saw as more complete and more accurate while also constituting a form of feedback from the researcher to the subjects. This approach to data gathering allowed the respondents to use the interviews as opportunities for making their own sense and meaning of issues about which they might otherwise have had limited opportunities for reflection. In that sense many interviewees saw the experience as cathartic.

RESULTS
The 89 teachers who responded to the survey instrument identified 79 different educational changes as affecting them significantly in their work in the first half of the 1990s (Churchill, 1995). The interview responses were no less complex, with the data reflecting the diversity
of the teachers and schools involved. Nevertheless, a number of shared themes emerged clearly from the statements teachers made when responding to items related to each of the three research questions.

The Educational Changes Seen by Teachers as Affecting Them Most in Their Work
While the 38 interviewees nominated many different individual changes as having significant impacts on their work, four elements were characteristic of both the content and the tenor of the responses. These four elements were apparent, almost regardless of the specific identity of the change or changes nominated by teachers as affecting their work most significantly. Teachers identified unfamiliar practices replacing established work patterns; external imposition; multiple simultaneous innovations; and abbreviated timelines as key features of those changes which they saw as having the greatest impact.

Unfamiliar Practices Replacing Established Work Patterns
It is apparent that teachers felt most affected by educational changes when their confidence related to being in control of factors related to their work is threatened or disrupted by expectations about which they feel uninformed. In other words, when they felt denied the opportunity of making sense and meaning out of new challenges, regardless of the nature of the innovation, teachers felt the effects of changes to a considerably greater extent than they might if they had been able to become familiar with the true nature of the expectations and procedures associated with such changes.

Comments indicative of this belief included the following from three South Australian primary teachers discussing the introduction of national curriculum profiles:

There's nothing to say, "Well this is how you go about doing it". Nobody really knows yet exactly what the uses will be and I think that's probably what is scaring people - it makes it very difficult to get implementation because you get blockers thinking, "Oh, they are going to use this against us if a student hasn't achieved to a certain level".

A lot of your so-called free time - your extra time - is taken up with just deciphering what you are supposed to be doing.

I reckon they just designed them and said, "Okay, we've done our job. Now it's your job to implement them - off you go!". Nobody really knew what to do.

Two Tasmanian teachers discussed the introduction of new accountability provisions. The first taught in an isolated primary school, the second in a secondary college.
I feel as if I'm scrabbling around in the dark trying to implement things, because I don't know if what I'm doing is as accurate or as efficient as the Department would like. The changes were necessary, but we haven't been given adequate support to implement them.

It has given rise to a lot of personal dissatisfaction. I know I have got this guilt trip that I can't do all the new things well. I can't do them as well as I'd like to do them.

External Imposition
While there is ample evidence available from the National Schools Network and elsewhere that teachers engage in a considerable level of locally-based innovation efforts, the teachers in this study described the changes which they thought affected their work most significantly as being externally imposed by central administrative authorities and governments. Thus, it seems that changes which originate outside teachers' work settings and which are presented as mandatory, are seen by teachers as most problematic for their work lives.

When discussing the origins of changes and how these are presented to them, teachers gave two types of responses. The first type of response was brief and to the point, as in the three following examples:

The stuff came out of the blue really. Here it was - and then we had to implement it all by a set date.

I was told to do it, if it really comes down to the nitty gritty.

It's just fed down through the system, "Here it is, go and do it!". To me it always seems to be from high-up in the hierarchy.

The second type of response was more lengthy, but no less explicit about teachers' lack of perceived ownership of most innovations. Three comments from Tasmanian teachers illustrated this position.

It was very much pushed on you. It was almost, "Well too bloody bad - it's coming in and you've just got to put up with it". And although it was sugar-coated a lot - they weren't that rude - you couldn't get away from the fact that the changes were being forced on you.

Certainly it was "No correspondence will be entered into". And having been told that it was then up to us to make it work, so that we could continue to function within a new system and so that the students wouldn't suffer in the transition. But I don't ever feel that if we had made enough noise that anything would have changed - it was a 'fait accompli'.
It was mandatory. Teachers on the whole are against it. It's more work individually programming for special needs children and even special ed teachers are reluctant to get into full inclusion because they're worried about their jobs.

Multiple Simultaneous Innovations
Both Tasmanian and South Australian teachers expressed concerns about the number of different change initiatives being promoted simultaneously. They felt that there was little acknowledgment of the effect of this multiplicity of innovations on teachers who already see themselves as fully committed to the day-to-day tasks associated with working with their students. Perhaps more than anything, teachers saw this situation as counter-productive in the sense that the multiplicity of demands limited the extent to which teachers could implement any one innovation effectively.

In the South Australian context, comments from a secondary teacher, followed by remarks from a primary colleague, typify teachers' perception of the situation:

The range of change is so much, it's so unco-ordinated and it comes from a variety of places. It's very, very hard: it makes things very complex, makes people very frustrated and probably doesn't work efficiently either.

I just want to be a teacher for a while. Just leave me and the children alone for a while; let us be comfortable. We have been trying so hard over the last five years we haven't really let anything settle. Sometime, somewhere, they have got to stop banging the side of the chook shed. You know, it's bombardment all of the time.

Tasmanian teachers saw the situation in the same light. The first three of the following comments are from secondary teachers, while the fourth remark is typical of those made by primary teachers.

You are not just talking about a change in isolation, it's in combination. If there is something else suddenly thrown in at you, as there always is, you just go into overload. So it's not really the change itself that creates that feeling, it's just the fact that it's another change in a succession of changes.
It was just that it was this change on top of everything else that you were supposed to be doing anyway - and there was no real attempt made to treat that seriously.

There is such a lot of change going on and in some ways the negative side of that can be that you just don't have the time to spend on what you want to do.
It's just so hard when there is so much being imposed as well as these other things that we have to respond to in the classroom just for survival. It is an enormous amount to take on board and nobody can possibly do it all at once.

Abbreviated Timelines
The differences in perceptions of appropriate lengths of time for implementation have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Hargreaves, 1994), but it is apparent from these teachers' views that teachers see implementation timelines established by others as unrealistically short. On the other hand, of course, these same timelines presumably appear reasonable to the people who have the facilitation and promotion of a particular change initiative as the single focus of their current work in an education system.

Not a single teacher felt that sufficient time had been available for effective implementation:

There was all this new jargon and no one knew what it was about. You could go to a P D [professional development] session; but then you were supposed to be doing it the next week in your room. We had to take it on board straight away. The inservice was too intensive in too short a time and there was no time for reflecting, internalising or evaluating what you'd learned.

There just wasn't time to come to grips with the issues involved; there was a lack of time to work collaboratively, a lack of time to implement and a lack of P D.

Over the last six to eight years I have seen a lot of people going through a lot of emotional turmoil because a lot of change has been pushed on them fairly quickly.

Teachers' Perceptions of How Educational Changes Have Affected Their Work Lives
When asked to describe how recent educational changes had affected teachers in their work, each of the interviewee's responses tended to cover similar ground. Again, four elements formed a common pattern in the data. Two of these four types of effects were welcomed by teachers, while two were regarded as decidedly unwelcome. Teachers reported a distinctly unwelcome intensification of their work, and a similarly unwanted shift in the focus of their core work. On the other hand, they welcomed an apparent increase in collaboration with their colleagues, and perceived improvements in aspects of teaching and learning.

Intensification of Teachers' Work
The teachers in this study provide considerable support for Hargreaves' (1994) thesis that there has been a considerable intensification in the work demands placed on teachers in recent years. Teachers claimed that there was both a greater amount of work expected of teachers, and that
the nature of the teacher's role had become more complex, encompassing
a range of functions which were not expected of teachers only a decade
or so ago.

In terms of a perceived increase in the amount of work required, four
primary teachers' comments are representative of many others.

We are expected to do more and more and we are getting less and less
time, staff and money. It's supposed to be positive, but the classes
are getting bigger and we haven't got the money to resource them, so
how could that be positive?

I'm working a lot harder now than I did fifteen years ago. On average I
would spend two hours a night at home of a week night. It really goes
down well when you read that teachers start at nine and
finish at three and only work two hundred days a year.

You spend a lot more 'free' time at home working on your classroom
planning and marking and on your other school requirements because it
just can't possibly be done in the school day and it can't even be done
in the time before school or the time after school or in any of the
time you would be at school for staff meetings and professional
development sessions. It's still extra time on top of all that which
just has to be found to get through all the things that now have to be
done.

The increased demands on teachers to take on new welfare and support
roles were reflected in responses from teachers from both systems. Two
Tasmanian primary teachers said:

For me the biggest change is the increased demand to act as social
worker and counsellor.

Society's values have broken down and because that's happened we have
got children coming to school who are hungry, who are emotionally
disturbed, who have got parents involved in split-ups - there are
enormous problems that we have to deal with more and more every day.

The same phenomenon was reported in South Australian settings. A
teacher from a dockside urban high school described the effects on his
work as follows:

You have a lot more one-to-one contact with people which is
non-educational - it's education-related, but it's actually talking
about problems students bring with them from outside. Again, there's
more time lost whenever someone says, "Look, I'm having a few problems.
Can I have a chat with you?".
A Shift in the Focus of Teachers' Core Work
For many respondents an apparent shift in focus, away from their contacts with students in the classroom and toward documentation and administration, was a particularly unwelcome effect of educational change. This was a recurring theme, amounting to teachers mourning the loss of that which they had long claimed as the core raison d'etre of their role: working constructively with students. Teachers' comments included the following, despite the fact that no item in the interview schedule directly addressed this issue:

I spend too much time hassling with the paperwork instead of actually teaching. If you're spending more time doing the written work, you've got less time to put into actually teaching and preparing.

It has changed my attitude to teaching compared to my attitude when I first started teaching. The focus then was on working in the classroom and on getting things done in the classroom. The focus now has shifted to the paperwork associated with classrooms.

Absorption in things other than what I would call straight teaching is significant, and therefore the energy levels and the interest are not there, because they are undermined by the other things.

Increased Collaboration
Perceived shortcomings in systemic implementation strategies allowed teachers to make a virtue out of a necessity in that they turned increasingly to their colleagues for assistance when faced with insufficient assistance elsewhere. Indeed, when questioned about factors which had most assisted teachers in their efforts to implement change initiatives, respondents almost universally referred to the assistance they received as a consequence of discussing matters with their colleagues at their own school.

Indicatively, a Tasmanian primary teacher put it simply as:

You become more dependent on your colleagues. If you want help, you turn to them, rather than to whoever the consultants used to be.

In a similarly low-key and matter-of-fact tone, two South Australian primary teachers from outer-suburban contexts, described co-operative arrangements which were functional, but not formalised.

We work together collaboratively pretty well - we swap around, he takes the boys sometimes while I take the girls, he does Science with my kids and I do Art with his - we work on each other's strengths.

People have seen a need to share their work - to share ideas and materials. Before that, everyone was teaching what they wanted to teach when they wanted to teach it, how they wanted to teach it - but
now we're thinking more professionally together.

Improvements in Teaching and Learning
Proponents of systemic and pedagogical reform could take some comfort from some of the interviewees' reports of significant improvements in their teaching practices and in their students' learning experiences. Most commonly, these improvements were reported in relation to clearer and more objective assessment practices, but there were a number of reports of children participating more meaningfully and actively in determining the nature of their own learning experiences.

Most typically, such improvements had resulted after the teacher had reconstrued her role in the teaching-learning process.

I find myself being more a co-worker with the kids than a director.

As the teacher I've become the facilitator of what the children themselves choose they want to learn about.

For others, the extra hours spent planning activities and establishing clear assessment criteria were seen as worthwhile:

I feel more relaxed with my students because we all know what we are looking for and so it's not me and them, it's much easier. It means I can give them good feedback all the time.

While it's probably doubled the time I would normally spend on programming and assessment details, it's improved the way I assess things and made it more positive.

Teachers' Feelings About Educational Change and Its Impact on the Quality of Their Work Lives
In the parts of the interviews which dealt with this aspect of the research, the focus was on educational change in general, rather than on specific changes nominated by the participating teachers. Perhaps for this reason, it was rare for respondents to cite precise examples in their comments. However, an acceptance of the inevitability of change; nostalgia for the past; a sense of survival and coping in the face of current change expectations; and considerable cynicism about the real motives behind and results of educational innovations characterised both teachers' feelings about educational changes and the impacts which they claimed such changes had had on the quality of their working lives.

Acceptance of the Inevitability of Change
No teachers presented themselves as opponents of educational change per se, nor was there any sense in which teachers expressed a view that change could be resisted fruitfully. Comments such as, "Change is
always with us", "Change is universal" and, "Nothing stays the same forever", were common. Typically, respondents accepted that change had been and would continue to be part of their work context.

A South Australian secondary teacher from a large urban high school described his responses to national curriculum profiles which were, in his view, then the most recent major change, in the following terms:

I'm prepared to at least look at them and give them a go. Most people have come to accept it and are now sort of working on it.

A Tasmanian teacher, currently working at a primary school located in a community characterised by high proportions of the population dependent on the social welfare system, was more accepting than were most of her colleagues of even those educational changes which seem to deliver few advantages to schools, teachers or students:

I have always been fairly positive towards educational changes and, in fact, I even understood when we had to have funding cuts.

Nostalgia for the Past

It is perhaps unsurprising that, consistent with the overall ageing of the members of the teaching profession in Australia, a degree of nostalgia for better, or at least, less paradoxical, times past was expressed by many respondents. In some of the literature this is occasionally referred to as the fond recall of a golden age in which the quality of teachers' work lives was supposedly so much better, so much less tenuous and problematic than today.

A teacher at a South Australian area school (the nomenclature would be "district high school" in the Tasmanian context) said, for example:

I don't believe schools are the happy places to work in they used to be. Morale is nowhere near what it was in the past.

A city-based primary colleague also felt that things were not as they once were in relation to support services:

A lot of help has fizzled out over the years. Years ago - we are talking 20 years - we used to get a lot more help than we do now.

The comments of two Tasmanian primary teachers are indicative of a sense of sorrow that something good had been lost in the move from the old days to the present context.

The job of teaching has changed totally from when I started teaching about 18 or 20 years ago. So much of the peripheral stuff is now being done by teachers and the loss of the focus on the classroom concerns me a lot.

I think we need to get back to a point where we value the people in the
system and the people who are, in fact, doing the job. The love of the job has gone from what it was, and that is sad.

Surviving and Coping
While these teachers reported difficulties in understanding and accepting new processes, procedures and expectations associated with educational changes of all varieties, many teachers had been able to surmount most of their problems and, within a relatively short time, come to terms with the requirements of the innovations. Numerous teachers' comments indicated that, despite early fears and misgivings in the context of uncertainty and concern about their capacity to cope, they typically found that this anxiety receded as they became more familiar with the innovation. Much of the initial concern expressed by teachers was, therefore, fear of the unknown. To some extent, surviving such a period of uncertainty, seemed to make some teachers feel more confident about their capacity to cope with whatever a potentially unstable future might hold in store for them.

The introduction of the TCE (Tasmanian Certificate of Education) had a strong effect on a Tasmanian secondary college teacher.

It was a big threat because it threatened the way you taught and who you were and how you did things. But I think that all that paranoia has started to go away - it's nowhere near as bad as it was and anyone who was being rational about it could have seen that from the beginning.

Other Tasmanian teachers also reflected this notion that the reality of the change had not been as bad as had been feared.

It's almost becoming the devil I know.

My current feelings are that we are over the hump - it's a bit of a "been there, done that" feeling. I am a bit tired, I guess, but more confident. There was a bit of trepidation in the beginning but what seemed to be insurmountable was eventually surmountable.

In South Australia, some teachers had seemingly developed some self-protective attitudes as part of their response to change initiatives.

You've got to learn to go with the flow. If you don't go with the flow, you'll go around the bend.

My attitude is, no matter what bureaucracies give teachers to do in the classroom, you eventually find a way of coping with it - whether you do it properly or whatever is up to the individual teacher.

Cynicism
For many teachers there was a firm belief that educational change
initiatives were often promoted by people who were more interested in advancing their own careers than in achieving improvements in education. This perception, whether fair or unfair, accurate or inaccurate, specific or general, was apparently the source of considerable cynicism in teachers' views about educational innovations. This cynicism was further compounded by a commonly held belief that most initiatives produced little in the way of tangible benefits for teachers or students. What is more, many teachers viewed current change initiatives as transitory, in the sense that they would soon be replaced by other initiatives. Hence tactical delay was seen as a viable response to many change initiatives.

There was little or no meaningful difference between the responses of teachers from either system in this area. The following responses are representative.

One always feels a little cynical about change from the big bureaucracy. Feeling fairly helpless you feel negative about any change before it happens.

There is tremendous cynicism amongst practising teachers when it comes to innovations, and sometimes therefore rejection of innovations which are very valuable and very worthwhile because of suspicions that this is just someone's bandwagon.

There has been a lot of change and change isn't good if it's just change for the sake of change. There has been a bit of that going on - where someone has come along with a new design and everyone jumps on the bandwagon. So teachers are getting sick of too much change for the sake of change. In the classroom nothing much has really changed though.

More and more teachers are becoming increasingly cynical saying, "Okay, this was the flavour of the month last year, how long is it going to last?"

Sometimes it's just people in power wanting to get more power. A lot of changes that have happened here in the Education Department are all just big words on paper - they don't always get followed through.

DISCUSSION
In the context of research of this nature, it is sometimes difficult to establish the veracity of interpretations of interview data when, short of reproducing the complete transcripts of each interview, these interpretations cannot be supported other than by brief quotations. Given that the process of identifying appropriate quotations is potentially vulnerable to selective perception on the part of the researcher, it is reasonable to expect the researcher to provide further evidence to support the results claimed from the interviews. This is particularly critical where the data are gleaned from subjects'
self-reports alone, as in this case.

Furthermore, the extent to which the views expressed by the subjects in this study can be considered as truly individual responses, reflecting their own separate experiences of educational changes, is called into question by certain aspects of the educational administration literature, especially when these aspects are then viewed in the light of the emerging literature in the field of discursive psychology. In this regard, these teachers' responses could well be interpreted as responses from teachers operating within one particular paradigm (Kuhn, 1977); within a shared constellation of beliefs (Kisiel, 1982); having common perceptual and linguistic anchors (Miller, 1984); or sharing the same mindscapes (Sergiovanni, 1985). Therefore, as has been suggested elsewhere (Harre & Gillett, 1994), people's behavior and discourse are both consciously and unconsciously influenced significantly by the culture and norms of the roles they occupy. Thus, it may be reasonable to conceive of the views expressed by the subjects in this study's interviews as particular views held largely because the subjects occupy the role of teacher. Some would argue, therefore, the data may consist only of the information which people in the role of teacher are able to impart, given the constraints imposed on behavior and attitudes by the norms and mores associated with the teacher role.

In a similar vein, Morgan (1986) held that members of organisations hold particular images of organisations and that these images, in turn, affect how people act within these organisations. In the context of this study, therefore, the teachers (members) within the education systems (organisations) would have a particular image of their employing authority. This image would then come to influence these teachers' actions and reactions within their respective education systems.

Thus, the construction and understanding of the teacher role influences the individuals who occupy that role and, within an education system, this in turn influences how teachers collectively view and respond to the organisation. This, of course, includes how teachers respond to all of the organisation's initiatives, including, perhaps particularly, the organisation's innovations and change initiatives.

So, views of the system (and its agents) as overly bureaucratic, distant, out of touch with the classroom and disinterested in children's learning may well be held by these teachers, but it is important to remember that these views might be held more because the holders happen to be teachers rather than because the system and its agents exhibit such characteristics genuinely.

If for some people, perception constitutes reality, there are some clear but problematic implications in all of this for proponents of
educational change.

Nevertheless, the psychological origins of teachers' views of their own work and of the organisations which employ them are a moot point. It was, after all, simply the uncovering of these views, rather than of their origins, that was a the heart of the research in this study.

Subject to the limitations implied by these caveats, the results of this study are supported strongly by the extent to which they are congruent with the findings of other Australian studies and with key ideas in the international literature.

The results obtained in this study cohere with those obtained in a national study undertaken in late 1994, the same time as the current study (Australian Teaching Council, 1995). In the national study, teachers:
expressed a desire to keep the relationship with their students as the main focus of their work, confirming the data from the teachers in this study expressing concern about a perceived shift away from the classroom as the focus;
felt misgivings about being subjected to great amounts of imposed, rapid change, confirming the data from the teachers in this study about simultaneous multiple innovations, external imposition and abbreviated timelines; and
preferred a network of peers, rather than access to outside experts, as the most useful form of professional development, confirming the data from the teachers in this study about increased collaboration.

The results of the current study are similarly consistent with those which might be expected in the light of much of the burgeoning literature covering change in education. Three key ideas spanning the time frame of that literature from the 1970’s to the present day (Doyle & Ponder, 1977-8; Fullan, 1995) might be paraphrased as follows: first, you can't mandate what matters; second, teachers will adapt rather than adopt innovations; and third, teachers will support only those innovations which they see as offering practical benefits for their own teaching or their students' learning. The views expressed by the teachers in this study provide ample support for these tenets of the literature and, reciprocally, the efficacy of the study's analysis is enhanced by the congruence between the results and the theory.

Consistent with you can't mandate what matters, representative comments from teachers included the following:

At one time something from the Department would have been something you did instantly. Now I feel like saying, "When you convince me it really needs to be done, then I'll do it. Does it really need to be done or are you just creating busy work for people?". The Department needs to
justify the relevance of it.

Consistent with teachers as adaptors rather than adopters, representative comments included:

I don't think that anything is a mandatory thing that you have to implement. Pretty much what you do in your classroom is your own business - what happens behind that door is you, and how you operate is very much a personal thing.

Consistent with the application of a practicality ethic in decisions related to implementation of educational change, teachers' typical remarks included:

If it's a change where I can see there will be benefit for students and for me, well then, I will respond positively.

I don't believe in change, unless it is for the better, unless someone can say, "This is going to be better for the students and for yourself".

You have to look at what the changes are going to be. If they are good for the school and good for the children, then you have to support them.

In effect therefore, despite expressing concerns about the pace and number of educational changes with which they have to contend; despite expressing concerns about the educational worth and real motives underlying many change initiatives; and despite expressing concerns about increased workloads and stress resulting from the current educational change context, the teachers in this study emerge as survivors. What is more, they emerge as autonomous and empowered survivors, in the sense that what they do in their classrooms remains largely a matter only between themselves and their students and in the sense that they claim the right to ultimate decision-making in implementation matters. Furthermore, they maintain a continuing focus on their classroom activities as the core tasks of their profession.

Taken to its logical conclusion, the autonomy of the teacher's role and the empowerment afforded to those who occupy that role give today's teachers a form of immunity from what they might regard as the worst excesses of the current change context. This immunity will be invaluable as they seek to make their own sense and meaning of their roles in the climate of the educational change forces of the future. At present, however, teachers' discourse is still firmly rooted in the genre of Fullan's multiple innovations era, and teachers can expect only further overload and fragmentation as they work towards coming to terms with the dynamic complexity of the change context in the late 1990s.
References


1 All names of schools and persons are aliases.

Page iii

About the Authors

Page 84

Page v

Table of Contents

"Hewers and Drawers?": The Work Lives of Teachers
'Just a Relief Teacher'

Teachers in Transition: A New View

Teachers' Work Lives: The View from Teachers Implementing Educational Change