But Not Teaching: An Exploration into Non-Participation in the Teaching Profession

by

James Neil Paulson
B.A., University of British Columbia, 1978
M.Ed., University of Victoria, 1996

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies

at the

University of Victoria

But Not Teaching: An Exploration into Non-Participation in the Teaching Profession

by

James Neil Paulson
B.A., University of British Columbia, 1978
M.Ed., University of Victoria, 1996

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)

Supervisor

Dr. Vernon J. Storey (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)

Departmental Member

Dr. John O. Anderson (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)

Departmental Member

Dr. Cecilia M. Benoit (Department of Sociology)

Outside Member

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)
Supervisor

Dr. Vernon J. Storey (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)
Departmental Member

Dr. John O. Anderson (Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies)
Departmental Member

Dr. Cecilia M. Benoit (Department of Sociology)
Outside Member

ABSTRACT

This dissertation studied the work-life stories of seven graduates of teacher education programs who did not enter the teaching profession. The study's intent was to achieve an understanding of the social, cultural, historical, and personal factors that led to the decisions of fully qualified teachers to enter into work other than that for which they had been prepared. All participants were women who had graduated from teacher education programs in Canadian universities in the past twelve years but who had never held continuing teaching posts. Their current occupations included: daycare worker, university recruiter, receptionist, graduate student, realtor, computer helpdesk, and office manager. The interviewer and each participant met for single two-and-a-half-hour sessions that were recorded and later transcribed and analyzed using syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis. These complementary methods of analysis examine a dialogic interview as if it is a complete story; with a starting point, markers of transition, a turning point, and a conclusion; along with symbols and other expressive motifs that fill in a story and help

the teller illustrate his or her experience as it is being told. In addition, the concepts of secular vocation as formulated by Hansen (1995), and reality shock as described by Veenman (1987) and others were used as a foundation upon which to base the analysis.

Analysis of participants' stories suggested that the desire to teach began in childhood and was described by participants as a 'calling' or a 'gift.' Family and related social influences appeared to reinforce and expand participants' sense of a desire to teach, as well as being helpful, or of service to others, that often accompanied this notion. Subsequent collapse of the vocation left participants with a feeling of loss, or of a calling not fulfilled. Analysis further indicated participants' decisions not to continue in the teaching profession were prompted by outside agents, including parents, spouses, and other significant persons. Although participants expressed disillusionment with teaching, often appearing before the end of one's teacher education program, in every case the decision to abandon teaching was not made until initiated by an outside agent.

The discovery in the present project that this small group of individuals would narrate very similar stories about their journey into and out of the teaching profession is noteworthy. Although an analysis of the stories individuals tell about their occupational decision-making may not allow researchers to make the same generalized assumptions that a quantitative study might, it provides us with a rich understanding of the influences and backgrounds that gave rise to these decisions, and suggests a positive relationship between occupational identity and family, social, and cultural influences

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE ii

ABSTRACT iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS v

LIST OF TABLES ix

ACKOWLEDGMENTS x

CHAPTER 1 1

INTRODUCTION 1

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY 3

OBJECTIVES 5

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 6

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN 7

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY 9

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCHER 11

CHAPTER 2 18

LITERATURE REVIEW 18

THE EFFECT OF TEACHER EDUCATION ON STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHING 19

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT 27

The theoretical foundations *29*

Symbolic interaction. 30
Functionalism. 31
Bourdieu and other cultural approaches 33
Critical theory. 36
Post-structural, feminist, and anti-racist theories. 38
Summary 43
THE EXPERIENCE OF WORK, INCLUDING TEACHER WORK 46
THE LITERATURE ON WORK 47
THE CONCEPT OF VOCATION 55
VOCATIONAL COLLAPSE 60
RESEARCH QUESTIONS 62
SUMMARY 63
CHAPTER 3 66
METHODOLOGY 66
RESEARCH DESIGN 67
METHOD OF ANALYSIS 68
SYNTAGMATIC AND PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS 70
DATA SOURCE 73
DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS 77
ANALYTIC PROCEDURES 78
Qualitative Analysis Software 79
CONCLUSION 80
CHAPTER 4 81
RESULTS 81
STORIES/PLOT-LINES 82
A's Story 84

F's Story 86
K's Story 89
L's Story 93
M's Story 96
Q's Story 98
Y's Story 100
NARRATIVE DEVICES FOR ANALYSIS 101
Conflict / Complication 102
Turning point 119
Resolution 125
Narrative conclusions 128
VOCATION 139
CONCLUSION 144

CHAPTER 5 145

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS IN RELATION TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS 145

Question 1: What social and cultural factors do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decision go to university and enrol in teacher education?. 146

Question 2: What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared? 152

Question 3: How does the experience of teacher education as it is remembered by non-practicing teachers influence occupational decision making? 154

Question 4: To what extent do non-teaching graduates of teacher education identify with the role/label 'teacher?' 156

CHAPTER 6 159

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION 159

ANALYSIS BASED ON CULTURAL THEORIES OF OCCUPATIONAL DECISION MAKING 159

ANALYSIS BASED ON HANSEN'S NOTION OF SECULAR VOCATION 161

ANALYSIS BASED ON VEENMAN'S THEORY OF REALITY SHOCK 163

CONCLUSION 165

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 166

REFERENCES 170

APPENDIXES 183

Appendix 1: Informed consent form 183

Appendix 2: Invitation for potential participants 185

Appendix 3: Interview guide 187

ACKOWLEDGMENTS

Among the countless people who have contributed to this dissertation I wish to acknowledge and thank the following people:

My supervisor, Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe, and my committee members, Dr. Vern Storey, Dr. John Anderson, and Dr. Cecilia Benoit

My external examiner, Dr. Frank Echols from the University of British Columbia

The participants (you know who you are)

Norris, Terry, John, and Beryl

Fred, Allan, David, Alison, Majella, Judy, and Debbie

And most of all, Barbara, Tim, Gabrielle, Gillian, and Eric. Thank you for putting up with me for so long. It's finished at last.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Although there is a significant body of literature on the relationship between education and work, particularly on the transition of graduates from secondary schools and undergraduate university programs to the workforce, very little research literature exists on the school to work transition of graduates from professional schools, and in particular, from teacher education programs. Most existing research follows beginning teachers into their first classroom jobs and examines their working conditions (Weiss, 1999), explores the preconceptions they take into their teaching work (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000; Tatto, 1998), presents performance indicators for the evaluation of new teachers' work (Turley, 1999), or investigates similar issues specifically related to the induction of teachers to the classroom. While studies of the classroom experiences of beginning teachers are immeasurably valuable to the growth of the field of education studies, they often appear to be based on the assumption that a preservice teacher will always become an in-service teacher upon graduation from a university or professional school program. Where current research falls short is in the attention paid to the graduates of teacher education who do not make the transition to the classroom, but instead become engaged in non-teaching work. Frijters, Shields, and Price (2004) lament this shortage of such literature, noting that "empirical studies mainly explore the factors which influence the recruitment and retention of teachers, with some attention (particularly in the US) on how policy might influence the skill and ability composition of employed teachers" (p.5).

That this is an issue of increasing importance is reflected in recent educational outcome surveys conducted in British Columbia. According to data collected in the year

2004 by The University Presidents Council of British Columbia on the 2002 employment outcomes of graduates from teacher education programs in the province, 23% of qualified teachers in the cohort reported employment as 'somewhat to not at all' related to their education (The University Presidents Council, 2006). A 2003 survey conducted by the British Columbia College of Teachers of graduates of the 1999 to 2002 cohorts indicated that 9% did not work in the field at all, and of those working as teachers only 42% were fulltime teachers, the vast majority working part-time or as teachers-on-call (British Columbia College of Teachers, 2004). Data reported in similar surveys by the British Columbia College of Teachers in 1997 and 2001, indicated that 13% of qualified teachers were reporting then that they did not work as teachers (British Columbia College of Teachers, 1997; 2001). While not large percentages of total graduates, these results when compared with previous surveys indicate a noticeable increase in the number of teacher education graduates who end up working outside the profession. The University Presidents Council's 2000 survey reported that 16% of graduates held employment only somewhat related to their education, showing an increase of 7 percentage points over the four years to 2004. These data indicate that a sizable proportion of teacher education graduates in this province may not be making the transition to classroom teaching.

Much of the research carried out in the more extensively examined area of general school-to-work transition has as its purpose to explain the various transitional behaviours of adolescent youth in order to facilitate appropriate intervention for those experiencing difficulty making the shift from student to worker (Donaldson, 1992). These studies approach the issue from various conceptual starting points, such as gender barriers (Looker, 1993), social and cultural reproduction (Bellamy, 1993; Bourdieu & Passeron,

1990), and conflict or critical theory approaches (Davies, 1994). Through none of these lenses however, is there an attempt to explain the phenomenon of persons who are employed, but not working in the field for which they have been prepared.

Likewise, literature devoted to the sociology of work covers a vast theoretical and subject landscape, but by and large tends to focus on the structure of work and the workplace (Hall, 1994), on the the meaning of work (Cuilla, 2000), and on relationships of power in the workplace (Krahn & Lowe, 1998). Certainly, over the past decade-and-a-half workplace concerns such as job exit have received much greater attention in the work literature (Ebaugh, 1988), as has unemployment, or the condition of not working (Aronowitz & Difazio, 1994). Nonetheless, in common with the literature on school-to-work transition, what the literature on work does not explore is that of people choosing not to do something for which they have been specifically prepared.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the experience that led to the decisions of persons specifically prepared as teachers not to enter the profession but instead to engage in a non-teaching career. More specifically my intent was to gain an understanding of the social, including cultural, historical and personal factors that led to the decisions of fully qualified teachers to enter into work other than that for which they had been prepared. In addition, I intended to discover how an understanding of the meanings non-practicing teachers put on their educational and occupational experiences contributes to an overall knowledge of the phenomena of graduates of teacher education programs choosing not to teach.

This study did not intend to examine ultimate teaching status in one's worklife, as that would have required an extensive longitudinal process over respondents' lifetimes. Nor did it intend to define temporary absences from teaching for travel and recreational pursuits as non-participation in the profession. What the research project did investigate was non-teaching status after a period of time determined by the researcher in collaboration with the research participants to be a significant indicator of intention not to pursue a teaching career, or that a career in teaching would be unlikely.

The relative absence of research literature on the topic of non-participation in the field for which one has been prepared made it necessary to explore the literature on related phenomena in education and work, such as research in teacher work and teacher education, research in the sociology of work, and research in school-to-work transition. Because of the multi-disciplinarity of the field, education research is undertaken in a scholarly environment incorporating a wide range of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, history, economics, philosophy, and anthropology. As a result, the epistemologies, research agendas, and research methods employed in each of these disciplines are also applied in education research. Certainly this can be regarded as a blessing of diverse approaches from which to select the most appropriate; but it can also be seen as a liability, hindering true communication between researchers that are ostensibly in the same field but not speaking the same research language (Lee & Yarger, 1996). Thus, it was in this research environment that the present study intended to explore the decisions of graduates of Canadian teacher education programs not to become practicing teachers. Questions posed in an attempt to make sense of these decisions reflected the range of epistemologies that make up educational research. Was a decision

made not to teach a psychological response, or was it social? Were non-practicing teachers acting on the influence of vague historical forces, of cultural forces suggesting a critical theory response, or on purely economic terms? The way of proceeding with the research project required congruence between worldviews and methodologies, or research traditions, and by necessity compelled the researcher to become familiar with all those traditions that make up the education field.

In addition to the worldviews expressed through the research traditions found in the field of educational research is the personal epistemology of the researcher. The statement of a research topic indicates an interest and a conception of reality that commits the researcher to a certain way of perceiving the object under study. The challenge is to acknowledge one's bias and work with it to uncover the research question and conduct empirical inquiry where one does not already know the answer. The next sections provide a background to this project based on the researcher's experience of the research problem.

Objectives

Based on the observations above, more specific objectives related to this inquiry's purpose were:

1. To identify, select, and interview non-teaching graduates of teacher education programs and identify their perceptions of and attitudes toward the teaching profession by interpreting their stories through a content and structure analysis.
2. To understand the ways in which non-practicing teachers construct their understandings of occupational identity through their interview narratives.

3. Through analysis of interview narratives, to identify influences this group of non-practicing teachers felt toward entering teacher education, and subsequent non-entry to the profession.
4. To identify ways in which these understandings can inform policy and practice in education.

Through an in-depth exploration of participants' decisions not to teach, the study intended to look at beliefs about teaching and the significance of these beliefs on non-participation in the profession. In addition, the study intended to investigate whether or not the experience of teacher education could be seen to have an influence on those beliefs. Although the intent of the study was to explore through personal narratives the perceptions, values, and attitudes of those who had not entered the practice of teaching, the backgrounds and contexts that gave rise to those perceptions, values, and attitudes also became prominent in the results.

Research Questions

Although research questions are not normally included in interpretive inquiries because of the nature of the discovery process in such research, my quantitative research background compelled me to identify questions to guide and focus my inquiry, and provide a starting point for analysis.

As pointed out above, this study intended to look at beliefs persons who have prepared to teach but do not teach have about the teaching profession, how these individuals construct their thoughts about these beliefs, and the significance of those beliefs on non-participation in the profession. In addition, because the results were intended to inform educators and others, the study intended to investigate, through

participants' use of similar language, images, symbols and narrative motifs, whether these beliefs can be seen to be shared between individuals with a similar experience. Candida-Smith (2001) describes these shared elements, when they are uncovered, as forming a discursive community of, in this case, non-practicing teachers, which is then able to inform others.

Based on a thorough examination of the relevant literature as presented in Chapter two, more specific research questions related to those objectives noted above can thus be presented as follows:

1. What social and cultural factors do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decision go to university and enrol in teacher education?
2. What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared?
3. How does the experience of teacher education as it is remembered by non-practicing teachers influence occupational decision making -- i.e. what experiences and factors may be identified as having influenced their decisions not to teach?
4. To what extent do non-teaching graduates of teacher education identify with the role/label 'teacher', and how does that identity influence occupational decision-making?

Overview of Research Design

Because the study intended to understand the experiences of an identified group of persons who had made decisions not to enter the profession and the meanings they attached to these experiences, the most appropriate form for data to take was determined to be the first-hand accounts, gathered through interviews, of those individuals at the

heart of the phenomenon. Data analysis, in order to be focused on the meanings made by participants about their educational and occupational choices and not simply their behaviours, had to consider interview responses as whole stories, not simply as answers to questions. This was therefore to be an interpretive study of the storied constructions of non-participation in the teaching profession by teacher education graduates. Interviews were analyzed for content and structure using syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis (Mishler, 1992; Candida-Smith, 2001).

Analyzing interviews as if responses were participants' stories forms the basis of syntagmatic analysis and paradigmatic analysis (Candida-Smith, 2001). Described in more detail in Chapter Three, these complementary methods of analysis examine the plot line in the stories interviewees tell, and analyse starting points, markers of transition, turning points, and resolutions; along with symbols, metaphors and other expressive motifs. Rimmon-Kenan (1983) simplifies the distinction between the two as follows: "Whereas the surface structure of the story is syntagmatic, i.e., governed by temporal and causal principles, the deep structure is paradigmatic, based on static logical relations among the elements" (p. 10).

Through an examination of these narrative devices and motifs, the researcher can identify a specific action in one part of the story that responds to a complication in another part, which in turn can be considered in terms of how it enable the potential teacher to reflect on the reasons for her occupational decisions, and in particular the decision to exit the teaching profession.

Such analysis considers participants' interview responses as the only source of information available, and it is therefore unable to make any claims to truth and clarity

surrounding the topic. Although the study endeavoured to depict results in the most representative manner possible, it was naturally limited by unavoidable complexities in the interviewer interviewee relationship, and the loss of vitality that occurs when reducing spoken conversation to printed transcripts.

Significance of the study

I expected that the research would uncover substantive and useful results regarding the decisions of qualified teachers to undertake non-teaching work. Along with a certain measure of scholarly significance, examining the intention not to enter the profession for which one has been specifically prepared has practical significance for universities and faculties of education, for society at large, and, perhaps of most concern, for preservice, or student-teachers themselves.

It is important for universities and their professional schools to understand why some of their students enter programs, presumably to graduate and enter a profession, but do not ultimately make the transition from professional school to profession. A good record of degree completions and placement of graduates allows universities to advertise their successes and recruit more students to enroll in programs. At the same time reduced government funding and increased public scrutiny over the employment outcomes of graduates has given universities a greater motive to ensure students achieve what they set out to do.

Professors and administrators in faculties of education working with preservice teachers, aim to prepare them socially, academically, and practically for the profession. In other words, their job is to turn their students into teachers. That this process does not take place for a number of people should be of concern for teacher educators. The more

knowledge this group has about how and why some preservice teachers do not become in-service teachers will enable them to explore means either to ensure a transition to the profession takes place successfully, or that students recognize that it is not going to take place before they have committed five or more years and countless financial and other resources to the endeavour.

Society at large has an interest in the school-to-work transition of preservice teachers. Social consequences of an incomplete or unsuccessful transition include a reinforcement of what Potter (1997) refers to as a negative attitude on the part of some citizens toward recent university graduates; a sense among many members of the public that their education tax dollars have been wasted (Grosjean, 1998); and the absence from the school classroom of a scarce and valuable resource, that of a qualified new teacher.

The group for which the proposed research has perhaps the greatest significance however, is that of the preservice or student-teachers themselves. Presumably each student who completes a degree in education or a post degree professional development program entered the program intending to be a teacher (Mclaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens & Yee, 1986). For those students who complete the process of becoming teachers but do not enter the teaching profession there are a number of consequences. First among these consequences is the sense that the student has 'failed', even though he or she has successfully completed the program. Crick (1998), in her study of voluntary exit among veteran teachers notes that even though exited teachers no longer perform the role of teaching they retain the identity of 'teacher.' Similarly, the socialization process in teacher education programs may have the same effect on non-teaching graduates. Schlossberg (1997) identifies this 'hang-over' effect as more common in all types of

worklife transition than was previously thought. So even though these graduates do not now work in schools, they may continue to self-identify as teachers who do not teach. They had an aspiration to do a particular thing during their lives, got the necessary credentials, then for one reason or another, ended up not doing the thing they aspired to.

Finally, the study carries significant scholarly significance because it fills a gap in the literature on the phenomenon, and it may have considerable practical value have to researchers and teacher educators. Although there is available literature on the work of teachers after entering the profession, there has been very little research conducted on teachers who do not teach. The present investigation provides a comprehensive overview of the present state of knowledge, as well as a contribution to the field.

Background and significance of the researcher

It has now been generally accepted in the social sciences that a researcher is unable to separate her or himself from the research. The researcher's values, predispositions, and histories will always influence what is researched and how (Carspecken, 1996; Lather, 1986). Cherryholmes (1988) maintains that by their very nature theories and explanations of what is going on in the world are incomplete. Therefore, choices regarding theoretical ways of proceeding "cannot be made without reference to decision criteria, values, or interests" that help us to complete them (p.79).

The present study was no different; my biographical background and epistemological approach have certainly led me in the direction of the present study. It is therefore necessary that I reject notions of complete academic disinterest simply by way of having chosen to research this particular phenomenon over another. Choosing to place myself in this specific inquiry assumes that I am not placing myself in another. To be an

honest researcher then, I must reflect on why I have chosen to situate my research in one place and not another, and report it.

Simply put, I am a fully qualified, certificate holding teacher education graduate, and although my membership in the British Columbia College of Teachers lapsed long ago, I am able to be licensed to teach in the province of British Columbia. I completed my post-baccalaureate professional development program at the University of British Columbia in the mid-1980s. I have never been a classroom teacher.

The above three sentences however, do not tell the story of how this study came to be. At the time I completed my teacher education program, public education in the province of British Columbia was undergoing a period of severe financial restraint. Not only were new teachers not being hired by school districts, but experienced, working teachers were losing their jobs due to funding cutbacks. The Provincial Government at the time was actively involved in a program to significantly trim the public sector workforce, and the teaching profession was among the most severely affected. Antagonism between teachers and the government as a result of these funding cutbacks prompted journalists in the province to describe the air of hostility present in all interactions between the two parties with the term 'School Wars,' a pastiche on the currently popular 'Star Wars' motion picture series (Malaspina University College History Department, 2001).

After working for some time in this environment as a substitute teacher in both Vancouver and in northern British Columbia, I decided to try to find work outside of teaching. In addition to the negative labour climate, the sporadic work of substitute teaching was simply not a very good way to earn a living, since there was such a large

number of experienced unemployed teachers with whom we new teachers were competing for work. A good month of substitute teaching was one with five or six days of work, while an average month consisted of about two or three working days.

As I worked in other occupations following the decision to turn my back on teaching, my work self-identity was not that of the alternate job I was performing, an airplane maintenance worker, pulp mill worker, or social worker, but rather that of a teacher working in one of these other pursuits. This teacher identity was able to get me through periods of unemployment and underemployment as well. As long as I had my teaching certificate I was not simply unemployed, I was an unemployed teacher. I gained a measure of comfort in maintaining my teacher identity – even after it became increasingly clear that I might never teach. Perhaps this helped give meaning to my life as I struggled with 'bad' jobs, or periods of not working; I always had something I could mentally fall back on. I had a skill. As I continued to work in non-teaching occupations, I continued to think of myself as a teacher who did not teach.

This story is one of occupational identity in a person who was not able to find work in the profession for which he was specifically prepared. The persistence of my teacher-identity during a working life of not teaching has, no doubt, much to do with the circumstances under which I did not enter the profession. As a figure in the story, I am interested in whether or not my feelings about being a teacher are similar to the feelings of other graduates of teacher education programs who, instead of entering the profession at graduation, went on to become social workers, or pulp mill workers, and stayed in those occupations.

On the other hand, as a researcher I am more interested in the circumstances, the backgrounds and contexts, that give rise to the stories of people who complete teacher education programs and then make a decision not to enter the profession. Qualified teachers who do not teach all have something in common. They had an aspiration to do something during their lives, went to a university and got the necessary credentials, then for one reason or another, are not doing the thing they aspired to do. Education is not about processing information; it is about making meaning (Bruner, 1996). It is with this meaning-making that my curiosity as a researcher compelled me to investigate how the particular experiences of those who made a decision not to teach were ultimately led to that decision.

McKeown, MacDonnell, and Bowman (1993), in their study of university student attrition, take researchers to task for basing research on their own constructed experience rather than on that of the students. While it is difficult to ignore one's own experiences when doing education research, the present study's intent was to focus on the meanings made by those who have chosen not to enter the profession, and not on those of the researcher. In other words, It was my intention as a researcher to explore the experience of the participants themselves, not my own. Thus, as a non-teaching teacher myself, although I had a direct and personal connection to the phenomenon, I attempted to introduce a necessary level of detachment to the inquiry by choosing to study the experience of individuals in a time and place somewhat removed from my own experience in the 1980s.

There are generally two circumstances under which beginning teachers do not enter the teaching profession. One is that they are not successful in securing jobs with

school districts; and the other is that they have made a decision to engage in non-teaching work. Sometimes those decisions not to enter the profession appear to have little to do with real choice. There are many instances, such as situations where mothers, or fathers, with young families to care for are unable to work for a period of time and find themselves out of the job market, or situations, common in military families, where one spouse's work very frequently takes the family to new communities, and the teaching spouse is not able to commit to the profession because of these moves; along with others. But quite often the decision is made for other reasons not attributable to these perceived barriers. My own experience was one where after being unable to enter the profession for a number of years, I made a decision to abandon teaching. Since it is often difficult to differentiate between what was an active choice and what was the result of a barrier to entrance to the profession, this research study also investigated non-teaching teachers' perceptions of potential and real barriers. During times of teacher surplus, both natural due to demographic changes in communities, and artificial due to ideologically driven education funding cutbacks, large numbers of qualified teachers may never enter the profession simply because there are no teaching opportunities.

As the present study was being conducted, an aging teacher workforce, an increase in school populations in some communities due to the 'baby boom echo', and technological innovations, had all contributed to a continuing need for new teachers (Spillman, 2005). Presently, while we are not necessarily experiencing a teacher shortage, there is a continuing need for qualified teachers to enter the profession to fill those roles vacated by retiring teachers and new ones created by on-going educational change (Siniscalco, 2002).

Each beginning teacher who has chosen not to enter the profession could represent a teaching vacancy not filled. Given that the current need for new teachers is likely to continue over the next decade at a minimum (Meich & Elder, 1996; Spillman 2005), it is important to understand the factors that contribute to the decisions of qualified preservice teachers not to enter the teaching profession.

Research suggests that while some teachers indeed enter the profession 'accidentally' or because it was the only option, the vast majority enters because of a strong desire to teach coupled with a sense of mission (Hansen, 1995; McLaughlin, Pfeifer, et. al., 1986; and Meich & Elder, 1996). Indeed, Hansen's (1994a; 1994b; 1995) research suggests that teaching can be likened to a vocation, in the sense that people often indicate that they have been 'called' to the profession. Since it can safely be presumed from this evidence that preservice teachers who do not enter the profession did at one time want to teach, it may be possible to discover what it might have been about their experiences that led them to that decision.

Moreover, Wilhelm, Dewhurst-Savellis and Parker (2000), in their longitudinal study of 1978 teacher education graduates, found that their respondents' decisions to leave the profession over time, or remain in it, could be traced back to the attitudes they held about the profession as they were preparing to become teachers. They conclude that on the job stressors were less significant predictors of long-term success in teaching than were the university teacher education experiences of preservice teachers. From my own experience as a beginning teacher without work in the profession, while I cannot comment on on the job stressors, I can say that I found that my positive attitude about the profession, from both teacher education and my previously held notions, contributed to

my continuing identity as a teacher working in other occupations. From studying the stories of others in situations containing some similarities to my own, it may be possible to understand the some of the complexities surrounding non-participation in the teaching profession.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

Literature relevant to the non-transition of graduates of teacher education programs to classroom teaching will be discussed in this chapter. In order to provide a foundation for carrying out this project, three broad areas of theory and research were explored, all relating to one another and linking to the purpose of the present study.

First the literature on teacher education, specifically that related to teacher preparation programs and entry into the field, will be discussed. The effect that the student experience in general, and the teacher education experience in particular, might have on the non-entry decisions of program graduates is a concept that was explored in the study and this literature provides a background as well as a link to the chapter's second section, that of the relationship between formal education and work.

The literature on the relationship between education and employment, with an emphasis on the various theoretical approaches constructing the relationship between school and work, rather than the more prescriptive skills-gap literature, will be discussed next. Although the school-to-work literature provides a background from which to view the transition or non-transition from student to worker, the highly specific nature of available research studies made it more useful in this study to concentrate on their theoretical foundations rather than on research results. This theoretical background will thus link to the third and final section of the chapter; an examination of the nature of work as experienced by the individual worker, or teacher.

In the final section, concepts applied to work other than teaching provides the present study with a connection to the larger community outside of education. The literature on the experience that teachers as workers have with their occupation provides the anchor to the present study, since it has to do with those who are able to work as teachers, by virtue of their education, but in fact do not work as teachers. The third section ties the previous two sections of the literature review together and provides the study with a solid theoretical foundation.

The effect of teacher education on students' attitudes toward teaching

As an area of education research that has previously been somewhat neglected in the literature, teacher education and preparation has become an important area of inquiry over the past ten to fifteen years. While research into teacher education is not new, the decade of the1990s saw an increase in interest combined with solid analytical structures and theoretical groundings that were virtually unheard of in the 1970s (Ducharme & Ducharme, 1996, p.1030; Lee & Yarger, 1996, p. 15). This increase in research interest has led to the development of solid theoretical foundations under many aspects of teacher education, guiding further research on education practice and policy, as well as teacher preparation itself.

For the purposes of this chapter however, the literature on teacher preparation will be limited to that related to the effect of teacher education on students' attitudes and beliefs about the nature of education, and their subsequent attachment to the profession. Because the present study had to do with teacher education graduates who had elected not to enter the classroom as teachers, this aspect of the literature is more valuable than research on other important issues on the preparation of preservice teachers for work in

the profession. That said, although primarily focused on attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about teaching and education, it is of course imperative for a comprehensive literature review to pay some attention to the issues related to teaching within society, inasmuch as what happens in the larger society has an impact on university students' attitudes toward the profession.

According to research in education, the qualifications, abilities, and classroom practices of teachers have advanced immensely over the past several decades (Ciscell, 1988, p. 150). By 1991 all teachers in public schools in the US possessed a bachelor's degree, compared with 85% in the 1960s (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996, p. 70). In this regard, Canadian numbers match those of the US. The British Columbia College of Teachers report of the year 2000 survey of teacher education graduates in British Columbia indicates that 100% of teachers hold a minimum of a bachelor's degree, and that many of them hold more than one bachelor's degree, such as a Bachelor of Arts combined with a Bachelor of Education (British Columbia College of Teachers 2001).

In addition, the trend in recent years for teacher education faculties in universities to raise admission requirements has had the effect of increasing the value of a teaching career for many undecided university students. According to Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996), during the 1970s and 1980s those students scoring highest on the National Teacher Exam (NTE) in the US were most likely to leave teaching within the first few years, or not enter the profession at all. By the middle of the 1990s, because of more rigorous entrance standards, this trend had reversed. Moreover, in a 1990 study it was found that students completing teacher education, including post bachelor's degree

teacher preparation programs, earned higher grade point averages than their peers completing BAs and BScs (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996, p. 73).

Notwithstanding this increase in both the qualifications of incumbents in teacher education programs, and the overall numbers of students entering programs, there has been a downward trend in the percentage of those who enter universities intending to teach, versus overall student population. In 1991 fewer than 9% of students surveyed stated an intention to become teachers, compared to 22% in 1966 (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996). The same study notes that these numbers indicate a larger shift in student interest away from the social sciences, arts, humanities, and education, toward business, engineering, and computer related fields. In addition, whereas teaching was once one of the very few professions open to women, inroads made by women over the past two decades into professions that were previously barred to them socially has meant that these professionally focused women are now not entering classrooms as teachers.

What this means of course is that while teaching has become a highly skilled occupation performed by individuals with superior qualifications, it has continued to lose ground to other fields as a first choice of university students preparing to enter the workforce. As the role of children's education becomes more and more important in an increasingly complex society, our ability to attract and maintain highly qualified and committed individuals to the practice of teaching becomes all that more imperative.

While much of Canadian society is indeed undergoing complex change, among the assumptions underlying the present research project is that our education system, while changing in some important ways due to funding fluctuations, education reform movements, and the importance placed on them by various legislating bodies, is likely to

retain much the same structure it has now into the foreseeable future. That is, teachers will still be expected to achieve a certain standard of professionalism based on agreed to qualifications, and will still, by and large, go to work in institutions called schools. Despite endless rhetoric about education reform over the past twenty years, one constant appears to have been the inability of education reformers to look beyond reforming within existing systems and the making of lists of suggested improvements (Barth, 1990). Not since Illich's (1970) radical suggestions about doing away with schools altogether has anyone within education advocated wholesale change to education as a concept rather than as a system, although some, like Huebner (1987) in his call for schooling to be shaped by teachers rather than the current reality of teaching being constrained and institutionalized by schools, have come close.

That said, the notion that teacher education programs ought to have an effect on the attitudes and beliefs of preservice teachers toward the nature of education itself is supported by a number of researchers in the field (Richardson, 1996). Richardson and others insist that teacher education programs can and should attempt to change students' attitudes and beliefs about teaching and education. Lortie (1975) however, maintains that what he calls "the extended apprenticeship of observation" (p. 65) that prospective teachers endure before ever setting foot into a university program has embedded a set of beliefs about teaching that cannot be affected by the teacher education program. Twelve to thirteen years in schools, during the most impressionable years of a person's life, Lortie (p. 79) speculates, has much more of an effect on attitudes and beliefs than one to five years in a teacher preparation program.

Others insist that teacher education does indeed affect change on prospective teachers' attitudes and beliefs about education, but that this change may not necessarily be positive, and that care must be taken to ensure that beginning teachers subscribe to a set of beliefs consistent with what the program hopes to achieve (Tatto, 1998).

Teacher preparation programs have, as one of their functions, a mandate either to change or to reinforce preservice teachers' beliefs about the purpose of education according to the norms accepted by the institution, the community, and the profession (Richardson, 1996). These norms may not necessarily be universal across communities and cultures, but within these communities notions about the purposes of education, what should be taught and how, are usually (though not always) widely accepted.

Nonetheless, it is not with regard to this particular area of teacher education that scholars in the field have been concerned. Where the vast majority of the research into student-teachers' values and attitudes has been carried out is in the classroom behaviour of preservice teachers, and how this behaviour is influenced by their beliefs about education itself (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000; Turley, 1999). The present study, focusing on those who have prepared to teach but do not practice, is therefore informed by the less commonly studied features of teacher education cited above.

While consensus exists on the notion that perhaps one of the strongest motivators for students to enter a teacher education program is "the possibility of engaging in public service and helping children" (Richardson, 1996. p. 108), there appears an equally wide consensus that beyond that particular motivator, students usually do not have a very well formulated perception of what the practice of teaching entails (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000). That these perceptions are vague and unformulated however, does not mean that they are

not strong. Research based on Lortie's comment that a preservice teacher's previous experience as a pupil has essentially provided him or her with an extended apprenticeship in school organization and culture, and has had vastly more influence over him or her than teacher education can provide, tends to affirm this notion (Weinstein, 1989, p. 54).

Indeed those authors disagreeing with Lortie's somewhat gloomy view of the influence of teacher education programs on preservice teachers' beliefs and attitudes do concur that previous learned experience as pupils does have a profound effect on their future practice as beginning teachers. This is something that programs must strive to overcome if they are to be effective in preparing teachers to be the agents of educational change (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000; and Tatto, 1998).

As an illustration of the challenge faced by teacher education institutions in this regard, Richardson (1996) reports research from multiple sites that has discovered that preservice teachers who, in their university methods courses, have been taught humanistic and constructivist notions of student behaviour and learning, consistently revert to custodial, authoritarian teaching behaviours while on practicum. The research notes that more experienced in-service teachers are often less custodial than the student-teachers are. Moreover, Richardson reports that these humanistic supervising teachers have been shown to have a positive effect on steering student-teachers' classroom behaviour away from the authoritarian, in effect succeeding where the methods courses did not. Richardson further reports that teacher education programs based on a constructivist and inquiry-based approach are more successful than those based on a conventional approach in influencing students' beliefs about the nature of education and what should take place inside classrooms. This view is supported by Tatto (1998), whose

study based on the results of a US survey undertaken by the National Center for Research on Teacher Education (NCTRE) discovered that, by and large, those teacher education programs based on a constructivist approach to learning were far more able to effect positive change on student-teacher attitudes and beliefs about children, the nature of education, and their roles as change agents in schools, than those with conventional approaches were.

This information informs the present study by pointing out that university students often enter teacher education programs with "erroneous and simplistic beliefs about what it takes to be a successful teacher" (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000. p. 114). They tend to have a notion that liking children and wanting to help them will be enough. And while they have well established beliefs of this nature, these beliefs are not well formulated and do not translate well into successful practice. In addition, they often do not understand the importance of challenging these beliefs (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000). Moreover, because these beliefs are so strongly held, they tend to serve as filters for new information that students receive in their teaching methods classes, often perceiving their misconceptions as having been confirmed rather than confronted.

Turley (1999), in his study of at-risk practicum students notes that when questioned about what their own definitions of 'at-risk' are, students' definitions differ significantly from the definitions of their professors and supervising teachers. Professors and supervisors defined 'at-risk' as exhibiting weak performance in a cluster of teaching skills, while students defined the concept as having to do with weak classroom management skills, weak time management skills, and poor rapport with students. Although both groups are saying that an at-risk practicum student is one that is having

difficulty assuming the role of teacher, they tend to diverge on what the role of a teacher entails. The student definition of at-risk, as having everything to do with behaviour within the classroom and nothing to do with what is taught in university courses, is consistent with Richardson (1996) as well as with the findings of Stuart & Thurlow (2000), who note that to many student-teachers, teaching usually means only maintaining classroom discipline and motivating pupils.

Since many students bring to their teacher education experience deeply embedded beliefs heavily influenced by their childhood experiences, many do not consciously perceive the effect these beliefs have on their classroom practices and classroom decision-making. Quite often, their classroom practice as exhibited during practicums is highly inconsistent with what they profess to believe about the nature of education. Individual student-teachers are often powerless to change this behaviour because they are not aware that they even hold these beliefs (Stuart & Thurlow, 2000). Constructivist approaches to teacher education have been advocated in the literature as a solution to this problem because, as part of the constructivist learning experience, preservice teachers are forced to articulate and reflect upon their beliefs (Tatto, 1998).

The focus of the present study was on those graduates of a teacher education program who do not move into the practice of teaching. The preceding examination of the effect that teacher education has on the beliefs and attitudes of preservice teachers raises questions relevant to the study. For example, could there be a connection between the inconsistency of professed belief about the nature of education and actual classroom teaching behaviour during practicum experiences? Do some student-teachers therefore become disillusioned with the profession based on the mismatch between what they

expect they will do in a classroom and what they actually end up doing? Scribner (1999) reports that among reasons given for the decisions of experienced teachers to leave the profession, those factors that have to do with student learning are most often given the highest priority. Many teachers feel a loss of efficacy and thus leave. Could this notion be transferred to the decision of a preservice teacher not to even enter the profession? In other words, could there be something deeper than simple disillusionment with the profession in situations where the preservice teacher cannot reconcile actual behaviour and experience in the classroom with professed beliefs? It could be an example of these individuals seeing themselves as behaving in a way they do not want to see.

The teaching workforce and its growth and development depends on the continued preparation of highly qualified individuals to enter the profession. In addition to the workplace factors that influence the decisions of people entering the field or not, such as remuneration, professional and personal development, and possibilities for advancement, those factors identified above need to be addressed by teacher education institutions in order for students to accomplish what Goodlad (1990) refers to as an 'intellectual transcendence' rather than simply taking up a job.

The relationship between education and employment

This section contains an examination of the relationship between education and employment, with a goal toward understanding the various theoretical positions taken by researchers in the field. Because the present research was, in a sense, an inquiry into the education-to-work transition of graduates of teacher education programs, an appreciation of the theoretical bases of the existing research is imperative. It is not my intention to

construct a shopping list of the major theorists however, but rather to connect the present study to the existing theoretical literature.

Although the relationship between the realm of schooling and that of work has elicited significant scholarly interest within the field of education, there appears to be substantial disagreement regarding just what form this relationship takes and what its effect is on students, workers, teachers, and administrators. Education scholars, like scholars in the other social sciences, have been in the midst of a long-term, but important and complex debate over epistemological questions of validity in research into human interaction (Keast, 1995; Lather, 1986). The literature concerned with social perceptions of education and its relationship with work is naturally affected by this debate as much as are other areas in the field. Because the world of education and the world of work have been examined from many different foci over the years, from those of sociology, anthropology and economics, to psychological, organizational and cognitive studies, much room for disagreement has arisen, based on these theoretical locations alone. Added to the mix are more recent schools of thought, such as critical theory and post-structuralism, which create further debate.

The positivist tradition, as it has been employed in the social sciences, has proven a reliable basis for much of the research carried out in administrative and leadership studies in education. In turn, coherence or interpretive theories have been suspected by many as not providing a solid epistemological base for real educational research. Conversely, interpretive researchers in the field have argued that since things like decisions and values do not inhabit the same ontological world as rocks, trees and fish for example, correspondence theories are thus weak in rigor and validity (Keast, 1995).

Research on values and choice in education studies has therefore been a relatively recent undertaking, positivist traditions finding it difficult to conceive of values and attitudes as measurable units of analysis in the scientific sense. While Hodgkinson (1983) and Greenfield (1982) have contributed much to contemporary thinking about values and choice in the educational leadership field, their focus is naturally linked to administrative decision-making, rather than to education and its relation to career choices and vocational decision-making. That focus remains to be explored in the literature outside educational administration.

The theoretical foundations

Although there are perhaps scores of theoretical approaches to the study of education and work, an exhaustive reading of the major texts indicates that most can be identified as extensions or derivatives of those represented here: Symbolic interaction, as developed by Mead and others, and extended by Becker (Hardy & Hardy, 1988); Functional theory as described by Parsons (1959); the work of Bourdieu (1990) and others in the area of social reproduction; along with critical, post-structural, feminist and anti-racist discourses perhaps represent the viewpoints of most interest to researchers in the education milieu.

Theorists described herein are engaged primarily in examining education and schooling in relation to the larger society. Questions around the purpose of education in society are often explored, as well as questions with regard to the type of society we get out of education, particularly with the more critical approaches. Many of the approaches discussed do not originate from within education studies, but as Willower (1993) points

out, scholars in our field have long looked to the various social sciences for insights toward research and theory.

The examination begins with a discussion of the theory of symbolic interaction as applied to the education/work relationship. As a conceptual framework used in many of the social sciences, symbolic interaction overlaps large areas of interest and possesses a foundation that has been developed and solidified over a long period of time.

Symbolic interaction.

Symbolic interaction emerged in the early to mid - 1900s primarily through the work of George Herbert Mead and his students at the University of Chicago. Burgess (1995) describes the theory as follows:

First it is argued that 'human beings act towards things on the basis of meanings things have for them' (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). Secondly the importance attached to the way in which meanings arise out of social interaction is stressed and finally, that meanings are modified on the basis of interpretation by individuals interacting with each other (p. 2).

The first scholar to take this theory and apply it to an educational context was sociologist Howard Becker. Becker's work on student culture in medical school, and socialization in prisons and colleges was primarily concerned with answering the question: how does collective human action occur (Becker cited in Burgess, 1995). Extending Mead's theory of symbolic interaction, he argued that students take on the role of the "'generalized other', that is, the role of the organization of people in which [they are] implicated" (p. 74). Thus, it is the social structure of the school that compels students to believe that a particular role is important because the school institution has made it so. Assessment, evaluation, grading, and labeling prepare students for adult roles that have

been prepared for them in academic, commercial, or industrial curriculum streams. Becker's view is that changes take place in the socialization of individual students under the impact of the social substructures within the school. In other words, a student's peers become co-agents with teachers, administrators and the curriculum in determining future vocational outcomes. As a part of a certain subculture within the larger school culture, the student learns the roles and statuses involved in his or her group and the appropriate behaviours expected of her. This in turn prepares the student for entrance to the corresponding adult/worker culture.

Burgess argues that a particular advantage to Becker's version of symbolic interaction is its applicability to different educational milieus. The adaptability of the theory enables it to be used to develop our understanding of social situations and social processes in educational institutions ranging from kindergarten to graduate school. A possible disadvantage lies in Becker's insistence that research in symbolic interaction ought to exclusively employ ethnographic data collection methods. For some researchers grounded in strict rationalism or strict empiricism, such methods are unable to produce scientifically sound results when exploring the education/work relationship because too much is left to interpretation. For those approaching from interpretive epistemological assumptions, Becker's notion that there is only one way to study collective human action, through ethnography, imposes too strict a constraint on research.

Functionalism.

While not enjoying as extended a lineage as symbolic interaction, Talcott Parsons' functional theory has been utilized as a conceptual framework in the field of education studies by a great number of researchers since its development in the 1950s,

and continues to guide many educational practitioners and policy makers into the present. It must be noted, however that despite recent claims to the contrary by some foes of the theory (cf., Taylor, 1994), functionalism has never been the single dominant theory in education studies (Willower, 1993).

Functionalist theory has had an advantage over other social theories in education because of having been based on a foundation of scientific method with a corresponding relationship to systems theory. Education thus seen through the functionalist lens becomes a classic open system. According to Parsons, society may be likened to a biological organism, with each constituent part, or subsystem, contributing to the survival of the society as a whole. Thus, the education system must perform a function vital to the survival and regulation of the system as a whole. If we want to explain, reform, or conduct research on education, we must first determine the survival needs it provides for society. Change then, as in the case of any planned educational change, is conceived as the "rational adaptation of the institution to the emerging needs of the society as a whole" (Taylor, 1994, p. 38).

Functionalism is particularly attractive to educational administration and leadership studies because it views education as crucially important to the functioning of a democratic society. Parsons (1959) views the education system as an agent of socialization and selection. In other words, the role of schooling is to sort out students according to their character and ability in order to prepare them for their future roles in society. This socialization and selection is seen as both democratic and meritocratic in its contention that social and occupational statuses are achieved through ability and effort, rather than ascribed by class or privilege, as they would be in a less than democratic state

(Taylor, 1994). The connection between education and work thus becomes one of preparing the most able and worthy students for the best jobs.

What functionalism appears to ignore or disregard, is any connection between social background or other ascribed characteristics, and success in school and work. Theoretically, it is one's educational accomplishments alone that determine future income and social status (Taylor, 1994). Evidence indicates, however, that "despite functionalist assertions to the contrary, individuals who have high mental skills but low status backgrounds are considerably less likely to gain a high income than their similarly intelligent counterparts from high status backgrounds" (Taylor, 1994, p. 50). Nor have high status jobs become substantially more accessible to members of disadvantaged groups who have attained the educational accomplishments and credentials deemed necessary. Functionalist theory was determined to be an unusable lens for viewing the present study, since by not taking up the roles for which they had been specifically prepared, the individuals under question were behaving in a manner contradictory to functional thinking.

Bourdieu and other cultural approaches

Another characteristic of educational attainment, perceived by the functionalists in a positive manner, is that of the subsequent acquisition of a credential based on one's education, which can then be used to gain access to chosen employment. Theorists working from the points of view of conflict theory and social reproduction, however, tend to view this credentialization somewhat differently. These approaches see the possession of educational credentials, more than the possession of cognitive skills, as the determining factor in future employment status.

Not only is the possession of a credential seen as more important than skill, but the background of the student that allows the achievement of the credential in the first place is also seen as more important than skill. Conflict theory and social reproduction theory disagree with the functionalist notion that schools are culturally neutral institutions and that success within them is purely democratic and meritocratic. Reproductionists see schools as necessarily generating inequality because of their role as agents of the dominant culture in a society (Davies, 1994). There is a great deal of theoretical literature based on reproduction theory, but perhaps the most influential among education scholars is that of Pierre Bourdieu (Bellamy, 1994).

According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), the education system fulfills the function of legitimating social inequality by institutionalizing it. He uses the terms 'cultural/social capital' and 'habitus' to explain how equality of access of education in no way undermines the power of the dominant class. Cultural capital and habitus refers to attitudes, tastes, dispositions, social advantage, parental support, and motivations toward learning possessed by students in varying degrees determined by the backgrounds from which they come. Thus students with a wealth of cultural capital, which of course corresponds with that desired by the school will, according to Bourdieu, be successful, while those with limited capital, or capital different from that desired by the school, will not. In this way schools become ideological agents of the dominant group, while maintaining a guise of cultural equality. For example, selection policies at universities, or in the entry-level workplace, based on meritocratic criteria, result in the reproduction of social inequality through the marketing and exchange of social capital, at the same time as they purport equality of opportunity (Bellamy, 1993). Writing from Europe, Bourdieu

asserts that the non-dominant class is in many ways shut out of higher education despite it being free in many European countries. In a Canadian context, it implies for example that, among other barriers, disadvantaged students and their families are very often unaware of any financial-aid options they might have. They therefore do not take university preparatory courses in secondary school because they assume they either cannot pay for university, or cannot afford not to have an income from paid work for an extended period of time.

Cultural/social capital in reproduction theory is not to be confused with human capital theory. The latter being an economic theory that maintains that an educated workforce can be understood as capital possessed by a business or society in the same way as other resources such as machinery and buildings are. Human capital theory has been of limited interest in the education literature (Paquette, 1998), and does not correspond with the work of Bourdieu. A second economic theory, rational choice theory, as advanced by Elster (1989) has had some application in education, in particular to the work of Bourdieu. Bellamy (1993) argues that rational choice theory, the concept of the rational actor in economic decision making, can be used to augment the work of Bourdieu to explain the shrewd and rational investment of limited social capital by members of disadvantaged groups who overcome their hindrance and achieve success in the dominant group's world.

An advantage of the cultural approaches of Bourdieu, as evidenced in studies by Looker (1994; 1997) and Bellamy (1993; 1994), is its applicability to empirical research in education studies. Despite its preoccupation with power and class structure, this approach appears to be relatively free of rigid ideology, and seeks to explain decision-

making behaviour as a social rather than psychological mechanism. Thus Bourdieu's Habitus theory can be seen as particularly attractive when approaching a study such as that under discussion.

Critical theory.

Cultural approaches toward the relationship between education and work often take on an ideological focus. Because much of what is seen as inequality of opportunity in education and work can be seen as a result of class structure, it is relatively easy for a researcher to be influenced by ideology. Likewise, if one comes to research on education from a particular ideological framework, such research will undoubtedly be influenced by it. Such is the case with many of the critical approaches to the study of education and work.

Most critical pedagogical approaches appear to be a reinterpretation of Weber's analysis of society along lines of class, status and power (Murphy, 1994). Where critical theorists depart from Weberian notions, and even those of Bourdieu, is in the conception that while education is indeed a social agent involved in reproducing inequality and preserving the position of the dominant class, it is also able to be subverted or co-opted in order to empower the disadvantaged. The overarching ideal of critical pedagogy is the dismantling of the current power structure of capitalist society and its replacement with a truly democratic social order (McLaren, 1994; Apple 1996; and Held, 1980). McLaren (1994), in his powerful critique of the film *Dead Poets Society* eloquently describes critical pedagogy in terms of what it is not, namely the pedagogy of John Keating, the main character and teacher in the film, played by Robin Williams:

> It is the ideology of the unique private vision of a Donald Trump buried in the tropes of Walt Whitman, devoid of a concern with how material and social constraints prohibit other, less fortunate groups from realizing their private visions. It is as if consciousness were somehow not connected to the workings of power, or if hierarchies of power and privilege were natural privileges…It is debilitatingly divisive of political protest because it encourages individuals to achieve unique personhood in antiseptic isolation from any sense of collective struggle around the referent of difference and otherness. It is a pedagogy which operates without consideration of how power works to privilege certain groups over others on the basis of race, class, and gender…(p. 158-159).

While not all critical pedagogues can be identified with, or identify themselves with, any particular ideology, it is safe to assume that all advocate a change in the social order, and that educators are uniquely positioned to be the catalysts of that change (Davies, 1994).

In addition, they maintain that since all human interaction is ideological, critiques of critical pedagogy on the basis that it is ideology-laden are not only unfounded but misguided. Indeed, one of the most pervasive problems with critical pedagogy is that it is oriented primarily toward criticism. As Willower (1993) notes, "what it was against was clearer than what it was for" (p. 17). The present study could have been informed by a critical approach, but since the ideological foundation of critical theory must underlie a study from conception to completion, and this study was one where the central questions searched for *understanding* without implicit ideology, it was found not useful.

Post-structural, feminist, and anti-racist theories.

It is not to diminish any of the three different approaches in the heading above by grouping them together, but to emphasize their resistance to grouping anywhere else. As will be pointed out, these frameworks defy examination in any simplified form due to the fragmented and diverse points of view of their adherents.

Writing about postmodernism, Foster (1998) reflects this difficulty: "Here is a term that has entered the discourse of administration and about which nobody is terribly clear" (p. 294). In addition, this lack of clarity is one of the defining features of the postmodern world (Krugly-Smolski, 1997), which, according to Ryan and Drake (1992) has necessitated the adoption of a new poststructural approach to education studies. Conditions such as persistent technological evolution, a compression of time and space with regard to communication, universal accessibility to knowledge, the increasing assertion of disadvantaged groups, and the questioning of the legitimacy of previously universal truths have led to the undermining of consistency in the world and have resulted in what is termed the postmodern condition (Watson, 1998; and Ryan & Drake, 1992).

Due to the uncertainty and ambiguity present in the postmodern world, all discourses connected with enlightenment knowledge (the modern age) are considered no longer valid. Poststructuralist scholars therefore, have called into question the methods and discourses employed by researchers in the construction of empirical assumptions and generalizations with respect to various events and conditions. They reject, for example, the familiar methodologies by which researchers endeavour to examine phenomena beneath surface appearances to uncover an underlying truth or essence, because indeed there are no truths outside of, or beneath the surface. To the poststructuralist, things and

events stand only for themselves. Sometimes however, even that becomes unclear. For example, in the poststructural existence, all language is metaphoric. Words stand for something that is not there, therefore language itself becomes problematic in the sense of what Derrida (Derrida 1999; Maleuvre, 1999) terms the monolingualism of the other, that is the power of language to be misinterpreted by speakers, listeners and readers according to their own identities outside of language. According to Derrida, meaning arises only out of a word's difference from other words, and every word in a conversation or text is always dependent on every other word for its meaning. In addition, since language exists outside of ourselves, as speakers all languages are foreign to us. Meaning, then, is constantly in flux and resistant to closure (Mourad, 1997). This lack of clarity or fragmentation of meaning, when applied to educational research leads to a type of circular reasoning. Cherryholmes (1988) writing about poststructuralism in educational research and practice clearly recognizes this dichotomy: "If theory exactly represents practice, how can it guide practice? Conversely, if theory erroneously represents practice, how can it guide practice?" (p.76). He identifies a danger with educators relying only on the language of theory for direction. According to Cherryholmes, this is language that is based on the language of research or on the language of practice, but is neither research nor practice, only language. Furthermore, it is not only language, but it is language imbued with power, or with politics, or with technological expertise.

Paradoxes or ironies inherent within the poststructural literature include the rejection of the enlightenment or modern epistemological notion that there are truths about the world that are universal, and which can be discovered through scientific method. The poststructural rejection of enlightenment is summarized in the statement that

there are no universal truths (Mourad, 1997). The first paradox is implicit in that particular universal statement. Secondly, those that write the authoritative texts in poststructural oriented inquiry choose what to write about and choose the language in which to write it. They research and write what interests them, not necessarily what interests any other person. Consequently, readers are permitted to know only what these authorities consider valuable. Ironically, they are given power and authority, and their truths are accepted as universal even by those who reject notions of universal truths. Many embracing the poststructural lens however, view these ironies with delight, and play with the language, the ideas, and the paradoxes within them to question their own and others' notions of reality (Lather, 1995). Although difficult, the predominance of 'the self' in relation to 'the other' in much poststructural literature make this approach useful for a scholar researching vocational decision-making.

Although useful, applying poststructural thought to the relationship between education and work is in practice quite difficult. The terms 'education theory ', 'administrative theory or 'education/work relationship' to the poststructuralist are simply constructs of the rationalist tradition, no longer useful except as devices to illustrate the point of view of one school of thought. When I say that I will examine the theoretical foundations of the education/work relationship, the poststructuralist asks what is meant by that. Further, the poststructuralist will assert that there is no longer such thing as a 'foundation' upon which to base an inquiry (Capper, 1995). Bearing this in mind, it must be noted that the application of postmodern thought to this field may be difficult, but it is not impossible. Capper (1995; 1998), Furman (1998), and Scheurich (1995), each propose that educational administration and leadership studies can learn much from

poststructural perspectives and can apply many of them to the knowledge base, as well as to practice in the field. Notions such as the rejection of a search for universal truths, or the rejection of binary oppositions in language, can help reduce unintentionally gender-biased or race-biased inquiry by paying attention to the unique cultural, ethnic, or gender experiences of individuals, not generalizations of groups.

Related to poststructuralism, but existing in an uneasy alliance with it, are feminist theory and anti-racist theory. While the rejection of the grand narrative of the (male) European enlightenment is seen as positive to scholars in both discourses, many also see the postmodern project as in danger of becoming another grand narrative itself, and manifesting itself as the classic tale of survival-of-the-fittest (Grant, 1998). In its rejection of binary oppositions such as good/bad, or male/female, postmodern literature denies the coherence of classic analytic concepts such as 'woman', 'class' or 'race' (Walby 1992). This puts those in traditionally oppressed groups looking for a place in the discourse in the uncomfortable position of having white Europeans tell them they, as groups, do not exist except as social constructs.

Although she identifies race as a social construct, Kelly (1997) applies a poststructural bias to her work on the employment outcomes of black high school students in Edmonton. She justifies her position by recognizing that the youths she is investigating identify themselves as part of a visible group; that the non-black majority sees them as a single group, whether they are Canadian, American, Ghanaian, or Jamaican; and that as a group they are able to identify similarities in their experiences. In this manner Kelly sees no problem in conjoining poststructuralism and anti-racist thought.

Regarding feminism's connection with anti-racist theories, some scholars assert that women are too divided by ethnicity for the concept of 'women' to be useful (Walby, 1992). It has been pointed out that "white women do not identify struggle in the same way as women of colour" (hooks cited in Walby p. 34). hooks notes that while white feminism sees the family as the source of much of the oppression of women, for women of colour, the family is a place of refuge and security from oppression.

Another view is that these theories are ethnocentric to the North American/Western European condition. Therefore, in order to be inclusionary they must take on an "international perspective. Neither class, nor race, nor gender can be understood within one country alone. We live in a world system, which is limited only marginally by national sovereignties. However, this world system is one not only of capitalism, but also of racism and of patriarchy" (Walby, 1992, p.33).

This section of the chapter has examined theoretical frameworks used by researchers and scholars to study the general relationship between education and work, and in particular the non-transition of graduates of teacher education programs to classroom teaching. In the field of education studies some are employed more than others, and some have more applicability to the question of education's relationship to work than others. All, however, have been used by researchers conducting inquiries in this field. As Willower (1993) has pointed out, one of the advantages to doing research into educational administration is that we are not limited to one conceptual framework for all the work in our field.

Summary.

Upon reviewing the preceding views it is not difficult to detect that there is no dearth of opposing frameworks upon which to view the relationship between education and work. Sociological conceptions of the relationship such as symbolic interaction, functionalism and reproduction theory; the ideological framework of critical educational theory; as well as poststructural, feminist, and anti-racist views were all considered. All of these differing conceptual frameworks are based to some degree on forces, both social and economic, that had their emergence some time before the present. The theories of symbolic interaction and functionalism arose from North American society of the mid-twentieth century, while critical theory had its beginnings with Habermas and the Frankfurt School of the 1920s (Held, 1980), and its maturation with the new left movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Likewise poststructuralist, feminist, and anti-racist theories can trace their emergence to trends in American and European society and associated scholarly communities in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

While it is important, and generally useful, while conducting literature research, to identify phenomena in contemporary life which correspond to the realities extant during the emergence of these theories in order to apply them to the present, it is imperative that researchers explore the current forces driving perceptions of, and decision making in, the particular field one is studying. What is necessary from the perspective of a theoretical chapter in a doctoral dissertation is to determine how the various theoretical frameworks view contemporary contexts, how they determine their importance, how they link them, and how they see them having an influence on students as they make their way from some type of schooling to the world of work.

The issue of who controls the education agenda cannot be separated from questions of power over the system. In determining the educational needs of students entering the workplace, it is important to ask whose needs are being addressed, and to what purpose they are being determined. There is an on-going process within education of constructing student needs. Employers, ministries of education, administrators, and educators are all engaged in a process of deciding what students need based on their differing conceptions of what skills or knowledge they require (Brown, 1998). Interestingly, in the vast majority, if not all of these processes, students themselves are excluded. The subordination of broader educational needs to the needs of the world of work is one of the most pronounced examples of excluding students from this decision-making process. Brown (1998) asserts that while students certainly need help to cope with their transitions to working life, there are much broader educational needs they could identify if they were involved in the process:

> As a rule, students do not arrive at the campus gates demanding to read Plato or seeking an analysis of international relations. Part of the job of educators is to instil the desire for such knowledge in the hearts and minds of students. If they are treated like customers they will treat education as a commodity satisfying an immediate want, but if they are treated as active agents in learning the things that are important for them to learn, they will come to see education as a way of creating new educational needs (Brown, 1998, p. 11).

In this assessment, students given the opportunity to take part on the process will identify educational needs that will help them make decisions about the transition to the

workplace and their future careers, as well as the external forces and influences that shape their overall lives.

Education, according to Wilson (1998), is inextricably concerned with values as well as facts. Educators, including researchers in educational administration and leadership studies, know this and endeavour to make sense of the forces driving these values. The role of the education scholar is to challenge accepted dogma and engage in inquiries into educational policy and practice from a valid theoretical and epistemological framework. The various movements and schools of thought introduced in this chapter are the tableaux upon which the education community of scholars may conduct its inquiries.

As uncovered herein, much of the research carried out in this field is "conceptually eclectic, making use of whatever theories and concepts that help to shed light on the problem under consideration" (Willower, 1993, p.15). Moreover, no inquiry is value free (Lather, 1986). What researchers in the field of education require is to acknowledge that their work is based to a large degree on the values they hold as educators. The ability to think philosophically about the research topic and the values embedded in it is a precondition to conducting an inquiry in this field (Wilson, 1998).

In this section I have examined perceptions of the relationship between education and work based on larger theoretical streams and conceptual frameworks from structural-functionalism through poststructuralism. Empirical inquiries as well as theoretical articles and commentaries were investigated. The present study intended to conduct research into what is not known about the phenomenon of non-participation in the teaching profession by graduates of teacher preparation programs, and for that some specific empirical questions had to be identified, asked, and researched. The following section examines the

literature on work, specifically on the work of teachers, in order to reveal and establish the conceptual framework that supported the present study, and the questions that guided it.

The experience of work, including teacher work

The previous section examined education's relationship with employment with regard to the theoretical positions from which researchers and others have examined it, and how this area of study connects with the present research project. This concluding section completes the cycle begun in the discussion on teacher education, of preparing for work, and continued in the second section with the notion of making the transition from education to employment, with an examination of the experience of work.

Literature related to the experience of work in general, and teacher work in particular, was examined. An attempt was made in the analysis that follows to tie together the concepts uncovered in the previous two sections of the chapter with those examined in this section, in order to illustrate the unified conceptual framework that guided the study.

To begin however, because it is important to the concepts discussed in the following section a short discussion on terminology is necessary. Throughout this chapter the terms 'practice of teaching', 'teacher work', 'teacher', and 'teaching profession' have been employed rather interchangeably. That this should occur in an academic dissertation probably says more about the nature of the subject of school teaching than it does about the care with which the author may be describing its practitioners.

In this study the term 'profession' is applied to the work of teachers, and the term 'professional' is applied to those who teach. It has been argued that teacher work does not

correspond with the notion of a 'profession' such as law, engineering or medicine, defined by a strict and rigid set of administrative standards and rules of practice and behaviour (Duffy, 2004). The assertion in this study is that the above argument is inaccurate, and that teachers can and should be thought of as professionals, and that teaching is a profession. Section 4 of the British Columbia Teaching Profession Act of 1988 (2006), establishes standards and rules of practice, including standards of competence for all teachers licensed in the province. McAulay (1997) defines the essence of a profession as its existence to perform valued work, and the education of its potential members as devoted to preparing them to both perform the work and to feel a commitment to perform in the role. Teacher education both prepares individuals to teach in schools, and socializes them to the role – committed to the role and to the task.

The distinction is important to the present study since the term 'teaching profession' is widely used without thought to the implications such terminology may bring with it. In addition to the simplicity of narrative and textual flow such terminology provides, there is a conceptual and legislative justification for its continued use.

The literature on work

There exists an extensive body of literature on work and the meaning of work to individuals and societies in the sociological, psychological, and education fields. Because this study focused on the decisions of individuals with respect to their choices in work, this review was quite naturally limited to the relevant literature on the experience of work for workers themselves.

A thorough review of the recent literature on the experience of work in general, and the work of teachers in particular, reveals a significant shift in both the experience

and meaning of work in the lives of individuals and the ways researchers, most often in the sociological and educational literature, theorize the experience and meaning of work in peoples' lives. By and large, the functionalist, systems-based approach toward viewing work and occupations, typified by Parsons (1959) and others, has been rejected as no longer applicable in the current post-industrial world (if ever), and has been replaced by various frameworks ranging from Critical Theory (e.g., Castillo, 1997), to interactionist (e.g., Benoit, 1994), to post-structural (e.g., Huebner, 1987). These studies all focus on aspects of work other than the systems within which work is performed.

Indeed there appears to be a shift in perception away from the study of how people work in organizations toward a notion that organizations themselves have become somewhat meaningless in peoples' lives. Ciulla (2000) notes:

> Questions about the meaning of work and the meaning of life entail an analysis of why we are here, what we should be doing, and what makes us happy, and the meanings discovered by individuals and manufactured by the culture. So the more pertinent question is not, what is meaningful work? But rather, is it possible for organizations to provide meaningful work? Most important, on a personal level, what is the relationship between meaningful work, a meaningful life, and happiness? (p. 208).

In a society where many people have a great deal of difficulty in finding satisfactory employment, and many others work in low paying marginalized 'McJobs' (sic, Ritzer, 1997) offering no chance of a meaningful experience within the organization, much of the literature instead has shifted its focus away from organizations and toward

the values and meanings individuals place on their own experience of, or reaction to, work itself (Krahn & Lowe, 1998; Ritzer, 1997).

This trend however, is not limited to those who study work and workers. It also appears to reflect a trend in the way workers themselves have reported their experience and reaction to work in recent years. Scholars have reported increasing cynicism among workers in a variety of occupations (Krahn & Lowe, 1998). Issues of employee loyalty to the employing organization have long been a concern of employers and scholars studying work. Scientific Management, or Taylorism, and the Human Relations Movement that followed, had as their purposes to extract the greatest amount of production from workers as was possible while keeping them loyal to the company, largely through a work ethic of fear (Ciulla, 2000). In the present day however, workers have become less and less loyal to organizations that expect more and more from them. The basis of this disillusionment lies in workers having become more aware that employees are always (except when ill) able to provide their services to an employer, while employers on the other hand are not always able or willing to provide a situation for the worker to perform those services (Castillo, 1997; Ciulla, 2000; Krahn & Lowe, 1998). Workers lament that they are expected to be loyal to the company, but the company has no requirement whatever to be loyal to workers. The resulting cynicism changes the way employees view the working experience as well as the way we as researchers approach the study of work.

Because the 1950s style of industrial production has become obsolete, the production model of work theory as postulated by Parsons and others has also become out of touch with current reality (Benoit, 1994; Swanson, 1995). Work is not functional, many scholars argue, but social, and must therefore be studied from a perspective that

respects the social reality of work. Indeed, functional models such as technological determinism hold that workers themselves are of little importance in the study of work (Castillo, 1997).

An examination of the research into the experience of work in the 1990s and early 2000s reveals a number of common features across disciplines that contribute to a foundation upon which to place the present study. Most notable is the notion that an individual's experience of work has become more personal. This is not to say that work has, across the board, become more satisfying on a personal level. A job may not provide satisfying or 'good' work; it may pay below the poverty line; and a worker at the bottom rung of the societal ladder of success is still at the bottom; but there appears to be an impression extant in the literature that it is the individual himself or herself, and perhaps co-workers, family and friends, for whom one is working, not the company (Castillo, 1997).

Two results of this sense of disattachment to the employing organization are revealed in the literature. These are; on the one hand, a high level of ambivalence toward work by some workers, and on the other, a greater sense of the importance of the work they perform to themselves and others. Ciulla (2000), Krahn and Lowe (1998), and Potter (1997), all report that recent studies suggest an increasing indifference toward work, especially among youth. The mind and soul numbing qualities of many of the 'McJobs' open to young people, many of which even have scripted interactions with customers, serve to further alienate these workers from the workplace since they do not tend to prepare them for more satisfying and meaningful occupations later on (Ritzer, 1997).

Conversely, there is much in the literature that reports an opposite trend, that of individuals becoming increasingly concerned with the social basis of their work. As employing organizations become less important in peoples' lives, the effect of work on a worker's own wellbeing and that of others around him or her has gained more emphasis (Leicht, 1998). People want interesting, fulfilling work, and if they are unable to get that from the company that employs them, they will have to satisfy that need in some other way. Leicht notes that this may indeed lead to unprecedented discontent among the American middle class, as traditional jobs disappear and nothing is there to take the place of the resulting social vacuum.

Shifting the focus to the field of education, recent research reveals a similar preoccupation with the personal experience of teachers with their work. Of course the focus on a specific occupation in the education literature results in studies that examine different aspects of work unique to teachers perhaps, than the general work literature does, but by and large, similar results are found. As teachers and other public sector workers find themselves excluded from the list of enterprising, valued members of the workforce by their employers, they tend to respond in one of two ways: They either quit the profession altogether, or they reaffirm the altruistic qualities of their profession and continue to work for their constituents rather than their employers (Frijters, Shields, & Price, 2004; Meich & Elder, 1996; Weiss, 1999; "Why teachers flee," 2000).

In a large scale, longitudinal study of teachers identified to have a service ethic, or be described as idealistic, it was found that those persons described as idealistic or possessing an ethic of service to others, were most likely to enter the teaching profession, and were also more likely to leave the profession because the job did not live up to their

expectations as a public service (Meich & Elder, 1996). According to the research, the constraints on teaching practice imposed by employing organizations and other stakeholders, including parents and the business community, led to frustration and disillusionment with the profession itself. Weiss (1999), reports similar results with regard to first year teachers. She notes that new teachers tend to get the least desirable teaching assignments. That, along with a combination of their lack of experience, lack of resources and unformed social tools, soon results in many of them becoming very frustrated with the profession. Since new teachers have invested less of their lives to the profession, Weiss notes, it is that much easier for them to leave it than it might be for more experienced teachers. The paradox is that new teachers are at once more committed to the profession yet more likely to leave it due to frustration and disillusionment.

In an investigation into the occupational achievements of young adults from school leaving age to thirty years, it was noted that naiveté about work and youthful idealism often led to numerous job changes among university educated youth before age thirty (Rindfuss, Cooksey, & Sutterlin, 1999). This result may also likely explain the decisions of young teachers who become disillusioned with the profession and exit soon after entering it. In a similar study, Koenigsberg, Garet, and Rosenbaum (1999), found that the more affluent background a young worker had, the more likely he or she would experiment with a variety of different jobs looking for a good 'fit'. Again, this result may help to describe the exit from the profession of some young teachers given the privilege some may possess due to family background.

Taking a different approach, Hargreaves (1998), also notes that people and employers expect too much of teachers, but he instead suggests that under such

challenging circumstances it is an emotional maturity that keeps teachers in the profession. He does not explore the corollary that those who quit might be emotionally immature, but instead insists that teaching is an emotional practice and a moral practice that requires a maturity inseparable from those purposes. Moreover, Hargreaves celebrates teachers and teaching in a way that much of the above mentioned literature does not. His focus is not on what makes teachers leave teaching, but on what it takes to overcome the challenges inherent in the occupation.

Although much of the literature on the decisions of teachers and other workers to leave their occupations focuses on the personal experience of workers with regard to the organizations they work for, fewer of the studies reviewed pay specific attention to the actual process of quitting or changing employment. That is, while the literature discussed thus far reveals a common thread in the attitudes of workers and teachers toward their employing organizations, they generally pay less attention to the personal experience of leaving a job.

Two studies of particular note have as their prime focus the experience of quitting a job. Ebaugh (1988), studied the job exits of 116 case study participants and developed a theory of role exit based on what she identified as four stages of leaving – from a worker's first doubts about continuing in the job to the final stage of becoming an 'ex' member of the role. Crick (1998) focused her study specifically on exiting veteran teachers while utilizing Ebaugh's theory of Role Exit. With regard to the present study, two of Crick's findings are particularly thought provoking. First, it was found that the role of teacher has a very strong residual identity. That is, many veteran teachers were found to have quit the job of teaching, but continued to think of themselves as teachers.

Secondly it was found that the teachers most likely to quit the profession were those in work situations where there was a lack of support for teachers from school administration, parents, and other stakeholders. This finding corresponds with that of Weiss (1999) who found that the placing of first year teachers in work situations where they are not respected virtually guarantees frustration and "makes it inevitable that they will become demoralized and decide to leave" (Weiss, 1999. p. 871).

In the present study the notion of residual role identity was important in examining the decisions of people who had been prepared to enter a role but did not take it on. For instance, did those who had been prepared to become teachers but had not become practicing members of the profession identify as teachers, and what, if any, affect may this have had on their future employment choices?

Crick's second finding has relevance to the present study as well. Since as it is a well documented attrition factor for practicing teachers, could the knowledge that there may be a lack of support and respect in a prospective teacher's worklife have an influence over that individual's decision not to teach in the first place?

In his study on professional commitment, McAulay (1997) notes that many professionals are able to continue a commitment to the profession itself while severing a commitment to the work role it embodies. Thus an engineer, for example, may leave engineering work altogether, yet many years later continue to think of herself or himself as an engineer. Becker (1960) in his work on the concept of commitment identifies side-bets; those characteristics of a job or role that makes it costly to abandon it. These side-bets need not be financial, but can be personal or esteem related, as well as socially important to the individual. Thus sometimes it is valuable to maintain an identity to a role

long after one has stopped performing in that role. Are there side-bets in the role or label of teacher that make it valuable for a person to maintain a teacher identity even though one has never taught?

The concept of vocation

All of the literature encountered in this review has to do with the work that individuals perform in society, how they are prepared for that work, and why they sometimes leave work roles. No studies were found that dealt with the phenomenon of students being prepared to take on a specific occupation, or role, then not entering it but instead undertaking some other kind of work. The literature on teacher education assumes that students will make the transition from university to the classroom. The literature on education's relationship with work, when it deals with not working, quite naturally focuses on youths' inability to find work, not on decisions not to work in a field for which one has been prepared. And the literature on the sociology of work and teachers' work focuses on the practice of teaching and the experience of being employed as a teacher. When this literature turns its attention to the notion of not working or not teaching, it is to quitting work that the focus is shifted. The literature on quitting is germane to the proposed study however, since not starting or entering a role may in effect have many similarities to quitting one.

Bearing in mind the threads that appear to run through the literature: that teacher education often has little impact on changing students' attitudes or beliefs about education; and that the experience of work has, for many people, moved away from the organizational to the personal, e.g., that individuals tend to work for themselves, their families, or for the good of society rather than for their employing organizations; one

concept has emerged that carries a particular attraction to the present study since it seems to embody these threads within it. Hansen's (1994a, 1995) theory of teaching as vocation has as its basic argument that of all possible ways that one can look at and investigate the practice of teaching in the present day, a secular concept of vocation appears to be the most helpful in understanding what motivates people to teach and what sustains them in the job.

Derived from the Latin *vocare*, meaning to call or summon, the religious sense of the term appeared in English during the Renaissance. Pre-reformation and reformation Christians most often used the term to describe a summons from God to fill a religious office. Thus, vocation highlights the link between divine and human work (Huebner, 1987).

Briefly defined, a secular concept of vocation embodies "both a public and a personal dimension. It presupposes a sense of service or allegiance to others, in the absence of which teaching might become a purely self-serving affair. [It] also presumes that teaching yields personal meaning and satisfaction. Otherwise, the task may become merely a role whose enactment provides little of no sense of fulfillment" (Hansen, 1994b. p.2.). Moreover, the practice of a vocation, such as teaching, is distinct from the organization or institution in which one practices. Therefore the practice of medicine is not the same as working in hospitals, and the practice of teaching does not require working in schools, even though these places happen to be where the vast majority of these practices take place (Hansen, 1995). A further important feature of the concept of vocation is that one need not be perfect at the job. Indeed, Hansen insists that imperfections, failures, and self-doubt are an integral part of having a vocation.

The notion of vocation, while having a rich and varied history in the religious domain, has not been one through which secular roles, such as teaching, have been given serious consideration. Certainly the term is frequently used to describe one's devotion to a particular role, but there has been little scholarly literature on the concept. Hansen's description of teaching as a vocation, that it evolves over time and becomes a realization rather than a revelation, reflects very closely the pre-reformation distinction between a vocation and 'being called'. In the pre-reformation notion, a 'calling' was determined by God and was revealed to one through prayer, while a vocation was something one had to discover on one's own (Ciulla, 2000). Moreover, the secular modern concept of vocation, according to Hansen and others (e.g., Baizerman & Magnuson, 1996), can only be conceived in social terms, not psychological. Thus a hermit may feel a calling to seclude him or herself from society and devote the whole of his or her life to isolation, but without a mindful occupational intention, such as prayer for example, would not qualify as having a vocation, due to the absence of a social connection to his or her activity.

This concept of secular vocation is comprised of the two characteristics of personal fulfillment and public service as a prime dimension. In addition there are three other perhaps secondary, but complementary dimensions that combine with the first to comprise a more complete and reliable conception of vocation for scholarly research. The metaphor of 'architect' is used to describe the second dimension. The person who has a vocation treats it as an architect would, not as a labourer. Thus one's practice is always being investigated and improved upon through self-reflection. There is a sense of ownership over the design of the work one does, and the practice is constructed according to that design.

The third dimension is referred to by Hansen by the somewhat clumsy label of 'attention to details.' By 'attention to details', what is meant is that a vocation must be rooted in practice. The mundane, the routine, and the boring aspects of being a teacher, while they do not have to be enjoyed, do have to be endured. Thus, it is not enough simply to engage in the teaching of others, one must also do the lesson planning, the paperwork, the evaluations, and other unpleasant tasks that go with teaching others, much like a physician must not only save lives, but must also perform some very mundane or unpleasant tasks.

The fourth dimension is referred to as 'uncertainty and doubt.' In order to continually improve one's practice one must encounter uncertainty and doubt, not only about one's abilities, but also about what one's effect on students (or patients if a physician) might be. This uncertainty and doubt does not paralyse the practitioner, but serves as a challenge. Hansen rejects the notion that a person with a vocation must be a kind of hero, but instead paraphrases Albert Schweitzer while he insists that such a person "has a sense of duty undertaken with sober enthusiasm" (Hansen, 1995. p. 14).

These four dimensions: personal fulfillment and public service; being an architect of one's practice; attention to the details of one's practice; and uncertainty and doubt about one's abilities and achievements; comprise the concept of vocation that Hansen uses to describe the practice of teachers. Case study ethnographic methods were incorporated in the development of the concept, which was developed over a three year observation of four practicing teachers. While this notion of vocation holds a great deal of attraction as a basis upon which to conduct a study of the occupational dispositions of

those who have decided not to enter the teaching profession, it is not without its problems.

One of the questions one would want to know the answer to is, if on the basis of these four dimensions it can be determined whether those who have made a decision not to enter the practice of teaching, but did make a decision some years earlier to prepare to enter the practice, did so on the basis of secular vocation and thus are not entering for some other reason. The corollary question is, if they did not enter a teacher preparation program on the basis of vocation, have they made a decision not to enter teaching practice because they have discovered that they do not have a vocation? Put more succinctly, the questions might be phrased as follows:

1. Did a sense of vocation influence the decision to enter a teacher education program:
2. Since one has made a decision after completing a teacher education program not to enter the profession:
    a) Does a sense of vocation still exist and the individual has made a non-entry decision based on other reasons?
    b) Did a realization that one did not have a vocation toward teaching influence the decision not to enter teaching practice?

Among the concerns one may have with the concept of vocation as a conceptual framework for the research in question is whether or not the concept is robust enough to withstand being utilized outside of its original location. A second concern is that while the four dimensions that make up the notion of vocation combine to produce a cohesive conception, it is not clear from Hansen's work how one can measure or evaluate the

presence of these dimensions in one's practice, or in the case of the present study, how one relates the story of a decision not to enter the practice.

Despite these challenges, the efficacy of such a concept for examining the narratives of non-practicing teacher education graduates appears to be consistent with culturally based theoretical foundations such as the Bourdieuian concepts of habitus and field, and Gergen's concept of the multiphrenic self (Gergen 1991). Indeed, Bourdieu (1986) notes the likelihood of certain groups of people choosing occupations or ways of life based on collective histories, traditions, and customs. Gergen argues that identity is socially defined and that each individual is made up of all the encounters she or he has with others, past and present. Our occupational choices then are defined in relationship to those of others in our milieus. Likewise the metaphors of vocation and calling are embedded in our language of work to the extent that although they now very rarely refer to the spiritual or religious, they signify ideals akin to these, even if they are often reduced to aphorisms (Dawson, 2005). The language and metaphor used by Hansen to describe the nature of a vocation was thus quite appealing as a helpful way by which those informants involved in the present study could describe their own experience with teacher education and their decisions to engage in work outside of teaching.

Vocational Collapse

Of course, a potential difficulty with the framework when applied to the present study is that what is being studied is not vocational success but the collapse of vocation. Graduates of teacher education who do not teach are not doing what they had initially intended to do, so how does a conceptual framework based on vocation apply to them? A competing but connected concept in the literature can help to explain how not working in

one's field can be studied through this lens. Transition-shock or 'praxis-schock' as developed for the field of nursing by Kramer (1974) and applied to the field of education by Veenman (1984, 1987) (cf., Korthagen & Kessels, 1999), considers the condition of not-teaching in a similar but converse way to how 'vocation' looks at successful teaching.

Transition shock (in the nursing literature this concept has been named 'reality shock' and the two terms are used interchangeably) relates to the distress phenomenon that occurs when a student's expectations based on the social, academic, and practical preparation he or she received in university differs substantially from the reality of the workplace. Veenman (1984) describes it as "the collapse of the missionary ideals formed during teacher training by the harsh and rude reality of everyday classroom life" (p. 143). Research results reported by Kagen (1992), Korthagen and Kessels (1999), and Veenman (1984; 1987), indicate a significant occurrence of reality shock in beginning teachers that correlates with negative impact on the teachers' commitment to the profession, attitude toward teaching, intention to remain in the profession, and teaching behaviour.

Based on Hansen's concept that successful teachers necessarily think of their work as a vocation, and that a vocational disposition is a criteria for those seeking to enter the profession, and on Veenman's use of similar language when he describes the collapse of "missionary ideals" in beginning teachers, these lenses can help to understand the decisions of graduates of teacher education programs not to enter the profession. I, as a researcher, did not assume that the sense of vocation as described by Hansen existed in the predispositions of preservice teachers, but did aim to discover if it existed, or not, as a factor in the decisions of teacher education graduates not to enter the classroom. Likewise, reality shock was not assumed to have played a part in non-entry decisions, but

served as a rationalization for the employment of the socially based conception of vocation in a study involving individuals for whom it seems to have been unsuccessful.

Research Questions

Based on this review of the literature and as pointed out in Chapter One, the present study intended to look at the beliefs and understandings that persons who have prepared to enter the profession but who did not enter it, have formed about the teaching profession and their place within or outside it; how these individuals construct their thoughts about these beliefs and understandings; and the significance of those beliefs and understandings on non-participation in the profession. In addition, because the results were intended to inform educators and others, the study intended to investigate, through participants' use of similar language, images, symbols and narrative motifs, whether these beliefs can be seen to be shared between individuals with a similar experience. Candida-Smith (2001) describes these shared elements, when they are uncovered, as forming a discursive community of, in this case, non-practicing teachers, which is then able to inform others. Research questions can therefore be presented as follows:

1. What social and cultural factors do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decision go to university and enroll in teacher education?
2. What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared?
3. How does the experience of teacher education as it is remembered by non-practicing teachers influence occupational decision making? i.e. what experiences and factors may be identified as having influenced their decisions not to teach?

4. To what extent do non-teaching graduates of teacher education identify with the role/label 'teacher', and how does that identity influence occupational decision-making?
5. How does an understanding of the meanings non-practicing teachers put on their educational and occupational experiences contribute to an overall knowledge of the phenomena of trained teachers choosing not to teach?

Although research questions are not normally included in interpretive inquiries because of the nature of the discovery process in such research, my own social science research background compelled me to identify questions to guide and focus my inquiry, and provide a starting point for analysis. Rather than constraining the inquiry, I found that the use of research questions and a guiding conceptual framework, enabled me to identify themes and circumstances that may have been hidden in the data.

Summary

The question of what lens we ought to look through in order to discover the background or context that lies behind the decisions of individuals to take up occupations other than those for which they have been specifically prepared was at the root of this chapter. The literature on teacher education was examined, as was the literature and theory on education's relationship with employment. The literature on work itself, including the work of teachers was also examined. Through an extensive examination of these literatures it was determined that an appropriate framework upon which to base the present study was that of a socially based theory of vocation as formulated and described by Hansen (1994a, 1994b, 1995), supported by Bourdieu's notion of habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1986), and Gergen's notion of the socially defined self (Gergen, 1991).

Veenman's (1984; 1987) theory of reality shock in education was also explored in order to rationalize the use of a concept that implies occupational success with research into an area that appears to typify a lack of success.

Based on the preceding literature review it became clear that in order to study the topic as proposed that I had to approach it from a social and cultural rather than a psychological lens. In the manner that I had framed the inquiry, work and the corresponding decision making around career progression, exist in the realm of society, and the corresponding conceptual framework for the study had to reflect this. In addition to providing a powerful metaphor with which to describe the formation of a work identity, the concept of secular vocation rejects the heroic in favour of the unexceptional but committed, and celebrates self-doubt and imperfection.

This study's conceptual foundation was therefore provided by social and cultural notions of occupational identity. Based on this world view individual experiences of career diversion, career interruption or collapse, are social constructions that do not suddenly emerge from the individual living through them without reference to and the influence of that person's social and cultural background. They arise over time as these individuals make their way in the world. For example, Lortie (1975) uses the term *extended apprenticeship* to underline the social origin of occupational choice among schoolteachers. Likewise, underpinning his habitus and field theory is Bourdieu's (1977) assertion that social behaviour including occupational choice is based on acquired dispositions arising from deep-rooted societal structures and customs (Bellamy 1994). Hansen's notion of teaching as a vocation argues that of all the possible metaphors by which the profession of teaching can be described, the sense of vocation, or of being

called, is most appropriate for allowing us to gain an understanding of what motivates individuals toward, and sustains teachers in, the profession. According to Hansen, a secular notion of vocation requires two characteristics in the person being called: that of personal fulfillment and that of being of service to others, both social constructions.

Research questions based on these discoveries in the literature focused on the meanings made by participants as they made occupational choices, and how these meanings reflected the social and cultural milieus from which they emerged. Research methodology and data analysis therefore had to correspond with these considerations and provide a basis by which results could be presented in a heuristic and usable manner.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the experience that led to the decisions of persons specifically prepared as teachers not to enter the profession but instead to engage in non-teaching work. This chapter contains a description of the methodological basis for such an exploration and the data collection and analysis procedures used in the study.

A comprehensive and thoughtful rationale of the methodological approach of research into any human experience goes beyond a mere description of what has taken place to a demonstration of the researcher's cognizance of the epistemologies, issues, questions, purposes, and paradigms that surround research in general and one's present study in particular. Also important is an acknowledgement of the complexity surrounding the process of uncovering the epistemologies, cultures of inquiry, and research traditions surrounding one's topic, *the methodologies*, and how they influence the techniques or procedures, *the methods*, for identifying, gathering, and making sense of one's data (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998).

This complexity is illustrated by the blurring of the distinctions between methodological camps that takes place when conducting research into an area that has received little previous investigation. While there have been attempts in recent years to bridge the gulf between what can often be described as epistemological camps, there remain those researchers who maintain an intransitive positivist focus, and those who are just as intransitive in their non-positivist focus (Slattery, 1999). As a researcher who has found epistemological comfort in the sense of certainty provided by quantitative social

science methods, to find myself asking questions that can no longer be answered using familiar tools requires an embracing and utilization of methods that will allow my research to carry on in new and unfamiliar ways.

Although this study was undertaken using a qualitative interpretive research paradigm, this was simply because, based on the research questions, it was more appropriate than following a quantitative model. Quantitative research, along with its epistemological parent, positivism, does not deserve to be reduced, as it has in many quarters, to stand only for negative, narrow-minded empiricism (Belsey, 1997; and Silverman, 1989). It is a very valuable tool that can possibly be used for further study of the results presented in this project. As Silverman (1989) notes: "count where it makes sense to count, use the constant comparative method where appropriate, and so on" (p. 228). The interpretive methodology underlying the present study provided a strong foundation for gaining an understanding of the experiences of the group of individuals who shared their stories with me.

Research design

A thorough review of the literature revealed a gap in the research into the relationship between education and employment, as well as research into teacher work and teacher education, with regard to the phenomenon of non-participation in the field for which one has been specifically educated and prepared. This shortage of existing literature presented a perplexing problem. Faced with a research context that as far as could be determined had little precedence, other similar contexts had to be relied upon to provide me with a theoretical and conceptual foundation upon which to base an investigation.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the variety of theoretical lenses through which to view the transition of students to the workplace, the attachment of workers to their jobs, or the role of teacher education on teachers' attitudes and beliefs about education and their work as teachers were not fully consistent with the questions posed in this study. Since this study focused on the non-participation of teacher education graduates in the profession, rather than on the exit of teachers from their roles, or with experiences of unemployment, a conceptual framework had to be able to be applied to the former context but informed by the latter in order to make me comfortable as a positivist researcher entering the realm of the interpretive. My task was to uncover certain understandings, values, and attitudes that may have been embedded in the participant's experience or decision-making about not teaching, but not to presume that they already existed and attempt to measure them.

Method of Analysis

The intent of this study was to understand the experience of individuals who had undertaken and completed a teacher education program but had not entered the teaching profession.

First I intended to look at individuals' beliefs about teaching and the significance of those beliefs on non-participation in the profession. Secondly, I intended to discover whether or not the experience of teacher education could be seen to have had an influence on those beliefs. Thirdly, since it may be presumed that those involved in the study had rejected or abandoned the profession of teaching, I used Hansen's notion of vocation to base my own understanding of their perception of the phenomenon. Finally, while a goal of the study was to discover the perceptions, values, and attitudes of those who had

chosen not to enter the practice of teaching, the primary goal was to understand the backgrounds and contexts that give rise to these perceptions, values and attitudes. Because of this intention to discover something about the contexts behind the phenomenon in question, my emphasis was to focus on the meanings made by participants rather than on their behaviours (Peavey cited in Lockhart, 2001).

Creswell (1998) defines qualitative research as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting" (p. 15). Although Creswell describes five qualitative research traditions; biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study; one could be forgiven for making the assumption that there is no discernable difference between one qualitative method of inquiry and another other than the methods by which data is collected.

Macmillan and Schumacher (2001) simplify even further and describe qualitative research as a choice between primarily interactive field research, and primarily non-interactive field research. While it is indeed true that the goal of almost all qualitative research is to understand the nature of a social phenomenon from the point of view of those who experience it, and that most differences occur in the details of research practice, I was not content with these somewhat parsimonious alternatives. I found it necessary therefore to undertake a thorough examination of the different methodological traditions employed by diverse social science researchers in their investigations of phenomena similar to that of the present study. Being concerned with the social and cultural influences behind decisions of non-participation in the teaching profession, the

meanings rather than the behaviours, the sources and forms of data collection and analysis had to be consistent with the questions raised in the inquiry.

Having determined that the most appropriate form for data to take were the first-hand accounts of those individuals at the heart of the phenomenon, an interview method of data collection was selected, using non-teaching teacher education graduates as the data source. Data analysis, if it was to be focused on meanings made rather than on behaviours, had to consider interview responses as if they were participants' stories, not simply as answers to questions.

Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Analysis

Analyzing interviews as if responses were participants' stories forms the basis of syntagmatic analysis (Candida-Smith, 2001). This type of analysis looks for the plot line in the stories interviewees tell in response to interview questions. The researcher looks for a starting point, markers of transition, a turning point, and a conclusion. Most often syntagmatic analysis is complemented with a paradigmatic analysis, in which the researcher then looks for symbols and other expressive motifs that illustrate how the participant makes sense of his or her story as it is being told. In the present study, similar symbols across interviews, suggesting a cultural influence on the construction of individuals' stories, were examined. Rimmon-Kenan (1983) distinguishes between syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis and implies their complementarity as follows: "Whereas the surface structure of the story is syntagmatic, i.e., governed by temporal and causal principles, the deep structure is paradigmatic, based on static logical relations among the elements" (p. 10). With its origin in a study of artisanal workers' movements toward or away from career goals (Mishler, 1992), and a concern with identity in the

world of work within changing social and cultural milieus, syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis provided a natural approach to analysis within the conceptual framework of the present study.

Interview analysis, like most other ways of looking at data, is a question of interpretation. When prompted by relevant interview questions, individuals give meaning to their experiences by expressing them in a story, and it is up to the researcher to make an interpretation of the story in order to answer the questions posed by the research. A researcher intending to analyze interviews using syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis is urged to remove as much of the asymmetry from the interviewer-interviewee relationship as possible so that participants feel more like telling their stories. The present inquiry, where the participants were very educated, competent individuals who happened to work in different fields from those for which they were prepared, was a rich location for fruitful data for such an analysis.

As a data gathering device, personal interviews offer researchers plenty of potential data for analysis, but as is common with many other types of evidence, these data contain a mix of "true and false, reliable and unreliable, verifiable and unverifiable information" (Candida-Smith, 2001, p. 712). Participants may make up elements in their stories; they may contradict themselves between one question and another, or they may forget, self-censor, or embellish details of past experiences; all of which have the potential to influence or skew the ensuing analysis. Oftentimes participants will respond to questions with long meandering accounts that appear to have little to do with the question that was asked, and resist all efforts to fit nicely into code-able units of analysis (Riessman, 2001). To a researcher intent on uncovering useful results, interview evidence

must be approached with care and caution. All information provided by interview participants is informed by layers of language, knowledge, and culture. In order to provide a richer or more interesting description of an experience some participants will blur the dividing line between fact and fiction. The interview becomes for them less a forum for the imparting of information for an investigator, and more of an opportunity to 'let off steam' or tell their side of the story.

Syntagmatic analysis and its complement, paradigmatic analysis, allow the researcher to take these inconsistencies into account without rejecting large portions of interviews as unusable or invalid. Interview responses are considered as if they are miniature stories, and framed by the conventions of storytelling – plot, conflict or complication, turning point, resolution, and conclusion. It assumes that participants craft their responses from their learned knowledge of the rules of narrative, and use symbols and images in the same way that all tellers of stories, or conversationalists, do. Indeed, the participant depends on and assumes that the audience, or listener, also understands the required features of a narrative or there is no point in the telling (Mishler, 1992).

The key to the analysis, and to the study itself, is in seeing the individual as inherently social, and that the interview response is a socially constructed artifact. Kamler (2001) insists that in order to encourage participants to feel comfortable in the interview situation, the interviewer ought to make it clear that the response is simply an artifact or a representation of his or her story; it is not equivalent to the participant's life. In so doing, the interviewer not only gives the participant an element of control over the process and reduces any anxiety about giving 'wrong' answers, or mixing up a detail here and there, but also allows the story to develop naturally with all the metaphors and expressional

motifs one finds in regular conversation. This is particularly important in interviews where an individual is asked to recall significant personal experiences and events from the past. The speaker must rework memories of past experience in order to present them in terms that make sense to his or her experience of the present, which naturally includes all the things that happened in between. The response given is the story of the experience filtered through layers of accumulated knowledge, not the experience itself, and it must be interpreted and analyzed accordingly.

As with other forms of qualitative research, data selected for analysis through these methods are open to multiple interpretations. However, provided that the analysis has been conducted responsibly, and is faithful to the data and the methods, then the conclusions drawn can be accepted as a valid interpretation (Ayers and Poirier, 1996).

Data source

It was assumed in the design of the inquiry that of all potential sources of information the most appropriate and authentic would be that of the individuals themselves who had completed teacher education and not entered the profession of teaching. It was also assumed that the richest, most usable data would come in the form of responses to semi-structured interview questions.

It was also essential to the study that participants meet certain criteria in order to ensure compatible results across interviews. Only those individuals who had successfully completed a program of teacher education and subsequently made a conscious decision not to enter the teaching profession were interviewed. Individuals who had delayed entry into the teaching profession for travel or other pursuits, but intended to enter the profession later were excluded from the study, as were those who were unsuccessful in

acquiring a teaching position but were still focusing their job search for a position as a teacher. However, individuals who had previously encountered barriers to entry to the profession, took employment in another field and subsequently decided not to pursue teaching were included. The reason for including these individuals was to gain an understanding of how such barriers were identified what meanings were made from them. Moreover, in terms of chronology, the utmost effort was made to include only those teacher education graduates from the years 1994 onward to ensure that recollections of teacher education, student experiences, family and peer interactions, and other influences would remain fresh in their minds. One participant's teacher education program was completed prior to 1994, but her enthusiasm for the project was so profound that her story was included in the study.

Among the serious challenges encountered in undertaking the inquiry was the selection of and access to qualified participants. Non-teaching teachers are not an easily identifiable and homogeneous employment group. This made it tremendously difficult to identify and recruit participants. Since it was essential that criterion sampling be employed in order to ensure that participants had in fact experienced the phenomenon in question, finding and gaining access to appropriate participants became a significant research issue. Because participants had to be willing to engage in active self-reflection and candid disclosure of their decisions not to enter the teaching profession, and had to have confidence in their ability to discuss these decisions, as well as feel that this experience was indeed worth discussing with another person (Frank, 2002), a considerable amount of time and effort was required of them.

Recruitment of participants took place between June 2004 and November 2005. Advertising posters were placed at public places such as laundromats and staff-rooms at some businesses. Internet-based advertising was conducted through the University of Victoria Alumni Association's 'on-line community,' and the University of Victoria Career Services Department's Canada-wide community. Word-of-mouth recruiting was also encouraged through initial participants.

Reaction to the recruitment process was initially very good. Within a short period of time more than 30 interested men and women had responded by e-mail or telephone. After learning more about the project and the time required to participate, many potential participants decided not to continue. Fourteen interested persons agreed to participate in interviews, but 7 of these either telephoned to decline, or simply did not show up to the meeting. Follow-up contact was made with these individuals but I was not able to convince them to reschedule. Eventually seven participants, all of them women, completed interviews. Interviews were conducted face-to-face, with the interview from Vancouver being conducted over the telephone. Follow-up and clarification of points were conducted by e-mail and telephone.

Six of the seven women interviewed were employed and one was a full time graduate student in a field unrelated to teacher education. One was working while pursuing graduate studies by distance. Participants ranged in age from their mid-twenties to late forties. Four of the seven were parents. Table 1 below provides an overview of participants.

Table 1. Interview Participants

Participant	*Occupation*	*Education/Degree*	*Age*	*Teaching Experience*
A	Daycare worker	Bachelor's degree	Under thirty	none
F	Computer consultant	Bachelor's degree	Over forty	One school year; some substitute teaching
K	Graduate student	Bachelor's degree; currently full time in Master's program	Under thirty	none
L	Helpdesk manager	Bachelor's degree	Thirty to forty	none
M	ESL Conversation helper	Bachelor's degree	Over forty	Part-time several years
Q	Receptionist	Bachelor's degree	Under thirty	none
Y	University Admissions officer	Bachelor's degree; currently enrolled part-time in Masters program	Under thirty	One school year

Data Collection and Analysis

The semi-structured interview, an encounter that is neither a free flowing conversation nor a questionnaire, but following an interview schedule focusing on themes related to the research topic rather than on specific questions (Kvale, 1983), is useful in allowing participants to develop responses based on their experiences in memory without being constrained by the interviewer's prior conceptions of the experience. By guiding participants in the recollection of their experiences, and encouraging thoughtful reflection and analysis, with enough direction to limit their focus to the topic at hand, the semi-structured interview provides a rich source of data for a content and structure analysis such as was used in this study. In the present study, a focus on themes rather than specific events encouraged participants to reflect on their overall experiences instead of simply the recollection of episodes and instances of childhood, university, and work life that stand out as highs or lows (Loughran, Brown, & Doecke; 2001).

Because I sought to uncover stories about specific periods of participants' lives, a semi-structured interview where I could provide a minimum of guidance was found to be more useful than an unstructured interview which is often used in narrative inquiries. An interview guide based on the following structure was developed for the study:

- Part 1 focused on the participant's relevant life story and how she came to enroll in teacher education.
- Part 2 focused on the end of the participant's university experience, graduation and subsequent entry into working life, and the decision not to enter the teaching profession.

- Part 3 focused on the participant's life now, and reflection on the decision not to teach and feelings about the role of teacher-who-does not teach.

Because these points of focus were not time dependent, that is, there was no methodological necessity for a specific period of time to elapse between a participant's reflection on one theme and the next, interviews were held in one sitting and lasted between one and two hours each. On two occasions, when it appeared that interview fatigue was becoming a factor, the interview was suspended and restarted after a short rest and a drink of water or cup of coffee. These two participants, having had time to reflect on what was uncovered during the previous part of the interview, provided very rich and focused responses that they may not have done if they had not taken a break. The complete interview guide is included as Appendix 3.

Analytic Procedures

It must be kept in mind that although each narrative has been reconstructed from participants' own accounts, they have nevertheless been so constructed into "analytic objects" (Mishler 1992, p. 26); that is, turned into ordered researchable stories. This step is unavoidable in any analysis of personal narrative based on interview data since, by their very nature, 'the order of telling' in interviews does not necessarily reflect 'the order of occurrence' in one's life story (Candida-Smith, 2001; Mishler, 1992). As a researcher I must therefore acknowledge my active role in creating the data that was analyzed in this project.

Analysing data using this model examines interview responses as if they are participants' stories, not simply as specific answers to specific content-based questions.

Therefore my analysis was able to focus on the meanings made by the seven participants regarding their experiences, rather than simply on their behaviours.

Transcribed interviews were coded for narrative devices; plot, conflict, resolution, turning point, and conclusion; as well as for narrative symbols such as metaphors of vocation and occupational choice, and verbal juxtapositions, seemingly contradictory expressions that hold a story together, that create a symbolic expression of the experience. These coded themes and symbols were then analyzed within and across interviews in order to extract recurring motifs throughout the collective experiences of not teaching. Candida-Smith (2001) notes that the "analysis of regularities across interviews can help define the boundaries of discursively defined communities – that is, of groups of people who may or may not know each other personally, but who are connected through shared languages" (p. 719). Interview analysis in the present study sought to discover, through plot and paradigm codes, the understandings participants held about their experiences in relation to social and cultural cues.

Qualitative Analysis Software

Transcribed interviews were analyzed using AskSam 6 for assistance with theming and coding. The software effectively and efficiently tags and codes data for themes and symbols, allowing the identification of features common across all the interviews. The software tool was useful in identifying recurring themes and symbols, paying particular attention to the language used in participants' responses that contained cues indicating consistency with the notion of secular vocation and other cultural indicators of occupational choice.

Although a qualitative research software program certainly helps a researcher to discover themes and patterns as they emerge from the data, these themes and patterns must be pre-identified by the researcher as significant, and the software must be instructed to find them. The researcher must be constantly vigilant that he or she does not overlook important aspects of participants' stories and details of experiences in order to 'fit' the data to the program. One of the dangers of using qualitative software is that it can make the researcher lazy. It gives the illusion of rigour because it is computer-based, but in fact provides the researcher the opportunity to disregard important clues in the data because the program does not identify them. The tool in this case is only as good as the user, and the researcher must not be lulled into complacency and sloppy analysis. In the present study rigour was ensured by paying close attention to the data and using software only to assist the research activity, not as the activity itself.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the research methodology followed in the implementation of the present study. The process used to determine the methodology for the inquiry was presented and its implications were examined, and a rationale for the use of syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis of interview narratives was demonstrated.

CHAPTER 4

Results

This chapter will present the results of the analysis of narrative in each of the interviews, and the next chapter will address the research questions in relation to the analysis contained herein.

It is not the intention in this chapter to present the interview data of each participant as a discrete silo of information compared with each other silo, but rather to present results as a comprehensive exploration of the data in order to address the research questions. Based on a conceptual foundation provided by social and cultural notions of occupational identity, interview data from seven participants were analyzed for narrative devices, such as plot, conflict or complication, turning point, resolution, and conclusion; and narrative symbols, such as metaphor, particularly of vocation and occupational choice.

As highlighted in Chapter Three above, each narrative has been reconstructed from participants' own accounts, they have been constructed by the researcher into ordered researchable and analyzable stories. Data analysis focused on the meanings made by the seven participants regarding their experiences, rather than simply on their behaviours

Transcribed interviews were coded for narrative devices; conflict, turning point, resolution, and conclusion. Narrative symbols such as metaphors, particularly of vocation and occupational choice, were cross-coded into the narratives making the layering effect shown in Figure 1. These coded themes and symbols were then analyzed within and across interviews in order to extract recurring motifs throughout the collective

experiences of not teaching. A model for the coding of interviews in the present study is illustrated in Table 2 below.

Stories/Plot-lines

Seven persons completed interviews. Interviews were conducted both face-to-face and over the telephone, with e-mail communication for follow-up and clarification of points. The following stories provide the basis upon which our understanding of their experiences can be made. Each interview led with general questions asking for participants' recollections of family, educational, and career histories, along with youthful impressions of teaching as a career. The complete interview guide is attached as Appendix 3.

Each of these stories as presented makes extensive use of the exact words of the participants. For the sake of narrative continuity and straightforwardness for the reader, block quotations have *not* been used in these seven accounts. Ellipses have been incorporated into the texts of the stories according to APA guidelines; three ellipsis points to indicate omitted material, and four ellipsis points to indicate omissions between sentences. However, it must be pointed out that any omitted material consists of interview questions or other irrelevant passages. Stories have not been otherwise edited.

Table 2. Illustration of the relationship between research questions and narrative devices

Transcript extract (Participant F)	*Defining feature*	*Relevant Research Question*
· Grew up in [central British Columbia] · Mom was a teacher · Became a teacher because that is what I was always going to be · So I go to University · I taught on the Indian reserve; [northern British Columbia] · The end of the year came · I decided to move back here · 12 years working in the computer industry (quit) · Taught, but…only part time (quit) · Now I have gone to work…on the help desk,	Plot	1. What social and cultural factors do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decision go to university and enroll in teacher education?
· I tried to get a teaching job here in _____, forget it. Even on the island, forget it. (I went up to [northern British Columbia] for the year. I went to school, I was going to teach.) · my heart was here, with my boyfriend [quit moved back] (My [now] husband said, "why don't you come and work for the computer company. They need someone to answer phones.") · Student loans due. Car payment due.	Conflict/ complication	2. What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared? 3. How does the experience of teacher education as it is remembered by non-practicing teachers influence occupational decision making? i.e. what experiences and factors may be identified as having influenced their decisions not to teach?
· Not making enough money · I am very disillusioned. · Make more money in entry level job than I did in substitute teaching	Turning point	2. What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared?
· Took job on the help desk · Did it for twelve years	Resolution	2. What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared?
· I believe I have a gift for teaching, and still have that gift. · I am just using it in other ways · No life outside the school. No boundaries.	Conclusion	4. To what extent do non-teaching graduates of teacher education identify with the role/label 'teacher', and how does that identity influence occupational decision-making?

A's Story

A works as a daycare worker in a pubic sector organization. She has not worked as a teacher since graduating from her teacher education program in 2002. After finishing university *A* went to work at the customer service call-centre of a large mobile telephone service company. In the autumn of 2005, at the time of this interview, she had just changed jobs and had started a new job at the childcare centre.

A was born in southern British Columbia and spent her childhood there, moving to the community she now lives in while she was in in high school. As a child, she had some quite definite ideas as to what she wanted to do when she grew up: "I wanted to be a teacher. I always wanted to be a teacher... I always liked playing with kids, especially younger kids, helping them do things... we used to play school all the time. I had a desk in my basement. A big chalkboard that my grandpa had made me, and we used to play school for hours. I had all the right props and it just lent itself to teaching."

School was a joyful and successful place for *A*: "I guess I always did well at school and I always wanted to do my best. I always wanted to be something better than I was... I always wanted to strive for something better. If I got a B, I would be so upset. I couldn't take that. I needed to get an A, so I would just work hard... I really liked high school. Had a lot of fun... I wouldn't want to repeat it, but I really enjoyed it at the time."

This success at school inevitably led *A* to enroll in a university. Although she certainly had a great desire to go on to university after finishing school, there was also an expectation on the part of her family that this should occur: "Also it was engrained in me since I was little that after you finish high school, you are going to go to university, you are going to get a degree, and you are going to get a job.... I was going to go. I didn't

really have any choice.... It was spoken. It was always, 'you are going to go to University. You are going to get a degree. We are going to pay for it, so that you can do your best and work hard, so you don't have to worry about having a job and having the money [to pay for it]. You can focus on your studies...." While there was an expectation that she would attend university, *A* did not feel at all pressured by her parents: "Not really, it was just something that I thought I was going to do. 'I want to be a teacher. I want to get my education degree, so the next logical step after I finish high school was to go to university.' I thought why waste time. I know what I want to do. I know where I want to go with my life. I might as well just continue on."

Upon enrolling in teacher education, *A* was encouraged to hear from professors and administrators that, "it was perfect timing, everyone is retiring. You are going to have a job right out of university." By the end of her program however, just the opposite became the new message: "And then by fifth year, it was really discouraging. They were telling us that we were never going to get a job. 'If you want a job you have to move up to the middle of nowhere, up to the North Pole.' So it was really discouraging... And everyone would tell you that if you are looking for a job, it isn't going to happen. It was very depressing." Not having the resources to move away from the city, *A* decided to try to work her way into the local school system, but soon discovered: "they are telling me, if you even get on the sub-list, you might be working one or two days a week, at the most... Probably one or two days a month. So it was very discouraging. I didn't want to go through all that.... They were telling us you need to volunteer.... They were telling us that you are going to volunteer in the schools and give a lot of free labour basically so that

you can get on the sub-list.... I had just done 5 years of university, 'I want a job. I want to start making some money back'."

When the call-centre opened, *A* thought that perhaps she could work there for a period of time and eventually return to try to get a teaching job. "...'this might be a good opportunity to work your way up, get some good experience. And you never know, you can always go back to teaching.' By that point I almost didn't want to because I found [the university] so depressing. It [the call centre job] was a means to an end. A means to get some money, basically work my way up the corporate ladder, get some experience so that if this teaching thing didn't work out, like they were trying to tell us that it was not going to for all of us, I would have something." She took the job at the call-centre and stayed for two and a half years before moving to her present job at the daycare centre. Her work at the call-centre was very business oriented: "I was doing what my friends that had commerce degrees were doing, or wanted to do."

While not closing the door forever on teaching sometime in the future, *A* has made the decision to continue what she is doing. "I would [go into teaching] if it opens up a bit... depending on the situation. I am not going to bust my butt to volunteer and slave away on the sub-list for a couple of days a month. I have something better than that... It is hard to say for sure what I would do until the opportunity presents itself. By then I might just decide that I don't want to have a part of it."

F*'s Story*

F works in the computer industry as a help desk consultant. She is in her second post-teacher education career, having worked briefly as a teacher immediately after

graduating from university, and then briefly again after twelve years in the computer industry.

She grew up in a town in the central interior of British Columbia. Her mother was a teacher, and when *F* was a child her ambition was to be a teacher as well: "A teacher. It is a profession that you see a lot of. My mom was a teacher. And my grandma worked as a secretary in a school. So the school was a big part of who you were… There have always been teachers in the family. So I wanted to be a teacher."

She did not do well in high school, nor did she do poorly considering that she did as little as possible: "I was the one who passed anyways, it didn't matter how much work I did. I would basically write the test, pass the test, and then I could pass the course. If I really think about the effort that I put into high school, I put zero effort in and still pulled off Cs and C+s." At the time however, she "didn't feel smart in high school," and after graduation got a job at a local gas station. It was at the gas station where *F* decided again that teaching might be the profession for her: "I remember it so clearly. I stood in the gas station and I was talking to this girl. 'You know, I have been here for 5 years. I make $6.50 an hour.' She was the highest paid employee at the station. I looked at her and thought, that could be me in 5 years. I can't. I can't. I don't want that. I wanted a career and I wanted to make more money. In my mind the only way to make more money was to go to university first. In my mind I only ever thought of teaching."

Following completion of her teacher education program, *F* took a job in northern British Columbia where she stayed for one school year. "I applied throughout the whole province and I got offered two positions; one on this little island that you could fly to from _____, and [the community in northern British Columbia]. The determining factor

for me was [the community in northern British Columbia] had a curling rink and I curl." Her time in northern BC was spent working, curling, and missing her boyfriend: "My boyfriend was here, so I spent about $200 on phone calls a month, did my curling, that was my sanity. But I worked, morning, noon and night, all the time. … The end of the year came and I just thought, my heart was here, with my boyfriend, we got married a year later. So I decided to move back here."

Upon her return, *F* tried to get in to the local system through substitute teaching, but when an opportunity for a permanent job with the company her boyfriend worked for arose she took it: "Student loans were all due, money, the car payment, everything was ramping up. Plus we were getting married. My husband said, 'why don't you come and work for the computer company. They need someone to answer phones.' He worked for _____ Systems. I agreed. For one year to pay the bills and then I am going back to teaching, because that is what I went to school for. So I started working on the computer help desk and it is kind of like teaching. At first I would just take messages and give them out to techs. And then I got a little bit better and helping. It was kind of learn on the job. And I did that for 12 years."

F was quite successful in her job in the computer industry, achieving promotion after promotion. However: "The whole 12 years I spent going, 'I went to university to be a teacher and I'm not a teacher, how come I am not teaching.' I couldn't let it go." She decided that she would leave her job and try to get back into teaching: "Thinking that I have got a teaching degree, I have a bachelor of Education, plus I have 12 years working in the computer industry and so I know my technology. That is a pretty good combination

and a good selling point. I walked into the _____ School district. They wouldn't even take my resume. I handed it over and she said, 'we are not taking resumes.'"

After experiencing one disappointment after another in her pursuit to secure teaching work, *F* started working as a part-time teacher in various independent schools in the city. Finding this situation untenable, *F* left teaching under these conditions and returned to the computer industry where she now occupies an entry level position in the field she was in for twelve years. "Now I have gone to work, working entry level on the help desk, but I make more money working on my entry level position in the computer industry than I did teaching..."

K*'s Story*

K grew up in urban southern Ontario, the daughter of a printing pressman and a telephone worker. She spent her summers playing soccer and going on summer holidays with her family, and her winters playing on all the teams at school. School was a positive experience for *K* and seemed to provide some of the influences she felt drew her toward becoming a teacher: "I wanted to be a teacher since I was in grade three or four, the first time you ever start thinking about what you wanted to do when you grew up. I always had teachers who were very encouraging of myself and my efforts, and really encouraged me with creativity and all that sort of stuff. So it fostered that type of mentality for me; that I could bring that out in other people.... I never really had another idea in mind as I was growing up."

The draw toward teaching started for *K* in elementary school and continued through high school. "I am a people person. I always like to interact with people on teams. Even from a very young age, grade five or six, mentoring younger kids who were

in grade one or two. It was something that was always very appealing to me. I had lots of opportunities to do student government things. Those sorts of things all played into the picture of school and how, as an adult, I would see myself in that role." As she got older her perception of what she wanted to accomplish as a teacher became more focused: "In elementary school it was more like I hadn't experienced anything else that really struck me. People say 'you could be a doctor, you could be a lawyer.' Any number of things. And they just never appealed to me. I can't put my finger on why. It was more in high school that the teaching thing came to light. I didn't want to be an elementary school teacher. I wanted to be a high school teacher. I realized that once I got to high school. The level of interaction, the type of interaction is different, and teaching knowledge that was a bit more advanced was something I needed to be fulfilled in a teaching job."

Although she is the first person in her family to attend university, *K* knew all along that that was what she was going to do when she finished high school. "I always knew that I would be going to university. No matter what it was. I had a lot of interests coming out of high school so it wasn't that I couldn't find something to do that I wouldn't be interested in… It was something I knew. I knew I wanted to be a teacher. And to be a teacher, I went to university. It was a long time. I don't know if there was ever a conscious time when I was in elementary school and realized, 'oh yes, to be a teacher you have to go to university, so therefore I will go to university.' I don't know that it ever came across like that."

When she got to university however, *K* discovered that there were so many more career options to choose from than simply preparing to become a teacher. The opportunities presented themselves and *K* took advantage of them: "'I like science, I am

going to go and I am going to be in science. I like Phys Ed, so I am going to be in Phys Ed.' So I didn't go into a teaching stream right away. I still had another path before doing the whole teaching thing. I thought it more as an opportunity to not be so quickly put into that role in case there were other things that cropped up that I hadn't really thought of before. I think that is the thing. I hadn't thought of anything else that I really wanted to do and I guess that gave me an opportunity to look at that and see if there was anything else that I wanted to do. I went into a Bachelor of Science and a Bachelor of Phys Ed program. So I got two degrees before I went to do my 1 year Bachelor of Education… I knew that going into Phys Ed and Science would lead me to that. I had no doubt that that was still what I wanted to do at the end; that I could do that easily enough. Be a Phys Ed teacher, a biology teacher, a science teacher."

Along the way, *K* heard about something called genetic counselling. "I was in a fourth year biology class; near the end of the year and I was talking to a friend of mine. He said 'Oh I am doing this work study job that might interest you. It is genetic counselling.' I asked him what it was, and he told me all about it. It is interacting with people, and it is with genetics. I said, 'that sounds really appealing to me'… So that is how I really found out about it. It was pretty random. I'd never heard about it before. Just talking to this friend of mine. I really got the ball rolling from there."

Having already applied to a teacher education program, *K* decided that she would continue with her plan to become a teacher, but could not shake the notion that genetic counselling might be an interesting career. "I applied [for teacher education] in November of my fourth year for the following year. At the time it was kind of a backup to be honest. That summer before, I found out about genetic counselling and I thought

that was something that I might like to pursue. But I knew that I didn't have the training, the volunteer experience needed to apply for the following year. So instead I decided to do the teachers college in the meantime and gain more experience in another realm, and if genetic counseling doesn't work out, well I have always wanted to be a teacher anyway. So I have that. It was something that I definitely wanted to do but it was also kind of like a back up at the time to allow me to do other things in the meantime, to apply to another program." By this time the idea of teacher education, and receiving a teaching credential, had taken a back seat to genetic counselling, and became a kind of back-up profession for *K* in case this new option did not turn out successfully for her: "It kind of was. As bad as it sounds to say that, because I know that there are so many people who really, really want to be teachers; who apply and don't get in. I have to look out for myself, and if I didn't get into this other program, then I would be a teacher right now."

K completed her teacher education program and immediately applied to the University of _____ for the master's program in genetic counselling. She started at the University of _____ in the fall of 2005. "I really did enjoy my practicum and placements in education last year and teaching Phys Ed and Biology, but I really felt that unless I could give myself a chance at this other career path, that I might not feel that I had given it my all. It was something that I was really interested in. I like genetics. I really liked the fact that this profession was interacting with people, and it was on the cutting edge. You always got to learn new information; you had to keep yourself up to date."

Although confident that there will be a job for her when she completes her program at the University of _____, *K* does not have quite the same confidence that there would have been a teaching job for her if she had not gone into the genetic counselling

program: "But you know, the jobs for teaching can be pretty intense depending on where you want to live. You may not get to live where you want to, depending on what the employment situation is. I don't think that job potential is really one of the big things. I really just think that there was a shift in my desires and what I wanted and to give a shot at something else. I don't think there was much else to it." Now that she has decided to leave teaching, *K* still feels like a teacher and sees multiple parallels between her present program and teaching: "The mentality and the persona can stick around, especially if it is something that you have been involved with or you have wanted to do for a long time. Definitely the way I present is much different from some of my classmates who have been in research already, or who haven't had that same pathway as me. Definitely I have a different presentation style, just based on wanting to be a teacher and being in education just for that year.... I think it is because of the desire to impart knowledge. With genetic counseling it is also an extension in that you can get a lot of feedback. In teaching you see your students developing; you see them learning, or not learning, and in this profession it is a lot of the same thing."

L*'s Story*

"I am currently manager, for the Help Desk at [a provincial crown corporation]. We provide first tier technical support for all [crown corporation] staff as well as external business partners. Roughly 25,000 clients. I manage 25 staff." *L*, who has been working in a non-teaching field since graduating from teacher education about ten years ago, describes her work as a place where: "I get to use teaching or coaching everyday."

L was born and raised in the suburbs of southern British Columbia. As a child, she found herself quite often taking care of other kids: "Having three younger brothers, I was

quite often charged with babysitting. From an early age, starting about 11 years old, spending my summers looking after kids, babysitting as well. Really enjoyed being involved, looking after kids." This babysitting experience, along with many positive teacher role models once she started school, convinced *L* quite early that she wanted to be a teacher: "I actually always wanted to be a teacher." She felt drawn to the profession, and when she decided to transfer from her local secondary school to one many kilometres across town, found that the different attitude toward education at her new school was another positive reinforcement on the road toward her career path. "In grade ten I actually moved to _____ High School, but I still lived in the western communities. So I commuted one and a half hours every day to attend _____ High School. That was a fairly different experience for me… And the attitude towards education was very different. That was part of the reason I went there, because that is what I was seeking."

Education, and particularly post-secondary education, was something that was very highly valued in *L*'s family growing up. "I think for me it wasn't something I thought of as a choice. I think my parents were pretty adamant that I was going to go on to post-secondary education, university. At a very early age, my dad always reinforced with me that he and his career could have done a lot better, gone a lot further had he had post secondary education." The message was constant that *L* and her brothers were not going to be unsuccessful at school: "Actually my dad was really blunt about it. He carried this on with my brothers as well. We'd end up 'digging ditches,' labour type jobs which were not very appealing if we didn't pursue further education."

L completed secondary school and attended the University of _____. Throughout her teacher education program, she continued to be excited about entering the teaching

profession. Eventually, however, something more important got in the way of that plan: "It turns out that I was also five or six months pregnant, expecting my first child, due in November." *L* needed a job, but could not consider moving away from her home town for full time teaching work, nor substitute teaching locally. "At that point in time, my options were subbing (substitute teaching). And with a young baby it just wasn't something that I wanted to have to deal with, in terms of being called at the last minute, and having to find day care, and that sort of thing. I wasn't willing to put my financial matters, and trying to obtain some job stability, on hold for the next five to seven years while I subbed to try and secure permanent employment. I was starting a family. I didn't want to have to worry about finances and not knowing how much money I was going to make, because I needed to start saving and looking to buy a home."

A job outside of teaching became available: "It was nothing that I pursued. How it ended up was school had finished for the year. It was June of 1995, which was just after I graduated. A friend mentioned that she had some temporary work, working at the help desk. So I went to work. And I didn't go back to teaching." *L* has been working at the organization since that time, where she is now the manager of the helpdesk service.

Although she does not plan on going back to the teaching profession, *L* has no regrets about having gone through teacher education. She feels like a teacher, and feels confident that she made the right choice: "Like I said before, it is something that I am very proud of. I also feel that I do in fact use a lot of what I learned from university. In particular, I find that courses that we did on evaluation relates to adults as well, with some obvious changes. There are many aspects that I do think about, or use; information from what I learned in university.... In fact I am using a lot of those skills although with

adults and in a different environment. And quite honestly, I have children of my own; am quite involved in the school as well. I am on the school planning council at the school. Involved in the parent advisory committee, and I also feel that my education has really allowed me to understand and feel confident about my own kids education and what I should be requesting from the teachers; what I should be looking for in the report cards. In some ways that is not always great, because I can read between the lines of report cards."

M*'s Story*

The third interview was held with *M*. At the time of the interview, *M* was an English Language conversation tutor for students of English as a Second Language. She has since changed jobs and is now working in the financial services industry, training to become a mortgage broker.

M was born in Ontario to an RCMP officer and a teacher, and moved to British Columbia at the age of eight. While growing up *M*'s ambition was to be a teacher: "Strangely enough, a teacher. I wanted to be a teacher." In school *M* was quite happy and successful until she got to senior secondary school (grades 11 and 12) and because of boundary changes in the school's catchment area, had to attend a school where she knew exactly 4 other kids from her junior high school: "I always had a group of friends, but I wouldn't have been with the 'in crowd.' I went to a totally separate school for Grade 11 and 12 and certainly at that age, no I didn't feel like I belonged at all. And that partly was because the boundaries were changed where my parents lived. I ended up going to a high school where none of my friends were. I was one of 4 kids from the junior high. So I didn't feel like I belonged at all. I felt like a complete outsider."

Although a good student, *M* found herself tired of school and studying by the time she completed grade 12: "I wasn't liking school very much in grade 11 and grade 12, didn't really want to study, felt that if I wasn't really sure anymore what I wanted to do, didn't have that 'I want to be a teacher', that it was going to be a waste of time if I went to university." She took a dental assistant program at the local community college and went to work in the dental and medical field.

After ten years in the medical/dental profession, a marriage and a divorce, she decided to return to school, take a degree and become a teacher. "I was 32 when I finished my teaching degree because once I graduated from high school I decided that I had actually had enough of school and I did a year of college and trained, at Camosun, and did the dental assistant program... and then worked in a medical office until I was 28 and that is when I decided that if I didn't go back to university then, I figured I probably never would. So I went back into the idea of teaching which is what I wanted to do when I was growing up".

After finishing university, *M* found it difficult to get a teaching job but wanted to work in the profession so took up substitute teaching and took temporary contracts at independent schools in the community. Technically, while not necessarily a teacher education graduate who did not take up the profession at all, *M* nevertheless embodies the spirit of this study as an individual who was not able to work in the profession fulltime, and finally, after several years of underemployment and unemployment in the profession, gave up and entered a different occupation. *M* was therefore selected for this study because she never held a continuing teaching contract and finally left the profession without ever working as a full time teacher.

Q's Story

"I'm a receptionist at an accounting firm. I hate every moment of it," is how *Q* describes her current job. *Q* completed her teacher education program in music education and French, and although qualified in two high demand subject areas, because of financial reasons and family commitments did not have the option to either leave the city for a teaching job elsewhere or to substitute teach locally. She therefore took the job she has now.

Q was born in _____, British Columbia and has lived in the city all her life. She was an only child, and is the first person in her extended family to get a degree. Growing up, *Q*'s first love was music and her second was teaching, so the two naturally came together: "My main goal was to find something that I could do with music. Music is what I really want to do and found that the best possible thing that I could do with music was to teach it. So I started to explore that path. And the more that I explored it, the more that I saw it really, really fit for me and that I actually became just as passionate about teaching as I was about music. I find I have a lot more patience, tolerance, understanding with the children, than with adults, quite honestly."

While going to school, *Q* found refuge in the music department. "I always had my own safe area. I always had my friends. I definitely felt I belonged with them. The school as a whole? not so much. In the _____ School District, it is big schools. We had 1500 students. My graduating class was 500 kids. I didn't so much feel that I belonged in the school as a whole, but definitely the music. It was an area, a place to be. Physically a place to be in the band room at lunches and stuff like that. And also a group of people to be with." This sense of sanctuary in the music room with the music teachers and students,

played a big part in *Q*'s decision to go on to university and become a teacher: "It factored quite heavily on it actually. I know how much my music teachers and some of my other teachers made me feel comfortable, gave me an opportunity to be myself and feel comfortable in my environment and that was very important, especially because the school as a whole I didn't feel so comfortable… I had a really, really bad teacher in Junior High and he was my music teacher. And I had a phenomenal music teacher in [senior] high school. One of the main things that has always gone through my head is to make sure that children don't have teachers like the bad teachers and do have teachers like the good teachers."

Having made the decision to go on to university after high school, *Q* was happy for the opportunity to stay in her hometown. It was a financial struggle to attend, but she was determined to succeed: "I was really nervous entering university. I was very happy that I could stay in _____ and do it. I had the ability to live at home for at least part of it, so that definitely helped. I knew that it was going to be financially draining. That was the number one thing that I was worried about. I spent my summers working full time, over full time to pay for the tuition for the next years of school." A lesser concern was the transition from high school where she was one of the best students, to university where she was one among many good students: "I was the best at my school; I was one of the smartest; I was one of the best musicians; all that kind of stuff. And then you get thrown into this pot where you are not the best anymore, and you are not the smartest and you are not getting 'A's without trying. That was hard to handle."

The decision to enter a non-teaching field came as the result of a family disruption that forced *Q* to find a place to live outside of the family home. *Q* suddenly had to become

completely financially self-reliant in order to finish her university program, and had to continue to be self-sufficient afterwards. "I was about half way through my third year of university. My parents were divorcing, so I needed to be out the house because they were selling the house. At that point I had to get student loans for the last 2 years to pay for schooling and all that stuff. I was working full time, trying to make sure that my student loans were as small as humanly possible." After graduating from university, *Q* had to make a decision: "either teaching and not living in _[city A]_, or living in _[city B]_ and not teaching. Right now, because my parents are divorcing, I wanted to be here for them. My family is all here. My life is all here. I know that it was my choice to stay here. I know if I moved to the interior somewhere I could definitely get a job teaching tomorrow if I wanted to. I need to stay near home for me right now. So that meant a choice in not teaching, because I can't substitute right now. I am not financially in a place to do that."

Y*'s Story*

Y is a university admissions officer: "I work at the university as an admissions officer and recruitment officer, so I recruit high schools to come to University, mostly high school students, but also college and other mature students. I evaluate applications for admissions."

She grew up in northern Ontario where one of her parents was a teacher who became an education counselor for the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs: "My dad worked for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. He used to be a teacher and then an education counselor."

While growing up, she was indifferent toward becoming a teacher: "I wanted to be everything. Every day it seemed to change…You know you would watch a TV show

and there was a firefighter. I wanted to be a firefighter. My interests were really varied. I still don't think I know what I want to be when I grow up. I guess a teacher was always in the background. I could be this, or a teacher." *Y* eventually completed high school, where she excelled at everything she tried, "I was involved in a lot of sports and extra curricular activities. It was a really fun time for me," and attended university in [northern Ontario] without a specific academic focus: "But again, it seemed like almost every year, I was thinking of another program, and thinking 'well maybe I'll go into this, maybe I'll switch over into that. Maybe I'll do massage therapy.'"

Eventually, teacher education became more appealing and *Y* applied: "Teaching never was a definite yes until I actually put my application together, and I actually had to think of the letter that I was going to write and why I wanted to be a teacher. Then it became real to me, that it would be something that I would like to do." And, "I just really hadn't really looked at it. Then when I did start to look at it, and write my reasons down in that essay, it became more and more appealing."

After university, *Y* got a job teaching French in a local school. After one semester of teaching she applied for, and was accepted in a Master's program and quit her teaching job to focus on her studies. She moved with her spouse to British Columbia in 2004 and works in her present position while continuing part-time graduate studies by distance education.

Narrative Devices for Analysis

Each of these stories describes a turn of events that predicated a decision not to pursue a career in school teaching, and an action to enter another kind of occupation. Although each is unique to the individual describing her circumstances around teaching

and not teaching, all contain common narrative elements that provide valuable data for addressing the study's research questions. These elements are presented in the following manner: The narrative devices of conflict, turning point, resolution and conclusion are represented in separate headings (syntagmatic analysis). While metaphoric elements such as notions of vocation are integrated throughout the narratives as part of the storytelling process (paradigmatic analysis), for ease of representation these are presented under a separate heading as well.

Conflict / Complication

In the study of literature, conflict is the device considered central to the plot of any story. *Internal conflict* occurs when it is focused by the protagonist on herself, and *external conflict* is the condition when it is focused on an outside force. Conflict features to more obvious or less obvious degrees in all seven accounts in the present study; five of them identifying an external conflict, while two focus on a predominantly internal conflict. In interview analysis, conflict is viewed similarly as a condition, or problematic situation, experienced by the participant calling for action (Mishler, 1992).

Money and other financial matters related to teaching or not teaching are noted by six of the seven as important factors in their decisions not to teach, but only in *Q*'s and *A*'s situations is money, and the lack of it, identified by the participant as the central conflict in her story. *Q* is very vigorous in describing money as the reason she does not teach. When asked why she is working in a non-teaching occupation, Q replies with considerable force:

> Financial. I was about half way through my third year of university. My parents were divorcing, so I needed to be out the house because they were selling the

house. At that point I had to get student loans for the last 2 years to pay for schooling and all that stuff. I was working full time, trying to make sure that my student loans were as small as humanly possible. And they are not very much now considering what other people have. But coming out of that, still living on my own, still with debt, I had to find something that would be stable, and safe for me, and all that kind of stuff. And this was actually a job that a friend of mine held before. She was going back to school. So it was kind of a guaranteed position. Came in, did the interview and they pretty much gave me the job. I decided that I definitely wanted to do this, and that I promised a year, and my plan was that it would take me about 2 years to get me on my feet. It really hasn't worked out. I am definitely not on my feet financially. I have downsized my house. My rent is less. Still just kind of making do. I was hoping that by this point I would have money saved. That hasn't happened.

[*asked about substitute teaching, Q replies*:] It would mean that I would have to have at least one other part time job. Even that would be questionable as to whether I would make it through. If I didn't get any teaching in a month, which is possible, whether or not that part time job would get me money, and then it would also mean going back to working weekends and nights and I did that for five and a half years. I was really not looking forward to that

Although many life changing events had been taking place for *Q*, she identified money first and foremost as the reason she was not working as a teacher. Her parents' divorce, having to move into other accommodation, twice, and having to find a job to pay

for school, are cited as background to the real problem, which was that she needed money.

Q is qualified to teach music and French. She is well aware that she could find a job as a teacher if she were willing to move away from _____:

> But I had to make the choice, either teaching and not living in _____, or living in _____ and not teaching. Right now, because my parents are divorcing, I wanted to be here for them. My family is all here. My life is all here. I know that it was my choice to stay here. I know if I moved to the interior somewhere I could definitely get a job teaching tomorrow if I wanted to. I need to stay near home for me right now. So that meant a choice in not teaching, because I can't substitute right now. I am not financially in a place to do that.

Financial constraints certainly constitute a central complication in *Q*'s story, but the additional factor surrounding her unwillingness, for very legitimate personal reasons, to move to another city adds an important second dimension, which forces the reader to consider that a stronger more compelling conflict exists. *Q*'s financial hardship can be seen as a result of the conflict rather than the conflict itself. Narrative evidence suggests that *Q*'s financial situation is directly related to her family situation. Because of her parents' marital breakdown, she is unable to consider taking employment in another community, and unable to consider the unstable remunerative nature of substitute teaching in her home community.

A's story also identifies the lack of money as the principal reason that she took up a non-teaching career, and as with *Q*'s, the conflict is more complex than simply a question of money and the lack of it. Both *A* and *Q* grew up in the city of _____, attended

the University of _____, and both have decided that moving away from the city for a teaching job was not an option they were willing to consider.

> Well I went… basically because it was an avenue to have a job, because while getting my education degree at _____, when I first started there, they said it was perfect timing, 'everyone is retiring, you are going to have a job right out of university.' And then by fifth year, it was really discouraging. They were telling us that we were never going to get a job. 'If you want a job you have to move up to the middle of nowhere, up to the North Pole.' So it was really discouraging. You would go to the workshops, the Pro-D workshops and things like that. And everyone would tell you that if you are looking for a job, it isn't going to happen. It was very depressing. So basically once I got out of university, I didn't want to sit on the sub-list when they are telling me, if you even get on the sub-list, you might be working one or two days a week, at the most. Maybe, probably one or two days a month. So it was very discouraging. I didn't want to go through all that effort. They were telling us you need to volunteer…. I had just done five years of university, I want a job, I want to start making some money back.

With *A*, the conflict began while she was still in university. And while the financial factor is at the root of her employment decision, the conflict again appears to be much more complicated. She describes the situation she found herself in during the fourth and fifth years of her program. After having been told at enrollment that she and her cohort were at the cusp of a bright new future for teacher education graduates, where the jobs would be there for the asking, a few years later the message changed.

> In fifth year mostly; fourth year a little bit. They were just telling us, 'you are all getting your teaching degrees. You are going to have the degree, but if you want to teach, you are basically going to have to move into the middle of nowhere.' And all my friends are here, my family is here, I don't want to move up to the middle of nowhere to get a job, even though they would try and entice you, perks for going up north. It wasn't for me. I wanted to stay in the city....
>
> It started off with 'yes, you are going to get jobs. Perfect timing.' Third year, when they wanted us into the program, and they wanted us to become happy and whatever else. Then as soon as you are in and past that point of no return,- basically they start showing you the other side of it.

A wanted to stay in the city, and in order to stay in the city she had to consider taking a job that was not a teaching position. Like *Q*, *A* felt that working as a substitute teacher was not a viable option, although for a slightly different reason. By the end of her program *A* had become quite disillusioned with the profession because of what she considered less than admirable practices, and could not see herself doing the things she felt she had to do in order to become a substitute teacher.

> because it is hard to get on the sub-list and the only way to get on the sub-list right now is if you know the superintendent, or if your parents have the right connections.... It brought out a lot of confrontation and suddenly your best friend in education who is taking it all very seriously becomes someone, who instead of treating you like a friend; they are treating you like the enemy. They want that job and you want that job. Suddenly, it is like 'I am going to get that job, I don't care how I am going to get it, I am going to lie cheat and steal basically to get it.' And

> I know people who did lie, and they are on the sub-list now. I didn't even try. I couldn't do that. I couldn't lie and go around to all the teachers and basically bribe my way onto the sub-list. I am not having any part of it. That is not who I am as a person. So I am just going to take a step back. If that means I am not going to teach, so be it. Basically I am not going to compromise my morals and values to get on to a sub-list, or to get a job. And if you want to that is fine, then you are not the person that I thought you were.

Although both *A* and *Q* identify the financial instability of trying to survive in the city of _____ while working as a substitute teacher as the source of their decisions not to enter the profession, their stories indicate that there were indeed other more complex issues at play that provided the complication leading to these decisions.

M has a story somewhat different from that of the other participants in this study. She came to the profession later in life, graduating from teacher education at the age of 32 after working in the health care fielda. Although she never actually held a fulltime continuing teaching contract, *M* nevertheless tried to stick with the profession through several years of under and unemployment, of substitute teaching and temporary assignments, until finally she could not cope with her employment situation and left the profession. The conflict in *M*'s case emerged as she became increasingly unable to justify her unstable employment situation with her family life. When asked about any persons who might have actively discouraged her from continuing in the profession, *M* immediately replied: "My husband. My husband."

> It was really more in a discussion form. And it was not so much that he said that you can't teach, versus… 'why would you continue, given that it is time

> consuming, you don't have enough time or energy to do these other things you/we want to do, there are some family things that need to be taken care of, why don't you find something that is easier on you and all of these things can be done?' And the interesting part of this is, were we to have that same discussion now, which is 5 years later, quite possibly we would have made a different decision.... At the time, I wasn't supported in sitting on a sub-list, having a very vague income, while I got the seniority to maybe get into a grade that I was really more passionate about.... So had there been more support for that, then possibly I would have felt that I could have sat on a sub-list. Certainly because I got married and my husband's job was here, I wasn't going to go out of town. We talked about that. In a sense I am not sure how routine my story is, and I have often thought perhaps I should have gone for a couple of years, got the experience and come back in.

M eventually left the profession. She tried substitute teaching for a period of time, took temporary jobs in local independent schools, but could not find the break she needed to continue. Perhaps because she came to teaching as a second career, *M* stuck with it for much longer than the other participants before finally giving it up. The conflict in *M*'s narrative comes from a family circumstance based on her employment situation.

F and *L* relate similar complications in their respective narratives that lead them toward making the decision to teach or to not teach. Both completed their teacher education programs and began to consider the profession. *F*, like *Q* and *A*, discovered that in order to obtain a teaching position she would have to relocate away from her hometown. Unlike *Q* and *A*, she decided to give it a try.

> So I go to University, I worked really hard. Really hard. So for me to come from a 'C' level student to 'A' student, 'B+' at university was a huge thing. Then I graduate, I was very, very proud of how well I did. I tried to get a teaching job here in _____; forget it. Even on the island; forget it. So I applied throughout the whole province and I got offered two positions, one on this little island that you could fly to from _____, and [a community in northern British Columbia]. The determining factor for me was [the community in northern British Columbia] had a curling rink and I curl. I lived with my boyfriend at the time. He was working here, so I went up to [northern British Columbia] for the year. I went to school, I was going to teach. I went to [northern British Columbia]. I taught on the Indian reserve up there, and I taught at tribal school. Tribal school was one permanent building and two portables at the time. I taught a kindergarten, pre-school program. I loved it. It was hard. My boyfriend was here, so I spent about $200 on phone calls a month, did my curling; that was my sanity. But I worked, morning, noon and night, all the time. No family responsibility. You are young, so what if you went in on Saturday and Sunday, or if I worked until six o'clock at night. That doesn't matter. Nobody is at home. So that was easier. The end of the year came and I just thought, my heart was here, with my boyfriend, we got married a year later. So I decided to move back here. And I was going to substitute teach and wait my time out.

After one year of teaching *F* left northern British Columbia, returned to _____ to be with her boyfriend, and began substitute teaching. Unfortunately, the instability of substitute teaching now became a factor in the family's financial situation.

> Student loans were all due, money, the car payment, everything was ramping up. Plus we were getting married. My husband said, 'why don't you come and work for the computer company. They need someone to answer phones…. I agreed. 'For one year to pay the bills and then I am going back to teaching, because that is what I went to school for. I have got to do what I went to school for'. Of course, now that I am in my forties, I realize that bills are never paid, so there is no waiting until the bills are paid. There is always another one. So I started working on the computer help desk and it is kind of like teaching. At first I would just take messages and give them out to techs. And then I got a little bit better and helping. It was kind of learn on the job. And I did that for 12 years.

F's personal relationship prior to leaving for [northern British Columbia], and during her time there, forms the conflict in her story. Again, the financial complication is a result of her decision to live in _____, based on the conflict that provided the impetus to move back to the city and an uncertain financial future.

L completed her teacher education program with every intention of entering the profession. From an early age she felt drawn to become a teacher, and never really considered that she would not be one. Once she graduated however, circumstances dictated that teaching might have to be put on hold for awhile.

> It was nothing that I pursued. How it ended up was school had finished for the year. It was June of 1995, which was just after I graduated. A friend mentioned that she had some temporary work, working at the help desk. So I went to work. And I didn't go back to teaching…. this opportunity became available to me. It turns out that I was also 5 or 6 months pregnant, expecting my first child, due in

> November. I wasn't going to go back to teaching in September and this job worked for me because I could sit at my desk and didn't have to move around. I had my son and I considered whether I would go back working for the government, the help desk, or go into teaching. At that point in time, my options were subbing, and with a young baby it just wasn't something that I wanted to have to deal with, in terms of being called at the last minute, and having to find day care, and that sort of thing. I wasn't willing to put my financial matters, and trying to obtain some job stability on hold for the next five to seven years while I subbed to try and secure permanent employment. I was starting a family. I didn't want to have to worry about finances and no knowing how much money I was going to make, because I needed to start saving and looking to buy a home. So at that point in time, it was primarily a job security and/or financial decision. That does continue to be part of the reason why I am not going into teaching. Moreover, I didn't feel that the current working conditions, which includes the whole way the hiring process works, really was an environment that I wanted to be in, given this other work environment that I am, and was in.

Finding herself pregnant, and being offered an opportunity to work at a computer help desk for the financial stability that substitute teaching could not provide, *L* made the decision that would change her career focus over the next ten years. Again, while this action was based on the stability that fulltime work could provide versus the uncertainty of substitute teaching, *L*'s story uncovers a more complex complication presaging the financial one. In addition, although *L* chose to work at the help desk because of her need

for a steady income, her decision not to return to teaching once her child was older was made easier by what she experienced in her teacher education program.

> You know talking to different people who had been on the sub list, there is quite a number of people who have been on the sub list for four or five, or six years. And not only that, people in permanent positions, who every June get, and still get, their layoff notices. That adds a certain amount of stress, which when you are raising a family, you don't need. For myself, when I was doing my practicum and when I finished my practicum there was an opportunity for me to take over the class that I had just completed my practicum in, because my sponsoring teacher was also expecting a child and due to go off on maternity. But because of the hiring rules and everything else, I didn't have any opportunity to get that position. For me, it was one of those things that when I looked at it, I am qualified, I am probably the best person for the job because I have been with these kids for a number of months. My practicum, my sponsor teacher would like me to take over the class because of the continuity as well as the relationship that we had had. But because of the process, or the union regulations for hiring I didn't even have an opportunity to apply. For me, I looked at that and thought, 'oops, that didn't seem right.' Here I was, somebody who was eager, yes I didn't have a whole lot of experience, but there was somebody who had confidence in me. Even from the kids' perspective I could provide some continuity for the kids as well as the parents. There was no opportunity. I don't know what more to say.

L goes on to explain that her teacher education program also instilled in her a love of education that, ironically, assisted in turning her away from working in the system.

> *[about being a teacher]* I don't know that I initially thought about it at the time, but being somebody that promotes the importance of education within the community, within society. Going to university and some of the courses that I took, education models in different countries, I don't feel that we value our education in a lot of regards. To be honest… but that is one of the reasons why I made my decision not to continue or pursue teaching.
>
> I very much appreciate that teaching is a lot of work and I don't think until anybody has had that opportunity to be in a classroom, with a number of students in a class that you understand how much work it is, and the responsibility. For instance, with my job I do end up putting in a lot of extra hours, overtime and that sort of thing, but for me quite often it is a choice. It is not something that I have to do. Whereas when you have 22, 23 smiling faces waiting for you the next morning, you can't not do that work the night before, or the prep, because there are people expecting you. And if you are not prepared then you create your own problems as well…. As a new teacher, a new mom, I didn't really feel that teaching would also give me the work/life balance that I needed.

The pressure *L* felt as a new parent needing a steady income provided the conflict forcing an action. Once away from teaching, *L* was able to look at the profession from a distance and make the decision to continue with her non-teaching occupation. Similarly *Y*, under vastly different circumstances, took a non-teaching job with a view to eventually returning to teaching, but found that teaching was now not something she wanted to continue with.

Y's story, along with *K*'s story, contains a conflict that originates internally. Neither *Y* nor *K* encountered an outside force, such as pregnancy, a relationship with a significant other person, or unemployment, that provided a complication over which a decision must have been made. The story of *Y*'s occupational journey appears to be marked by indecision and non-commitment. *Y* did not decide to enter a teacher education program until she had already completed an undergraduate degree. That is not to say that a career in teaching was not on her mind while growing up, simply that teaching was only a minor choice in a number of possible career options for her. Indeed, she may have considered teaching more seriously as a youth, but she actively dissuaded herself from it because her father had been a teacher and she did not want to do what her father had done.

> School teaching? One reason why I didn't want to do it was because my dad had been a teacher and I didn't want to do what my dad did. I think that probably was the biggest reason why it wasn't in the foreground of my mind, was just because I didn't want to do the same thing my dad did. We are too much alike and we butt heads. So I just didn't want to do it. I think that is probably why it wasn't 'I want to be a teacher' from when I was a kid....
>
> I guess my dad always, whenever he said 'what do you think you are going to be doing' and I would go off on, 'I'm going to be a marine biologist, I want to be a forensic scientist, I don't know' and I remember him always saying, 'I thought you would be a teacher.' Which of course probably made me not want to be a teacher.

She did eventually decide that she wanted to be a teacher and enrolled in a teacher education program at her Ontario university. It was there that she discovered that she had been talking herself out of pursuing a teaching career. "Teaching never was a definite yes until I actually put my application together, and I actually had to think of the letter that I was going to write and why I wanted to be a teacher. Then it became real to me, that it would be something that I would like to do."

The conflict in *Y*'s story however, is largely internal. She completed her teacher education program, and as a teacher of French, immediately got a job at a school in her hometown. During her first year of teaching she heard about, and applied for a master's program through distance education at Athabasca University. Once accepted into the program, *Y* quit her teaching job to concentrate on her studies.

> Well when I was teaching, I taught for one semester and then I ended up getting accepted into my Masters Degree. I loved teaching. I really enjoyed it. It was really hard because the school that I was in had no program leader for French and I was teaching French. So we had no books or anything. It was difficult, but I really enjoyed being in front of the classroom, but when I got into my Masters Degree, and I really wasn't expecting to, I just figured I would put my application together so they would know my name and I would get in years later, because it was a pretty competitive program. And then I got accepted. One of my friends who had started in the program the year before said that I wouldn't be able to do both at the same time, because it was so rigorous that I wouldn't have time to do my homework for the course and be able to prepare my lessons and correct student work. So I decided to quit.

Unlike the complications faced by *Q*, *A*, *F*, *M*, and *L* – life circumstances contriving to force a decision to teach or not – *Y*'s conflict can be traced to her career indecision. As she herself puts it: "I still don't think I know what I want to be when I grow up." The possibilities she encountered as she made her way from student to teacher to student again, permitted her to produce the conflict in her story. This pattern is reinforced as she recalls her thoughts about career options as a child and adolescent.

> I wanted to be everything. Every day it seemed to change. I wanted to be a marine biologist. I didn't think I ever wanted to be a teacher. Anything that was on the news. You know, you would watch a TV show and there was a firefighter. I wanted to be a firefighter. My interests were really varied. I still don't think I know what I want to be when I grow up. I guess a teacher was always in the background. I could be this, or a teacher. It was always like an afterthought and when I graduated university I got accepted and thought that is what I would do.

Once at university this indecision continued. *Y* found herself moving from one idea to the next, each one forcing another action that she had not planned for.

> I knew that I was going to go to university, I just wasn't sure of what I was going to take. I was going to go into physiotherapy at ____ University. I went for the open house and I hated it. And then I was 'what do I do now.' So I ended up just going to _____. I was initially going to go into Kinesiology, so then I could eventually go over to physio again. But I ended up not liking the department head for Kin., so I took health promotion and decided that, I guess that is where the teacher part came in again, because I wanted to be a health promoter in the school. So I went that route into health promotion. But again, it seemed like

> almost every year, I was thinking of another program, and thinking 'well maybe I'll go into this, maybe I'll switch over into that. Maybe I'll do massage therapy.' Teaching never was a definite yes until I actually put my application together, and I actually had to think of the letter that I was going to write and why I wanted to be a teacher. Then it became real to me, that it would be something that I would like to do.

In much of her story *Y* talks about 'ending up' in a program, job or other situation. Her use of this language suggests an internal conflict characterized by uncertainty on the one hand, and a confidence that things would work out right, on the other.

K, like *Y,* did not have an external force creating a conflict demanding an action. *K* grew up wanting to be a teacher, went to university, completed a degree, and then enrolled in and completed a teacher education program. While she was at university however, whatever drew *K* toward becoming a teacher seems to have disappeared. The plethora of choices she was faced with created an internal conflict whereby *K* was forced to make a decision about a career change before she had even completed preparing for the first one. She had never considered a career other than teaching, so when another interesting field arose, she was intrigued enough to follow-up. When asked why she wanted to be a teacher when she was younger, *K* replied, "it was more like I hadn't experienced anything else that really struck me. People would say 'you could be a doctor, you could be a lawyer.' Any number of things. And they just never appealed to me. I can't put my finger on why." She enrolled in university but did not immediately move into teacher education as she had once intended, instead taking physical education and science.

> …but it just goes to show you how things change. I had an idea of going to the University of Toronto and becoming a teacher or a journalist. I got to high school and realized that I didn't like English as much as I thought. I like science, 'I am going to go and I am going to be in science.' I like Phys Ed, 'so I am going to be in Phys Ed.' So I didn't go into a teaching stream right away. I still had another path before doing the whole teaching thing. I thought of it more as an opportunity to not be so quickly put into that role in case there were other things that cropped up that I hadn't really thought of before. I think that is the thing. I hadn't thought of anything else that I really wanted to do and I guess that gave me an opportunity to look at that and see if there was anything else that I wanted to do. I went into a Bachelor of Science and a Bachelor of Phys Ed program. So I got two degrees before I went to do my one year Bachelor of Education.

K notes that she had never thought of another career path other than teaching and that by not entering teacher education right away she could expose herself to more subject areas and be able to make a more informed career decision. When it came time for *K* to start her teacher education year, she had already lost her passion for the profession.

> I applied in November of my fourth year for the following year. At the time it was kind of a backup to be honest. That summer before I found out about genetic counseling and I thought that was something that I might like to pursue. But I knew that I didn't have the training, the volunteer experience needed to apply for the following year. So instead I decided to do the teachers college in the meantime to gain more experience in another realm and if genetic counseling

> doesn't work out, well I have always wanted to be a teacher anyway. So I have that. It was something that I definitely wanted to do but it was also kind of like a back up at the time to allow me to do other things in the meantime, to apply to another program.

The complicating situation arose when *K* discovered an alternative to the path she had put herself on many years before. Toward the end of her fourth year, as she was casually speaking to a friend who suggested she might be interested in a job in which he was doing a work-study, she encountered her conflict.

> He said 'Oh I am doing this work study job that might interest you. It is genetic counseling?' I asked him what it was, and he told me all about it. It is interacting with people, and it is with genetics. I said, 'that sounds really appealing to me. I've already applied to teachers college, but I could do teachers college and then try and apply for this.' So that is how I really found out about it. It was pretty random. I never heard about it before. Just talking to this friend of mine.

Eventually she would consider teacher education simply backup just in case her new interest in genetic counselling did not work out, rather than her lifelong dream.

Turning point

The conflicts, or problematic situations illustrated above compel the participant involved to make a decision about entering or leaving the teaching profession, and act on it. Before a decision becomes imminent however, a *turning point* must be reached. Riessman (2001) describes the turning point as that moment "when the narrator signifies a radical shift in the expected course of a life" (p.701). In each of the stories related by the participants in the present study, the turning point is where a new occupational or

career related direction is followed that was not anticipated or predicted by the path toward teacher education that they had taken (Mishler, 1999).

Like the conflicts the participants recollected, the turning points in each of their stories reflect the similar perceptions several of them had about the cause of the conflict. Again, *Q* and *A* reach the turning point directly related to their respective need to have a job to pay off student loans and other financial commitments, but not involving relocation.

For *Q*, the turning point in her story came after she had completed her program and found herself unable to consider moving away to find a teaching job. "But coming out of that, still living on my own, still with debt, I had to find something that would be stable, and safe for me, and all that kind of stuff." Her parents' marital breakdown was the primary influence in producing the conflict she felt, but the actual turning point is the moment she says to herself that she will leave teaching. This came when she was told about a receptionist job that a friend was leaving to return to school:

> And this was actually a job that a friend of mine held before. She was going back to school. So it was kind of a guaranteed position. Come in, did the interview and they pretty much gave me the job. I decided that I definitely wanted to do this, and that I promised a year, and my plan was that it would take me about two years to get me on my feet.

Up until that point *Q* did not think she would be anything but a teacher. Following that point she became "a receptionist at an accounting firm. I hate every moment of it."

A reached her turning point at the end of her teacher education program. Although by the time she was in fifth year she had become quite discouraged with the employment prospects, and the lengths some of her cohort went to land substitute teaching assignments, she had not considered another career aside from teaching. Her parents pointed to an advertisement in the newspaper for a job she might be interested in in order to make a bit of money.

> They were telling us that you are going to volunteer in the schools and give a lot of free labour basically so that you can get on the sub-list. I was thinking that I didn't want to do that. I had just done 5 years of university, I want a job. I want to start making some money back. So when I saw that the call centre was opening, my parents, 'nudge, nudge, this might be a good opportunity to work your way up, get some good experience. And you never know, you can always go back to teaching.'

Until she saw the advertisement for the job in the call centre, *A* was still in conflict about what she would do with herself. Perhaps the fact that it was endorsed by her parents, "nudge, nudge, this might be a good opportunity," gave her disheartenment about the profession the legitimacy she had been looking for. She took the job.

L, when she was "five or six months pregnant" reached a turning point when a friend mentioned a temporary job she could take on, since she was not going to be teaching the next year due to the new baby. "So I went to work. And I didn't go back to teaching." While the job was intended to be a temporary stop-gap, "at that point in time, it was primarily a job security and/or financial decision," it nevertheless set in motion the change in life course that describes *L*'s story up to the present. Before deciding to take

the temporary help desk job, she did not know she was not going to become a teacher. After she took it, she never taught again.

The turning point in *L*'s story however, is not simply the decision to take the help desk job; it is being five or six months pregnant and taking the help desk job. She intended to go back to teaching after the birth of her child. Her story needs the pregnancy in order to prompt the change in career; much like *A* needed her parents to suggest the call centre job in order for her to make her life change.

F completed her teacher education program, and having spent all the time, money and other resources to do so, was intent on being a teacher. "I was very, very proud of how well I did." In her story she talks about being steadfast that she went to school to become a teacher so that is what she was going to do. Not being successful in acquiring a teaching job in her hometown she applied throughout whole province and took a job in [northern British Columbia]. The complicating factor in the story arises with the fact that while she is going to teach in [northern British Columbia], her boyfriend is going to stay in _____. *K* spent one school year [in northern British Columbia] and returned to _____. "So I decided to move back here. And I was going to substitute teach and wait my time out." She substitute taught for half a school year, from September until February, and found that the car payments needed to be paid, the student loans needed to be paid, and the money for them was not to be had from substitute teaching. The turning point came when her husband suggested that she come to work at the computer company he was working for, "They need someone to answer phones."

Although still adamant that she is going to be a teacher, *F* took the job. "For one year to pay the bills and then I am going back to teaching, because that is what I went to

school for. I have got to do what I went to school for." She could not have foreseen before this point that she would not return to teaching and would remain in the job for twelve years.

M, alone among the participants in the present study, spent a great deal of time pursuing her aspiration to be a teacher. She spent many years in temporary teaching assignments, substitute teaching, and part-time teacher's aide jobs. The turning point in *M*'s story occurs in discussing her employment status with her husband, whom she had recently married, and needing to bring in an income "to start paying off my student loans and to also be a contributing member of the family that I was joining.... At the time, I wasn't supported in sitting on a sub-list, having a very vague income, while I got the seniority to maybe get into a grade that I was really more passionate about."

M began actively pursuing jobs other than teaching: "What happened for me is that although I got on the sub-list, I ended up with other jobs because you really don't start getting called until, say, October/November, maybe later."

K and *Y* reached their turning points in roughly the same way. *K* discovered through a friend a field of study, and a possible career, that she had never heard of before. Intrigued, she applied to a graduate program and was accepted. Her turning point occurred at the time she applied for and was accepted into the program. Up t that point she was still going to be a teacher. Her life course was proceeding toward the goal of first completing teacher education, then entering the profession. When she heard about genetic counselling she was interested, but was still intent on entering teachers' college. Her life course changed when she actually took the step to apply to the University of BC and was accepted.

> I think it was because I am definitely the type of person who wants to push the envelope for myself. I really did enjoy my practicum and placements in education last year and teaching Phys Ed and Biology, but I really felt that unless I could give myself a chance at this other career path, that I might not feel that I had given it my all. It was something that I was really interested in. I like genetics. I really liked that fact that it's a profession interacting with people, and it was on the cutting edge. You always gotta learn new information; you had to keep yourself up to date.

Likewise, *Y* reached a turning point in her career path after having applied for and being accepted in a graduate program at Athabasca University. She had a friend who was in the program who told her that it would be very difficult to continue teaching and do well in the program at same time.

> One of my friends who had started in the program the year before said that I wouldn't be able to do both at the same time, because it was so rigorous that I wouldn't have time to do my homework for the course and be able to prepare my lessons and correct student work. So I decided to quit.

Y had spent less than one school year in the profession. She did not expect that she would leave it so soon, however. Indeed, she applied to the program at Athabasca, so it must be said that she was thinking about a career other than teaching, but she did not anticipate her life course would change so drastically so rapidly. "…when I got into my masters degree, and I really wasn't expecting to, I just figured I would put my application together so they would know my name and I would get in years later, because it was a pretty competitive program. And then I got accepted."

Resolution

Although there are those researchers who do not differentiate between *resolution* and *conclusion* while analyzing narrative accounts (Riessman, 2001), it was more useful to the present study to understand the ways in which participants interpreted the closure of the conflict they had encountered (*resolution*), and how they felt about their present situation and its significance and meaning in their lives (*conclusion*). If the turning point in a participant's story can be defined as the point at which a radical departure in her life course is identified, the resolution is the action she took in following up that decision. In some of the stories recounted above, these decisions are still being resolved, as in the case of *Q* who hates her present job and would like to enter the teaching profession, but does not see how she will be able to do it. In others, such as that of *F*, the resolution is firm, as suggested by the firm statement, "I won't be going back and I know that clearly."

Q's resolution was far from complete. She was still troubled by her situation, and although she had encountered an on-going financial downturn, she had not passively accepted that she would not enter the profession. In her story she mentioned that she would have hoped that by two years after graduation from her program working in her present job, she would have some money saved, but that had not been the case at the time of the interview. Although she realized she was not likely to enter the profession if she remained in her hometown of _____, she still thought of being a teacher:

> If it wasn't for financial reasons I would TOC [Teach-On-Call, a local term for substitute teaching] even if it meant three or four times a month. Because I would enjoy it so much. Even TOCing I think would be fun for me, because it is going into a classroom and being with students.... This year working as a receptionist

> definitely makes me realize how important it is to do what you want to do. And be where you want to be. Everyday that I go in as the receptionist is every single day it gets a little bit worse and a little bit harder. Every time I talk to an adult who is a complete idiot, I go, 'I really just want to talk to kids after this.'

Q's story's resolution is illustrated in her assertion "But I had to make the choice, either teaching and not living in _____, or living in _____ and not teaching."

The resolution in *A*'s story occurred as she took the advertised job at the call centre and stayed for two and a half years after which she took another job at the daycare facility. Through her insistence that, "it was a means to an end… a means to get some money, basically work my way up the corporate ladder, get some experience so that if this teaching thing didn't work out… I would have something," the story's resolution is revealed. This is the action that follows the turning point of her parents telling her that the job is available and might be worth pursuing.

Like *F*, who was now firm in her conviction that she would never enter the classroom again, *L* related her story's resolution as one of a decision made out of necessity that evolved into a permanent commitment to a life outside teaching. She was pregnant, a friend offered her a job, and she took it. Although in her story she does say she would like to teach, she is able to rationalize her current situation and feels confident that in her present job she does exactly that anyway, albeit with adults, and does not now need to be in a classroom to feel like a teacher: "I would say that quite honestly in my current job, I get to use teaching or coaching everyday. Mind you it is with adults, but I don't feel that my training and everything was all for naught."

F, in her story, moved from [northern British Columbia] back to _____ and her life took a course she never thought about before: "I started working on the computer help desk, and it is kind of like teaching. At first I would just take messages and give them out to techs. And then I got a little bit better and helping. It was kind of learn on the job. And I did that for 12 years." Presently, as illustrated above, she has no intention of returning to the classroom.

The two participants currently enrolled in Graduate studies, *Y* and *K*, resolve their stories surprisingly decisively. Both reached a turning point and, in their narratives at least, followed-up on their decisions immediately and without turmoil. *Y* recounted being told by her friend that it would be impossible to teach and attend graduate school at the same time: "So I decided to quit. I ended up working at the local university in the International Department." K, in her story simply says, "I graduated from my undergrad in 2004, and then I graduated from education in 2005. I didn't take any time off. I came straight here after being in education." This is not to suggest that the decisions *K* and *Y* made to move away from teaching were easy to make or did not involve internal conflict or anxiety, but merely to point out that in their respective narratives these resolutions appear without the same kind of upheaval as they do in those of the other five participants.

M, in accordance with the complexity of her story in relation to the other participants also narrated a complex and complicated resolution. As pointed out above, *M* did not exit the teaching profession completely until she had spent several years in under-employment, temporary employment, and unemployment in the profession. By the time she was making the decision to leave the profession altogether she was working in a

temporary job in an independent school and found her self stuck: "I was limited in terms of how many jobs I could apply for. I could only apply for jobs within my school. I couldn't apply for jobs with other schools in that district. So that was a huge factor." Then, when personal and family concerns brought her decision to leave, or change her employment status, to the forefront again, she was again stuck: "There was some family illness that we had and I just wanted more time. Again, it is a time consuming job and it seemed a good time to make that change to stop teaching for a while.... I had asked to actually go part time, and I wasn't able to go part time within where I was." *M* left her job and put herself on the public school district's substitute teacher list, but because the substitute teaching assignments were so infrequent she found herself gravitating to other jobs as they arose, and eventually faded out of teaching.

Narrative conclusions

In the *conclusions* of their narratives all the participants linked their stories back to their present conditions. The relevance of the remembrance, and telling it to another person, to the participant's present context brings her story full circle and highlights the significance of her experience to the course of her life. Among the richest locations for noteworthy data in the present study were these conclusions. Participants provided rich paradigmatic, symbolic and content data by revealing their feelings about their experiences in and out of teaching, about their decisions to leave the profession, and their opinions on the teaching profession and on teacher education and preparation.

Perhaps the participant with the most strongly presented conclusion to her story was *F*, who had much to say about how her experiences have influenced her present. She

concludes "But I am done. I won't be gong back to teaching in schools," but she definitely feels like a teacher:

> I have always taught, ever since I have been little, it was always part of who I am. I think that is exactly right. I think it is part of who I am.... It is something that I have always wanted to be. I never really seriously in my whole life ever visualized any other career.... I really do have a natural gift of working with kids. I have a good gift of being able to explain things, in an easy manner to understand. If you look at the job I am in now, I am still in a teaching job.

She uses the metaphor of 'gift' to describe teaching, and is very passionate about the need to use this gift, although it need not be in a school setting. F is able to use her gift in her present job as well as in non-school settings such as youth groups and other activities involving her children:

> You know what? I truly do believe that you do have a calling. The idea of gift is also important. I believe we do have these gifts and these callings. But I do not believe that if I have this teaching gift, that because I feel that I have this gift and calling, I don't have to do it in the school system. I think that when I first came out of the school system, out of high school, I felt the only place to do that gift, or have that calling is in a school. Now I recognize that it is not. It can be anywhere.... The classroom is everywhere.

F is firm in her decision to continue a life outside the profession: "Because I am good with kids and as an adult now in my forties I do believe I have a gift for teaching and I still have that gift. That gift hasn't gone anywhere. I am just using it in other

ways…. I don't want to teach in the classroom. I'll still continue teaching and working with kids."

She also has strong feelings about life in the profession. According to *F* teaching is a profession where one is judged by other people more than in other professions: "Sometimes teachers aren't viewed as people by other people." The amount of judging of teachers by parents, of teachers by other teachers, and of children by teachers is more than she can tolerate:

> I can't live up to that standard for parents, but teachers also set other standards on other teachers and I know that they are all 'oh, look at her teaching like that. Or she is not doing that. Oh look at her. I wouldn't have done it like that.' So there is a lot of judgment. I feel that. I don't need that. I have worked in the real world, it is not like that. It is not like that…. in teaching, it is almost like you can't fail. And parents do that. As a teacher you can't fail, because you are going to fail their kid.

The expectations on one's time outside of school hours as well as the time spent preparing lessons and other activities play a big part in *F*'s feelings about the profession:

> Even though I was only working part time I felt like I was working full time. There was always report cards and other things like parent-teacher nights, so you had to give up evenings to be at school. I think having been in the business world, where if you want my time outside of those seven hours that I work, you are paying me. And schools? forget it. I have got to go in and do the fun fair and I have got to go in and do this, and I am not paid for it…. I thought teaching would put me more on the same schedule as my family and that it would work. I wanted

> to do a good job, I wanted to be a good teacher and I wanted the kids to learn. And to do that, during 8:30 to 3:15, there is no time for prep work or anything in there. So it has got to be done outside that time. Well that impacts my family and my own personal time.
>
> … all these young teachers there, just out of university and they are putting everything in. Everything! I think that is good and I wouldn't mind you being my kid's teacher, but what about you! I have a friend that is a teacher at _____. He had to get an unlisted phone number he would have parents phone him at ten, eleven at night. That is past the boundaries. I am too old for that.

F concludes that for her the rewards of teaching in the school system are simply no match to the costs. "I don't want to be there. I have been somewhere else where you can be much more appreciated. The finances are a reality. For the amount teachers do, they are not paid enough. There is no way they are paid enough. For the amount of emotional, social and physical that you have to put up with and be a part of - forget it. It is not worth mine, or my family's health."

L concludes her story with many similar opinions on the state of the profession as does *F*. She, like *F*, feels that teachers are not compensated adequately for the jobs they do, and that the working conditions in the profession are not healthy for individuals and their families.

> I very much appreciate that teaching is a lot of work and I don't think until anybody has had that opportunity to be in a classroom, with a number of students in a class that you understand how much work it is, and the responsibility…. when you have twenty two, twenty three smiling faces waiting for you the next

> morning, you can't not do that work the night before, or the prep, because there [are] people expecting you. And if you are not prepared then you create your own problems as well. There is that whole work perspective as well. Trying to have that work/life balance. As a new teacher, a new mom, I didn't really feel that teaching would also give me the work/life balance that I needed.

An unpleasant experience with the hiring practices of the public school system had a significant impact on *L*'s feelings about the profession at a vulnerable time during her teacher education program:

> I didn't feel that the current working conditions, which includes the whole way the hiring process works, really was an environment that I wanted to be in… when I finished my practicum there was an opportunity for me to take over the class that I had just completed my practicum in because my sponsoring teacher was… due to go off on maternity. But because of the hiring rules and everything else, I didn't have any opportunity to get that position…. when I looked at it, I am qualified; I am probably the best person for the job because I have been with these kids for a number of months…. my sponsor teacher would like me to take over the class because of the continuity as well as the relationship that we had had. But because of the process… I didn't even have an opportunity to apply. For me, I looked at that and thought, 'oops, that didn't seem right.'

L concludes that although she still feels like a teacher and might like to teach again some day, two factors keep her from considering a return to the classroom, poor working conditions and inadequate financial compensation. "I think the government and society has expected teachers to continue to take on more and more and more

responsibility, with no recognition, either financial or recognition in general. That is really unfortunate. It is unfortunate that the teaching profession is really undervalued. I know it is wrong."

Another participant who concludes with very strong feelings about hiring practices in the teaching profession is *A*. As a youth and as a student *A* had a much idealized view of the teaching profession. She always knew she wanted to be a teacher, but "I didn't really think about the part of getting an actual job." She relates her story as someone carrying a great deal of emotion about having been lied to. The complicating factor in her story arrives as a result of having had the message in teacher education changed from one of confidence that there would be a job for her upon graduation, to one of discouragement and no chance of teaching work.

The unexpected politics within the profession were particularly repugnant to *A*. Her disillusionment began with those within the profession behaving in ways she found unprofessional with regard to practicum evaluations.

> They were just telling us that if you want to get on the sub-list, there are the requirements. Basically on your final practicum it has to say that you are excellent. You have to have the word 'excellent' in there. On your practicum summary it has to say you are an 'excellent', or whatever, the word 'excellent' has to be in there. If you don't have that word there is no way you are going to make it on the sub-list. So that put a lot of pressure. All of a sudden we are thinking 'how can we get that word? How can we get them to write the word?' And I have friends, who once we had our final practicum write-ups done, they review them with you, and you go through it with them, and I had friends that

> would say, 'you know this doesn't have the word 'excellent' in it. I need the word excellent in it; otherwise I can't get a job.' And some of the sponsors would go, 'well I can't put it because it is not reflecting what you were teaching. I can't say you need to work on this and then say you are excellent.' And other people's practicum supervisors would say, 'Oh sure, I'll throw it in there,' even if they didn't deserve it.

A's discomfort with the realities of practice in the public education system, the need to conform and receive the desired and necessary 'excellent' on practicum evaluations, when it was neither beneficial to the student's professional growth nor to the profession itself, began to take its toll on her: "You see a lot of unethical things when you really look at it. I mean there are people out there like that, but I didn't think it would be quite as widespread as it was. I was kind of disgusted by the whole thing.... I started to question myself. I started to have doubts."

Because of these uncomfortable realities, by the time she had completed her program *A* had rejected the profession. She had to have a great deal of prompting from others just to finish her degree: "You are so close, only a couple more months. Just finish it up, get it done; you can always change your mind again." As she concludes her story, however, she reveals a mature realistic view of the profession. She remains wary and disillusioned, and is unwilling to compromise her morals to get a job, but is happy that she is using her skills in an alternate teaching venue. From her lifelong idealized picture of teaching and teachers, she remains firm in her assertion that the profession should maintain high standards of ethics and morality:

> It brought out a lot of confrontation and suddenly your best friend in education who is taking it all very seriously becomes someone, who instead of treating you like a friend; they are treating you like the enemy. They want that job and you want that job. Suddenly, it is like 'I am going to get that job, I don't care how I am going to get it, I am going to lie cheat and steal basically to get it.' And I know people who did lie, and they are on the sub-list now. I didn't even try. I couldn't do that. I couldn't lie and go around to all the teachers and basically bribe my way onto the sub-list. I am not having any part of it. That is not who I am as a person.

Q's experience in trying to secure a teaching job after graduation is much like *A*'s in that she did not have the option of relocating to another city for a job, and had to either substitute teach or find another type of employment, but here the similarities end. Although *Q* concurs with *A* regarding the amount and type of assistance and guidance offered by her university for securing employment after graduation, she does not conclude her story with a rejection of the profession, only disappointment that she cannot enter it: "I'm a teacher, I don't teach. I'm a receptionist right now. But I'm really a teacher. Any time anybody asks me what I do. The first thing I do is say I'm a teacher, I'm just not there yet. That is frustrating. It is so frustrating because to say I am a teacher. To say I have a degree. To say that I spent the five years in school that I have something that I want to do, but I am working as a receptionist. It is deflating."

Although she is not able to enter the profession due to the financial difficulties posed by substitute teaching, she does not devalue her teacher education experience: "My teacher education was great. I don't think they could have better prepared me. There were

some things that were completely stupid and were a waste of my time, but I am sure somebody else thought it was the best time they ever had." She concludes that : "for me, I had bad school experiences and I had great school experiences, but the ones that stick out in my head, are the great ones."

M concludes her complex story with a plea for some kind of new teacher induction program. She feels that teacher education fails to adequately prepare students for the job search and subsequent classroom reality, and fails to support them once they are there. Like *F*, she notes the significant amount of judging that the teacher is subjected to, and concludes that her own experience might have been different if she had had a sounding board in the profession.

> I think that you are kind of tossed in there. There isn't a training process. Once you have your degree, and you have got your first teaching job, that is it. You are on. You are being judged from a lot of levels. From administration, from parents, from students, from your peers, and that is pretty difficult.... I think that if there were some kind of mentorship for when you are actually a teacher... I think it would make it a lot easier. I think that that is one profession that really does need some kind of mentorship from people who have done it for a very long time, and who have done it successfully.

Like other participants, *M* concludes that she retains a teacher identity, but adds that this identity is also reinforced by others: "It is not only my identity, it is also my identity in the eyes of the people around me, because even to this day, my friends still introduce me as a teacher, even though I say, in response to that, 'no I don't teach'..."

Y, in her role as a university admissions advisor, also views herself as a teacher not because she is teaching, but because for her being a teacher is a state of mind rather than simply a job: "When I do presentations in schools now, I feel like I am teaching that class and I am the teacher in that room. I do my little walk around. Sometimes I catch myself "this isn't my class" but it comes so naturally that I think just morph back into that teacher when I am in those kinds of situations. I still consider myself a teacher, not necessarily a high school teacher."

Although *Y* was never a substitute teacher, and quit a teaching job to enter graduate school, she like many of the other participants, concludes her story with a lengthy comment on the discouraging state of the employment situation for new teachers:

> …you have to get in on the supply list, the Teacher-On-Call list first and put in your time there before you get on. I think that is discouraging to a lot of teachers. It can be very difficult to make a living on just that 'teacher-on-call.' It is sporadic work, and you don't know when you are going to get it. I didn't have that experience in Ontario. I think if I did, I might have pulled away from it a lot sooner than I had. That can be very frustrating. It can be a blow. You come out with this degree and you are expecting to be a teacher and you can't. Or you can be a teacher maybe two days a week and you don't know what you are teaching and you don't have your students to bond with. That can be very hard on someone who has this expectation of having their classroom and having their students.

K, who finished her teacher education program and immediately went into a graduate program, naturally concludes her account somewhat differently than other participants do. She did not have the experience of having graduated and being unable to

secure a teaching job, but certainly recognizes the difficulty others may have had. She does not therefore identify employment concerns as a factor in her own decision to move into another field. "I don't think that job potential is really one of the big things. I really just think that there was a shift in my desires and what I wanted and to give a shot at something else." She still feels like teacher, but is simply becoming a different kind of teacher: "The mentality and the persona can stick around, especially if it is something that you have been involved with or you have wanted to do for a long time."

K finishes her story and relates her experience back to the present by concluding that while she has decided to do something other than teaching, she has not rejected teaching:

> It is not that it is something that I don't want to do. It is just that I found something that I think I want to do more. It is not that I got to education and realized 'this isn't for me at all.' I realize very much that it is for me, but that there is something out there that if I didn't at least give it a shot and see if it is something that I really want, that I would always be wondering. 'Could I have done it? Could I have gotten in? Could I have tried that career and had it work?' And that is not to say that I will never teach. So much can happen in either profession.

K of course is not alone in retaining her identity of teacher outside the profession. All seven participants describe this role retention, and do so without irony. It is natural in their minds that they should consider themselves teachers because that is what they are. In addition, of the seven participants, five reported that while not turning their backs on teaching in a classroom, it would take significant events to convince them to return to the

profession. Only *Q* indicated that she would much rather be teaching than what she was presently doing, and F firmly asserted that she was through with classroom teaching.

Vocation

As described in chapter two above, Hansen's (1994a, 1995) concept of teaching as vocation posits that a secular concept of vocation is helpful in understanding what motivates people to teach and what sustains them in the job. He also insists that the practice of a vocation is distinct from the organization or institution in which a person practices. Therefore the practice of teaching does not require working in schools, even though most of society thinks of schools as the only place where teaching takes place. Hansen also insists that one need not be perfect at the job, instead maintaining that imperfections, failures, and self-doubt are an integral part of having a vocation.

The seven participants in the present study do not work in schools, yet all of them consider themselves teachers. All made a decision to prepare to enter the profession and completed a teacher education program. All then left the profession either before working for one full year as teachers, or in the case of one participant, after several years without having had a fulltime contract. In telling the stories of these assorted experiences, all use various metaphors to describe their experiences both in and outside the teaching profession.

According to Dawson (2005), the metaphors we use to describe our occupational choices are embedded in our language to the extent that although a word like vocation, or calling, now very rarely refers to the spiritual or religious, it signifies ideals akin to its original meaning. Therefore the metaphors used by the participants in describing their

experiences are important in discovering to what extent the social milieu, signified through language, influenced these experiences.

Regarding the term *vocation* and the related word *calling*, only two of the seven participants in the study did not use the metaphor to describe the draw to teaching. Neither *Y* nor *K* considered either metaphor as having any influence over their career decisions. About what drew her to teaching when she was a child, *K* responds, "I don't really know to be honest. It was always something about working with people. I was always a people person.... I wanted to be a teacher since I was in grade three or four. The first [time] you ever start thinking about what you wanted to do when you grew up." Although she describes wanting to be a teacher from a very young age, she does not use the metaphor. Likewise *Y,* who wanted to be everything under the sun except a teacher, does not use vocational metaphors in her descriptions of finally wanting to be a teacher: "I could see myself being there, because I enjoyed it.... It felt like everything that I kind of thought of in a dream job like working with people and helping them."

All the others specifically mention that it was a calling or a vocation that drew them to teaching, although *A* describes this feeling a bit differently: "It was just what I wanted to do. I don't know if I really thought of it as a calling though. It was just what I had my heart set on, I guess."

K is certain in her description of teaching as a calling: "Oh, no, it is a calling most definitely. Definitely it is calling. You have to have the right personality to be a teacher... there are definitely people where this is right for them. And there are definitely people who just do it because they don't know what else to do. Those people, you can see it in

their classrooms. You can see it in their students. That is the most disturbing.... I think if you are going to be a teacher, it needs to be your calling.

F's description of the profession adds the metaphor of *gift*, and like Hansen, removes the vocation from the institution: "You know what? I truly do believe that you do have a calling. The idea of gift is also important. I believe we do have these gifts and these callings. But I do not believe that if I have this teaching gift, that because I feel that I have this gift and calling, I don't have to do it in the school system.

A troubling and less certain conception of the concept of teaching as a vocation arises in *M*'s story. *M* begins by talking about her feelings of wanting to be a teacher from a young age: "I wanted to be a teacher growing up, through most of my schooling.... Even though I looked at some other things, I really liked to work with kids. So that was part of it. I also did one of those vocational things, to see what you are suited to, I can't remember what it is called, and teaching came up as well." But she is uncomfortable with the metaphor, saying that it is one of the things that can be used to deny teachers a fair wage or better working conditions:

> I think that was an easy excuse to not address salaries.... You are expected to wear an awful lot of roles in teaching, because you are not just an educator. You are sometimes bordering on a counselor, you are in kind of a leisure/recreation coordinator, you have a lot of roles and so you are wearing a lot of those different hats. And they are all time consuming. Quite often they involve you learning some kinds of skills that you probably don't have naturally or have learned through courses along the way. I think that really does become an excuse for not paying people in general for the time they are putting in.... They should do it for

> free.... And the interesting thing is, it's not just at one level of teaching. I think that is across the board, at all levels of teaching. So it is not just with little kids, the whole thing from elementary up to college, university level. There is always that expectation.

M uses words like passion and calling when she describes her idealized view of being a teacher while she was growing up, but is careful to point out how the ideal is easily corrupted when it is used to disempower teachers as employees.

While these five participants, to varying degrees, describe the draw to teaching as a calling or a gift, with only *Y* and *K* not using those metaphors, all seven use language in such a way as to correspond with Gergen's (1991) notion that our occupations or ways of life are based on the encounters we have with others, past and present, and revealed through the language we use. For example all the participants refer to their relationships with others while growing up in forming their ideas of potential careers.

L describes it this way: "I wanted to go into teaching to be one of those really good teachers and have a positive effect on kids in their learning and all aspects, social, physical, everything. I guess really being able to make a difference." *A* also describes the draw toward teaching in the language of social relationships: "I always liked playing with kids, especially younger kids, helping them do things, playing the teacher when I was little and having them as my students. Teaching them things that I knew that they might not yet know. I have always enjoyed looking after younger children. I guess that nurturing, teaching them things they don't know, that I know." Similar language is employed in the accounts of each of the other five women including those of *Y* and *K*. *Y* describes noticing that she would like to be a teacher based on the teachers she saw:

> There were also a lot of teachers that I really didn't like, and I didn't feel they were doing a good job. They weren't really teaching their courses, they were just spewing out the same old, same old, that they had done when my brother was in my year. It was frustrating to me, because I thought they should be doing more than that. I think that is when… I started thinking, 'I could do a better job than this.' And I wanted to be in front of the class. In classes I loved doing presentations, and I loved doing speeches…. It kind of came naturally to me. Again, though, it was always in the background, not really in the forefront.

K similarly recalls childhood encounters with the profession:

> I think I had a lot of influential teachers through my time in school and I always felt a strong connection to my schools. Teachers were always a big part of my development in elementary school and in high school. So I always felt that I would like to be that person, or someone else…. because the people there gave so much to me and enriched my learning and all of that. I got so much out of experiences in school that I really thought that was something that I could really do as well…. I am a people person. I always like to interact with people…. Even from a very young age, grade five or six, mentoring younger kids who were in grade one or two. It was something that was always very appealing to me.

The language used in these accounts suggests an affinity toward teaching arising from social encounters with others. Teachers, both those considered 'good,' and ones perceived as 'bad' by participants appear to have influenced this attraction to the profession. Participants also reveal a sense of service to others, ensuring in their stories

that they include the teaching and mentoring of other children that took place in their early years.

Conclusion

The preceding chapter presented data collected from in-depth interviews with seven participants. Data were analyzed for the narrative devices of plot or storyline, conflict or complication, turning point, resolution, and conclusion; and for metaphors of vocation and occupational choice.

The following chapter will discuss these findings in relation to the interview questions and attempt to draw some conclusions based on this analysis.

CHAPTER 5

Analysis of results in relation to the research questions

This chapter returns to the research questions that guided the present study and examines the results in relation to these questions. The discussion contained herein takes as its starting point the query that set the stage for those questions as a cross-cutting thread; that is, whether or not one participant's notions and beliefs regarding her own experience can be seen to be shared with the notions and beliefs of those individuals narrating similar experiences, thus forming a collective discourse of non-practicing teachers (Candida-Smith, 2001). While not a search for the generalizability of results in the quantitative or grounded theory sense, addressing the question of whether collecting many stories from the same milieu will uncover recurrent patterns is important to understanding the conditions under investigation (Riessman, 2001), and will allow a more comprehensive and credible discussion to take place.

Among the uncertainties facing interpretive researchers is the credibility of any generalizations they make in the analysis of interviews and other qualitative data. One of the fears underlying the present study was the possibility that the seven narratives would disagree on everything, with no common themes emerging from the data. A close reading of the seven interviews, and an in-depth analysis of narrative structures, language, and other storytelling devices indicates however that there indeed appears to be a common discourse surfacing from the collective stories,. As the analysis continued it became increasingly clear that a collective consensus was unfolding among the participants' recollections. Although the 'facts' of participants' lives differed in every case, the

meanings of events and experiences, located as they are in history and culture, had similarities that could not be ignored.

Question 1: What social and cultural factors do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decision go to university and enrol in teacher education?

Each of the seven participants revealed deeply rooted social and cultural influences on their decision-making around enrolling in university and teacher education. Of course individual details around these decisions were unique to each participant, but the narrative plotlines suggested similarities in the manner in which notions of service to others in particular played a role in the individual's decision making.

A's story, for example, begins with a description of how she had always wanted to be a teacher. Her use of language in describing this feeling indicates that even as a pre-schooler she possessed a concept of what a teacher did, and had a family that nurtured it:

> I remember being very little lining up my stuffed animals, teaching them. It is something that you get from reading books. It is something you get from watching TV, your environment. I think it is something you decide, that you identify with. I don't think it is from going to school though.
>
> I always liked playing with kids, especially younger kids, helping them do things, playing the teacher when I was little and having them as my students. Teaching them things that I knew that they might not yet know. I have always enjoyed looking after younger children. I guess that nurturing, teaching them things they don't know, that I know. Or even with my friends, we used to play school all the time. I had a desk in my basement. A big chalkboard that my grandpa had made

> me, and we used to play school for hours. I had all the right props and it just lent itself to teaching.

The helping language; "nurturing, teaching them things that they don't know" reveals the public and a personal dimension, and sense of service or allegiance that Hansen describes as conditions of a vocation. Her grandfather made a chalkboard for her, giving her all the right props. Similarly, when she next describes being older and her parents insisting that she go to university, she indicates that, in her mind, there was no pressure from them, because as she was always going to be a teacher anyway, that was just how you got to be one: "it was just something that I thought I was going to do. I want to be a teacher. I want to get my education degree, so the next logical step after I finish high school was to go to university." Again her language reveals a strong cultural and social influence: "Well I guess I thought it would be exactly what you see on TV."

Although television does not appear as an influencing factor in the other accounts, the combined structures of the other six stories certainly place parents and other family members in an important place as influencers in the decision-making process. Parents, grandparents, and others enter each story early on and provide an influencing agent even when the narrator is unaware of it. A compelling example of this lack of awareness occurs in *Y*'s story. *Y*'s father had been a teacher: "my dad had been a teacher and I didn't want to do what my dad did. We are too much alike and we butt heads. So I just didn't want to do it." Four more locations appear in *Y*'s story where she asserts that she did not want to do what her father did, yet she betrays his influence early on when she states that he and she were too much alike. Her story is peppered with language revealing her father's influence over her decision-making, and in many instances she does not notice

that she is saying it. The following collection of passages from her story provides an interesting illustration of *Y*'s journey toward teacher education:

> 1. There were also a lot of teachers that I really didn't like, and I didn't feel they were doing a good job… I think that is really when I started thinking, I could do a better job than this. I loved being in front of the class. It kind of came naturally to me.
>
> 2. I would often take roles, teacher roles in the classroom….
>
> 3. I put the thought of 'not wanting to do what my dad did' to the thought that I actually did realize that it was a good option for me, and it was something that I had been doing my whole life….
>
> 4. I don't think it was him trying to push me, I think it was him noticing me in these teacher roles throughout my life and saying, 'Oh I always thought you would be a teacher,' but to me that was, 'Oh, I'm not going to follow in your footsteps.' I didn't want to be the acorn. I didn't want to be like my dad. I never felt really pressured."
>
> 5. I guess in little ways it was encouraged, I don't know, that maybe I should be a teacher.

Others had an easier time admitting to their influences. *F* for example, begins her story simply by saying, "[I wanted to be] A teacher…. My mom was a teacher. And my grandma worked as a secretary in a school. So the school was a big part of who you were…. And my great aunt also taught. That was my mom's aunt. There have always been teachers in the family. So I wanted to be a teacher."

F's decision-making around enrolling in university and teacher education was not so simple however. Her narrative goes on to describe how she did not do very well in high school, and did not immediately move to higher education, instead going to work in a gas station. Cultural and social influences again become part of the story as she recalls that time:

> I barely made it through high school. I had terrible marks. So the idea of going to college, university really wasn't achievable.... But after grade twelve, I worked in a gas station, and I met a girl who was in her early twenties and she had always been working in gas stations, and I thought, 'I can't do this. I have to make more money. I have to be able to have a career.' So I ran home and I remember, it was the end of August and all my friends were going to college. And my marks were 'C' and at that time you could get into college with a 'C'. And I ran home and said to mom, 'Can I go to college?' And she was 'sure,' so I went to [the local community college in the region's major centre two hours away].

Having money and having a career, versus working in a gas station, indicates to the audience that *F*'s concept of career is based on something learned and developed through interaction within her social and cultural milieu. In *F*'s worldview, working in a gas station was not acceptable and was not a career.

Further examples of these influences show up in *M*'s recollection. Her mother taught at the normal school in _____ until *M* was born, thereby most likely providing her, through play and talk, with an early-years concept of teaching. When she was a child, "strangely enough... I wanted to be a teacher.... You know, you played with friends and you played teacher. I remember doing that and setting up desks and everybody took

turns." The influence of parents over education and career choices is related subtly: "We were supposed to do well in school. There was an expectation that we would do well in school…. Get fairly decent grades because that would be what you needed for whatever you went into. There was an expectation of doing post secondary work whether that was college or university…. My family thought it was really important to have some kind of training so that you could be self supporting, but they also felt that you shouldn't just go to university and waste time." Much of *M*'s story is recounted in this understated way, perhaps suggesting a seamless integration of these influencers into her outlook.

Like *F* she did not go directly from school to university, having lost any desire to go on after completing high school. Her story describes the end of her ten years working as a medical/dental assistant in the following manner: "I had been married and divorced and decided that I wanted to have a profession that would be more stimulating and rewarding, better pay, better income for a better lifestyle, doing some travel…. I knew that after six months to twelve months, I started to get bored with my job and so maybe I needed to have something that has got more possibilities." The language used in this passage; *profession*, *stimulating and rewarding*, *lifestyle* and *travel,* suggests that similarly to *F*, *M*'s concept of career developed over a number of years and did not include the type of work she was engaged in at the time.

The language employed by *Q* is very forthright with regard to family and other social influences on university and career choice, as is that of *L*. Both narratives begin with strong assertions that each of them had always wanted to be a teacher, although *Q* also mentions music: *L* - "I actually always wanted to be a teacher." *Q* - "Music is what I really wanted to do and I found that the best possible thing that I could do with music was

to teach it." *Q* also reveals a reverse influence. While describing how her parents both supported and encouraged her further education, she notes how her grandfather was strongly against it: "I know that from my grandparents, my grandfather was a) not okay with a girl going to school, one of those; and b) definitely not okay with going for music. Music is not a viable subject at all. Him and I didn't get along. So that almost fueled me all the more." This is interesting from a social reproduction perspective because it illustrates an example of what Bellamy (1993) describes as a shrewd application of social capital to lift oneself above a disadvantaged social background.

L, like *Q*, uses very strong language revealing social influences on educational attainment. And also like Q she presents another example of movement above a disadvantaged social background: ".Actually my dad was really blunt about it. 'We'd end up digging ditches.' I think my parents were pretty adamant that I was going to go on to post secondary education, university. At a very early age, my dad always reinforced with me that he and his career could have done a lot better, gone a lot further had he had post secondary education.... Going to university and some of the courses that I took, education models in different countries, I don't feel that we value our education in a lot of regards."

Indeed the narratives suggest that the influence of family and related social/cultural influences appear to have had a profound effect on all participants. Social mobility is also a factor in the narratives from *Q*, *L,* and *K*, who in all cases are the first persons in their families to attend higher education. Maintaining an existing social level figures in those of *A*, *F*, *Y*, and *M*. The locations of these influencers in the plot, always at the beginning and frequently throughout the story, and the language used in describing

the influencer is important to note. These stories are not simply answers to interview questions, but instead reveal rich and complex notions about where the participants' choices arose.

Question 2: What do non-teaching teachers identify as having influenced their decisions about taking up work other than that for which they have been specifically prepared?

The second question sought to identify the factors that had influenced participants to reject the profession after completing teacher education and take up employment in another field. The literature suggests a number of factors influence the decisions of working teachers to voluntarily leave the profession. These range from a lack of social and institutional support (e.g. Weiss, 1999, Wilhelm et al, 2000; and Veenman, 1984), to professional issues such as lack of autonomy and lack of authority (e.g. Crick, 1998; and Scribner, 1999). However, since the participants in the present study were not veteran teachers, the question arose as to whether or not the suggestions in the existing literature can apply to such a group.

Analysis of the narratives, with particular attention paid to conflict/complications and turning points in each story, appeared to indicate that financial issues were at the forefront of influencers against entering the profession, namely the financial insecurity associated with substitute teaching. Indeed, it required a very deep and careful analysis to uncover other underlying influences on the decision not to teach. It appears from the accounts of those five participants who lived in _____, BC before attending university and who chose to live there after completing their programs, that securing a teaching position in the local school district is undeniably a difficult process. Independent of each other, all five participants noted that the only way to teach in the district is to start out as

a substitute teacher and work one's way up the seniority ladder until a fulltime position became available, and all five indicated that they were unable, for financial reasons, to follow that route into the teaching profession.

Because these five participants, plus the two from outside the city, were all fully aware that a fulltime teaching position would be available to them if they were to relocate to a different community, a closer scrutiny of the narratives was necessary to uncover influences that kept these individuals from pursuing what each of them indicated was their dream from childhood or their calling. As noted in chapter four above, *A* and *Q* were the two participants that cited only financial reasons as influencing their decisions not to teach. However as each went on in her discussion more details emerged suggesting other more significant influencing factors than money alone. .

A's story resonates with an idealism around teaching that at some point during her teacher education program did not correspond with the less than ideal reality of securing a job in the field. In her youth she simply imagined being a teacher: "I always imagined that when I finished university, or finished school in general, I would get out there, I would have a job…. I didn't really think about the part of getting an actual job." As she detailed her inability to secure teaching work, this idealism and disillusionment was revealed as more influential than the financial reasons she thought she was describing. At that point *A*'s story became very thick with her disappointment with the petty politics and nepotism she witnessed in the hiring practices within the local district. Her dream was being shattered by what she perceived was an immoral reality, but rather than look for a teaching job "in the middle of nowhere," she decided that since "all my friends are here,

my family is here," she would stay. Indeed it was her parents who encouraged A to take the job she had for two and a half years before moving to her job at the daycare facility.

Q also talked about not being able to afford to substitute teach and live in the city of _____. Her decision not to relocate to a community where she could secure fulltime teaching work was based on a family crisis that, in her mind made it impossible to consider moving away. When compared to *F*'s decision to leave [northern British Columbia] to be with her boyfriend and get married, *L*'s decision to work in an easier job a the computer company while pregnant, and the influence of *M*'s husband, it appears that families have more influence over both entering the profession and leaving it than these participants realized.

Another consideration that enters the discussion centres on the strength of the stated vocation that each of these individuals held. If the calling was so strong to enter teacher education, what happened afterwards to extinguish it? Or indeed was it extinguished, or was it redirected into another form outside the institution of the school? Evidence from the narratives appears to suggest that for most of the participants, while they do not work in traditional educational settings, do have very strong connections to education in one form or another. This theme is taken up in the concluding chapter, and discussed in relation to the literature on vocation.

Question 3: How does the experience of teacher education as it is remembered by non-practicing teachers influence occupational decision making?

Interview data agree with the literature in suggesting that among the strongest motivators to enter teacher education is a draw toward public service and helping children, influenced by family history and social effects (Hansen, 1995; and Richardson,

1996). But once in teacher education, how did the experience influence participants in their occupational decision-making, particularly in their decisions not to teach?

Stuart and Thurlow's (2000) assertion that students, upon entering teacher education do not have a very well formulated perception of what the practice of teaching actually entails, is certainly reinforced by several participants in the present study. In addition to *A*'s idealistic image described above, *K* described teachers as "very intelligent people who really… liked what they were doing" "Teachers always seemed to have it together…. It really gave me a sense of a well rounded person, which I always saw myself as." *Q* had a very romantic vision of what it would be like as well: "For me I think it was going to be a lot of time spent being a teacher. There is a lot of before school, lunches, after school field trips…. I was looking forward to that. I saw interactive classrooms. Just being able to teach students who want to be there. I really have such a love and a passion for music. Passing that on to one or two kids a year would be phenomenal."

Because of the mismatch between what prospective teachers expect before entering university and the reality greeting them once they begin learning and practicing to become a teacher, the question arose as to whether the experience of teacher education has any influence over decisions not to enter the profession. Certainly the story of *A*'s disillusionment with the profession indicates a connection between her idealistic and moral image of teaching and teachers, and what she experienced in her program. *Q* on the other hand, experiencing a similar outcome after teacher education concludes her story by using strong language to describe how her teacher education program actually reinforced her desire to teach. Her story includes some disappointment with the lack of job search

assistance provided to pre-service teachers, but it also seems to indicate that that was not the job of the university after all.

The teacher education experiences described in the stories of the other five participants more closely resemble that of *Q* than that of *A*. It appears from this collection of narratives that the disillusionment described by *A*, when it does occur, happens after the completion of teacher education in the experience of substitute teaching, or during the first teaching year of each graduate. *F* and *L* both describe the profession with regret. *F* laments the judging that goes on in the system, and the lack of collegiality among supposed peers. *L*'s story echoes the conclusions of Scribner (1999), when she describes the lack of respect teachers receive and the lack of authority and autonomy they have in the classroom. Yet neither of these two participants nor *Y*, *K*, or *M* provides any indication in their respective narratives that the experience of teacher education itself had an influence over their decisions to leave the profession.

Question 4: To what extent do non-teaching graduates of teacher education identify with the role/label 'teacher?'

According to the literature, the role of teacher has a very strong residual identity (Crick, 1998). Crick's study of veteran teachers who left the profession found that the vast majority of them continued to think of themselves as teachers long after leaving. The present study sought to discover if the stories of individuals who had been prepared to become teachers but had not entered the profession revealed participants' continued identity as teachers, and what if any, affect may this have had on future occupational choices made by participants?

Six of the seven stories in the present study contained strong assertions that the participants continued to identify as teachers despite never having worked in the profession or having worked for one year or less; *M*, of course having worked for several years part-time. Only in *A*'s story is there some reticence about referring to herself as a teacher: "Sometimes I will get up and say, 'I need everyone's attention here.' And people will be, 'that's the teacher in her coming out.' So in some respect, sure, but not in my everyday life, I don't think of myself like that." Interestingly A's position in the daycare facility is the closest to that of teacher of any of the participants' current jobs

The other participants describe this residual role identity quite strongly and also describe their current work as being something like teaching:

> K – "The mentality and the persona can stick around, especially if it is something that you have been involved with or you have wanted to do for a long time. Definitely the way I present is much different from some of my classmates…. In teaching you see your students developing, you see them learning, or not learning, and in this profession it is a lot of the same thing."
>
> *F* – "I have always thought, ever since I have been little, it was always part of who I am…. I really do have a natural gift of working with kids. I have a good gift of being able to explain things, in an easy manner to understand. If you look at the job I am in now, I am still in a teaching job."
>
> *L* – "it is something that I am very proud of. I also feel that I do in fact use a lot of what I learned from university, in particular, I find that courses that we did on evaluation relates to adults as well, with some obvious changes."

M – "It is not only my identity, it is also my identity in the eyes of the people around me, because even to this day, my friends still introduce me as a teacher.... even some of the things that I do socially, like I play bridge... they say that they can tell I'm a teacher by the way I approach or explain things."

Q – "I'm a teacher, I don't teach. I'm a receptionist right now. But I'm really a teacher. Any time anybody asks me what I do. The first thing I do is say I'm a teacher.... That is frustrating. It is so frustrating because to say I am a teacher.... but I am working as a receptionist. It is deflating."

Y – "I think I am still a teacher. When I do presentations in schools now, I feel like I am teaching that class and I am the teacher in that room."

These responses suggest that the identity of teacher remains important even to those who did not enter the profession. In addition, for the majority of participants their choice of occupation is seen as strongly connected to teaching, or the work involved is very similar to teaching.

To retain the role or label of teacher holds value to these participants. A commitment to the profession appears to remain even though the work role it embodies never existed or existed very tenuously and for a short period of time.

This chapter examined the results of chapter four's analysis in relation to the project's research questions and identified several commonalities between the participants' stories and the literature that gave rise to the research questions. The following chapter will address the fifth and final question, how does this research project contribute to the knowledge base in our field?

CHAPTER 6

Summary and discussion

The focus of this sixth and concluding chapter is to discuss results in relation to the purpose of the inquiry; to gain an understanding of the social, including cultural, historical and personal, factors that led to the decisions of fully qualified teachers to enter into work other than that for which they had been prepared; and to address the study's contribution to the knowledge base. Finally, conclusions, and suggestions for further research are presented below.

Research questions, informed by the literature, assumed that those individuals addressed by the research topic would be acting socially and culturally, and therefore would provide the most valuable data through a narrative interview process. These interviews sought to discover what the influences were that created a draw toward teaching; what then influenced a move away from teaching; how teacher education influenced this decision; and how much the identity of being a teacher remained in those who did not teach. The responses to these questions, presented in the previous chapter above, revealed a strong social, family background influence over participants' choices, both toward and away from teaching. The influence of teacher education over participants' decision making appeared to correspond with the literature that suggested that it has less influence than other factors. Finally, participants appeared to retain a strong residual teacher identity.

Analysis based on cultural theories of occupational decision making

Culturally based theories of human action such as those of Bourdieu and others, maintain that occupational choices are defined in relationship to those in one's social

milieu. Occupational identity is therefore socially defined and influenced by collective histories, traditions, and customs. The first of the research questions asked what cultural and social influences could be said to have played a role in the decisions of participants to enroll in university and teacher education. Four of the seven participants in the study reported immediate and extended family members who had been teachers. Of the other three, all were the first generation to attend any form of higher education. In examining the results in chapters four and five, it appears that in each of the seven accounts family social mobility played a large role in influencing educational decision making, corresponding to Bellamy's notion of the wise investment of limited cultural capital by disadvantaged groups for move up the social hierarchy. *L*'s description of taking public transit for one and a half hours each way to attend high school in a more advantaged part of town for the benefits that would provide for her and her family is a key example of this kind of investment.

Among the participants who had teachers in their families, *F*'s statement, "there have always been teachers in the family. So I wanted to be a teacher," can be said to reflect this kind of influence. The matter-of-fact manner in which it is spoken during the interview also suggests the intuitive effect this background had on her. Likewise, *Y*'s casual reflection how as a school child she sat in her class and mused that she could do a better job than her teacher indicates a precociousness and confidence based on a pre-formed conception of what a teacher ought to be doing.

Although these interviews were conducted under the assumption that such decision making was culturally based, it was discovered that for these seven participants at least, family background and social mobility were indeed significant influences.

Analysis based on Hansen's notion of secular vocation

Research questions were also guided by Hansen's notion of secular vocation. In asking what factors may have influenced decisions not to enter the teaching profession, vocation as described by Hansen loomed large. Since the concept is very attractive for explaining what sustains teachers in the profession, it was important to know what relationship vocation might have with the act of not entering the profession in the first place.

Hansen (1995) requires the appearance of four specific dimensions in order for a person to be said to have a vocation: 1) a sense of personal fulfillment and public service in the practice; 2) being an 'architect' of one's practice through self-reflection; 3) 'attention to details' rooted in practice; and 4) continually improving one's practice through the challenge of 'uncertainty and doubt.' Because of the appeal of this concept, research questions to determine how decisions to enter or leave teacher education might be made, were based on it. Indeed, the power of the concept cannot be discounted. As highlighted in chapter four all seven participants used language consistent with the concept, with two of the seven denying that vocation had any influence on them.

Since vocation figured so prominently in both the search for a theoretical framework for the study and the narratives of the participants, the question remains: on the basis of Hansen's four dimensions can it be determined whether those who have made a decision not to enter the practice of teaching, but did make a decision some years earlier to prepare to enter the practice, did so because they had a sense of secular vocation? As pointed out in chapter two, Hansen studied only working teachers therefore it is difficult

to determine the efficacy of using his vocational determinants on decisions not to enter the profession.

Of the four dimensions of vocation, the first, a sense of personal fulfillment and public service was revealed in chapter four to be a significant characteristic of each of the seven participants. All seven featured the importance of these to their personal and professional growth and development.

Whether the second dimension, being an 'architect' of one's practice, exists in these participants is more difficult to determine, since none work as teachers. Nonetheless, the example in *F*'s story that she considers the ability to teach as a gift, and that she still possesses the gift, using it in other locations than school classrooms, indicates a strong sense of self reflection and improvement of practice. *F* continues to love teaching, but does so outside of the institution called school. It appears therefore that the practice of one's vocation really is distinct from the organization or institution associated with it.

The third dimension, 'attention to details,' the mundane, routine, and boring aspects of being a teacher that do not have to be enjoyed but do have to be endured, is also difficult to assess in the present study, since all the participants work in occupations where such minutiae is a condition of the work. In an attempt to correspond the work of participants with the practice teaching perhaps the account contained in *L*'s narrative is most helpful: "when you have twenty-two, twenty-three smiling faces waiting for you the next morning, you can't not do that work the night before, or the prep, because there are people expecting you. And if you are not prepared then you create your own problems." There appears to be a genuine understanding and acceptance of the requirements of the

profession beyond simply 'imparting knowledge.' *L* likens her present job to the profession as well: "also I would say that quite honestly in my current job I get to use teaching or coaching everyday. Mind you it is with adults."

Because these seven participants are not practicing teachers, it may be impossible to determine to what extent the fourth dimension, 'uncertainty and doubt' can exist in their perceptions of vocation. They are not able to reflect on their teaching practices and feel challenged by their uncertainty and doubt about their abilities. In their current jobs this uncertainty, if it exists, does not correspond to the question of whether a vocation toward teaching exists or not. During her teacher education program, *A* experienced such doubts: "I started to question myself. I started to have doubts." Her uncertainty did provide a challenge to her to complete her program, but from her story it cannot be determined if the uncertainty she felt triggered a desire to improve her practice or if it was a catalyst toward leaving teaching.

While it is impossible from the above discussion to determine whether or not all of the participants in the present study can truly be said to have had a vocation that drew them toward teaching, it appears from their stories that many of them might very well have. Therefore Hansen's' notion of secular vocation may indeed be useful for a future study of non-practice in the teaching profession. However, if it can be said that any or all of the participants did have a vocation to teach, why then did they not enter the profession after preparing for it?

Analysis based on Veenman's theory of reality shock

Returning to *A*'s account of the uncertainty and doubt she experienced toward the end of her teacher education program, one of the most striking features of her story is the

profound sense of idealism she had about the practice and profession. She returns frequently throughout the interview to themes related to her disappointment with the malevolence that turned up in her student colleagues when it came time to compete for jobs, to the nepotism and unfair hiring practices she experienced in her local school district, and so on. This account reinforces Meich and Elders's (1996) finding that persons described as idealistic or possessing an ethic of service to others were most likely to enter the teaching profession. Although it cannot be asserted from this study, there is a suggestion that they were also more likely to leave the profession because the job did not live up to their expectations as a public service. In *A*'s case in particular, she never even entered the profession because it did not live up to her moral and ethical expectations. *F,* as well as *A,* notes that the reality of the profession is less ideal than the image.

A's account also supports Veenman's description of transition shock in beginning teachers. The distress she felt upon discovering that the ideals she had grown to expect in the profession were thrown away in the competition to find a teaching job is reminiscent of Veenman's "collapse of the missionary ideals formed during teacher training by the harsh and rude reality of everyday classroom life" (p. 143), although *A* did not get into the classroom before the collapse occurred. While she voices the most poignant example of the collapse of her ideals, *A* is not the only participant thus affected. As pointed out above, *F* speaks strongly of the politics in the profession, and of her subsequent disillusionment with it. Both *M* and *L* identify in their stories the hard work that teachers undertake and the lack of recognition they receive for it. For *L* it was this hard work and lack of personal time that influenced her decision while pregnant to try something else. Again, while not able to be applied to all seven participants, these stories show that the

negative impact of transition shock on one's commitment to the profession, attitude toward teaching, and intention to remain in the profession, can be said to have had an effect on the decisions of at least some the participants not to enter the profession.

That this disconnect between the image of teaching and the reality of the profession should occur is not necessarily surprising. Participants, for the most part, when describing their childhood and teenage notions of teaching tended to focus on popular culture ideas of what teaching is rather that what teachers really do. This ideal, as noted above, is powerful enough to influence attitudes toward the profession long after one has decided not to enter it. *A*'s sense of having been lied to by administrators in the faculty of education in her university, simply to attract students to the program, may not have been inaccurate, but it certainly hints at the power that culture holds over promoting and maintaining popular perceptions of what teaching is.

Conclusion

It was not the intention of the present study to uncover generalized truths that would be applicable to the field at large. Studying peoples' stories about their experiences and subsequent decisions not to enter the teaching profession does not provide the kind of data that lead to such discoveries. What it does provide, however, is an understanding of the influences or backgrounds that gave rise to such decisions. In addition through studying the stories of a group of people with similar experiences in similar situations, those apparent associations that emerge can be made note of and suggested as points of interest. Making meaning, rather than discovering truths, is the fundamental objective of research conducted from within such a methodology. Conclusions and recommendations

can be made on these meanings made, as can suggestions for further, perhaps quantitative, research.

Research in the applied and professional fields, including education, is not essentially concerned with explaining preexistent reality; that is, it is not necessarily ordered a priori, but because of its interdisciplinarity, allows for new knowledge to be formed that often cannot be done in the traditional disciplines (Mourad 1997). The applied and professional fields "are concerned with explaining practical conditions and concepts, and most significantly, with devising solutions and innovations" (p.81), and therefore, according to Mourad, stand at the frontier of a new cross-disciplinarity. While perhaps provocative, the real value of thinking of the field of education in this way is that it forces us to consider our work as primarily located in a community of practitioners, policy makers and other researchers.

Implications and recommendations

Since educational researchers must think of themselves as being located within a larger community of education, the following section presents the implications of these findings to the field and makes some suggestions for further research.

Firstly, from the evidence gathered in these seven participants' stories, none of whom appear to have entered teacher education 'accidentally' or because they had no other choices, there is the suggestion that the research that most prospective teachers enter teacher education programs because of a strong desire to teach coupled with a sense of mission, may indeed be accurate. These participants did, many from an early age, want to teach. At also appears that for these participants family background, and family members themselves played a significant part both in influencing a desire to enter teacher

education and influencing a departure from the teaching profession. The power of families as an influence over career decision making appears to loom very large in the present study. Moreover, it was indeed a surprise to discover the role that outside agents played in the stories of the two participants currently enrolled in graduate studies. Both *Y* and *K* appeared to rely a great deal on the suggestions of friends and classmates over what were ultimately very important life changing decisions. Because of the limited scope of the present study, a more in-depth investigation into the power of these outside agents was not possible. Future study may reveal useful insights into the role and function of outside agents in disrupting or reinforcing vocational predispositions.

Secondly, a close examination of each oral interview and transcript indicates that much of the recollection of participants had far less to do with school, teacher education, or teaching itself, and a lot more to do with family, children, and relationships with others. Narratives contained far more information related to how participants felt than what they did. Perhaps it is a consequence of the narrative interview format, but feelings were at the surface of each story. For example, in talking about the experience of attending a teacher education program, participants did not talk about the classes they took or the things they learned about teaching, they spoke only of how they felt about the program, positive or negative, and the effect that these feelings had on their future careers.

Among the most striking of the emotions uncovered in several of the narratives was the profound sense of sadness and loss those participants felt over having not entered the profession. The participants had successfully completed a degree and a teacher education program, yet still communicated a sense that they were somehow unsuccessful,

or had failed. These participants went to great lengths to describe the ways in which their present jobs were 'like teaching.' or incorporated many of the skills they had developed in teacher education.

Indeed, all but the one participant currently working as a pre-school educator continued to identify themselves as teachers. It is not clear from this particular study if the strength of this role identity can be said to be due to participants' longstanding sense of having been destined to be a teacher, or if the socialization process in their teacher education programs was able to provide this strength of teacher identity. Future study in this area may reveal more understanding of how teacher role identity is achieved and what continues to reinforce it even though one has not entered the profession.

Thirdly, it is evident from these narratives that idealized notions of teaching, formed from an early age, tend to be very strongly held. Many participants spoke of the disillusionment they felt when confronted with what they considered to be lapses in ethics, morality, fairness, and collegiality in the profession. While much of this disenchantment had to do with what was seen as unfair hiring practices keeping young teachers out of the workforce, a great deal of the disappointment could be focused on members of the profession itself. The transition shock described by Veenman appears in many of the stories in this study. It may indeed be valuable for teacher educators to address these themes in their programs in order to perhaps mitigate the effects of this idealism without destroying it.

Finally, the discovery in the present project that this small group of individuals would narrate very similar stories about their journey into and out of the teaching profession is noteworthy. While certainly not providing generalizable conclusions, this

qualitative inquiry provides a valuable location for future study. The commonalities uncovered in the stories contained herein, are indeed thought provoking and meaningful.

This study focused solely on the stories of women living on the south coast and southern Vancouver Island region of British Columbia, Canada. This region is known as an in-migration destination because of its mild climate and recreational features, making the competition for limited teaching positions quite strong. Six of the seven participants indicated that they did not wish to leave the region despite better opportunities for teaching jobs elsewhere. Future study would benefit from the participation of individuals living in other locations.

In addition, only women participated in the present study. An obvious next step would be to conduct a study with men in similar occupational situations. Comparing women's stories with those of men might reveal differences attributable to gender that are only suggested at in this study. For example, the influence of [male] outside agents over participants' career decisions in this study may be unique to this group, or there may be a gender component to these results. A future mixed method study with a larger sample of both women and men would extend the results of this study in that direction.

In conclusion, this dissertation has provided a valuable starting point for studying the phenomenon of teacher education graduates not entering the profession but entering careers outside of teaching. The dearth of available literature on this important group formed the rationale for beginning the study; and the results of this project therefore provides a much needed contribution to the field.

REFERENCES

Anisef, P., and Axelrod, P., (Eds.), (1993). *Transitions: Schooling and employment in Canada.* Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Apple, M. W. (1996). *Cultural politics and education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Aronowitz, S. and Difazio, T. (1994). *The jobless future.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ayers L., and Poirier S. (1996). Virtual text and the growth of meaning in qualitative analysis. *Research in Nursing and Health.*19, 163-169.

Baizerman M., and Magnuson, D. (1996). Do we still need youth as a social stage? *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 4 (3), 48 – 60.

Barrett, M., and Phillips, A., eds. (1992). *Destabilizing theory: Contemporary feminist debates.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Barth, R.S. (1990). *Improving schools from within: teachers, parents, and principals can make the difference.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Becker, H.S. (1960). Notes on the concept of commitment. *American Journal of Sociology* 66, 33 – 42.

Bellamy, L. (1993). Life trajectories, action, and negotiating the transition from high school. In P. Anisef, & P. Axelrod, (Eds.), *Transitions: Schooling and employment in Canada.* (pp. 137 – 157) Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Bellamy, L. (1994). Capital, habitus, field, and practice: An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In L. Erwin & D.R. MacLennan, (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice.* (pp. 120 – 136). Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

Belsey, T. (1997). Positivism. In Payne, M. (Ed.), *Dictionary of cultural and critical theory.* (p. 417). Oxford: Blackwell.

Benoit, C. (1994). Paradigm conflict in the sociology of service professions: Midwifery as a case study. *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 19 (3), 303 – 329.

Bentz, V. and Shapiro, J. (1998). *Mindful inquiry in social research*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

Bolin, F.S., and Falk, J.M. (Eds.) (1987). *Teacher renewal: Professional issues, personal choices*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P., and Passeron, J.-C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture; second edition*. (R. Nice, Trans.) Newbury Park, Ca: Sage.

British Columbia College of Teachers, (1997). *1997 survey of recent graduates of BC teacher education programs*. Vancouver: BC College of Teachers. Retrieved March 26, 2006 from, http://www.bcct.ca/documents/surveyofgrads.pdf

British Columbia College of Teachers, (2001). *2000 survey of recent graduates of British Columbia teacher education programs*. Vancouver: BC College of Teachers. Retrieved March 26, 2006 from, http://www.bcct.ca/documents/survey00.pdf

British Columbia College of Teachers, (2004). *2003 survey of recent graduates of British Columbia teacher education programs*. Vancouver: BC College of Teachers. Retrieved March 26, 2006 from, http://www.bcct.ca/documents/rpt_survey_may04.pdf

Brown, R. (1998). Education and training needs: Whose needs and what purpose? *Learning Quarterly* 2 (1), 8 - 11.

Burgess, R. G., (Ed.), (1995). *Howard Becker on education*. Toronto: OISE Press

Candida-Smith, R. (2001). Analytic strategies for oral history interviews. in J.F. Gubrium & J.A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method.* (pp. 711 – 731). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Capper, C.A. (1995). An otherist poststructural perspective of the knowledge base in educational administration. In R. Donmoyer, M. Imber, & J.J. Scheurich, (Eds.)

The knowledge base in educational administration: Multiple perspectives. (pp. 285 – 299). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Castillo, J.J. (1997). Looking for the meaning of work. *Work and Occupations* 24 (4), 413 – 425.

Cherryholmes, C.H. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Ciscell, R.E. (1988). Professional commitment among preservice teachers: Updating the mattress philosophy. *Contemporary Education* 59 (3), 150-153.

Ciulla, J.B. (2000). *The working life: The promise and betrayal of modern work*. New York: Times Books.

Creswell, J.W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

Crick, N.M.A. (1998). *Voluntary role exit from teaching by successful veteran teachers: A qualitative exploration*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

Darling-Hammond, L., and Sclan, E.M., (1996). Who teaches and why. In J. Sikula, T.J. Buttery, & E. Guyton, (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education*. (pp. 67 – 101). New York: MacMillan.

Davies, S. (1994). Cultural theories of class inequality in Canadian education. In L. Erwin & D.R. MacLennan, (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice*. (pp. 83 – 101). Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

Dawson, J. (2005). A history of vocation: Tracing a keyword of work, meaning, and moral purpose. *Adult Education Quarterly* 55, (3), 220 – 231.

Derrida, J. (1999) *Monolingualism of the other; or, the prosthesis of origin.* Trans. Patrick Mensah. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Donaldson, E.L. (1992). Links between education and employment: What is the educators' responsibility? *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations* 5 (2), 52 - 62.

Donmoyer, R., Imber, M., & Scheurich, J.J., (Eds.). (1995). *The knowledge base in educational administration: Multiple perspectives*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Ducharme, E.R., and Ducharme, M.K., (1996). Needed research in teacher education. In J. Sikula, J. T.J. Buttery, & E. Guyton (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education*. (pp. 1030 – 1046) New York: MacMillan.

Duffy, H. (2004). Treat teaching as learned profession. *University of California All Campus Consortium on Research for Diversity.* Paper pb-009-1104. Retrieved November 22, 2006 from: http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=ucaccord

Ebaugh, H.R. (1988). *Becoming an ex: The process of role exit*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Elster, J. (1989). *Nuts and bolts for the social sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Erwin, L., and MacLennan, D.R. (Eds.). (1994). *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice*. Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

Feller, R. and Walz, G. (Eds.). (1997).*Career transitions in turbulent times.* ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED398519. Retrieved December 13, 2005 from, http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2/content_storage_01/0000000b/80/21/e6/9f.pdf

Foster, W. (1998). Editor's foreword. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 34, (3), 294 - 297.

Frank, A.W. (2002). Why study peoples' stories? The dialogical ethics of narrative analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 1 (1), Article 6. Retrieved December 13, 2005 from, http://www.ualberta.ca/~ijqm

Frijters, P., Shields, M.A., and Price, S.W. (2004). *To teach or not to teach? Panel data evidence on the quitting decision.* Institute for the Study of Labour (IZA), IZA Discussion Papers, No. 1164. Retrieved November 22, 2006 from: ftp://repec.iza.org/RePEc/Discussionpaper/dp1164.pdf

Furman, G.C. (1998). Postmodernism and community in schools: Unraveling the paradox. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 34, (3), 298 - 328.

Gergen, K. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. New York: Basic Books.

Goodlad, J. (1990). *Teachers for our nation's schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Grant. (1998). Postmodernism and politics. In S. Sim, (Ed.), *Icon critical dictionary of postmodern thought*. (pp. 28 – 40). Cambridge: Icon.

Greenfield, T.B. (1982). The man who comes back through the door in the wall: Discovering truth, discovering self, discovering organizations. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 16 (3), 26 – 59.

Grosjean, G. (1998). Education and work in a market-driven economy: Policy implications. *Learning Quarterly* 2 (1), 20 - 25.

Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. (Eds.). (2001). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hall, R.H. (1994). *Sociology of work: Perspectives, analyses, and issues*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Pine Forge Press.

Hansen, D.T. (1994a). Revitalizing the idea of vocation in teaching. *The Philosophy of Education Yearbook 1994.* Retrieved December 14, 2005 from, http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES-Yearbook/94_docs/HANSEN.HTM

Hansen, D.T. (1994b). Teaching and the sense of vocation. *Educational Theory*. 44 (3) Retrieved December 14, 2005 from, http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/Educational-Theory/

Hansen, D.T. (1995) *The call to teach*. New York: Teachers College Press

Hardy, M.E., and Conway, M. E., (Eds.). (1988). *Role theory: Perspectives for health professionals*. Norwich, Connecticut: Appleton and Lange.

Hardy, M.E., and Hardy, W.L. (1988). Development of scientific thought. In M.E. Hardy, & M.E. Conway, (Eds.), *Role theory: Perspectives for health professionals*. (pp. 29 – 62). Norwich, Connecticut: Appleton and Lange.

Hargreaves, A. (1998). The emotional practice of teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 14 (8), 835 – 854.

Held, D. (1980). *Introduction to critical theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hodgkinson, C. (1983). *The philosophy of leadership*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Huebner, D. (1987). The vocation of teaching. In F.S. Bolin, & J.M. Falk, (Eds.), *Teacher renewal: Professional issues, personal choices*. (pp. 17 – 29). New York: Teachers College Press,

Illich, I. (1970). *Deschooling society.* New York: Harper and Row.

Jessor, R., Colby, A., and Schweder, R. (Eds.). (1996). *Essays on ethnography and human development*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kagen, D.M. (1992). Professional growth among preservice and beginning teachers. *Review of Educational Research 62* (2), 129 – 169.

Kamler, B. (2001). *Relocating the personal: A critical writing pedagogy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Keast, D.A. (1995). Problems of validity in research on decisions and values. *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations* 9 (1), 9 – 25.

Kelly, J., (1997). Giving birth to an elephant: Research on race in a white society. *Canadian and International Education* 26 (2), 59 – 70.

Koenigsberg, J., Garet, M.S., and Rosenbaum, J.E. (1994). The effect of family on the job exits of young adults. *Work and Occupations* 21 (1), 33 – 63.

Korthagen, F.A.J., and Kessels, J.P.A.M. (1999). Linking theory and practice: Changing the pedagogy of teacher education. *Educational Researcher 28* (4), 4 – 17.

Krahn, H.J. and Lowe, G.S. (1998). *Work, industry, and Canadian society. Third edition.* Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson.

Kramer, M. (1974). *Reality shock: Why nurses leave nursing*. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby.

Krugley-Smolska, E. (1997). Global and local challenges of/to the postmodern: Implications for education. *Canadian and International Education* 26 (2), 1 - 7.

Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology 14* (2), 171 – 196.

Lather, P. (1986). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review* 56 (3), 257 - 277.

Lather, P. (1995). The validity of angels: Interpretive and textual strategies in researching the lives of women with HIV/AIDS. *Qualitative Inquiry* 1 (1), 41-68.

Lee, O., and Yarger, S.J. (1996). Modes of inquiry on teacher education. In J. Sikula, J. T.J. Buttery, & E. Guyton (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education.* (pp. 14 – 37). New York: MacMillan.

Leicht, K.T. (1998). Work (if you can get it) and occupations (if there are any)? *Work and Occupations* 25 (1), 36 – 48.

Lockhart, B. (2001) No batteries required: An interview with Vance Peavey. *The Ring. University of Victoria.* Retrieved December 14, 2005 from, http://ring.uvic.ca/01Feb16/peavey.htmll

Looker, D.L. (1994). Active capital: The impact of parents on youths' educational performance and plans. In L. Erwin & D.R. MacLennan, (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice.* (pp. 164 – 187). Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

Looker, D.L. (1997). In search of credentials: Factors affecting young adults' participation in postsecondary education. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 27 (2/3), 1 - 36.

Lortie, D.C. (1975). *Schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Loughran, J., Brown, J. and Doecke, B. (2001). Continuities and discontinuities: The transition from pre-service to first-year teaching. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice 7* (1), 7-23.

MacMillan, J. H., and Schumacher, S. (1997). *Research in education: A conceptual introduction. Fourth edition.* New York: Longman.

Malaspina University College History Department (2001). *British Columbia's history of education website: The homeroom.* Retrieved December 13, 2005 from http://www.mala.bc.ca/homeroom/

Maleuvre, D. (1999) Book review: Monolingualism of the other; or the prothesis of origin. *Substance: A Review of Theory and Literary Criticism* 29 (3), 170 – 175.

McAulay, B.J. (1997) *Professional commitment: Amalgam of commitments to multiple foci.* Paper presented at the Eastern academy of Management 1997, New Brunswick, NJ, April.

McKeown, B., MacDonnell, A., and Bowman, C. (1993). The point of view of the student in attrition research. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 23 (2), 65 – 85.

McLaren, P. (1994). Critical pedagogy: Constructing an arch of social dreaming and a doorway to hope. In L. Erwin, & D.R. MacLennan, (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice.* (pp. 137 – 160). Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

McLaughlin, M.W., Pfeifer, R.S., Swanson-Owens, D., and Yee, S. (1986). Why teachers won't teach. *Phi Delta Kappan* 67, 420 - 426.

Meich, R.A., and Elder, G.H. (1996). The service ethic and teaching. *Sociology of Education* 69, 237 – 253.

Mishler, E. (1992). Work, identity, and narrative: An artist craftsman's story. In G. Rosenwald & R. Ochberg (Eds), *Storied lives: The cultural politics of self-understanding.* (pp. 21 – 40). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Mishler, E. G. (1999). *Storylines: Craftartists' narratives of identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.

Mourad, R.P. (1997). *Postmodern philosophical critique and the pursuit of knowledge in higher education*. Westport, Ct: Bergin & Garvey.

Murphy, R. (1994). A Weberian approach to credentials: Credentials a code of exclusionary closure. In L. Erwin, & D.R. MacLennan, (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice*. (pp. 102 – 119). Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

Paquette, J. (1998). Education and vocationalism in the age of the "death of work". *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations* 12 (1), 10 - 29.

Parsons, T. (1959). The school class as a social system. *Harvard Educational Review*

Payne, M. ed. (1997) *Dictionary of cultural and critical theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Potter, A.E. (1997). Working: A perspective for a new generation. In R. Feller & G. Walz (Eds.), *Career transitions in turbulent times* (pp. 285 – 292). ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED398519. Retrieved December 13, 2005 from, http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2/content_storage_01/0000000b/80/21/e6/9f.pdf

Richardson, V., (1996). The role of attitudes and beliefs in learning to teach. In J. Sikula, J. T.J. Buttery, & E. Guyton (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education*. (pp. 102 – 119) New York: MacMillan.

Riessman, C.K. (2001). Analysis of personal narratives. In J.F. Gubrium & J.A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*. (pp. 695 – 710). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Rimmon-Kenan, S. (1983). *Narrative fiction: Contemporary poetics*. London: Methuen.

Rindfuss, R.R., Cooksey, E.C., and Sutterlin, R.L. (1999). Young adult occupational achievement: Early expectations versus behavioral reality. *Work and Occupations* 26 (2), 220 – 263.

Ritzer, G. (1997). McJobs. In R. Feller & G. Walz (Eds.), *Career transitions in turbulent times* (pp. 211 – 218). ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED398519. Retrieved December 13, 2005 from, http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2/content_storage_01/0000000b/80/21/e6/9f.pdf

Rosenwald, G. & Ochberg, R. (Eds.). (1992). *Storied lives: The cultural politics of self-understanding*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ryan, J., and Drake, S.M. (1992). Narrative and knowledge: Teaching educational administration in a postmodern world. *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations* 7 (2), 13 - 26.

Scheurich, J.J. (1995). The knowledge base in educational administration: Postpositivist reflections. In R. Donmoyer, M. Imber, & J.J. Scheurich, (Eds.), *The knowledge base in educational administration: Multiple perspectives*. (pp. 17 – 31). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Schlossberg, N. K. (1997). A model of worklife transitions. In R. Feller & G. Walz (Eds.), *Career transitions in turbulent times* (pp. 93-104). ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED398519. Retrieved December 13, 2005 from, http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2/content_storage_01/0000000b/80/21/e6/9f.pdf

Scribner, J.P. (1999). Professional development: Untangling the influence of work context on teacher learning. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 35 (2), 238 – 266.

Sikula, J., Buttery, T.J., and Guyton, E. (Eds.). (1996). *Handbook of research on teacher education*. New York: MacMillan.

Silverman, D. (1989). Six rules of qualitative research: A post-romantic argument. *Symbolic Interaction* 12 (2), 215 – 230.

Sim, S., (Ed.). (1998). *Icon critical dictionary of postmodern thought*. Cambridge: Icon.

Siniscalco, M.T. (2002). *A statistical profile of the teaching profession*. Geneva: International Labour Organization and United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization. Retrieved November 22, 2006 from: http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/sector/papers/education/stat_profile02.pdf

Slattery, P. (1997). *Postmodern curriculum research and alternative forms of data representation.* The Curriculum and Pedagogy Institute of the University of Alberta. Retrieved December 13, 2005, from, http://www.Quasar.ualberta.ca/cpin/cpinfolder/papers/slattery.htm

Spillman, N. (2005). Baby Boom Echo and Classroom Diversity Influence Trends. *School Planning & Management* 44 (12), p10-11. Retrieved November 28, 2006, from, http://www.allbusiness.com/educational-services/853753-1.html

Stuart, C. and Thurlow, D. (2000). Making it on their own: Preservice teachers' experiences, beliefs, and classroom practices. *Journal of Teacher Education* 51 (2), 113 – 125.

Swanson, J.R., (1995). Toward a restructuring of education and work. *The Educational Forum* 59 (2), 211 – 213.

Tatto, M.T., (1998) The influence of teacher education on teachers' beliefs about purposes of education, roles, and practice. *Journal of Teacher Education* 49 (1), 66 – 77.

Taylor, G.D. (1994). Sociological interpretations of schooling: The functional perspective. In L. Erwin, & D.R. MacLennan, (Eds.), *Sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives on theory, research, and practice.* (pp. 32 – 54). Mississauga, Ontario: Copp Clark Longman.

Teaching Profession Act, RSBC 1996, CHAPTER 449. (2006). Retrieved November 22, 2006 from: http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/legislation/schoollaw/teaching_profession_act_contents.pdf

The University Presidents Council of British Columbia, (2001). *BC university student outcomes: 2000 survey of 1998 baccalaureate graduates.* Retrieved December 13, 2005, from

http://www.tupc.bc.ca/student_outcomes/publications/graduate_outcomes/graduate_followup_survey_2000/detailed_reports/reports/cip_ALL_13.0101.pdf

The University Presidents Council of British Columbia, (2006). *BC university student outcomes: 2004 survey of 2002 baccalaureate graduates*. Retrieved March 26, 2006, from http://www.tupc.bc.ca/student_outcomes/publications/graduate_outcomes/graduate_followup_survey_2004/detailed_reports/reports/cip_ALL_13.0101.pdf

Turley, S. (1999). Indicators of 'at risk' performance by student-teachers in a preservice elementary education program. *Education* 119 (3), 490 - 501.

Veenman, S. (1984). Perceived problems of beginning teachers. *Review of Educational Research 54* (2), 143 – 178.

Veenman, S. (1987). *On becoming a teacher: An analysis of initial training*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 312 231.

Walby, S. (1992). Post-post-modernism? Theorizing social complexity. In M. Barrett, & A. Phillips (Eds.), *Destabilizing theory: Contemporary feminist debates*. (pp. 31 – 52). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Watson, N. (1998). Postmodernism and lifestyles. in S. Sim, (Ed.), *Icon critical dictionary of postmodern thought*. (pp. 53 – 64). Cambridge: Icon.

Weinstein, C. (1989). Teacher education students' perceptions of teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education* 40 (2), 53-61.

Weiss, E.M. (1999). Perceived workplace conditions and first year teachers' morale, career choice commitment and planned retention: A secondary analysis. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 15, 861 – 879.

Why teachers flee the classroom. (2000, September 11). *New Statesman* 29 (4503), 5 – 6.

Wilhelm, K., Dewhurst-Savellis, J., and Parker, G. (2000). Teacher stress? An analysis of why teachers leave and why they stay. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice 6* (3), 292-304.

Willower, D.J. (1993). Whither educational administration? The post postpositivist era. *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations* 8 (2), 13 - 31.

Wilson, J. (1998). Preconditions for educational research. *Educational Research* 40 (2), 161 - 167.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Informed consent form

But not teaching: An exploration into non-participation in the teaching profession
Informed Consent to Participate in this Study

(Graduates from any university who have completed a teacher-education program [B.Ed. or Ed. Diploma], but do not currently work as teachers, are invited to participate in this project.)

You are invited to participate in a study entitled *But not teaching: An exploration into non-participation in the teaching profession,* that I am conducting as part of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree in the Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies department of the Faculty of Education at the University of Victoria.

My name is James Paulson – I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Victoria and a faculty member at Camosun College in Victoria. Please feel free to contact me at 250-370-3256, or paulsonj@uvic.ca, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study. The project is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe in the Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies Department. She can be contacted at 250-721-7729 or at martiny@uvvm.uvic.ca. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study by contacting the Associate Vice-President of Research at the University of Victoria at 250-472-4632 citing protocol number 05-225-04B.

The purpose of this research project is to gain a greater understanding of the experiences of graduates of teacher education programs who have decided not to enter the teaching profession. Very little is known about the conditions that that have influenced qualified teachers who do not teach, and this study will attempt to discover the processes at work in the employment decisions of this significant group.

Specifically, goals of this research project include the following: (a) to understand the construction of attitudes toward the teaching profession among non-practicing teachers; (b) to understand the circumstances behind decisions given by non-practicing teachers regarding i) undertaking teacher education, and ii) non-participation in the profession; and (c) to uncover perceptions of various barriers to entry into the teaching profession

Non-teaching graduates of teacher education programs, who completed their degrees between the years 1994 and 2004, and who have never held a continuing teaching contract, are invited to take part in this study. If this describes you, you may voluntarily participate in this research project by reading this form thoroughly and providing your signature in the space indicated at the bottom.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, you will be asked to take part in a personal interview of approximately one hour in length. If you do not live in the Victoria BC region you may participate by telephone. Although there is little

anticipated risk to you through your participation in this study, some participants may have found that the circumstances and decision to not pursue a career in teaching were emotionally difficult. Recounting this period may cause emotional upset, and if this occurs you should feel free to end the interview, temporarily or permanently. The interviewer will be sensitive to this and offer these options should this arise. Personal interviews will be digital-audio-recorded. These recordings will be kept in a password protected computer file on the Camosun College network, and will be destroyed immediately after they have been transcribed for analysis. Following completion of this project, all recorded interviews, interview transcripts and other records will be destroyed.

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time without any explanation or consequences. Although there is a possibility that at the time you withdraw, some of the information you have previously provided has been analyzed, all unanalyzed data that you have provided will be destroyed and not used in the final report.

To protect your anonymity, you will be asked to provide only very limited personal information. You will be identifiable to the researcher only by number during data analysis, and not at all to any other person.

Your participation in this research will potentially benefit society by contributing to a greater understanding of the transition of professional school graduates from university to the workplace. It is therefore possible that the results from this study may be presented at scholarly conferences and published in academic journals.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have any questions answered by the researcher.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

Your second signature indicates that you also give consent for your interview to be audio recorded, transcribed and analyzed.

_____	
Signature	*Date*

A copy of this consent form will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

All responses will be considered confidential information and no individual will be identified in any report.

Appendix 2: Invitation for potential participants

Invitation to Participate in a UVic doctoral thesis research project

Graduates from any university who have completed a teacher-education program (B.Ed. or Ed. Diploma), but do not currently work as teachers, are invited to participate in this project.

October 2005

If you are a non-practicing qualified teacher who graduated from a university teacher-education (degree or PDP) program between the years 1994 and 2004, and have never held a full time continuing teaching contract, you are invited to participate in a study entitled *But not teaching: An exploration into non-participation in the teaching profession,* that I am conducting as part of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree in the Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies department of the Faculty of Education at the University of Victoria.

My name is James Paulson – I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Victoria and a faculty member at Camosun College in Victoria. Please feel free to contact me at 250-370-3256, or paulsonj@uvic.ca, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study. The project is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Yvonne Martin-Newcombe in UVic's Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies Department. She can be contacted at 250-721-7729 or at martiny@uvvm.uvic.ca. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study by contacting the Associate Vice-President of Research at the University of Victoria at 250-472-4632 citing protocol number 05-225-04b. .

The purpose of this research project is to gain a greater understanding of the experiences behind the decisions of qualified and credentialed teacher education graduates not to enter the teaching profession. Very little is known about the conditions that that have influenced qualified teachers who do not teach, and this study will attempt to discover historical, cultural, and environmental processes at work in the decisions of this significant group. If you are a non-practicing teacher who graduated between 1994 and 2004, your investment of a bit of time to participate will be greatly appreciated.

Let me assure you that your participation in this research project is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences or any explanation. Although there is a possibility that at the time you withdraw, some of the information you have previously provided has been analyzed, all unanalyzed data that you have provided will be destroyed and not used in the final report. If you decide to participate, your responses will be held in the strictest confidence. No identifying links between responses and the individual responding will be retained. .

To participate, please contact me at Paulsonj@uvic.ca and I will forward a consent form to you by return e-mail. To protect your anonymity, you will be asked to provide only very limited personal information. Your name and e-mail address will

not be included in any of the data analyses, and your e-mail address will not be given out to any third party whatsoever

Many thanks for helping me out with this research project.

James Paulson
International Education
Camosun College
3100 Foul Bay Road
Victoria, BC V8P 5J2
Telephone: 250-370-3256

Appendix 3: Interview guide

Interview Guide

This is an interpretive inquiry; therefore the most appropriate method of collecting the data is to conduct one-on-one interviews with a number of participants. As is often the case with data-gathering methods in interpretive research, terminology can be a problem. The types of interviews that fit the label interpretive or qualitative are variously referred to by different terms for roughly the same thing: 'semi-structured,' 'unstructured,' 'in-depth,' 'exploratory,' and so on. The interviews in this study will be what I will term semi-structured; that is they will be neither a free flowing conversation nor a questionnaire, but follow an interview guide focusing on themes, rather than on answers to specific questions [Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews.* Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage]. While the use of an interview guide for semi-structured interviews is not normally seen in narrative inquiries, I decided to use one in this inquiry because it helps guide the narrative through the three stages of occupational and student live I was exploring. Although questions are provided in this interview guide, they are intended to be thematic and prompt in-depth responses, rather than precise details. Individual interviews should take approximately two hours to complete, but two and a half to three hours will be scheduled. Each successive phase of the interview will be more structured than the previous in order to understand the specific circumstances of non-participation in teaching, and also to see how the participant's story progresses toward the theme of vocational collapse.

The interviews will begin with the introduction of the researcher and a brief description of how the interview will proceed, emphasizing the confidentiality of the process, and the fact that the interview will be audio-recorded.

- The first part of each interview will be quite open and less structured in order to invoke individual, cultural and collective stories of vocation and vocational collapse. The participant's relevant biography and career choices will provide a narrative for the examination of constructions of these metaphors. Topics will include:
  - Participants' educational and career histories
  - General perceptions of post-secondary education and teacher education.
  - Youthful impressions of teaching as a career
  - Discussion of reasons for and influences on participants' educational choices (reasons for pursuing post-secondary education in general and teacher education in particular)

  Sample Questions:
  1. I'd like to start by asking you just to tell me a little bit about yourself. Where did you grow up (urban or rural), do you have a family?
  2. What type of work did your parents (guardians) do?
  3. What did you want to be when you were growing up?
  4. Why do you think you wanted to be a…?
  5. What was high school like for you? For example; some students feel like they belong at school, while others do not have a sense of belonging. Did you have a sense of belonging at the schools you attended while growing up?

6. (If the answer to No. 4 above is 'a teacher'), how did this sense of belonging or not belonging in school relate to you decision to enter teacher education?
7. (If the answer to No. 4 above is not 'a teacher'), why do you think you then decided to take teacher education?
8. When you were a child and a teenager, what images or ideas did you have about being a teacher?
9. What ideas or images did you have of university?
10. Did you consider any programs other than teacher education? Which other programs did you consider?
11. Tell me about how and why you made the decision to pursue teacher education?

- The second part of the interview will become more structured (while still semi-structured) and will focus primarily on the participant's perception of specific (individual, interpersonal, organizational, societal) factors relating to teacher education, teaching as a profession, and teaching as a vocation. Questions will refer to stories of the end of the participant's university experience, graduation and subsequent entry into working life, and the decision not to enter the teaching profession. Topics will include:
  - Discussion of influences on future employment choices during youth and childhood
  - Subsequent discussion of influences on educational choices during and after secondary school
  - Perceptions of the effects of community, family and educational history on employment opportunities, choices and life course
  - Examination of the words used to describe educational and occupational choices – 'a calling', 'vocation', the acorn doesn't fall far from the tree', 'following in one's footsteps, ' and so on
  - How participants' views toward teaching have changed over time and how participants currently view their decision not to pursue a teaching career

  Sample Questions:

  1. Did you always think you would go to university after high school?
  2. Tell me about how and why you made the decision to go to university? Was it made at a specific point that you could identify, or over a period of time, or was there always an expectation that you would go?
  3. Was there specific language used in conversations about "what you would be when you grew up" in your home, school, and social environment? (e.g., one's job was 'a calling', 'vocation', the acorn doesn't fall far from the tree', 'following in one's footsteps, ')
  4. What descriptors did you use for teaching as an occupation?
  5. Would you use the same descriptors now?
  6. What type of work do you do now?
  7. How did you decide to be a…/to work as a…?
  8. Do you see yourself doing the same job 10 years from now?
  9. Have you always worked as a…?

10. If not, what other types of work have you done since graduating from university?
11. Tell me about how and why you made the decision not to become a teacher?
12. When did you make that decision? Was there a specific point at which you decided not to teach, or did it take place over a period of time?
13. I'd like to talk in a little more detail about some of the things that influenced your decision not to pursue teaching as a career. What factors contributed to your decision to NOT teach?
    Possible Probes:
    OTHER PLANS: Did you have other goals or plans that made pursuing a teaching career difficult? (a good job from student days that you didn't want to give up; wanted to take some time off after graduation and never got back into the market; wanted to raise a family)
    OTHER PEOPLE: Were there important people in your life who discouraged you from pursuing a teaching career?
    QUALIFICATIONS: Did you have any problems with not having the right requirements for the job market? (wrong specialty for the current market, poor grades)
    EMPLOYMENT OPTIONS: While you were in university, did you get (find or look for) information about options for employment after graduation? Do you feel that enough information was available to you (about your options for employment after graduation)? IF NOT: What information do you wish you had had?
    BARRIERS: Was there anything that got in your way? (districts not hiring new teachers, a young family to raise, spouse whose work took you to a different community)

- Finally, the last part of the interview will explore the participant's construction of vocation and career, if it has not been sufficiently covered in the first two phases, and will focus on the participant's reflection on the decision not to teach and feelings about vocational collapse. Topics will include:
  - Discussion of personal career planning, or lack of it, in relation to notions about "this is what I will be when I grow up."
  - Assessment of the personal obstacles that participants may perceive as having influenced their choice not to pursue a teaching career
  - Discussion of carry-over effect of teacher education in feelings of occupational identity.
  - Possible suggestions for supports at university that might either assist entry to the profession or identify that the profession 'is not for me'

  Sample questions:
  1. In a well known book about teachers, *Schoolteacher: A sociological study* (Lortie 1975), the author, Dan Lortie, says that one of the reasons people think they might want to become teachers is because of what he calls an 'extended apprenticeship.' That is, twelve to thirteen years in schools during the most impressionable years of a person's life providing a type of perceived on-the-

job training. This can have either a positive or negative effect on the success of this person as a potential teacher. What is your opinion of this idea?

2. It has been noted in some research studies that many individuals who have quit particular jobs or professions tend to retain the identity of what was they once did. Such as "I'm a teacher, but I don't teach," what is your opinion of this?
3. Imagine that you were talking to a young person thinking about going to university to train to become a teacher. What would your best advice be to that person?
4. Are there any additional comments that you feel you would like to make regarding the topic or would you like to clarify any areas that you feel you were not sufficiently covered in the interview?

Thank the participant and end the interview.