Onwards and Upwards? Eleven Career Stories from a Teacher Training College

An Exploration in Narrative Knowledging

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Abstract

This study is framed as an exploration in narrative knowledging and has a focus on the recent end-of-career experience of teachers. The study develops an innovative methodological approach that combines a more traditional social sciences perspective with an arts-based and documentary stance less common in the social sciences, and adopts Barkhuizen's five core dimensions of narrative inquiry as a theoretical framework. Hockerill College was a teacher training college that opened in 1852 and was closed in 1978. Its motto was Onwards and Upwards. The eleven participants in this study, an opportunistic sample, were in the final cohorts of trainee teachers at the college prior to its closure and, at the time the research was undertaken, were either recently retired, approaching retirement, or considering future retirement. Using photo, music, document and graphic elicitation thirty-two audio-recorded online life history interviews were conducted through Microsoft Skype. Drawing on case study, life history and arts-based approaches the study develops a methodological process to preserve the authority and power of the participant voice by using only the participant voice in the narrative analysis, with transcript data distilled into individual verbatim narrative career stories. An interactive approach to the experience of the participant voice is suggested through a supporting playlist of the songs that are linked with the eleven verbatim narrative career stories in the study. A conventional representation of findings was not consistent with the innovative narrative knowledging framing and findings are embodied in the form, contents and sequencing of the verbatim narrative career stories. Further context to the verbatim narrative career stories is given through consideration of the background to teacher training colleges and their closure, an overview of ideas about sense of place and place stories, discussion on the concept of career and career change, and a reflection on teacher professional identity.

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It has been a great privilege to work with the participants in this research. The approach taken has required them to not only take part in an extended sequence of life history interviews, but has also involved a considerable engagement with preparation for the interviews and the subsequent review of transcript data and drafts of the verbatim narrative career stories. This study would not have been possible without their generous support and unstinting commitment.

Introduction

Hockerill College, motto Onwards and Upwards, was a teacher training college. It was opened in 1852 and closed in 1978. The participants in this study were in the final cohorts of trainee teachers at the college prior to its closure and, at the time the research was undertaken, were either recently retired, approaching retirement, or considering future retirement.

College Context

Participants selected documents and photographs as part of their preparation for the life history interviews that form the basis of the study, and examples of these provide a helpful context for the college.

The Hockerill College Prospectus for 1973-74 outlines the history and situation of the college (Figure 1):

The College

History

The College was founded in 1852 and is at present administered by a Governing Body consisting of Governors from the two foundation Dioceses of St Albans and Chelmsford and of representatives as listed.

The original College for sixty students, built round a central quadrangle with a well in the middle, is of red brick Victorian Gothic and is mentioned as of interest in Pevsner's *Buildings of Hertfordshire*. It has been added to in each generation and a feature of the College is the mingling of old and new buildings with the old buildings modernised inside. The most recent new building is a Drama Studio completed in 1972, and plans are well advanced for a new Student Building to include the JCR and recreational facilities.

The College is a Church of England foundation and has an Anglican priest as a full-time chaplain who is available to all students.

Worship in the College draws on the variety of traditions represented in the community. Staff and students are invited to share in this and explore together new approaches. There are daily services in the College Chapel and a weekly celebration of Holy Communion.

Situation

The College stands in twenty-four acres of land and has playing fields of over ten acres. In the grounds there are many beautiful trees. Bishops Stortford is a pleasant market town with considerable character. The town is expanding rapidly but is not too big to have a vigorous local life in which the College plays a full part. The town lies half-way between London and Cambridge, and visits to theatres, museums, concerts and art galleries in these two centres are a regular part of College life. There are also lively contacts with the neighbouring town of Harlow. At the same time the College is on the verge of open country and within easy reach of some of the most beautiful small towns and villages in East Anglia, e.g. Thaxted, Finchingfield and Saffron Walden, as well as Hatfield Forest and places of historic interest like Audley End mansion and estate.

Figure 1. Hockerill College Prospectus 1973-74 – College History and Situation (p. 4)

For many of the participants in the study the 'red brick Victorian Gothic' architecture with 'central quadrangle' within the setting of grounds of 'twenty-four acres' with 'many beautiful trees', as described in the college prospectus, were important elements in their experience of the college. Some significant aspects of this architectural context from the participant perspective are shared with the reader through the images that follow (Picture 1 to Picture 5):

Picture 1. View of Hockerill College Library (Bishop's Stortford and Thorley, 2004, para. 4)

Picture 2. View of Hockerill College Porter's Lodge Main Entrance from Chelmsford House Hostel c. 1975 (Participant 6 Interview 1)

Picture 3. View of Hockerill College Art and Design Studio c. 1976 (Participant 3 Interview 1)

Picture 4. View of Hockerill College Truro House Hostel c. 1975 (Participant 4 Interview 1)

Picture 5. View of Hockerill College Central Quadrangle (Hockerill College Prospectus 1973-74, p. 9)

The college had a reputation for producing excellent teachers and for having a distinctive, supportive pastoral ethos. By the mid-1970s, following UK government plans for the reorganisation of higher education generally and teacher training specifically, the college's future changed quite quickly from the situation reported in a local newspaper on the 6th of November 1975 (Figure 2) that 'the college may cease to function as a teacher training college within the next few years' and that 'from 1980 no initial training intake should be allocated' (Herts & Essex Observer, 1975, p. 40)

Figure 2. End of Teacher Training at Hockerill? (Herts & Essex Observer, 1975, p. 40)

to confirmation on the 4th of March 1976 (Figure 3) that 'this week the college learned that they were not to be allowed to take their prospective 1976 intake of 125 students and that teacher training would cease in 1978' (Herts & Essex Observer, 1976, p. 1).

Figure 3. College to Close in '78 (Herts & Essex Observer, 1976, p. 1)

At the time of the announcement of the closure Hockerill College supported around 400 students training to be 'infant, junior or junior/secondary' teachers (Hockerill College Prospectus 1973-74, p. 6). The trainee teachers followed a three-year course that included studying the principles and practice of education, a main subject, and the opportunity to study a subsidiary subject. The course included three extended periods of Teaching Practice (TP) away from the college, one in each of the three academic years, in schools and settings linked with the college. Upon successful completion of their studies students were awarded a Certificate in Education (Cert.Ed) that was accredited by the Cambridge Institute of Education. The front page

from the 1977 Certificate in Education Pass List outlines the four requirements for the qualification and the different classifications of passes (Figure 4):

CAMBRIDGE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

EXAMINATION FOR THE CERTIFICATE IN EDUCATION

PASS LIST 1977

Students named in this Pass List have fulfilled the requirements of the Institute for the award of a Certificate. To qualify for a Certificate a student must:

(a) have satisfactorily completed the course of training;

(b) have passed in practical teaching and obtained a satisfactory grade in the Education Course and at least one Main Course;

(c) have reached a satisfactory standard in the use of the English Language;

(d) have reached a satisfactory standard in the examination as a whole.

Credits and Distinctions are awarded in the Principles of Education and in the Main Course; these are indicated by the symbols given below. No Distinctions or Credits are awarded in Subsidiary Course subjects; but the subjects are entered and a key given overleaf.

d = pass with Distinction   c = pass with Credit

The symbol 'q' denotes that the student has passed the B.Ed. Qualifying Examination in the subject indicated.

The symbol 'a' denotes an aegrotat pass.

J.E. SKINNER
Director of the Institute

Figure 4. Hockerill College Certificate in Education Pass List 1977 - Front Page (Participant 4 Interview 1)

The front page of the Pass List also explains that students could achieve qualification to study for a Bachelor of Education degree (B.Ed). This further study would usually

be completed in a fourth year as an honours degree, either through a college at Cambridge University, or at Keswick Hall teacher training college accredited by the University of East Anglia. For the final intake of students it was also possible to opt to study for a B.Ed degree at Hockerill College.

Examined in detail the 1977 Certificate in Education Pass List gives helpful context to the study. It indicates the number of trainees completing the course in a year, the main and subsidiary subjects that were taken, along with their uptake and pass classifications, and the numbers of students achieving the B.Ed qualifying standard. My analysis of the 1977 Pass List shows that 122 trainees gained a Cert.Ed that year, with 44 of the students achieving the B.Ed qualifying standard in Principles of Education (Table 1):

Hockerill College Cert.Ed 1977	Number of Trainees	Number of Passes	Number of Passes with Credit	Number of Passes with Distinction	B.Ed Qualifying
Principles of Education	122	39	68	15	44

Table 1. Hockerill College Certificate in Education Pass List 1977 – Analysis of Principles of Education Passes

My analysis of the 1977 Pass List also indicates that there were twelve main subjects taken by trainees in that cohort – as listed below - with a range from 2 trainees for German to 24 trainees for Art and Design, and with 20 students in total achieving the B.Ed qualifying standard in their main subject (Table 2):

Hockerill College Cert.Ed 1977 Main Subject	Number of Trainees	Number of Passes	Number of Passes with Credit	Number of Passes with Distinction	B.Ed Qualifying
Art and Design	24	10	7	7	0
Biology	7	3	3	1	0
English	20	12	6	2	8
English with Drama	15	7	8	0	4
French	5	2	2	1	0
Geography	12	9	3	0	1
German	2	1	1	0	0
History	13	8	5	0	1
Mathematics	4	1	2	1	0
Music	4	2	2	0	0
Religious Studies	8	3	4	1	4
Sociology	8	4	3	1	2
Totals	**122**	**62**	**46**	**14**	**20**

Table 2. Hockerill College Certificate in Education Pass List 1977 – Analysis of Main Subject Passes

My analysis of the 1977 Pass List further indicates that 68 of the 122 trainees also gained a Pass, no classification, in a subsidiary subject. There were nine subsidiary subjects available - as listed below – with a range of completion from 3 trainees for Biology and for Physical Science, to 20 trainees for Physical Education (Table 3):

Hockerill College Cert.Ed 1977 Subsidiary Subject	Number of Trainees
Biology	3
Dance	9
Environmental Studies	11
French	4
Mathematics	4
Music	7
Physical Education	20
Physical Science	3
Religious Studies	7
Total	**68**

Table 3. Hockerill College Certificate in Education Pass List 1977 – Analysis of Subsidiary Subject Passes

Helpful context to the study is also given below through an example of the requirements for the study of Principles of Education. The example is taken from Year 2 of the academic year 1975/76, and includes guidance for seminar contributions, the 'Education File', and the 'Pink Paper' on curriculum (Figure 5):

YEAR TWO 1975/6

A)   Seminar Contributions – Terms 1 & 2.

      These will undoubtedly take many forms, i.e. essays, analyses,
observations, demonstrations, creative interpretations, investigations, etc.
The important matter is that you should give serious thought to the subject
in hand and help your group to achieve a better understanding of the
issues involved.

b)   Education File

      You already have begun this. It will contain your thoughts about
education, impressions, articles, notes, etc. Keeping the File is a
requirement; and it must be available for submission to the External
Examiners.

C)   Pink Paper – The Curriculum

      You are required to submit an extended essay (or equivalent) on the
nature of the curriculum. There are three sections:

Section 1   Outline contrasting accounts of the meaning of 'curriculum',
              including some consideration of the current philosophical
              arguments, and the viewpoints reflected in other societies.

              Date Due: Monday 1st December.

Section 2   Identify the factors influencing curriculum change and show
              how these factors have operated.

              THEN, IN CONSULTATION WITH YOUR EDUCATION TUTOR, EITHER:

              (a) critically appraise one Curriculum Project, preferably
                  in the area of your Main Subject.

                  or –

              (b) make a detailed study of the thinking of any one
                  educator whom you believe to have had a significant
                  influence on the changing concept of curriculum. Do
                  not make this an isolated study of an educator, but
                  relate changing concepts of curriculum to the ideas and
                  insights of the educator concerned.

                  Date Due: Monday 8th March.

Section 3   From your own experience analyse the types of curriculum
              that you have encountered, and say how well you feel the
              aims and objectives were achieved.

              Date Due: Monday 7th June.

Length   Section 1   2,500 – 3,000 words
              Section 2   2,000 – 2,500 words
              Section 3   1,500 – 2,000 words

              (If you feel that you need to exceed these limits,
               you must consult your Education Tutor.)

Figure 5. Example of Hockerill College Principles of Education Requirements – Year 2
1975/76 (Participant 4 Interview 1)

The Author Behind the Text

My own position in this research starts as a member of the Hockerill College community. I attended the college in its second to last intake and trained as a junior/secondary teacher. My main subject was English with Drama and my subsidiary subject Physical Education. Having achieved the B.Ed qualifying standard in the Cert.Ed I then completed an honours degree at Keswick Hall. I subsequently worked for thirty-six years in inner city and rural secondary schools as a teacher of English and Physical Education. I held a number of academic and pastoral posts of responsibility in that time including Head of English, Head of Year 11 and Head of Upper School. My final post was as an Assistant Headteacher (Teaching and Learning) before taking voluntary redundancy and early retirement.

Holmes (2020), drawing on Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011), states that 'reflexivity is the concept that researchers should acknowledge and disclose their selves in their research, seeking to understand their part in it, or influence on it' and that 'reflexivity informs positionality' (p. 2). Riessman (2015) argues that 'reflexivity involves entering a hall of mirrors that illuminates a social phenomenon from many angles', where 'adding something personal as a rhetorical flourish is not sufficient', and therefore 'the task is to account for our situated selves in a scholarly product, thereby lending the research credibility and validity' (p. 233).

In my last school it was the tradition for leaving staff to be presented with a caricature of them drawn by an artist on the staff, and below is a view held by at least one colleague of my professional self (Picture 6):
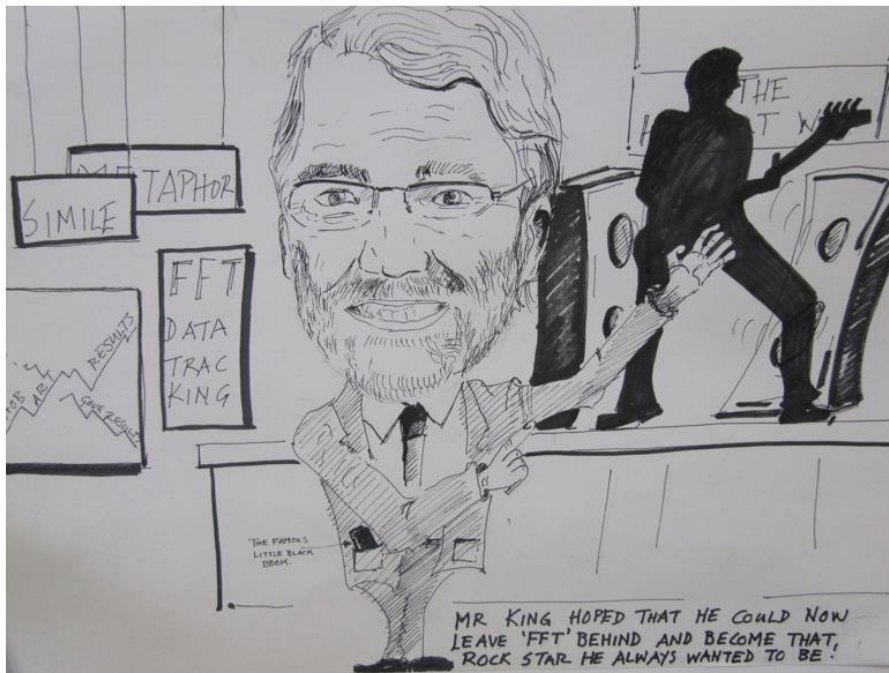
Picture 6. Retirement Caricature (Meny-Gibert, 2014)

This professional caricature offers some physical representation of the – White, British, male-identifying, straight, with a disability – author behind this study. It also suggests a positioning of classroom and subject teacher (the simile and metaphor hanging signs), senior school leader (data analysis, dark suit, white shirt and tie, the little black book for recording pupil discipline) and arts-based practitioner (the stage, shadowed musician and performance).

There is also the position of the academic in this research. Thirteen years into my teaching career I completed an MA in Applied Research in Education in the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) at the University of East Anglia, with Professors John Elliott and Barry MacDonald. Their inspirational work and teaching created my own continuing interest in exploring innovative qualitative methodological approaches to research, in particular with a focus on the portrayal of participant voice in research accounts, and this is evident in the framing of this study as 'an exploration in narrative knowledging'. In addition I spent time on secondment from teaching working at a university as a professional development tutor on a secondary Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) course. Since my retirement from teaching I have worked at a university as an associate tutor and research assistant. This has included roles as a secondary PGCE professional development

tutor, as a module leader on an MA in Educational Practice and Research (EPR), and as an MA (EPR) dissertation supervisor. My recent research has included the publication of co-authored papers on language teaching through physical education (a representation of the pupil perspective), and developing the practice of trainee teachers through a dyad model of lesson study (a representation of the student experience).

My initial motivation to conduct the research came from the funeral of an ex-student from Hockerill College who had been known to me and who was in the last intake year before the college closure. The large chapel at the funeral service was full to overflowing with standing room only, not only with family and friends, but also with colleagues from schools, senior school leaders and local authority representatives from the surrounding counties. It was clear from the many tributes given at the funeral service that this person and their subsequent career had a profound influence on the lives of many. Attending a memorial college reunion it was apparent that a pattern of significant influence was common amongst the college's ex-students and that many attributed their professional and personal successes to their experiences at the college.

Further motivation for the study came from the thanksgiving service that followed the death of the Hockerill College chaplain who had been in post in the last years of the college. The church minister who gave the memorial tribute, themselves an ex-student, described how the chaplain's 'pastoral care was exemplary', was 'inclusive of different sexualities, race and culture long before it was acceptable' and that therefore 'in many ways he was ahead of his time', that he 'made friends with the whole college' where 'no one was judged' and 'everyone was respected for who they were, and where they were' (Beynon, 2018). This moving tribute seemed to me to serve as a powerful metaphor for the personal experiences of many at the college and the careers that followed.

My concern was that here was a story that was in danger of not being told, of running out of time, of unique narrative knowledge being lost. I felt a strong moral imperative to attempt to address this and, as a consequence, developed the research proposal that resulted in the study that is revealed in the chapters that follow.

Methodology

Narrative Knowledging

Narrative knowledging has been described by Barkhuizen (2011) as 'the meaning making, learning, or knowledge construction that takes place during the narrative research activities of (co)constructing narratives, analysing narratives, reporting the findings' (p. 395). The drive for this study was to attempt to tell a story that was in danger of not being told, the story of a teacher training college that was closed and the subsequent careers and end-of-career experiences of its last students. To develop this form of narrative knowledging the following research questions were outlined:

- o RQ1 - What was distinctive about the contribution the teacher training college made to the professional and personal lives of its students? What did the college do for them?
- o RQ2 - What are the career histories of the students who were in the last cohorts of the college before it was closed?
- o RQ3 - What do participants tell us about their end-of-career experiences?
- o RQ4 - To what extent does what participants tell us about their end-of-career experiences help us to understand or conceptualise professional identity?
- o RQ5 - What can beginning, mid-career and future teachers learn from the experiences of end-of-career teachers?

In order to explore these questions the methodological stance of narrative knowledging was adopted with the 'co-construction' of the narrative a particularly important aspect in portraying the participant voice. I wanted to find a way that enabled the authority of the research account to rest with the participants.

I struggled for some time in the design of the methodological approach to explain a tension I felt between an approach characterised by a push towards elements such as discourse analysis (Paltridge, 2012), conversation analysis (Clift, 2016) and narratology (Huhn et al., 2014), and an arts-based approach (Barone and Eisner, 2012) with an eye towards expressive forms such as creative non-fiction, composite characterisation, and poetic re-presentation. I have been able to reconcile this

tension by adopting Barkhuizen's (2020a) five core dimensions of narrative inquiry as the theoretical framework for the methodological approach taken in this study. Barkhuizen presents each of these dimensions as a continuum, and this depiction is particularly helpful in allowing me to develop where I believe this study to be positioned within the methodological claim of this study to be a narrative inquiry.

Barkhuizen's core dimensions are:

- dimension one - narrative study and narrative inquiry
- dimension two - narrative and interaction
- dimension three - narrative research and researcher engagement
- dimension four - storied data
- dimension five - analysis of narrative and narrative analysis

I have adopted these dimensions as an illustrative device to structure, continuum by continuum, the explanation of the methodological components of the study. This device also enables a clear delineation of the limits of the study i.e. what the study does not do, is not able to do, or does not set out to do. In presenting these dimensions separately to explore the methodological approach taken it is recognised that Barkhuizen sees the dimensions as 'very much interconnected' (2020a, p. 190) and it is accepted that, in adopting this explanatory conceit, each dimension as outlined below potentially relates and overlaps with each of the others. However, the device allows some clarity and coherence, making clear where this study sits in a complex methodological landscape.

Dimension One: Narrative Study and Narrative Inquiry

Narrative study
Narrative = object of study

Narrative inquiry
Narrative = a means to study a phenomenon

(Barkhuizen, 2020a, p. 191, fig. 16.1)

In dimension one, narrative study and narrative inquiry, Barkhuizen (2020a) presents narrative as the 'object for study', i.e. with an emphasis on the structure of narrative, towards the left side of the continuum. The concerns for this study rest towards the right side of the continuum, using narrative as a method 'to study a phenomenon', i.e. as a means to explore the case, or series of cases, that are inherent in the focus of the research.

Case Study

MacDonald and Walker (1975) see case study as 'the examination of an instance in action' (p. 2), Stake (1995) as 'the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (p. xi). Simons (2009) offers an overall summary of the common features of case study definitions as 'a commitment to studying a situation, a phenomenon, in its "real life" context, to understanding complexity, and to defining case study other than by methods' (p. 27). Yin (2018), in the continuing refinement of his 'twofold definition' of case study and its focus on phenomenon and context, suggests that as a researcher 'you would want to do a case study because you want to understand a real-world case and assume that such an understanding is likely to involve important contextual conditions pertinent to your case' (p. 15). Overall, these views, together with Simons' (2009) own definition of case study as facilitating 'in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness' of a case, with the purpose of

generating an 'in-depth understanding', articulate an ontological and epistemological rationale for the methodological approach of this study.

Becker (1992) argues that it is methodologically important for research to be clear about, not just "what is a case", but "what this may be a case of", and that this question should be repeated throughout the research. Becker's argument is that the less certainty to the answers, the better the research may be, partly due to the repeated process of the questioning challenging any preconceptions in the research process and allowing development of new relationships between ideas and data. Recognising Becker's advice about the tentative and impermanent nature of these initial statements, what might this research be a case of? Some suggestions that have evolved through the study and related to the research questions are:

- It is a case of a teacher training college that was closed due to government policy.
- It is a case of the experiences of individuals at a particular teacher training college in the late 1970s.
- It is a case of trained teachers who decide not to leave teaching or decide to leave the profession early.
- It is a case of what happens to teachers at the end of their careers.
- It is a case of what happens to personal and professional identity during a teaching career.
- It is a case of what happens to teachers' personal and professional identity when they retire from work.
- It is a case of what it is to be a teacher.

Life History

In exploring the case there are considerable benefits that life history methodology offers in addressing the research questions, particularly with the emphasis on seeking to understand the experiences of the participants (Chase, 2008). Similarly to case study, Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) emphasise 'the power of the particular' in

life history that allows the researcher to portray 'the value of a particular experience, in a particular setting, involving particular people' (p. 21). For Clandinin and Connelly (1994) 'stories are the closest we can come to experience as we and others tell of our experience' (p. 415), seeing narrative as 'the best way of representing and understanding experience' (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p. 18). Importantly for the focus of this research, Goodson and Sikes (2001) consider that the life history approach 'explicitly recognises that lives are not hermetically compartmentalised', that life history methodology acknowledges 'there is a crucial interactive relationship between individuals' lives, their perceptions and experiences, and historical and social contexts and events' and, in terms of the research questions for this study, that a life history approach 'provides evidence to show how individuals negotiate their identities and, consequently, experience, create and make sense of the rules and roles of the social worlds in which they live' (p. 2). A central focus of this research is the lives of end-of-career teachers and what their stories may reveal about professional identities and what might happen to these identities in retirement. Bold (2012) argues that 'narratives help us understand ourselves and others by describing and explaining, by defining self and personal identity' (p. 30). A further persuasive view is the advice of Goodson and Sikes (2016) that:

> when it is something like why someone becomes a teacher, or how they cope with imposed change, or why they adopt a particular pedagogical style, or how being a teacher fits in with other aspects of a person's life such as parenthood, or what it means to be a gay or lesbian teacher, or a teacher from an ethnic minority group, the potential of life history is enormous (p. 74)

For Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) this potential of narrative inquiry, in further consideration of the ontological and epistemological rationale for this study, also recognises 'the tentative and variable nature of knowledge', with researchers accepting and valuing 'the way in which narrative inquiry allows wondering, tentativeness, and alternative views to exist as part of the research account' (p. 25).

Arts-Based Methodologies

In adopting approaches of case study and life history the importance of addressing and reconciling their presentational and representational challenges has led me to consider exploring arts-based methodologies as a means of supporting a creative, textually experimental approach, developing structures and forms that enable multiple voices and realities to inhabit the text with equality of authority and privilege, to find a form consistent with the research questions. Here I recognise that both process and presentation are relevant and intertwined, that the artistic process of working with the data is an integral part of understanding the data. Bolen and Adams (2017) consider that a weakness of traditional academic presentation is that 'the rigid expectations of academic writing constrain how we write and what we can write about' (p. 624). Richardson (1994), in challenging the conventional academic approach, asks 'How do we create texts that are vital? That are attended to? That make a difference?' (p. 517) and these questions are particularly important for me in representing the focus of this research to its community of participants and other audiences including beginning, mid-career and future teachers.

This suggests a further ontological and epistemological rationale for the study. In considering the audience for the research Stake (1994) sees presentation as the researcher emerging 'from one social experience, the observation, to choreograph another, the report' with the understanding that 'knowledge is socially constructed, so we constructivists believe, and in their experiential and contextual accounts, case study researchers assist readers in the construction of knowledge' (p. 442). The metaphor of presentation and representation as choreography is also developed by Ely (2007) as 'this business of creating forms that come closest to the essence of our understandings and presenting them in trustworthy ways is a crucial, ongoing, interactive dance' (p. 568). The representative potential for an epistemological appeal to the reader who acts as arbiter of reliability and validity is articulated by Bold (2012) who argues that 'representative constructions cannot be judged by positivistic frameworks but should instead be judged by qualities such as their trustworthiness, plausibility and applicability and the critical standpoint of the researcher' where the reader 'must judge these qualities for themselves' (p. 162).

Dimension Two: Narrative and Interaction

Stories-as-interaction   Stories-from-interaction

(Barkhuizen, 2020a, p. 192, fig. 16.2)

In dimension two, narrative and interaction, Barkhuizen (2020a) presents stories-as-interaction towards the left side of the continuum, characterised, for example, by attention to the way stories are shaped and an interest in discourse and conversation analysis. For this study attention is not directed towards how participants share their stories, nor towards the exchanges between researcher and participants. Attention is directed to what participants say and therefore the focus for this study rests towards the right side of the continuum, on stories-from-interaction, typified by concentration on the content of the data, an exploration of data *from* the interaction rather than *of* the interaction itself.

An important element of the methodological design of the study, given the central core of the research questions, has been to have the case – or perhaps more accurately the evolving cases – bounded by the participants as co-researchers through what Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) term 'shared study design and steering' (p. 57). This was supported through adopting a life history approach where the emphasis was on eliciting the participant voice through listening to what was considered important from that perspective rather than constructing an imposed agenda from me as the instigating researcher.

Life History Interviews

Peggy Seeger (Irwin, 2021), when asked about something she'd never told an interviewer before said:

> I'm a connoisseur when it comes to judging interviewers, and what
> I'd love to tell them is "You talk too much." I want to say, "Ask a
> question … and then *listen*!" (p. 20)

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My intention in conducting the life history interviews was to stay out of the interview as far as possible, to say very little and listen attentively. The emphasis was to give authority to the participant, what Chase (2008) sees as:

> transforming the interviewer-interviewee relationship into one of narrator and listener … a conceptual shift away from the idea that interviewees have answers to researchers' questions and towards the idea that interviewees are narrators with stories to tell and voices of their own (pp. 69-70)

As a consequence it was important that all interviews were face-to-face due to the need for visual rather than lexical cues in eliciting and enabling these stories and voices to develop. With this approach it is essential to allow long pauses from the participant, to accept periods of silence without interruption or prompting from the interviewer, in order to facilitate the reflection and gathering of thoughts that are significant and important for the participant. This is something that just won't work in a telephone interview. Smiles, nods, physically attentive listening and facial empathy are key techniques in supporting the stories that participants tell. The underlying philosophy was that the interview was not an interrogation to challenge, nor was it a conversation or chat between equal partners – the intent for me as the researcher was to be an absorbed, engaged and empathetic audience for the participant.

Due in part to the social and travel restrictions in place during the Covid-19 pandemic, but also due to the large geographical separations between participants and the researcher, these face-to-face interviews were conducted online using Microsoft Skype. (See Appendix 10 for a table of the interview dates.) Microsoft Skype was chosen following pilots that experimented with other platforms such as Facetime and Zoom. During the pandemic Zoom became increasingly popular but was seen as potentially insecure due to concerns about end-to-end encryption and privacy settings (Paul, 2020), and therefore problematic ethically. Facetime was already very popular but was restricted to the Apple operating system. An independent consumer report (Which?, 2020) rated Microsoft Skype – free and easily available for participants across all devices and operating systems – as stable, secure and, very

importantly for this study, as offering consistently good speech and video quality, as seen below:

Video calling app	Speech quality	Video quality	Speech with throttling	Video with throttling	Ease of use	Score
Microsoft Skype	★★★★★	★★★★☆	★★★★☆	★★☆☆☆	★★★★☆	73%
Jitsi	★★★★★	★★★★★	★★★★☆	★★☆☆☆	★★★☆☆	68%
Discord	★★★★★	★★★★★	★★★★☆	★★☆☆☆	★★★★☆	66%
Google Hangouts	★★★★★	★★★★★	★★★★☆	★☆☆☆☆	★★★☆☆	62%
Google Meet	★★★★★	★★★★☆	★★★★☆	★★☆☆☆	★★★☆☆	61%
Zoom	★★★★★	★★★★☆	★☆☆☆☆	★☆☆☆☆	★★★★☆	59%

(Which?, 2020, table 1)

The quality of speech was a very important factor in ensuring the clarity of audio recording for later transcription of the interviews. To maximise the quality of video calls I invested in a Logitech C920S HD Pro Webcam, a professional quality webcam operating in full high definition with dual microphones that filter out background noise. This was to minimise as far as possible any potential technical barriers to the on-line interviews, and to maximise the clarity of the mediated face-to-face interaction. Internet connection was through high-speed fibre broadband (download speed 49-50 Mbps – upload speed 8-9 Mbps) and a BT Hub 6 router, connected by wired Ethernet cable (for potentially greater speed, reliability and security than Wi-Fi) to a desktop PC running Microsoft Windows 10. Participants were able to access the Microsoft Skype online interviews on a variety of devices regardless of operating system: smartphones, laptops, tablets and desktop PCs. In practice this method proved very reliable and of consistently high quality. Only one online video call was lost during the whole study and this was due to severe snow conditions. Similarly only one call was affected by poor sound quality, an intermittent fault from a participant's computer microphone.

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Johnson, Scheitle and Ecklund (2019) have argued that in-person interviews may be superior to online interviews and question whether a mediated approach undermines the 'ability to produce richly detailed interviews' (p. 15). Jenner and Myers (2019), however, contend that 'rather than being inferior to in-person interviews, Skype interviews can yield a quality of data that is equal to or exceeds in-person interviews' (p. 176) and that the interview setting, private or public, is more important than the mediated or non-mediated context. This has been my experience in conducting the life history interviews and there seem to be many benefits associated with on-line interviewing for this study. As Jenner and Myers suggest, participants were able to talk in the comfort and privacy of their own homes in an allotted and convenient time slot without any issues of travel. If problems came up it was easy to reschedule. The interview transcripts for this study, and the approach to the interactions they represent, reveal rich and detailed accounts. Howlett (2021) found that, in terms of the balance of authority in the interaction, the on-line approach also 'enabled a more symmetrical relationship' (p. 8) and the richness of detail apparent in the interview transcripts may also be due to the mediated context encouraging and supporting authority for the participant voice that may be less apparent for in-person interviews. This in turn may reflect the emphasis on the rationale of 'shared study design and steering' that leads to an agreed focus and framing, and the importance of visual non-verbal cues in eliciting a rich response. This appears to reduce any potential limitations of the mediated approach. In the context of this study the approach of on-line life history interviews also seemed to be appreciated from the participant perspective, as represented in the following comment:

> I've enjoyed it. It's been, as I said earlier, it's been quite nice to reflect back on your career. Because sometimes you think 'what was it all about?' You know, I've got a pension, very comfortable, but has anyone noticed I'm not there? And I suppose really they don't but actually it's given me an opportunity to reflect on a career and think 'actually, I did a hell of a lot in that time'. Which is good.

(Participant 6 Interview 2)

Participants

In order to address the research questions of the study the aim was to recruit an opportunistic sample of around ten participants connected by their attendance at the same teacher training college and who attained qualified teacher status between 1975 and 1978, the final four years of the teacher training college before it was closed down. The potential participants had therefore, at the time of recruitment, either reached retirement age, had taken early retirement, or were in the last years of their career, allowing a focus on the recent end-of-career experience. Limits on participant numbers were in recognition of the heavy time and resource demands of life history research. The intention was to attempt to recruit participants that, within the limited numbers due to the scope of the study, represented a variety of experiences and viewpoints within the defined context including, if possible, discrepant cases.

Potential participants were approached through contacts made within the college community. This included conversations about the possible research ideas and speculative interest at events such as college reunions and funerals. In addition, once the recruitment process had started, others made contact in order to express an interest in the study and their possible participation. Following this initial phase of recruitment twelve potential participants were invited to take part in the study, with eleven joining to completion. The range of participant characteristics included:

- attended college in last four years before it was closed down i.e. cohort start years from 1972 to 1975 and 18/19 years old at start of training
- spread of early years, junior and secondary teachers
- variety of main and subsidiary subjects
- a gender balance
- Black, LGBT and disability representation
- college course not completed
- teaching left for another career
- left teaching for another career and returned to teaching
- teachers who changed phases
- an international dimension
- senior leadership

- Ofsted inspection

- advisory and consultant support

- early retirement

- retirement after 40 years of teaching

- yet to retire

Ethical Considerations

In adopting the methodological approach of narrative inquiry for this study there have been significant ethical considerations to resolve, not least the central question of identification or non-identification of the participants and the teacher training college context. Yin (2018) contends that case study 'presents a researcher with a choice regarding the anonymity of the case: should the case study accurately identify its informants, or should the names of the entire case and its participants be disguised?' (pp. 238-239). This was a central dilemma in the methodological design of the study, not least because it was hoped that a key audience for the research would be the community it describes, and anonymising the case would be potentially self-defeating in terms of its relevance to that audience. Attempts at anonymisation are also likely to be deeply problematic in terms of efficacy of disguise and claimed protection of the participants – even from limited contextual details given it would be relatively easy to identify the college concerned and from this its former students. Without this context there is potentially little value to the research.

Walford (2005) makes the point that 'it is an almost unquestioned belief that anonymity for individuals and research sites should be the standard ethical practice for educational research' (p. 83) but that 'giving anonymity through pseudonyms to sites and people often does not work' (p. 88). He is clear in Walford (2018) that 'in the interconnected world in which we now live, there is practically no chance of maintaining anonymity of research sites' and that, no matter how the researcher tries to anonymise participants 'those involved may still be able to identify themselves or others' (p. 519). Yin (2018) argues that in case study research 'the most desirable option is to disclose the identities of both the case and the individuals', and that even where anonymity might seem to be 'justifiable', the

researcher should still seek out 'other compromises', for example by anonymising individuals but not the case, or to name individuals but 'avoid attributing any particular point of view or comment to any single individual' – his view is that 'only if these compromises are impossible' should the researcher make 'the entire case and its informants anonymous' (p. 239).

Despite these difficulties with anonymisation there seems to be a less compelling argument for identification in life history methodology than with case study methodology. This becomes particularly true for the participants in this study, where the research questions, my privileged position and access within the community, and the focus on life-time and career-long experience may make participants particularly vulnerable. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) are clear that 'as personal experience researchers, we owe our care, our responsibility, to the research participants and how our research texts shape their lives' (p. 422) and there are a number of aspects that were considered in ensuring appropriate care and responsibility to the participants in the study. Smythe and Murray (2000) consider that 'one of the unique features of narrative research is the intimate entanglement of ethical issues with epistemological ones' and it is here for them that 'the issue of narrative ownership strikes to the heart of the matter' (p. 326). Similarly, van den Hoonaard (2017) argues that 'for narrative researchers, the litmus test of ethical research resides in the writing up of the data and of the manuscript itself', identifying the 'on-going need to reflect on the potential impact of the published narrative on participants, where issues of "ownership" of the narrative need to be considered' (p. 590). For Goodson and Sikes (2016) this consideration may be achieved through appreciating that as 'life history work is so often collaborative, with researcher and informant seeking meanings and explanations together, respondent validation may well be built into the research design' (p. 85). This co-construction may be enabled in the adoption of Miles, Huberman and Saldana's (2014) concept of 'shared study design and steering' (p. 57), in this situation perhaps as a means of enabling and empowering respondent validation.

As a consequence of these arguments application was made to the university research ethics committee to offer, when seeking informed consent from

participants, two options about identification in the study. The first option was for participants to opt-in to being identified. The second option was for participants to opt-in to asking for their identity to be anonymised but with the understanding that, although every effort would be made to protect their identity, there was a risk that they might be identifiable due to the nature of the study and/or results. A Participation Information Statement (See Appendix 2) and Participant Consent Form (See Appendix 3) were drafted accordingly and were supported and approved by the university research ethics committee. Following the completion of recruitment to the study nine of the eleven participants gave consent to be identified and two chose not to be identified. This, of course, left sensitive decisions to be made about a balance of identification and anonymisation in the conduct and reporting of the research – it is clearly much more straightforward for the researcher if all are identified or all are anonymised. This ethical complexity has remained a feature of the study throughout.

In addressing potential conflicts of ethical principles in case study research Simons (2009) offers nine questions to consider. She summarises these as 'Have I been fair?' and key questions for this study in considering anonymity or identification of the case and participants have been: 'Who gains and who loses by the release of this information?', 'Will that person's career be ruined if I include that data or is it only a fear?' and 'Have I ensured that the power I have, simply because I construct the case, has not diminished participants' perspectives?' (pp. 101-102). In addition the ethical stance of the study has been guided by Simons' 'Ethical Procedures for the Conduct of Case Study Research' (See Appendix 4). Decisions made in response to the challenge of ethical representation in this study have also been directed by Medford's (2006) view that 'the primary ethical standard' is to 'write as if our subjects are/will be in our audience', and that the researcher 'should write as if our writing was accessible to all' (p. 862). This is summarised succinctly by Sikes (2012) as advising researchers 'not to publish anything they wouldn't show to anyone mentioned in the text' (p. 135). The guidance outlined above has been conscientiously followed throughout the study and revisited frequently to ensure the care of all participants in the study.

Dimension Three: Narrative Research and Researcher Engagement

Less researcher engagement   More researcher engagement

(Barkhuizen, 2020a, p. 193, fig. 16.3)

In dimension three, narrative research and researcher engagement, Barkhuizen (2020a) presents 'less researcher engagement', typified by one-off interviews and minimal relationships between researcher and participant, towards the left side of the continuum. He places 'more researcher engagement', characterised by an emphasis on the essentiality of the relationship between researcher and participants, towards the right side of the continuum and is clear that 'researcher engagement in narrative inquiry takes on a special meaning […] because central to the research endeavour are the lives and stories of the research participants: the narrators' (p. 193). In this study the focus has been to the right side of the continuum, on the development of more researcher engagement.

Building the Research Relationship

Data collection took place during the Covid-19 pandemic with travel and social contact restrictions, three national lockdowns and a consequent university prohibition on in-person fieldwork. Recruitment to the study began in May 2020, preparatory conversations took place in May and June 2020, and interviews were completed between June 2020 and May 2021.

Initial contact with possible participants was by phone or email based on previous conversations about potential interest in the proposed study. These initial approaches included a verbal outline of what might be involved in participation and gave an opportunity to address questions and clarify details. Following confirmation of interest a Participant Information Statement (See Appendix 2) and a consent form (See Appendix 3) were sent by email (See Appendix 5). Subsequent clarifications and

further information were communicated by phone and/or email. Participants confirmed their wish to take part and gave informed consent either by a signed copy of the consent form, which was then scanned and emailed, or by digital signature via email that was confirmed by covering email. Receipt was acknowledged by a return email that also outlined and confirmed the various consents of the participant and gave details of the next step to set up and check the link for the on-line interviews, how to install Microsoft Skype, and instructions for adding researcher details to the contact list (See Appendix 6).

Arrangements were made by phone or email for a test video call. The test video calls were an opportunity to continue to build relationships between the researcher and participants through a relaxed conversation about the study and its details before the interview process began. The test video call was also in place to check everything was going to work technically for the participants and ensure, as far as possible, that they were comfortable with the platform. A set of preparatory notes for the first interview were sent by email prior to the test call (See Appendix 7) and these were discussed with the focus for the interview, possible preparation by the participant, and dates and times for the first interview agreed during the call.

The research relationship was extended through three rounds of life history interviews with each round designed to address particular research questions:

- Round 1 – training college focus - RQ1/RQ4
- Round 2 – career focus - RQ2/RQ4
- Round 3 – end-of-career focus - RQ3/RQ4/RQ5

For Round 1 the focus for the life history interview was provided by the key questions:

o What was distinctive about the contribution that Hockerill made to your professional and personal life?
o What did Hockerill do for you?

For Round 2 the focus for the life history interview was provided by the key questions:

- What has been your career history since leaving Hockerill? This is up to but not including retirement or, if you have not yet retired, what you consider to be a similar point of transition.
- How would you describe the relationship between your experiences of and at Hockerill and your subsequent life and career?

For Round 3 the focus for the life history interview was provided by the key questions:

- What have been your end-of-career experiences? This may be from retirement or, if you have not yet formally retired, what you consider to be a similar point of transition.
- Reflecting on your experiences at Hockerill, your career history and your end-of-career experiences what do you think it is to be a teacher?
- What do you think that beginning, mid-career and future teachers might learn from your experiences at Hockerill, your career history and your end-of-career experiences?

In line with the rationale of developing the relationship with participants as co-researchers through 'shared study design and steering' the focus for each of the life history interviews was discussed beforehand, with the key questions shared in advance by email through a set of preparatory notes (See Appendix 7, Appendix 8 and Appendix 9). Participants were also given the opportunity, within an agreed timescale, to provide preparatory materials to the researcher by email prior to each of the life history interviews. These preparatory materials were prompted in four ways:

- photo elicitation
- music elicitation
- document elicitation
- graphic elicitation

and were sent to me by email a day or so before the interviews were due to take place to enable me to explore the materials and use them to steer my preparation for the interviews.

Photo Elicitation

For each life history interview participants were invited to choose a few key photographs that were important to them that we would be able to talk about in relation to their experiences and the focus of the interview. Weber's (2007) view is that 'giving people an image or object to talk about sparks multiple reactions, leading often to outpourings of all kinds of information, feelings, thoughts, and situation details' (p. 48). The use of photo elicitation as a stimulus for the life history interviews was also informed by the view of Loizos (2000) that:

> Images are resonant with submerged memories, and can help focus interviewees, free up their memories, and create a piece of 'shared business' in which the researcher and the interviewee can talk together, perhaps in a more relaxed manner than without such stimulus. (p. 98)

The photographs were used as starting points for conversations about the participant experience. In this respect photographs have, as described by Allett (2010), 'the potential to elicit many layered responses, unexpected revelations, or show aspects of identity that might otherwise have remained hidden' (p. 3), all important aspects in developing the participant voice in the narrative knowledging of this study. Overall, the development of photo elicitation in the study was a significant aspect of the study design due to what Weber (2007) ascribes as:

> the ability of images to evoke visceral and emotional responses in ways that are memorable, coupled with their capacity to help us empathize or see another's point of view and to provoke new ways of looking at things critically, makes them powerful tools for researchers to use in different ways during various phases of research (p. 47)

Prior to the interviews I would look through the photographs and conduct some preliminary coding, identifying potential themes that might suggest important ideas from the point of view of the participant and developing possible questions that might relate to content, context or clarification. The photographs were often used as starting points and prompts in the interviews and through this proved an enabling

device in giving authority for the structure of the life history interview to the participant.

Music Elicitation

For each life history interview participants were invited to choose a few key songs that were important to them that we would be able to talk about in relation to their experiences and the focus of the interview. Allett (2010) considers that 'music is an under-explored resource for social research' (p. 5) and Dos Santos and Wagner (2018) are of the view that 'music features infrequently as an elicitation tool in the social sciences' (p. 2). Where music elicitation is used the music is more commonly listened to during the interview, for example Allett (2010) and her research on extreme metal fans, and Levell (2019) in her study of ex-gang involved men and their experiences of childhood domestic violence and abuse. However, in this study I would listen to the participant selections of music and explore the song lyrics before the interview, approaching this in a similar way to the use of photo elicitation by conducting some preliminary coding, identifying potential themes that might suggest important ideas from the point of view of the participant, and identifying excerpts of lyrics that might have some resonance.

In this sense the music was being used in two ways, what Dos Santos and Wagner (2018) describe as 'using music and music making as data (typically situated within an arts-based approach)' and 'using music to elicit verbal reflections that are collected as data (located in qualitative research more broadly)' (p. 2). What I was also using the music elicitation for, as well as a prompt for significant recollections, was to try to develop an understanding of an emotional context for the participant, building on Allett's (2010) view that:

> because music has a particular connection with our emotions and feelings, and is used to reflect and manage them, music has the potential to be used by the researcher as a means to access respondents' feelings (p. 6)

The hope was that this would enable me to develop further my research engagement with the participant experience, what Levell (2019) describes as the use of music elicitation 'as a tool to get to the heart of a story which may not have surfaced in a traditional interview setting' (p. 5), and therefore augment the portrayal of the participant voice.

Document Elicitation

The value of incorporating document elicitation in the study design is seen in the view of Bowen (2009) that 'documents can provide data on the context within which research participants operate – a case of text providing context' (p. 29). There is some contention in the area of documentary research about how a document may be defined but Tight (2019) offers the guidance that a definition:

> depends very much on the researcher and their perspective. If they are treating the material – written, oral, virtual, visual – as a source for their research, and they have not recently generated the material themselves, then it may be considered as a document (p. 9)

Participants were invited to identify some key documents, with no definition added, that were important for them in relation to the focus of the life history interviews, and that we might be able to talk about in the interview. In this study, therefore, what constitutes a document was defined by the participants in their selection of what was important to them. In Tight's view 'the key distinction between documentary and other forms of research is that documents already exist – even, perhaps, if we have previously created them ourselves – before we research them' (p. 11). The importance of document elicitation in this study, given the span of time covered by the three rounds of life history interviews, is reflected in Bowen's (2009) view that 'documents may be the most effective means of gathering data when events can no longer be observed or when informants have forgotten the details' (p. 31).

Documents were used slightly differently from the other forms of elicitation in my preparation for the interviews. A very wide selection of documents was supplied by participants, in some cases as images, in others as scanned PDFs, and some by post subsequent to the interview. The range of lengths included qualification certificates and a single poem, through policies, action plans, school Ofsted reports, training documents and related publications, to academic books and novels. My ability to look through the documents prior to the interviews depended on how close to the interviews these preparatory materials were sent and the length of the documents. So, for some materials, it was possible to consider them in the same way as the other forms of elicitation in that I would conduct some preliminary thematic coding and develop possible questions that might relate to content or for clarification. For some of the documents, however, where this wasn't possible, the approach was to use the interview to allow the participant to guide me, as part of the rationale of 'shared study design and steering', in what were the important aspects of the documents that they had selected, and these points were developed in the interview.

Graphic Elicitation

For Sheridan, Chamberlain and Dupuis (2011) 'timelining is a form of graphic elicitation that extends graphic elicitation methodology, and is particularly relevant for narratively-driven research' (p. 566). Timelines were adopted for Round 2 and Round 3 of the life history interviews. Participants were asked if they could draft brief timelines relating to, for Round 2, their career since leaving Hockerill (up to retirement or similar point of transition) and, for Round 3, their end-of-career experiences (since retirement or similar point of transition) with details such as key dates, locations, job titles, any continuing work or voluntary roles, and personal milestones, as appropriate. Berends (2011) cautions that 'one limitation in using the typical timeline is the loss of richness and depth possible in individual accounts of experience' (p. 6) but nonetheless found that 'using timelines in combination with in-depth interviews increased data quality' (p. 8). Sheridan, Chamberlain and Dupuis (2011) consider that:

timelining has particular value for narrative research. The timeline provides a means to lay out for a participant a comprehensive, multi-textual (re)presentation of her life. It pulls together rich data, promotes narrative accounting, and allows both participants and researchers to focus in on specific aspects of the data to deepen and enrich storytelling. It is a particularly effective means of highlighting turning points and epiphanies in people's lives (p. 565)

The value of using timelines as a device in developing narrative knowledge is also emphasised by Patterson, Markey and Somers (2012) who found that 'constructing timelines in conjunction with the narrative interview facilitated the organization of rich, narrative data and allowed us to examine trajectories of events and experiences' (p. 145).

No structure or format for the timelines was suggested and participants were therefore free to select their own graphic representations. I used the timelines to prepare prior to the interviews, checking where I might need to ask questions for further clarification or exemplification. The selection of particular details by the participant was noted as part of preliminary coding. An advantage of the timelines was that key details (for example, dates, school names, job titles, place names) were identified with some precision and accuracy prior to the interview, meaning that valuable time within the interview wasn't taken up checking these details. The timelines were also used as very helpful starting points and structural frames for the interviews, with participants talking through and extending important details from their perspective.

Dimension Four: Storied Data

Non-story data ⟷ Data in story form

(Barkhuizen, 2020a, p. 194, fig. 16.4)

In dimension four, storied data, Barkhuizen (2020a) presents 'non-story data' towards the left side of the continuum, and 'data in story form' towards the right. He argues that data collected in a narrative study sometimes looks like a story but, equally, sometimes does not. He suggests that 'researchers have varying ideas about what a story is, and cultural variation further means that applying any one definition is unrealistic' (p. 194), making the point that some narrative data forms 'do not easily fit traditional conceptions of what story is' (p. 195). However, Barkhuizen (2020b) does offer some helpful characteristics to consider when asking the question 'what is story?':

1. They narrate experiences from the past or the imagined future. They tell about something that happened or will happen in the life of the person telling the story.

2. They include reflective or evaluative commentary on those experiences —comments which portray emotions and beliefs associated with the experiences.

3. They typically have a temporal dimension. In other words, something happens over a period of time.

4. They embody 'action'. Something happens in the story in some spatiotemporal context.

5. Stories always make reference, implicitly or explicitly, to *who* was involved in the story action (characters in the story world), *when* the action took place (time), and *where* it happened (place and space).

6. Tellability (high or low) refers to the extent to which an account conveys a sequence of reportable events and makes a point in a rhetorically effective manner (novel, unusual, unique).

(Barkhuizen, 2020b, slide 8)

Bearing these characteristics in mind, and recognising that story may also narrate experiences in the present, for example through bibliodrama (Agden, 2019), this study settles in the middle of Barkhuizen's dimension four continuum, with a mix of both 'non-story data' and 'data in story form' collected through the life history interviews and the different forms of elicitation.

Audio Recording of the Online Life History Interviews

The online life history interviews were audio recorded. The interviews were of central importance to the study and therefore each was treated as a one-off, unrepeatable event. It was imperative to ensure as far as possible, given the potential difficulties offered by the mediated form, that the data was collected securely and to as high a standard as possible at the time of interview, in turn maximising the benefit of choosing the Microsoft Skype platform for its high speech quality. A number of approaches to audio recording were explored. These included using the record function in Microsoft Skype, and a variety of voice recording applications for smartphone and tablet. Following several pilot online interviews the following method was adopted.

A Logitech Z323 2.1 external speaker system – comprising a left speaker, a right speaker and a sub-woofer – was connected to the desktop PC used for the Microsoft Skype online interviews. Volume was controlled both by a rotary control on the right speaker and also through buttons on the PC keyboard, allowing volume to be easily adjusted for level during an online interview. Due to the necessity of ensuring a recording was made and backed up two high quality, specialised digital voice recorders were used: a Sony ICD-UX570 and a Sony ICD-PX470. Both models share the same operating architecture (so only one menu and set of controls to learn), have USB direct connection (important for ease and reliability of back-up), and 4GB of built-in storage, extended for each with SanDisk Ultra 32GB microSDHC memory cards to ensure that there was enough spare capacity for recording.

Following experimentation with pilot online interviews for the best and most reliable sound quality both digital voice recorders were optimised in the following way:

- 'REC Mode' set as MP3 192kbps
- 'Built-In Mic Sensitivity' set for voice
- 'Scene Select' set for auto voice recording
- 'Recording Filter' set as off
- 'Auto Track Marks' set as on, with 'Interval' set at 5 minutes and 'Time Stamps' set as on
- Recording codes created automatically based on time and date of interview

One digital voice recorder was used for the left external speaker and one for the right external speaker. The digital voice recorders were raised on 15 centimetre supports to be in line with the cone of the external speaker, were rested on a fabric-dampened surface for improved sound isolation, and positioned 10 centimetres from the external speaker and 60 centimetres from the interviewer. This set-up effectively replicated a high-quality recording set-up for an in-person interview. Immediately following the online interviews two backup copies were made of the recordings using Sound Organizer 2 software on a password protected PC hard drive and a fingerprint protected laptop hard drive.

Over the course of 32 online life history interviews and around 37 hours of recording the method worked exceptionally well and the digital voice recorders worked perfectly. Overall no interviews were lost and high-quality audio files were provided in preparation for transcription.

Transcription of the Online Life History Interviews

Given the heavy transcription load inherent in the use of multiple life history interviews in the study it was important to find an efficient but accurate method of transcribing the audio recordings. Advice was sought and a number of recommended approaches were piloted including handwriting and typing (slow, laborious and very time-consuming), employing a professional transcription service (too expensive and

loss of contact with the data), NVivo Transcription (initial training completed but cumbersome, loss of contact with the data, and claimed 90% accuracy still means that at least 1 word in 10 is wrong), and Google Docs speech-to-text (frustrating and inaccurate).

The initial approach adopted, therefore, was to dictate phrase-by-phrase from the audio files using: Sound Organizer 2 software for playback; an HP desktop PC with an Intel Core i3 processor and a hard disc drive; Microsoft Word; Dragon Professional Individual Version 15 speech recognition software; Sennheiser PC 8 USB Headset. This combination was promising but playback was often imprecise and subsequently fatiguing, there were repeated problems with hanging in Word, and slow processing and inconsistent speech recognition led to inaccuracies and time-consuming and motivation sapping delays. Following further experimentation these difficulties were resolved by: replacing the use of Sound Organizer 2 software with a Sony ICD-PX470 digital voice recorder for playback (increasing the speed and ease of use for pause, cue and review of audio files); an upgrade of Dragon Professional Individual to Version 15.3 (stopping the hanging in Word); using a Dell XPS laptop with Intel Core i5 processor and solid state drive (improving the speed and precision of processing); and using the in-built microphone of the laptop instead of the headset (improving the accuracy of speech recognition). Following completion of phrase-by-phrase dictation the initial draft transcript was redrafted by listening back to the audio file of the interview in 'real time', checking for accuracy and sense, typing in corrections and revisions, and refining punctuation and layout as appropriate.

Transcription is not a neutral act. Gibbs (2007) describes transcription as, 'an interpretative process' (p. 10), seeing in particular the transcription of interviews as 'a change of medium […] that introduces issues of accuracy, fidelity and interpretation' (p. 11). Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) note that 'transcription of audio recordings can be done in many ways that will produce rather different texts' (p. 11), with the process 'fraught with slippage' and 'dependent on the knowledge and skill of the transcribing person' (p. 71). The form of transcription for this study evolved through my developing skills and confidence as a transcriber of life history interviews and through the rationale of 'shared study design and steering'. In line

with Simons' Ethical Procedures for the Conduct of Case Study Research (See Appendix 4) draft transcripts were returned to participants following the interviews for checking, editing and revision. Initial draft transcripts included some of what Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) describe as 'the "uhs", "ers", pauses, word emphases, mispronunciations, and incomplete sentences' (p. 71) and were formatted with line numbers and recording track marks.

Participants didn't always favour this early approach and expressed a preference for a more coherent presentation. As one participant noted, in an email reply following receipt of an early interview draft transcript (Figure 6):

I feel for whoever had the job of transcribing my rabbiting on! It certainly reflects our session, but I was obviously in "conversational style" and not very grammatical! I have resisted the temptation to correct my own grammar. I hope you have managed to glean some material that might be useful. Perhaps if you were quoting directly from this interview, that would be the time to double check that your understanding of what I said is actually phrased as I would have wished to say it in good English, had I not been burbling on!

Figure 6. Participant Email Reply

The following excerpts taken from email exchanges between researcher and participant following the sharing of transcripts illustrate the early dialogue about the development of transcripts that was taking place (Figure 7):

This is very much a first draft and is for you to correct, change, edit, revise and extend as you wish. If you could indicate any changes that you would like to make in red so that they are easy to pick up that would be great.

I've taken a look at the draft. Here are my questions:
do you want me to make additions that might have come to mind afterwards?
Should I attempt to make it more coherent?

It would be great if you added things that have come to mind afterwards - you can also reshape or extend anything as you see fit. The important thing is that it reflects your ideas in a way that you wish to express them. I am guided by what you consider to be important.

I've spent a couple of days with this and I could spend a few more, but I have to stop somewhere so you can get it back!
There is a lot of red. I moved some paragraphs in an effort to get a more logical flow and there are lots of additions and tweaks.

Figure 7. Excerpts from Researcher - Participant Email Exchanges

An excerpt from an early participant revised transcript is shown below (Figure 8):

We had a study room in there. So that's where we came together. So those photos in the study room of St Alban's really sum up the first year. It was… Our study room was unique because we made it our own. We made it our own. ~~Each little cubbyhole was…~~ We made it according to our personality with our posters and photos. Whereas the other study rooms – they were just blank ~~– so~~ people just came and used the space and went. ~~But we put up posters and…~~ I think that was inspired by ~~– it was set up –~~ by the group of students who were there in the year ~~before~~ above us.

Figure 8. Excerpt from a Participant Revised Transcript

It is possible to see in Figure 8 how the participant has improved the coherence of the text for them by striking through some elements and adding others in the red text, with the tentative starts and hesitations of spoken language suggested by the original transcription removed, and some of the fluency and sense more often associated with written text added, as illustrated by the revision of

> But we put up posters and… I think that was inspired by – it was set up – by the group of students who were there in the year before us.

to

> I think that was inspired by the group of students who were there in the year above us.

Denscombe (2014) identifies this form of revision as a need 'to add punctuation and a sentence structure to the talk so that a reader can understand the sequence of words' with the talk 'reconstructed so that it makes sense in a written form' (p. 279). In response to the way that participants wished to revise the drafts of early transcripts a version of what Elliott (2005) describes as 'clean transcripts' was developed. Elliott considers that:

> In research which focuses solely on the content of narratives told within interviews this approach to transcription may well be appropriate in that it will capture the chronology of events that are being recounted and also some of the evaluative elements, whether these are explicit evaluative statements or embedded in the precise words chosen by the narrator. (p. 52)

The revised presentation of the study transcripts was slightly stylised in an attempt to suggest and retain some of the informality of a spoken conversation rather than represent a complete formality of written text. This was done through, for example, leaving out punctuation at the end of turns, omitting capital letters at the start of turns, and adopting a layout that was partially informed by screenplay. Line numbers were omitted – as participants didn't refer to these at all and were possibly academically intimidating – but track mark indications were retained, because participants did refer to these when discussing their revisions. The end result is a transcript form that looks similar to commonly seen academic transcripts but that is distinctive to the participants and this study, as illustrated below (Figure 9):

Track Mark 00
G
shall we make a start then? Shall we do that?
P
sure, sure
G
just a reminder that in line with the consents this is being audio-recorded
P
um-hmm
G
secondly if there are any questions that you don't want to answer, that's fine, just don't answer them
P
yes
G
and if at any point you just want to stop the interview, that's also fine, we'll just stop
P
okay

Figure 9. Example of Transcript Form Developed for the Study

One consideration at the start of the study was the possibility of reducing the transcription load by not transcribing every interview in full, adopting a partial and selective approach to information in the life history interviews and omitting responses that did not appear to be directly related to the research questions, in part informed by Goodson and Sikes' (2001) consideration that:

> Life historians tend to the view that analysis begins as soon as they start working with an informant [...] researchers will take opportunities to check out ideas, themes and thoughts as they proceed. (p. 34).

This approach was trialled in one of the early transcripts and a section related to some document elicitation was not included. As novice transcriber I found the section confusing and difficult to transcribe accurately; as researcher I therefore questioned its relevance, a form of pre-coding. When the draft transcript was returned to the participant I was contacted promptly asking why this section had been left out. The participant was clearly concerned by the omission and the section was obviously of importance to them. I apologised for my misunderstanding,

transcribing the missing section – having sought further advice from the participant – as accurately as I could, and returning the revised draft to the participant as soon as possible.

On reflection this seemed to me to be about authority and ownership of the account. In terms of the rationale of 'shared study design and steering' it was wrong for me as researcher to assume judgement about relevance. My responsibility in this study as researcher was to give authority and ownership to the participant voice and reflect what participants considered to be of significance for them. As a consequence, following this early episode, all subsequent transcripts were completed in full.

Dimension Five: Analysis of Narrative and Narrative Analysis

Content/thematic analysis   Constructing story
Analysis of narrative   Narrative analysis

(Barkhuizen, 2020a, p. 196, fig. 16.5)

In dimension five, analysis of narrative and narrative analysis, Barkhuizen (2020a) presents 'analysis of narrative', typified by thematic or content analysis, towards the left side of the continuum. He places 'narrative analysis', characterised as 'configuring data content into a coherent storied whole: i.e. the outcome of analysis is a story' (p. 195), towards the right side of the continuum. The analytical stance of this study is positioned on the right side of the dimension five continuum and develops an arts-based approach to narrative analysis.

Data Reduction

Smagorinsky (2008) stresses the importance of accounting for the approach to data reduction as part of the research method, emphasising the need for the researcher to be clear about how data has been resolved 'from an inchoate corpus' (p. 397). Due to the methodological approach of multiple rounds of life history interviews, and the supporting forms of elicitation, this study collected a significant quantity of wide-ranging data, data that needed to be reduced in scale as part of the narrative analysis, and also to accommodate the requirements and word limits of a doctoral thesis. Smagorinsky suggests that it may be useful to 'tabulate the whole data set in order to demonstrate the representativeness of what was presented as illustrative' (p. 397) and such a tabulation follows.

Number of Photos

Participant	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Totals
P1	16	30	53	99
P2	5	21	21	47
P3	10	0	0	10
P4	5	33	0	38
P5	4	0	0	4
P6	6	0	11	17
P7	-	3	2	5
P8	6	1	0	7
P9	4	9	4	17
P10	5	10	37	52
P11	0	4	15	19
Totals	61	111	143	<u>315</u> photos
Averages	6	10	13	29

Table 4. Photo Elicitation – Number of Photos Supplied by Participants

As may be seen in Table 4, a total of 315 photographs were collected through photo elicitation. The range went from a total of 4 photos supplied by Participant 5 to a total of 99 photos supplied by Participant 1, with an average of a total of 29 photos from each participant. There were slightly fewer photos provided for the Round 1 interviews and this may be in part because it was costly to buy film and pay for processing in the 1970s compared with the current ubiquity of smartphone digital photography. Other than this there appears to be no clear pattern between different rounds, with some participants providing more photos for their time at the teacher training college, some for their career, and some for their end-of-career and retirement experiences.

Number of Songs

Participant	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Totals
P1	8	27	0	35
P2	6	29	6	41
P3	6	0	0	6
P4	4	34	0	38
P5	3	0	1	4
P6	3	6	3	12
P7	-	4	3	7
P8	8	0	3	11
P9	5	11	1	17
P10	7	2	0	9
P11	0	0	0	0
Totals	50	113	17	**180** songs
Averages	5	10	2	16

Table 5. Music Elicitation – Number of Songs Supplied by Participants

As may be seen in Table 5, a total of 180 songs were provided through music elicitation. The range went from a total of 0 songs supplied by Participant 11 to a total of 41 songs supplied by Participant 2, with an average of a total of 16 songs from each participant. There are differences between rounds of interviews with Round 3 interviews having the least, with a total of 17 songs and an average of 2 songs per participant, and Round 2 interviews having the most with a total of 113 songs and an average of 10 songs per participant. There did seem to be some reduction in the importance of individual songs to participants in general in the end-of career and retirement phase.

Number of Documents

Participant	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Totals
P1	0	6	6	12
P2	4	24	1	29
P3	2	0	0	2
P4	17	15	0	32
P5	0	1	0	1
P6	1	5	0	6
P7	-	3	2	5
P8	0	17	0	17
P9	3	2	0	5
P10	4	4	2	10
P11	0	7	2	9
Totals	31	84	13	__128__ documents
Averages	3	8	1	12

Table 6. Document Elicitation – Number of Documents Supplied by Participants

As may be seen in Table 6, a total of 128 documents were provided through document elicitation. The range went from a total of 1 document supplied by Participant 5 to a total of 32 documents supplied by Participant 4, with an average of a total of 12 documents from each participant. As with music elicitation there were differences between rounds of interviews with Round 3 having the least, with a total of 13 documents and an average of 1 document per participant, and Round 2 interviews having the most with a total of 84 documents and an average of 8 documents per participant.

Number of Timelines

Participant	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Totals
P1	0	1	1	2
P2	0	1	1	2
P3	0	1	1	2
P4	0	1	1	2
P5	0	1	1	2
P6	0	1	1	2
P7	-	1	1	2
P8	0	1	1	2
P9	0	1	1	2
P10	0	1	1	2
P11	0	1	1	2
Totals	0	11	11	<u>22</u> timelines
Averages	0	1	1	2

Table 7. Graphic Elicitation – Number of Timelines Supplied by Participants

As may be seen in Table 7, a total of 22 timelines were provided through graphic elicitation. Timelines were not requested for the Round 1 interviews so participants provided 2 timelines, one each for the Round 2 and Round 3 interviews. These took a wide range of forms – handwritten notes, email narratives, Microsoft Word tables, a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, a presentation of Microsoft PowerPoint slides – and were usually organised in chronological order, often by job title or episode, occasionally by theme, and usually with supporting comments.

Number of Words in Transcripts

Participant	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Totals
P1	8306	8975	6757	24038
P2	9017	10883	8076	27976
P3	7691	7341	6103	21135
P4	8287	12875	11563	32725
P5	9540	10221	8272	28033
P6	8596	10317	9291	28204
P7	-	8859	9362	18221
P8	8714	10010	8535	27259
P9	7485	10739	5971	24195
P10	8282	9907	10159	28348
P11	5768	6198	4935	16901
Totals	81686	106325	89024	**277035** words
Averages	8169	9666	8093	25185

Table 8. Transcription – Number of Words in Life History Interview Transcripts

As may be seen in Table 8, a total of 277,035 words were transcribed from the audio recordings of the on-line life history interviews, with an average of 25,185 words for each participant. Transcript lengths ranged from 4,935 words for Participant 11 in Round 3 to 12,875 words for Participant 4 in Round 2. On average Round 1 and Round 3 transcripts were of a similar length at 8,169 words and 8,093 words respectively, with the Round 2 average longest at 9,666 words, perhaps accounted for by the greater passage of time covered by the career focus.

Protocol for Data Reduction

Given the considerable corpus of data outlined above there is a tension between the process of data reduction and the potential for the loss of significant detail. It was important to preserve a representative, rich and authentic portrayal of the participant voice – the focus of the narrative knowledging – despite the act of data reduction. In order to mitigate this tension, and to inform the narrative analysis approach of the study, the following protocol for data reduction was drafted and adopted:

a) a focus on the research questions

b) also sensitive to what is important and significant in the views of the participant co-researchers

c) acknowledge and preserve the authority and ownership of the participant voice

d) use both non-story data and data in story form to develop an engaging and revealing narrative (after Barkhuizen, 2020b: 'Where's the story?')

e) fit within the required word limits

f) accessible for an international audience

g) represent any 'disconfirming or discrepant' narratives (Smagorinsky, 2008, p. 397)

h) explore data reduction as a means to coding

i) portray the participant experience for the participant audience

Narrative Analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that a disadvantage of thematic analysis is that 'unlike narrative or other biographical approaches, you are unable to retain a sense of continuity and contradiction through any one individual account, and these contradictions and consistencies across individual accounts may be revealing' (p. 97). In adopting a narrative analysis approach in this study it is intended that potentially revealing 'contradictions and consistencies across individual accounts' are retained

that might be otherwise lost in a more common approach based in thematic analysis. Polkinghorne (1995) offers the following definition of narrative analysis:

> Narrative analysis is the procedure through which the researcher organizes the data elements into a coherent developmental account. The process of narrative analysis is actually a synthesising of the data rather than a separation of it into its constituent parts. (p. 15)

Barkhuizen (2020a) summarises this process as turning data 'into a story' (p. 96) and Benson (2018) contends that, through this, 'one of the strengths of narrative research is its capacity to provide access to long-term experiences and act as a means of representing the coherence of such experiences through narrative writing' (p. 599).

Narrative analysis in this study has been adopted as a means of preserving and portraying the authority of the participant voice. However, a weakness of much narrative analysis is that it tends to rely on the authority of the researcher voice. For example, Ngo (2018) offers the narrative of a Vietnamese teacher but as researcher retains much of the authorial voice:

> What struck her most was her extensive exposure to the literature on corrective feedback and learner language when she had to complete assessment tasks in other courses. (p. 83)

Similarly, Ishihara and Menard-Warwick (2018), in offering a narrative approach to the life histories of second/foreign language teachers, offer a hybrid of verbatim participant quotation and researcher recount where again the authority appears to remain with the researchers:

> When she described this in the interview as a "very hard time", Julia asked her to specify "some of the hard things". Rebecca responded: "Well, communicating". (p. 262)

Goodson (2012), in his example of the portrayal of Eva Freud, comes much closer to the authority of participant voice looked for in this study, developing long sections from the perspective of the participant:

> No. That was the something that was done in the school that I went
> to and that school that I went to was a, was a regional school, so there
> was only about five dotted around the country, so that would have,
> erm, as I said before these kids coming from the countryside. (p. 45)

But here Goodson retains the hesitations and pause of the original transcript (for example, 'I went to was a, was a regional school' and 'erm') but allows the authorial framing of the narrative in the researcher voice to be in standard English, with no pauses or hesitations i.e. the participant is presented as unrehearsed and unpolished first draft but the author as polished formal text:

> After talking about her normal life, she was asked if large numbers of
> children practised music. (p. 45)

In contrast Nelson (2013) takes an arts-based approach in her dramatization of narrative research, explaining in her account of the development of her play 'Queer as a Second Language' her creation of five composite characters from the 115 research participants she interviewed, and her construction of playscript from transcript. Nelson reshapes the accounts as author but, in doing so, acknowledges and retains much of the authority of the participant voice, arguing that:

> Dramatizing narrative research can expand and deepen its impact, and
> this requires rigorous performance methodologies that successfully
> blend criticality with creativity, analysis with artistry. (p. 239)

It is an aspiration to a methodological synthesis of 'criticality with creativity' and 'analysis with artistry' in presenting the participant voice that has informed the development of narrative analysis in this study through verbatim narrative career stories.

Methodological Process for Creating a Verbatim Narrative Career Story

The verbatim narrative approach to narrative analysis explored in this study has been influenced by arts-based methodologies. The use of the term 'verbatim' in verbatim narrative draws on the concept of 'verbatim theatre' (e.g. Hammond and Steward, 2008; National Theatre, 2014; Summerskill, 2021) where in its purest form the performance is created from interviews about an event or a subject with real people who are then portrayed on stage by actors. Verbatim excerpts from the interviews are pieced together to form a narrative, to 'make a story'. This study experiments with a similar approach but creates verbatim narratives where the 'performance' becomes textual re-presentation. Following the principles of the data reduction protocol outlined above transcript data is distilled into verbatim narrative career stories. The authority of the participant voice is preserved by using only the words of the participant in the narrative analysis. In the methodological approach of developing a verbatim narrative the analysis is in the editing.

The length of the individual verbatim narratives, in this study titled as 'career stories', has been determined by the constraints of the thesis word limit. In order to fit within this word limit, and to accommodate the other thesis elements, each verbatim narrative has been edited to a target figure of around 3,500 words. In practice, whilst it would be very difficult to edit down the career stories any further, this pragmatic constraint has created a 'form' that has the potential to present condensed and powerful accounts of experience. What follows in this section is an explanation of how, in this study, the verbatim narratives are edited from the original life history interview transcripts, a process of distilling down 277,035 words of transcript data into around 40,000 words of verbatim narrative - an average of 25,185 words of transcript data for each participant edited into an individual 3,500 word career story.

The methodological process for creating a verbatim narrative career story in this study is illustrated in Figure 10. The blue arrows indicate the pathway through each of the stages that create the final verbatim narrative career story.
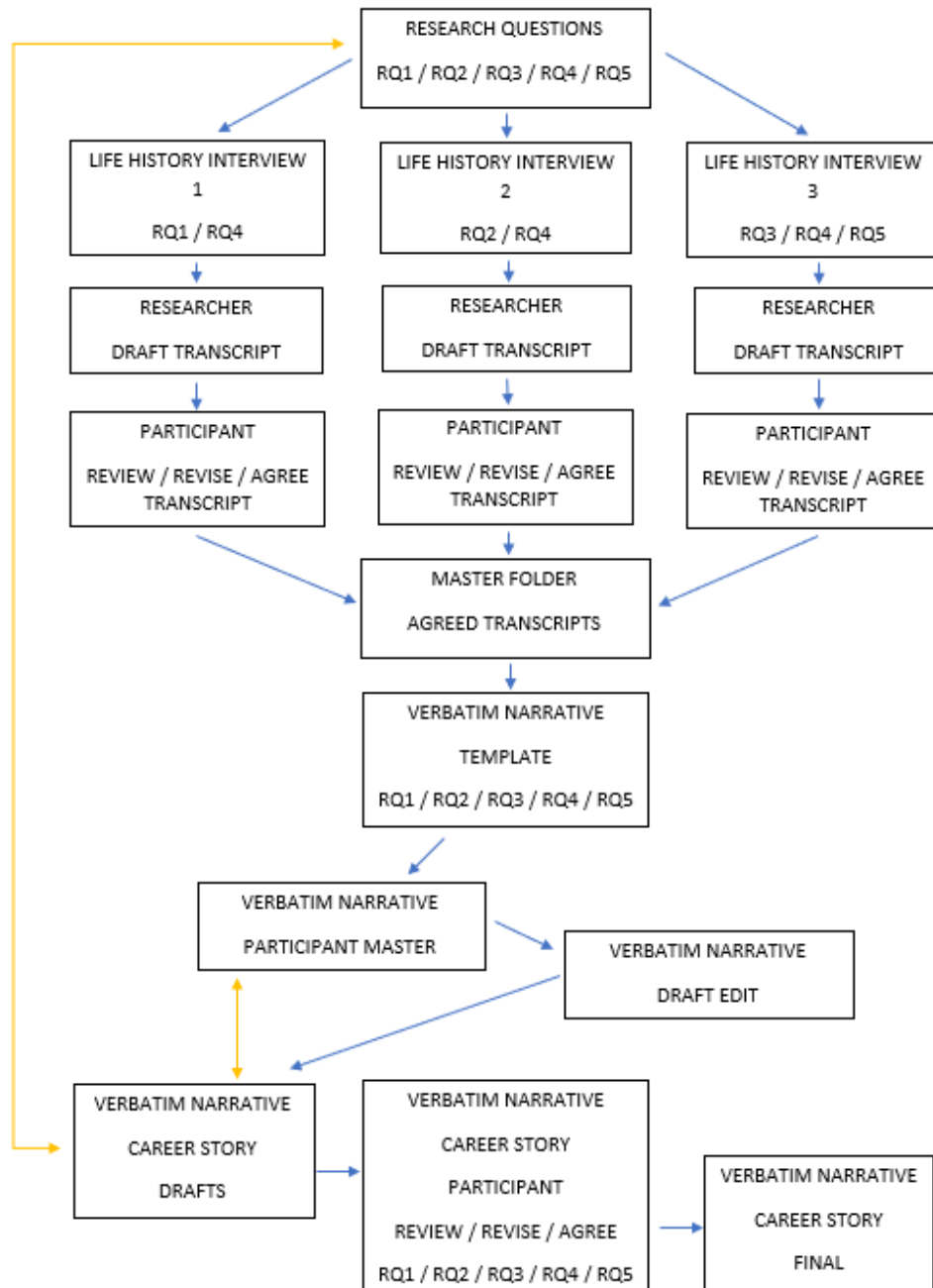
Figure 10. Methodological Process for Creating a Verbatim Narrative Career Story

The process is rooted in the **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**, for this study Research Questions 1 to 5 (RQ1 to RQ5). Specific research questions form the focus for each **LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW**, with the researcher creating a **DRAFT TRANSCRIPT** from the interview which is then reviewed, revised and agreed with the participant to form an **AGREED TRANSCRIPT**. For each individual participant the process of life history

interview/draft transcript/agreed transcript is completed for each interview round before moving on to the next. These agreed transcripts are collated into a **MASTER FOLDER AGREED TRANSCRIPTS** for each participant.

To support the editing process a **VERBATIM NARRATIVE TEMPLATE** is created, returning in this study to the research questions for the study, as illustrated in Figure 11:

Verbatim Narrative Template

1. What was distinctive about the contribution the teacher training college made to the professional and personal lives of its students? What did the college do for them?

2. What are the career histories of the students who were in the last cohorts of the college before it was closed?

3. What do participants tell us about their end-of-career experiences?

4. To what extent does what participants tell us about their end-of-career experiences help us to understand or conceptualise professional identity?

5. What can beginning, mid-career and future teachers learn from the experiences of end-of-career teachers?

Figure 11. Illustration of the Verbatim Narrative Template

Using the Verbatim Narrative Template a **VERBATIM NARRATIVE PARTICIPANT MASTER** is created for each participant. Each of the interview transcripts is read and repeatedly re-read in turn and filtered for each of the research questions, introducing into the template selected text that is directly related to the research questions, including any connected questions or commentary from the interviewer, or references to any of the other elicitation approaches such as photographs, music, timelines or documents. To keep track of the source of the filtered transcript extracts, to make it easier to return to the original transcript for checking and re-reading, and

also to help monitor how each of the interviews is being used, the interview extracts are colour-coded. In this study this was blue for Interview 1, orange for Interview 2, and green for Interview 3. There is no significance attached to these colours, they just need to be clearly identifiable and not confusable with any other colours used in the agreed transcripts, for example in this study where red was used for participant edits. Figure 12 illustrates an example of an extract filtered for Research Question 3 that is in green text, indicating that it has been filtered from an Interview 3.

3. What do participants tell us about their end-of-career experiences?

G

yes. And why did you decide to go then, <name>?

P

well, I was 60. And I decided that, I'd always decided I would go at 60 because I had worked non-

Figure 12. Example of filtered extract colour-coded to indicate interview source

In addition to this filtering, notes are made of any issues that appear to be of importance to the participant that might be essential in structuring the narrative thread of the verbatim narrative.

The next stage is to create a **VERBATIM NARRATIVE DRAFT EDIT** by selecting text from the Verbatim Narrative Participant Master and introducing this text into the Verbatim Narrative Draft Edit. The principal analytical decisions that inform the editing process at this stage are what is most relevant to addressing the research questions of the study. At this stage interviewer questions and comments, and direct references to the other elicitation approaches, are removed and the verbatim text starts to be connected in a structured and fluent narrative related to the research questions. Figure 13 gives an example of original transcript data before editing that includes an interviewer question, here in blue to indicate that it has been filtered from an Interview 1:

69

Figure 13. Example of original transcript data before editing

Figure 14 exemplifies how the original transcript data is edited into the verbatim narrative, illustrating how the interviewer question has been removed from the text and how the participant response is shaped to form the verbatim narrative, in this example for the opening of Career Story One:

At the time I had an offer from Newcastle University to do a degree there, as well as Hockerill College. But it was because I particularly wanted to be a teacher that I chose Hockerill. I had my O-levels and A-levels so I had a choice of places to go to. But it was Hockerill that I chose. That was top of my list and once I was accepted I just thought 'yes great, it's what I want to do, I can become a teacher'. By then I had already decided I'd like to be a geography teacher. But I was still interested in

Figure 14. Example of verbatim narrative edited from the transcript data illustrated in Figure 13 to form a verbatim narrative

An example of a complete colour-coded draft, illustrating how the different interview elements have been brought together, is available in Appendix 11. At the stage of the Verbatim Narrative Draft Edit ethics permissions are also observed. For the verbatim narratives in this study the decision was made to identify the case that bounds the research, i.e. the specific teacher training college, but to anonymise the participants and associated non-participants and related institutions. Changes in the text for anonymisation were reduced to the essential minimum to preserve the defining verbatim nature of the narrative. Therefore the very rare textual changes made were, for example, when redrafting identifying gender specific pronouns of non-participants from 'she' or 'he' to 'they', and substituting the name of a wife, husband

or partner with 'wife', 'husband' or 'partner'. Identifying dates were removed. Identifying names of institutions and organisations were substituted with generic terms such as 'school', 'university' or 'organisation', or were removed.

It is at the stage of Verbatim Narrative Draft Edit that editing to meet the word count for the final verbatim narrative career story also begins, for this study a target of around 3,500 words for each verbatim narrative. This is guided by three strands:

- o The first strand is rigorous analytical reference to the study research questions. As the word count for the Verbatim Narrative Draft Edit is reduced the focus sharpens very precisely on what is most relevant in the text to addressing the research questions.
- o The second strand is attention to the narrative threads that appear important to the participant, as identified in creating the Verbatim Narrative Participant Master. These narrative threads help to scale the importance of information that needs to be included in the verbatim narrative from the perspective of the participant.
- o The third strand is skills of authorship. This includes how best to shape the verbatim narrative to reflect the relevance to the research questions and the participant perspective through the narrative threads, but also includes crafting the verbatim narrative to faithfully represent the participant voice and preserve the depth and richness of the verbatim narrative for the potential reader.

Overall the Verbatim Narrative Draft Edit serves as an initial, rough sketch of the narrative, whilst also providing a fall-back and reset option if needed.

In the stage of the **VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY DRAFTS** the emphasis is very much on refining the skills of authorship outlined above to preserve the participant voice. This stage involves difficult and demanding decisions about what should be included and what now cannot be included, and as a consequence involves multiple drafts as judgments are made and re-made. In Figure 10 the orange arrows emphasise how, in crafting and re-crafting the verbatim narrative career story, these judgements are supported by reference back to the Verbatim Narrative Participant

Master and the Research Questions to monitor the veracity of the narrative representation and the analytical rigour of the editing process, and to gather further verbatim text where necessary for bridging, fluency and reader engagement. This stage also involves vigorous re-editing against the research questions in order to meet the word count for the final career story. Figure 15 shows an example from Career Story Three of how editing to meet the target word count for this study, of around 3,500 words, was achieved:

EXAMPLE OF WORD COUNT EDITING FROM CAREER STORY THREE

MASTER FOLDER AGREED TRANSCRIPTS	32,725 WORDS
VERBATIM NARRATIVE PARTICIPANT MASTER	17,206 WORDS
VERBATIM NARRATIVE DRAFT EDIT	5,380 WORDS
VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY DRAFT 1	4,324 WORDS
VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY DRAFT 2	3,766 WORDS
VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY DRAFT 3	3,551 WORDS
VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY FINAL	3,559 WORDS

Figure 15. Example of editing to meet the word count from Career Story Three

Career Story Three started with the Master Folder of agreed transcripts of 32,725 words and the initial process of filtering for the Verbatim Narrative Participant Master reduced the word count to 17,206 words. This was reduced further in the Verbatim Narrative Draft Edit to 5,380 words. Draft 1 of the Verbatim Narrative Career Story reduced this to 4,324 words, Draft 2 was edited down to 3,766 words, and Draft 3 to 3,551 words. In its final re-crafted draft Career Story Three had been distilled from its original 32,725 words of interview transcripts to 3,559 words of verbatim narrative.

When the required word count has been achieved the Verbatim Narrative Career Story Draft is redrafted where necessary for fluency, ease of reading and fidelity to the participant voice. As illustrated in Figure 5 the final Verbatim Narrative Career Story Draft is returned to the **VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY PARTICIPANT** for review, revision where necessary, and subsequent final agreement. This stage is particularly important in terms of the integrity of the skills of authorship in developing the verbatim narrative. It serves as a demanding check and reminder for the researcher during the preceding drafting and editing processes that the verbatim narrative is being crafted on behalf of the participant, in whom the authority for the verbatim narrative rests. As illustrated in Figure 5 the agreed **VERBATIM NARRATIVE CAREER STORY FINAL** is the version of the career story that is presented in the study.

Preface to the Career Stories

In this study the methodological process of editing that creates the verbatim narrative career stories from the participant moderated transcripts of the life history interviews reinforces the focus of the research questions, mitigates the authorial intervention of the researcher voice, and develops a rigorous analysis that both represents and preserves participant voice. The order of the career stories, from one to eleven, suggests a rhythm and flow that the reader may wish to follow. However, the career stories may also be read in any order according to the reader's interest and engagement with particular aspects of the individual verbatim narratives.

The career stories are interleaved and contextualised with quotations from lyrics of key songs that formed part of the music elicitation for the life history interviews, further reflecting the arts-based methodological influences of the study. Each quotation is linked to the career story that follows, for example Track 1 links to Career Story One, Track 2 links with Career Story Two, and so on. The potential for an interactive approach to this arts-based methodology is suggested in Appendix 1, which provides a tracklist for the songs, a link to a Spotify playlist, and guidance on how to access the playlist in Spotify. The playlist provides a means for the reader/listener to play a song before, during or after engaging with a career story, adding additional layers - for example of mood, tone and emotional response - to the experience of the participant voice.

Significant areas suggested by the career stories and related to the research questions of the study - such as teacher training colleges and their closure, a sense of place and place stories, notions of career, career phases and career change, the professional identity of teachers - are discussed in detail in the coda that follows the verbatim narrative career stories.

I'd like to take you where my spirit flies

Through the empty skies we go alone

Never before having flown

(Gibb, Gibb and Gibb, 1979)

Track 1

Career Story One

At the time I had an offer from Newcastle University to do a degree there, as well as Hockerill College. But it was because I particularly wanted to be a teacher that I chose Hockerill. I had my O-levels and A-levels so I had a choice of places to go to. But it was Hockerill that I chose. That was top of my list and once I was accepted I just thought 'yes great, it's what I want to do, I can become a teacher'. By then I had already decided I'd like to be a geography teacher. But I was still interested in teaching at the primary and middle school levels as well. I wasn't completely sure that I wanted primary. My main choice would have been middle school but not many places were offering middle school in those days. There were a few. I was sort of caught between the two, primary and secondary. But I have this love of geography as well which I've always had. My main subject was geography at Hockerill, which was a great course, a really great course with really well qualified, proficient staff, so Hockerill suited me well. It enabled me to do the junior/secondary qualification and it enabled me to study geography at the higher level.

I think with Hockerill there was, for me, an added ingredient to do with the size of the place, that it wasn't a massive sprawling campus. It felt like a local college. It felt manageable, it wasn't daunting like the big colleges and universities are. I think even the big universities that you go to, it's when you get down to the smaller colleges within the universities, that's when you start to notice the specialness of the place. And you identify with the college you went to rather than the university as a whole. And I think there was something about Hockerill, I know we were part of the bigger Cambridge umbrella, but we were a fairly small college but big enough for all those experiences to develop your interpersonal skills and your confidence in your ability to speak, and think. There was something about the history of the place as well. When your surroundings are pleasant, and the environment is peaceful, I feel that those sorts of things are conducive to a feeling of well-being as well. You saw familiar faces, because of the size of the place, you were able to see familiar faces all the time. You had that feeling that you wouldn't get lost, that there's always someone there who knew you, who liked you, who you shared your hostel with, or shared your

main subject with, or your secondary subject. You were seeing the same faces, not all the time, but on a fairly regular basis. And I think all of those things together with the quality of the lecturing, the history of the buildings, the manageable size and the pleasant environment, it was all special.

Back then you had to have the teaching qualification to become a teacher. And I think that the teaching certificate that we achieved was a particularly good grounding in the teaching profession. Because I think the three years of focus is something that is maybe less important these days. There might be an emphasis on other aspects of education but I think the actual focus that we had, the three years with the teaching practices, the lectures, the field courses, all the other things, I felt it gave me a very solid grounding actually in the teaching profession. Because when you get the teaching certificate you're receiving an endorsement from the society, the government, the country, that you are a professional person. I feel the grounding that you got doing the three year teaching course did stand you in good stead for the future for coping with teaching in all kinds of education settings. And I had noticed in one or two schools that I'd been to that the majority of excellent teachers had all been to teacher training colleges like Hockerill. I felt that they were really good teachers. The teachers that I remember now, the teachers whose names I've got on my lips at the moment, they all went to teacher training colleges. And most of them went to places like Wall Hall, Balls Park, places like Hockerill. Having the qualification enabled me to go on and achieve higher qualifications, for instance a BA honours degree in geography. Because I was in the education environment I was able to access the leadership of extracurricular activities such as the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme in which I became a leader.

That was all prior to Section 28, of course. But at the time no one really talked about being gay except in a fairly derogatory way. Gay people were still stereotyped. They were discriminated against. You had to keep quiet because you didn't know if it could cost you your friendships, your relationships with your family, or your profession. Gay people were conflicted about where they could meet. It was mainly down to some gay pub, usually some crummy old pub in the back streets of any town. So while we were at Hockerill you had to be careful, you know, you didn't want it to be public

knowledge. Even at a nice, friendly place like Hockerill. The law wasn't on your side so you felt you had to remain, well, just be quiet about it. And just talk to people who you knew you could talk to because you knew them well enough. But anybody else, no. You wouldn't discuss it with anybody else. Kept it quiet, kept it secret. I suppose they were times when it was comfortable but most of the time it wasn't. Because I'd fallen in love. And all the joy and the pleasure you get from falling in love with someone, that's the primary emotion. That's the main thing that I felt, was the great joy. Because I never thought that I would be able to. Suddenly, when it happened, with such a wonderful person, I was over the moon about it. I met my life partner who I am still with.

My first teaching job was a secondary school, and I was a geography teacher there for six years. But at the end of it I decided I didn't want to be just a geography teacher. It wasn't enough. It was getting repetitive. Because when you had to teach, for instance, GCE, as it was in those days, O-level, there was no scope for anything other than what was on the curriculum at secondary. On the whole I felt it wasn't challenging enough. We were coming back to London. And I can't say which came first, the desire to go back to London or the desire to leave secondary teaching and go into junior teaching. So they sort of came at the same time. There were two reasons, really. But I'd always wanted to know if it would present any more challenge, or whether it would be more difficult, or if there was another aspect to the teaching career if I'd gone from secondary to junior. I think that I'd always had it in me to choose to either do one or the other, and I just found that junior provided that extra interest and stimulation. I enjoyed it more because everything was on a smaller scale. Some of the classes at secondary school were very large, and I must have taught hundreds of children every week, hundreds of different children every week. That class that I had, just seeing them, the same ones every day, it was so much better and, yes, it felt more rewarding, for me as an individual. And I was really glad that I'd made the move.

They had a unit for deaf children at the school. So for the nine years I was teaching on a regular basis, I had deaf children coming into my class for certain subjects,

science, art, and PE. For three times a week I had deaf children joining the class with their teacher. And the teacher would sit in the class with the pupils and would be explaining to them through sign language what I was saying, and what else was being said in the room. I was interested in audiology, in the hearing aids they wore, the communication they used, and how they learnt. And I was interested in the structure of the language of British Sign Language. Because it uses a different structure, it doesn't follow the English word order that English does, it follows its own word order, sometimes with the verb at the beginning of the sentence, not always the standard subject-verb-object order that we are used to. So I just began to get interested more and more. At first I wasn't keen on doing another year of studying but then, after thinking about it for another year or so, I decided that I would like to become a teacher of the deaf.

While I was investigating moving into deaf education I joined the borough's specialist team of supply teachers. We would go in and take over from teachers who had been incapacitated for one reason or another for a few months before coming back to teach the same class. And then at the end of that I saw the job for a temporary post for a teacher. And at that stage I wasn't a teacher of the deaf. So my position was only for a term. But when I demonstrated that I already knew something about sign language and audiology, which I'd picked up from when I was teaching in the school that had the unit, the school asked me if would stay on and if I would consider doing a Teacher of the Deaf course which I would have to do if I wanted to stay on beyond the term. So I jumped at that opportunity and that's when I got the information about the course. And within the year I'd completed the application and I was given the secondment.

I was very lucky to get a secondment and it meant studying at Oxford for a year to complete the course and to gain the qualification, the first qualification, in British Sign Language Level 1, and audiology, to do with hearing aids et cetera. So after that I was then qualified to teach in a primary school, teach children at primary level. Then later on I realised I needed to get the British Sign Language, BSL Stage 2 which would then allow me to teach at a secondary school for deaf children. Because the new rule had come in that you had to have British Sign Language Stage 2. You didn't need that

before but by law now it is, from then you had to have BSL Stage 2. Then while I was at a comprehensive school for deaf children I went down to part-time because I'd started doing peripatetic work. I had the qualifications to be a peripatetic teacher of the deaf from the course I'd completed, and the sign language courses that I'd completed, I was then qualified to become a peripatetic teacher of the deaf.

So at that stage I had two jobs and then eventually a greater workload came onto our books because the population had gone up. Suddenly we had extra numbers of deaf children and the head of the service then asked me if I could possibly come in and be full-time. It was a hard decision because it was a lovely school, lovely kids, great staff. I decided in the end I would, I needed to go. And so for a few years I became a peripatetic teacher of the deaf. While I was doing that, we had a student who there were serious issues around their behaviour. And it got to the stage where, whichever school they went to, they were excluded. So in the end the head of the service decided that we would have to educate the student one-to-one. The head of the service asked myself and one other teacher if we could share this student's education, profoundly deaf and no speech at all, and everything we had to do was through sign language, British Sign Language. And it was good. So I did that for, I think, four years teaching one-to-one for half of my timetable.

Although colleagues knew that I was married, I never discussed it with any of the children, although I'm sure many of them knew. But the only one who ever asked me, point blank, was the student with the behaviour issues. They asked me about my relationship, because they were quite perceptive. And they had a great understanding. And I don't know if it's because being deaf they hadn't picked up, maybe, a lot of the negativity that can be around gay issues. But they never did have any, they never showed any kind of discrimination or prejudice or anything like that. They wanted to know and they wanted to know how you could love someone of the same sex. And they wanted to know about getting married and things like that. And at that time there was no way of getting married, in those days. So, yes, they asked a lot of questions and they were great. They had a pretty tough life, and they'd had a hard time, had lots of issues. But they were the only one who ever asked me about my relationship.

When the student left us to go to college, I went back to peripatetic teaching for a hundred per cent of my timetable. And I just, you know, going from school to school to school, rushing from school, carrying all your files. The appeal waned. I mean I didn't mind doing it but I just felt that I needed to do something a bit different as well. I think having had the student to teach, and be responsible for their education, and doing the peripatetic teaching, that was quite a nice balance, actually. Because the madness of peripatetic teaching was balanced by the relative calmness of, except on off days, the one-to-one. So that was a nice balance. And when I went back to full-time peripatetic teaching I just thought 'oh God, I just need to do something else'.

And I'd thought of, perhaps, taking a job at one of the units for deaf children. Because we had units as well - there were three units, a preschool, a primary, and a secondary. And I'd thought about maybe joining one of those, as becoming a permanent member of staff in a unit. But at that time the head of the service job came up and I was interviewed for the post, head of the whole service, peripatetic, and head of the deaf service which included the peripatetic team. Filled out the application form, went through the interview process, and I was appointed. But I'm glad I did, although the first year was really hectic getting my head round everything, and starting to manage staff, and doing their Professional Development Reviews, and things like that. And then attending out of borough annual reviews. And I went back to attend annual reviews of past pupils that I'd had. So, yes, it was really nice to be able to have the opportunity. But if the job of head of service hadn't come up I would probably have gone into one of the units in the borough.

I stayed there until I retired. I was sixty. I'd always decided I would go at sixty because I had worked non-stop. I'd always felt that I wanted time for the rest of my life. And there were two very, very good people who were junior to me and I thought it was the right thing. I also felt that having done forty years, just about forty years, that I'd done my allotted time. As the first year went on I was approached for advice on a few occasions, write references, the sort of thing you'd expect. I did do some voluntary work with a trust for deaf children, and I was asked if I would like to go back on a part-time basis. I thought I'm slowly being pulled back into a career

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structure and I thought no, I don't want to do that because I have other things that I was desperate to get on with. And one of the main things was starting with Airbnb as a sort of new business adventure. But that's what I was keen to get started on. So I decided no more in education, I'm having a complete change, and I started doing the Airbnb business. I did that business continually until the coronavirus epidemic and the lockdown came, that's when I stopped doing it. I was winding down by then anyway but I had stopped it.

I've really loved it actually. Yes. It's been great. Well, I'm lucky that I've been healthy. But health enables you to enjoy your retirement. I've found it very enjoyable because I'm able to enjoy it because of my health. Also, I think your pension does give you that peace of mind. Just having that pension just gives you that cushion that you feel you can afford it and of course we don't have children and grandchildren to lavish vast amounts of money on, so we spend it all ourselves. And travel as well. Having the pension is a big help. One of the other great things has been the opportunity to travel and we've travelled a lot. Several times a year prior to lockdown. Now that we're both retired, we wanted to make more use, spend more time in our retirement property. And that's what we've done, we've spent more time there since we've retired. Having a wonderful partner makes all the difference. And my life just would not be as enjoyable as it is. He is just the most wonderful partner. That's the main thing about, well, not just retirement, but more or less the whole of my adult life.

I think with me I didn't really know which aspect of education I wanted to follow. I did jump a bit from junior, secondary. I thought I'd had six or seven years in secondary, I moved to junior, and I thought 'oh great, this is it'. But it wasn't until I came into contact with the deaf unit at the mainstream junior school that something within me like an awakening, that deaf education, language, communication, audiology, it all came together. One of the things when I think about places that train teachers, whether it's college, university or whatever, is that they don't necessarily offer you those choices. Because I'd never thought about deaf education while I was at Hockerill, I don't think anybody ever mentioned it. Unless you went to a school for teaching practice where there might have been deaf children, then you wouldn't come across it. And I didn't go to any schools in Harlow or Stevenage that had deaf

children. So that's one thing that maybe I might have got into deaf education sooner if I'd had some experience of it while I was teacher training. Deaf education, I think, was my sort of forte in the educational world. I really found what I really was interested in. I thought it was junior school teaching, and maybe I would have happily stayed in that. But I got greater fulfilment through entering the world of deaf education. So I'd say to young people maybe it won't hurt to spend the first few years experimenting. If they find secondary teaching, or junior teaching, or nursery teaching, and they click with it straightaway, great. But if they're not sure whether that's right for them, instead of leaving the profession altogether, find, try different aspects, whether it's mainstream education, or special education. Because with special education, I don't just mean deaf education, I mean all the range of areas where support is needed, all the special needs that children have. There's a choice there. And I think we lose a lot of young people in the first five years. It is a very high percentage. And I think some of those may have just tried the one school, hated it, or not felt right in it, and then left teaching. And maybe in a lot of cases it's our loss. So, speaking personally, I'd recommend trying other aspects of education.

Be part of something good

Leave something good behind

The curtain falls

I take my bow

That's how it's meant to be

It's your world now

(Frey and Tempchin, 2007)

Track 2

Career Story Two

I'd always wanted to work with children because I just loved young children. I enjoyed their company. When I was younger I often used to try and arrange things for local children. I remember rounding the local children up the road and getting them to come into our garden and we'd have little fêtes and games. I used to do summer holiday camps and things provided for children when I was a bit older, as an older teenager. So I knew I wanted to work with children but I didn't quite know in what form. While I was doing one of these holiday clubs I met somebody who was at Hockerill College and she said, 'why don't you come to Hockerill College, it's great'. By that time I was thinking that I would become a teacher. I applied and that's how it all happened, really. I knew I wanted to work with young children, so that's why I went for nursery and infant. Because I liked literature so much and I did English Literature A-level, I wanted to continue that. So that's why I picked up English and Drama at college. I thought the Drama would be another aspect I could explore.

I was born deaf. Over the years, especially when I was a teenager, I was so desperate to be normal, and just to be accepted without a difference. And because in those times, of course, it was a lot different from what it is now. But I made every effort to manage myself, to cope and to not let on that I had a problem. I got very proficient at lip reading and picking up body language clues. But it was hard work. When I went to college I was still in the place where I was trying just to appear ordinary. When I was admitted they said I would have to have a Board every term to check that I was managing all right and that I could do what was required. Because obviously they didn't want to accept me as a teacher if they felt I couldn't actually deliver the goods. After that first Board in the first term I don't think I had any more, it was just down to my tutors to make sure that I was okay and managing. I just got on with it. It was easier then because I had more energy. I've always been very energetic, and very enthusiastic about what I do, especially teaching, I've always loved it.

I think Hockerill gave me the freedom to work through some of the things I really needed to work through as a young person, but also as a student looking to become a teacher. Hockerill was the start of the journey into the wider world, and the wider

person, becoming the person I became in all sorts of ways. I've realised that actually the personal and the professional do overlap, you can't separate them. My development as a person really did contribute to the professional person. I think the fact that it was quite a small college helped, because everybody knew everybody else. The tutors were interested in getting to know you as a person. And it was a bit like a big family. I don't know if I can actually pinpoint that magic ingredient that made the difference. But I think you have to have something in yourself to start with. Maybe when they interviewed people that applied they were looking for that something. By their own selection of the students they were already starting that Hockerill process, already winkling out those people they think could become good teachers. When they interviewed me originally they must have seen something. And they must have doubly seen something to make them think 'she's got something here because even though she is deaf we can do something with her, we can mould her into something that will contribute to teaching'.

I finished with the Cert Ed, I didn't get a degree. At that time that didn't seem so important. I was really keen to get out there and work with those children. That's what I wanted to do, I didn't want to carry on studying, I wanted to put it into practice. I left in 1976, but around that time it wasn't easy to get teaching jobs. I'd been working as a temporary measure for Post Office Telecommunications. I didn't see myself being long-term in that post because I knew I was going to teach eventually. It was always in the back of my mind. So I decided I'll go on supply and I got known and that led to a series of temporary jobs, and then gave up teaching while I had the boys, then I got more and more temporary appointments and eventually a permanent post. All those temporary posts were hugely helpful because when you work in a lot of different situations you learn so much. I picked up all sorts of ideas and techniques from different teachers, in different situations. You had to be adaptable and flexible. I was learning from other teachers how they did things but also finding my feet in what I thought should be my philosophy and the best way for children to learn, and creating environments so they could learn. It was very useful.

Eventually I really wanted a permanent post because I was fed up with moving on. By that time, because I'd had so much experience doing it in other schools, it was almost as if I was at the top and I knew I could jump off on a springboard and just do it. Shortly after that Foundation Stage was made official, which was great because it encompassed everything that Early Years practitioners knew was best practice for the children. Up till then they'd been treated like an extension of Key Stage 1. And there's a huge difference between a child starting school and the end of Key Stage 1 children. That was brilliant. So I became coordinator for that. There was one other teacher in Foundation Stage so I managed her and at times I managed Key Stage 1. They were good years and it was great fun and I loved being at that school. And I remember our LA adviser who used to come in, because the LA had advisers for all the schools, and he said to me, 'perhaps you'd like to come and do some things with us?' The local authority advertised for something like four Early Years teachers who could do one day a week and because there were four jobs mentioned I thought, 'ooh, I might get one of those, I might have a chance', you know. And I think by that point I was ready because I'd been at the school a while and got established and I thought, 'yes, I'd like to do something like that'. Plus I knew the people at the LA, I'd done some work with them already. I did apply and I was one of the four that got it. And that was lovely, I loved it, absolutely brilliant. That increased to two days after a year, and my Head was okay with that because we had this good teacher who would cover me. I think if we hadn't had that it would have been a lot harder, but that was fine. And then the job came up. One of the consultants left and the job came up permanently. That was more of a dilemma because it meant leaving the classroom.

It's quite a step becoming a consultant or an adviser. I knew I wasn't any better than other teachers, you don't want to feel like you're telling them how to do the job or anything. And I didn't know whether I wanted to leave the classroom completely behind. But I knew I felt ready, because I'd had the two days a week experience doing it part-time. Also I think I knew somewhere, subconsciously, that I was coming to the point where I couldn't carry on in the classroom in the way I wanted to without some sort of help because it was a very difficult environment to hear in. So I left teaching then. I did love working with young children. They want to find out about everything

and there's so much you can provide where you can see that effect it has on their learning. That is thrilling. And early years children are just so fresh and new. When they come into school they are so raw, although they've had experience in nursery or playgroup usually, there is still a next stage you can take them onto. And it's just so creative and fun. So I knew I'd miss that. But then I discovered really, new teachers are a bit like that. So I found in this new job that I was having an effect on their thinking in that we provided courses for them, and you'd go on visits and talk to them and find out what they needed, what their next steps were. It was a different ball game but really it was with teachers instead of children.

While I was working I had a period off work where I really couldn't get to grips with anything. I was having panic attacks and depression. I think it was I had such high expectations of myself which was intensified by the fact that I wasn't prepared to admit that my hearing's not easy and I wore hearing aids. I used to try and hide them and not mention it. And I think sometimes people thought I was being huffy because I just hadn't heard them, or I'd misinterpreted something. And it would have been better if they'd understood why. It was very complicated but during that time I managed to sort out in my head that I needed to tell people about this. Up till then I'd always tried to hide it because I wanted to be the same as everybody else and I was worried they would treat me differently, and that I wouldn't get jobs, or I wouldn't be valued because of my disability. So I had always kept quiet about it but I was beginning to find it very difficult. I tried to kind of get to grips with it - my husband's always said you should be more upfront about it - so I realised I needed to be. After that I started talking about it more and I did find It helped me enormously because I wasn't putting myself under such pressure. When I went back to work after that period off people were saying that they'd been told to ask what they could do to support me. I said things like having my desk where I can see the team so that if somebody talks to me I can lip read, people calling out my name first before they start talking so they've got my attention. Such little things but which make a difference. But I still found it quite hard to manage.

Then eventually the job was made redundant. First of all they made all the primary and secondary teams redundant, and then early years went the following year. Up till 2010 there had been quite a lot of money. Funding for things like Sure Start Centres, for support for teachers, and early years in particular, because they recognised the importance of early years. And then when that joint government came in, Conservatives with Lib Dems, when they came in that's when the funding got cut. We had a meeting where the man produced a diagram of how the teams were going to look, it was called restructuring. And when I looked at the diagram, that level, my level, had gone completely, across the board. You could apply for something else, one of the other jobs that they'd created. But it wasn't the same at all, it was a different type of job. I did think about it for a while. I didn't jump straight into saying yes to redundancy, I thought about it and I thought, 'do I want to do that?' And I came to the conclusion I didn't really want to. It was all so difficult. All the time in the background is my disability which I'd always tried to ignore but that's always been an added extra, it's always meant I've had to work extra hard on whatever I've done. And by that point I was fifty-seven and I thought, 'I don't know if I want to start again doing something else'. And when I decided to become redundant, I accepted it, went through all the motions, and people I knew in schools were saying, 'well, come and work with us'. I did get job offers, temporary jobs in Early Years, or in Key Stage 1. I was a bit tempted. But I thought 'I don't know'. I was really worried that I couldn't go back at that point and do as good a job as I used to do, or that I couldn't fit in with what they needed. I really would have hated it if they'd said, 'well, you've just been working for the LA, you're supposed to be an early years consultant who knows what they're doing, and you've come in and you're not doing a very good job'. I would have hated that. And so there was that pressure in my head. I mean, it might have been fine, I don't know. But I knew it would be hard work, also because of the hearing thing. So I decided not to go back in the classroom at all.

I wasn't so much angry as shocked and disappointed. When you get a diagram where your job isn't there at all, you feel a bit shocked because you feel like what you've done hasn't really counted. You think, 'oh, I'm not important enough to be there'. It was hard to get my head round it to start with. I did feel that effect of thinking, 'well,

isn't what I've been doing of value?' I did feel that the job probably hadn't been that important. All the way through I'd felt that what I was doing was important and that it was having an effect on children, teaching and learning, working with teachers and with people that were providing pre-schools and so on that were providing that. So then to be told your job's being wiped out, it was difficult. It was a shame that it had to end that way. Obviously you want to go out in a blaze of glory thinking that you've 'done a good job', and 'I've chosen to finish it because now it's my retirement'. So it wasn't quite like that. They did see me off. Everybody had a send-off. But it wasn't quite the same as finishing voluntarily.

I had a break and I went to Canada on a trip. And when I came back I applied to Waitrose. I thought I just need something where I don't have to think so much, or work so hard. Because with teaching, and the consultant job, you never leave it behind. It's on your mind all the time. With the consultant's job teachers used to email me any time, and I would always respond, whatever time of day it was. And I thought 'I think I want to leave that behind now and do a job where I've got set hours and when I go home I can forget about it'. Obviously it was quite a step down in terms of salary. But after a bit I have to say the novelty did wear off. And all the time I was decreasing my hours. So I started off with something like twenty hours a week and then eventually asked if I could move departments and that meant another reduction in hours, but I found I didn't mind, I wanted to do less. And also by that time we had bought the caravan and we were finding that we wanted to go off and do more, we really loved going on trips and exploring areas and walking, and doing things like that. We were winding down.

When I got to sixty I knew I would only have my small teacher's pension. I had quite a lot of missing years because I had time out but it was about sixteen years' worth in the end. When I went to work for the authority I froze my teachers' pension because then I went on to the local government pension. I got a teachers' pension, and I got something like five years' worth of local government pension from the local authority. If I had taken it before sixty I would have been penalised, but because I took it at sixty it was okay. It took me quite a while to stop feeling like I needed to be on a treadmill. Because it got to the point with work and family where it was all so

intense and energetic and if I didn't do certain jobs at the weekend that was it for the week because once I was into the teaching week I couldn't do anything else. And I did find it a lot, it was exhausting. I loved it but it was so tiring. And in the end it was beginning to take its toll, I think. I had to allow myself to stop thinking I needed to be doing things all the time. Now I have slowed down a bit, I've got other hobbies and things that I'm interested in. And actually it's been really beneficial mentally, I sleep better and I don't get the depression like I used to. It was just wonderful finding I had all this time and I could actually choose what I wanted to do. Whereas all the time up till then it had all been mapped out and was very intense. It's been my mantra really since we retired, to make the most of it now while we are both fit enough. As you get older it seems to me it matters less and less about material things. At the end of the day it's the family and friends that matter, and those relationships. Our grandchild arriving was wonderful. It's been a real privilege being able to spend time with him, looking after him when they've needed us to. A friend said how he realised that you're passing on something to every generation. You are in your children and they will be in their children, and your parents before you, and that's how it goes. And I thought 'yes, that's right' and you've got to make the best of your world, what you've got, contribute what you can.

It takes a long time, I think, to become a good teacher. It takes years to get that experience. And I think you gain it from being in different situations. It is a vocation, there has got to be something in you that wants to do it. And to do it and not see it as a job. It's more of a way of life. You're a role model, you've got to display the qualities you want the children to learn but also a role model for parents and other teachers too. You're working as a team so you need to be a team player. But you've also got to have enough initiative to work on what you think is best for your children, the children you've got in your class at that time. And, obviously, the qualities of patience come in to play. But a sense of humour, definitely. And having some dignity, you can't just go about doing any old thing or swearing or just saying any old thing in front of children and parents. I think they're expecting somebody who's in a position of authority. Authority isn't respected like it used to, but you're there with an

important job so you've got to have certain qualities. So often for children school is their main stability in life. When they come to school they know they're safe and they're appreciated. And as a teacher you're supporting that environment. It's about providing the right environment for children to learn. I think it's not to get stuck in a rut, always to think imaginatively about how you approach teaching. And what you provide in terms of teaching and learning for children should be imaginative and trying to approach it from different angles, so not always doing it the same way, looking at the children you have and thinking about what their interests and their needs are. I don't know whether that's as easy at secondary level as it is at primary. In foundation stage you've got more flexibility to adapt what you do. It's also thinking about how you can take on new ideas to develop your practice. You have to expect to work hard at it, it is challenging, and it is time consuming. But on the other hand you need to find that work-life balance. You've got to be stable enough yourself, and be relaxed enough to be able to do it, and that's hard. You've got to have a work-life balance of some sort. It is a way of life, but also you need your own time to take back in so you can give out.

I raise my hand and touch the wheel

Of change

Taking time to check the dial

(Stevens, 1970)

Track 3

Career Story Three

I wanted to be an archaeologist. My mum said to me, 'you can't be an archaeologist, that's a man's job'. I said, 'no, women can be archaeologists too'. She said, 'yes, but you'll never make any money as an archaeologist. And if you don't get married where are you going to get money from? How are you going to live? You have to have a proper job and you can do archaeology as a hobby'. I was sixteen, and I thought, 'well, yes, maybe she's right, you know'. She was right about a lot of things, my mum. I thought, 'well what would I be then? If I'm not going to be an archaeologist what would I be?' And I didn't really know what I wanted to be and I thought, 'well, perhaps I could be a teacher? Perhaps I could do that'. But I didn't know, and I didn't know if I would be good at it. So I thought if I did this nursery nursing course it would tell me if I liked working with children, if I could be a teacher. I thought I could leave school, do this nursery nursing course which would be the equivalent of an A-level, and I could do English A-level at the same time. Then if I didn't like it I could think about doing something else because I would still have the equivalent of two A-levels to go and decide to do something else.

I left school when I was sixteen and I did a Nursery Nurse course. And I really enjoyed it. I thought, 'do you know what, I really like this job'. And we had a Secretary of State for Education at the time whose slogan was: 'Nursery Schools For All'. Margaret Thatcher. And I thought well, this is going to be the big thing for the future, nursery education. So I was enjoying it, I liked working with the kids, I liked working in the school. I thought, 'yes, I could actually do this. I could be a teacher'. So that was it, that's why I decided I would go into teaching. I wanted a college that was going to do an early years course, that was a major priority. Secondly, I didn't want to go anywhere that was going to be huge, that was my next priority. When I first went to Hockerill on my interview day I felt very much the buildings weren't dissimilar to my old school buildings, so that was familiar to me and I think that was important. It wasn't big, it had a good range of facilities. And it was welcoming, I think that was probably the most important thing. The whole place was welcoming. It was warm, it was interesting, had a huge history which I don't think we really understood until

much later on, how important that was. It was a really nice, warm, comforting building. And it was really attractive. It had heart. The architecture was beautiful. Lovely red brick, big tall chimneys, beautiful windows. That lovely tower above the Library with all that beautiful glass work in it. A lot of thought had gone in to the style of that building. It was as if it was built to make sure that the teachers there understood how important their job was going to be.

That first year I was very much finding out who I was as a person. Having that freedom to do that in a very supportive atmosphere I think was really important. By the second year I decided it was time I did some work, so I really got down to doing a bit more work in the second year and also in the third year I think I actually did more work than play, I seemed to spend an awful lot of time writing essays and I think that was to do with the dissertation we had to write. I was doing a lot of research work, a lot of writing for that. It became far more academic by the end of the third year. And you were thinking more about the future. I think there was that transition from being a pupil yourself to being a teacher. And it happened over those three years. In the beginning you were just transitioning from pupil to student and you were still doing quite a lot of play, because play is important for learning who you are, what you can do, what your options are. And then moving from that student to becoming a teacher towards the end of the third year I think was important. That whole change of mindset from 'I'm just a kid' to 'actually now I'm a grown-up', I think that was really important, having that time to do that. I'm not sure if I'd gone through the degree route and then done PGCE, I'm not sure you'd get that same immersion in becoming a teacher. From what I've noticed is that students remain students for quite a long time when they're just doing their degree. And I think we grew up over that time, over that three years, and became teachers, became immersed in education. And I think it made us stronger teachers, to be honest. Perhaps the fact that we had three years teacher training, the fact that we had time to meet, to discuss, to go away, to read round, come back, discuss again, discuss things while we were in the bar, discuss things formally in tutorials. The fact that we had the time to do that I think was paramount, really. I think if you only have a year to do all that and part of that is going to be placement, how much better off were we having that experience. Being totally

immersed in education. When we first started at college you could come out of college and walk into a scale post. Jobs were two a penny. When we came out there were no jobs at all to speak of. In fact I know a lot of people who never actually went into teaching because they could never find a job. I applied for fifty-eight jobs before I even got an interview.

I have had such a nice time, I've had such a lovely career. I just hope that I've made a difference, somewhere, to somebody's life somewhere, if I've done that then I'm happy. You are different as a head because you have to have that responsibility for everything that goes on. When you are a teacher, a deputy, there's always the head to fall back to, really, and say is this what I should be doing? Am I doing this right? When you're a head it's quite a lonely job. People expect so much from you. Everybody. They want emotional support. They want intellectual support. They want job support. They want money, everything. And it all comes back on you. But if you've got a good team, got a good senior management team, you can divvy that up a little bit. But at the end of the day the buck stops with you. It is a different sort of job. You are of the teaching staff but not at the same time. There are things that staff will tell the deputy head, but won't tell you, conversations that stop when you walk into the staffroom. Often staff expect you to be able to deal with their issues immediately, because after all what are you doing other than sitting in the office? They don't realize that you have also got a pile of paperwork from the LA/DFE that needs to be dealt with. Confused, angry, disappointed, worried parents whose needs have to be responded to. Policies that need to be written up. Budgets that need to be reconciled. Visitors, students, phone calls, potential parents. Child protection issues, case conferences and all the networking, paperwork and diplomacy that that entails.

I remember one primary school head said to me 'what qualification do you have to have to be a nursery school headteacher, then?' I said 'well, what qualification do you have to have to be a primary school headteacher?' He said 'oh, I had to have a degree in education' and I said 'yes, so do I'. He said 'oh yes but I had to go to teacher training college', and I said 'yes, so did I'. I said 'the difference between me and you is that I can teach in primary school but if you want to teach in nursery school you

will have to do a conversion course because it's very specialist'. I said, 'did you not notice when you were training at college did you not notice that there were teachers on your course who were going to teach early years doing exactly the same lectures as you?' 'Oh' he said 'I hadn't really thought about that'. I said 'we're exactly the same as you'. But so many primary, secondary headteachers think that early years teachers just play in the same way as they think children just play. One head said to me one day 'would you like to apply for the assistant headship in my school?' I said 'why would I want to do that? I'm a headteacher, why would I want to apply for an assistant headteacher's job in your school?' And he said 'well, it's a bigger school, it's more money'. I said 'that's not a reason, that's not a reason to do that. What you're saying to me is what I do isn't as worthwhile as what you do'. 'Oh, no, no, no, I'm not saying that.' I said 'that's exactly what you're saying. Me being a headteacher of a nursery school isn't as good as you being the headteacher of a primary school.'

I had a meeting with the director of education a couple of days later and he said to me 'and where do you see yourself in ten years' time'. I said 'I see myself on an archaeological dig somewhere'. And he said 'no, no, no, but really'. And I said 'yes, yes, yes, but really'. He said 'well why do you feel like that?' I said 'well let me just give you an example. One of my primary colleagues has just asked me if I want to apply for his assistant headship'. He said 'oh, and are you going to?' I said 'why? Why would I want to do that?' And he said 'well, it should be a good school, more money'. And I was just so angry. What I used to do is when I was at a heads' meeting, I used to insist on sitting with a group of primary heads, or even secondary heads, just to say 'actually I'm the same as you, I'm not something that's different, that's apart from what goes on here. I am the same as you.' I thought that was really, really important. And I was always being asked to be chair of the partnership, because people saw me then as part of that group rather than a separate group. I think that was just really important. It was important for me as a teacher, as a headteacher, but I think it was also important for early years that we were seen as the same. Fighting a losing battle most of the time but it was a battle worth fighting.

I think it's something about teachers that we don't blow our own trumpets enough. People think we start work at nine o'clock in the morning and we finish at half past

three. A lot of what we do just isn't seen. I learned what a good teacher could be and that you wouldn't be a good teacher immediately, necessarily, when you came out of college. That you need to work on it. And you have to take on board that every school is different, every team is different. And you can take the experience that you've got and work with that but it's not always going to pan out the same way wherever you are. It's a bit like when local authorities decide to helicopter in a new headteacher because they've done really well with their own school. And it doesn't work because the team is different, that whole team dynamic takes time to build up, so it doesn't always work. You need to work with what you know and how you can get on with other people, other teachers, other children, parents, take on all their expectations.

I used to have a gruelling interview regime. Fifteen minute observed teaching activity - always difficult with children you don't know - and informal evaluation. Group story time - with good listeners, I wasn't that mean. Lunch with parent governors. Formal interview. If they could survive that they would survive anything. I was looking for people who were well organised, confident, calm in a crisis, empathetic and a team player. People who were going to be really creative. Weren't afraid to speak their mind. But somebody who was going to fit in with my team, because I had a team, they were unforgiving of people who didn't pull their weight. So it had to be somebody who was going to fit in with that team. Somebody with a strength that I needed at that time, because you can't have everybody who is going to be good at language development. And somebody who's going to be prepared to do other tasks. I had a supply nursery nurse come in once. I was just outside the staffroom and I heard one of the other staff say to this nursery nurse 'can you wipe the table down for dinner?' She said 'I don't do cleaning, I've got a qualification.' And my member of staff said 'so have I, but if you had been my headteacher standing there and I'd said 'can you wipe the table down for dinner' she would have wiped the table down for dinner. And if the cleaner isn't here after lunch she will clean the toilets too.' And you've got to be prepared to do that sort of thing as well, so you can't be a member of the team and think you're better than anybody else. So that's what I would have been looking for, people who would fit into my team, people who were really

creative, really imaginative, had a good sense of humour, and would be prepared to do the dirty jobs if necessary.

I thought 'I'm going to go next year. I'm nearly fifty-seven, I can go at fifty-five so let me make that decision.' A lot of my friends were dying, which was a bit shocking really. It was like every six months somebody was dying, and I thought 'do you know what? There's more to life than this, you know. I'd put in thirty-seven years, now it's time for me to have some me time before I get too old to enjoy it, really'. And I didn't really believe in what I was doing any more. I had, from the time I finished college, a real belief in the way young children learn. And it seemed to me that children were being pushed and pushed far too early. We were losing all our children at the end of the year that they would be five. Some of those children were only just four and they were going into reception class, into quite formal teaching, formal learning. And I just didn't feel that that was what we should be doing. I'd fought against that for thirty-odd years, because every year there was that push to push formal early years education back further. And we'd fought against it, and we'd fought against it. I just thought 'do you know what, I just can't do this anymore. I don't believe that this is in the best interests of children. No, it's time for me to hand on to somebody else who actually wants to do this, because I don't '.

And then we had these Ofsted inspections. We had a school inspection and a children's centre inspection at the same time, so we were juggling two Ofsted teams in the same place at the same time, which was a nightmare. And we'd just lost all the children into reception classes. It was the first week of the autumn term and we were settling in one-hundred-and-fifty-five new three-year-olds. There's one thing you can't do is settle one one-hundred-and-fifty-five new three-year-olds all on the same day. They were coming in in tranches, really. So we'd only got half the school full by the time we had our Ofsted inspection. And we were working really hard on transition for those kids from home to school. A lot of them had no English. Most of them had never been apart from their parents before. And the Ofsted inspector said

'but we're not seeing any outstanding teaching'. And I said 'well, are you seeing outstanding transition practice?' 'Oh yes, yes, that's absolutely, we've not seen anything like that before, it's wonderful, but there isn't a box for us to tick for that and we're not seeing outstanding teaching.' I said 'well you're not going to see outstanding teaching, we're settling these children into school. They're three. They've never been away from their parents. They've never been in a school like this. You're not going to see outstanding teaching in the next two, three weeks, probably, until all these kids are in school, they know what they're doing.' And it was just so demoralising, you know. Not just for me, but for the whole staff because they were working their socks off to settle these kids in to school and make it a really successful experience for them that's going to carry them right the way through their school careers. Because if we get it wrong in the early years then it's wrong for the rest of their school career.

So that was another reason, really, I just thought 'I've had it up to here with Ofsted inspections'. The inspector who came in to do the school inspection, I said to him 'have you ever been a head yourself?' And he said 'oh yes, I was a head for two years but it was too much like hard work for me'. And I thought 'how dare you come into my school and tell me what should be going on when that is your attitude'. I was absolutely shocked. And I just thought 'do you know what? I've had it. I'm out. I'm going. Whatever happens now, I'm going'. So that was it, I said 'I'm not staying any longer'. I was going to go at that Christmas. I'd already told the chair of governors I was leaving at Christmas but when we couldn't appoint to the post I'd said I would stay on until April. But I thought I'm not going any longer than that, that's it for me, I'm out. And I hated that I finished my career like that. Because on the whole it had been really successful.

Because I'd made that decision I was going to go I'd thought 'what will I do then when I'm retired? I can't just retire and not do anything'. While I was thinking if I retire what shall I do, a freebie newspaper came through the door. It was from Oxford University with all their continuing development courses in it. They had a load of archaeology courses going on and I thought 'do you know what, this is what I wanted

to do originally. Perhaps I can do that now'. They had ten-week courses, and then they had the certificate, and the diploma and the advanced diploma courses running as well. I thought if I could do a couple of these ten-week courses, see if I like them and if I do then I could perhaps apply for the certificate and their diploma courses. At the same time I was doing an online archaeology course, just a short course. I thought 'do you know what, I'm really enjoying this so I'll apply for the certificate course'. So I had something to go to, something that was different, something that kept me in education, if you like, but in a different way. And I was doing something for me, which I thought was important. So that was where I went from that. But I didn't miss teaching, at all. I think that last experience, for that last term, I think that had just shut it down really. I miss it more now to be honest. I've been doing some part-time work in the local museum and going out into schools and taking some of the artefacts into schools, and working with kids in schools. Just one day a week. And then I go and work in the local children's centre, go and read stories. So I don't want to do teaching but I don't mind just going and volunteering. I don't think I can ever not be a teacher, either, it's something that will just be with me. I think that's the same for everybody who's been through that same system. That's who you are. That is part of what you are.

I'm going where the sun keeps shining

Through the pouring rain

Going where the weather suits my clothes

Banking off of the northeast winds

Sailing on a summer breeze

And skipping over the ocean like a stone

(Neill, 1966)

Track 4

Career Story Four

The truth is that my last year at school was a disaster because I had recurrent tonsillitis. And I wouldn't have been able to go to university because I wouldn't have got the grades I needed at my A-levels. I missed the whole of history, which was my favourite subject. I ended up being a geography student. When do A-levels take place? May don't they? At the start of it I was actually in hospital having my tonsils removed. So in that sense it was a disastrous six months. So I had a place at Hockerill simply because I put down for Colleges of Ed, and they called me up for an interview. Pleasant day out. Never been to Bishop's Stortford before, it was only twenty-five miles away. I'd have wanted to go to somewhere that wasn't so far away that I couldn't be home in a reasonable time. I wouldn't have wanted to go to the other end of the country, for example. And Bishop's Stortford was the one that I put down and I got an interview straightaway. I hadn't really considered much else. I hadn't been pointed in a direction by anyone else. And I can remember even on my first teaching practice one of the tutors wrote: 'he is in danger of being a teacher who teaches how he was taught'. Which is meant as a criticism. I didn't necessarily see it entirely like that, I must say.

It was like dying and waking in heaven, you know. There are other guys that weren't in dissimilar situations to me. Coming to Bishop's Stortford – unbelievable place. Plus, I suppose, it gets down to more of a personal level that I'd gone to a boys' school. It was a different world to me. And of course I was away from home for the first time – hadn't been away from home for more than a couple of weeks before. So that's a big deal for people. A lot of kids nowadays can't handle it. But then my father would have said, 'well, I left home at nineteen and put a uniform on for six years'. Different things for different generations. I left there a completely different person from the kid that arrived. Didn't have the same growing up as my father had in those years. And different to the guys who I'd gone to school with who left school and joined local government, or the civil service, or the bank. Those were the sort of things they did from my school. Because by the time I had got a job they already had houses. So it was a different growing up process. And they might have had more money in their

pockets at that age, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three. But I think probably, especially my experience of teaching and then moving on to something else, probably helped me have a more rounded perspective of the world.

In the first two years I was in digs. And then third year in Chelmsford, on the top floor I think we were then. And that was just a completely different experience for me, living in Chelmsford for a year. It was a year that, despite anything else that might be said, I actually had to change my whole attitude towards what I was doing there. Because I was determined to get the credits I needed, and to pass the entrance exam, the qualifying exam, and to put on as reasonable a show as I could to blag my way into a Cambridge college. And so I think the main part of it was putting in a very good geography dissertation. And I put in so much effort into that. And, despite everything else, I did actually work very hard for a term, two terms probably – really hard. And that set me up for when I went to Cambridge because I worked unbelievably hard then. I'd be up at five, I'd go to bed at nine, nine-thirty. There were no excesses at all while I was at Cambridge, believe you me. And that set me up for that. I know I had to get certain levels in the exams, which, frankly, weren't overly exacting but passing the qualifying exam, the entrance exam, was. And for someone like me. In fairness, I know it's a backdoor entry anyway to Cambridge, I accept that obviously, but there weren't many obviously ordinary working-class boys who could get in any way at that time. Remember it's forty-five years ago. And so I found that quite daunting. It was different when I got there but the process was daunting. You were sitting the Tripos with the BA or BSc students. And so you were having to compete, if you like, with them. And obviously at that time the mix of where they had come from, school-wise, socio-wise, was very different.

I was a schoolteacher for ten years. I only worked in two schools. One for seven years and one for three. The first school I worked was a great place to be, that really did it's best for children of all abilities. Obviously, everyone enjoys teaching A level but I also enjoyed teaching basic stuff under the guise of 'Geography' to what was called the 'remedial class'. I did my probationary year and asked the head could I do the part-time MA, 'it's two nights a week and it won't affect my schoolwork, my teaching

and that'. I think it might have been required to fill in a form of support to get the funding because the costs were paid for by the local authority – it didn't cost me anything other than to get down to London, the Institute of Education. The second school I worked in, as a head of department, really wasn't as joyful a place to be in, staff wise. When both deputy heads retired when I'd been there for two years, I could see the writing on the wall. The school started changing an awful lot. And my view of working in a secondary school was to get the kids through their exams. That wasn't seen as a prime objective by an awful lot of younger teachers. Bearing in mind that I had eight, nine, ten years' experience then. That was regarded as quite old-fashioned. If you're in a secondary school, and especially that was an upper school, my view was your objective was to get those kids through their O-levels and into the A-level class, and once they're in the sixth form to get them their A-levels. There were teachers teaching at an upper school who didn't have that view. Which is fine, they have whatever view they want. I had a different narrative to some other people. So I thought, 'I don't need this'. It was a period of relative decline in teacher pay. I was struggling financially in the sense that I now had another child, and I was working in a pub at weekends to make ends meet, because my wife wasn't working at all. And I had to think about how I might improve things. And working in the pub I was talking to all sorts of disreputable people, including a number of police officers. And one of them gave me a phone number and said, 'phone this woman'. She invited me along to the police station, eyed me up and down, we had a little chat, and the next thing she gave me a form to fill in and I took it from there.

These early months in the police service were interesting, to say the least. Not exclusively so, but enough to make the more difficult stuff more than bearable. Training school at Hendon was quite tough for being residential and because I was a few years older than the majority of the others. The mentality was not really what I was used to - I had to make the best of it. If you can remember the mid-eighties they were a time when teachers thought very lowly of police, and police thought very lowly of teachers, pretty much. When the staff of the school I was then working at knew that I was going to join the job - the job is just an expression that the police use, 'The Job' - they saw it as going over to the other side. That was their view of the

world. I'm not really a very politically motivated bloke, in truth. We've all got views but I can't align myself to any particular group of people, for very long anyway. But there was this general feeling that the teachers were on one side of the world, of society, shall we say. And the Old Bill were a completely different group of people. And that was pretty unfair. But the police thought exactly the same as teachers. It was a time when police officers weren't allowed to go into schools, even chasing a suspect they wouldn't be allowed into a school. Because there was, I guess whatever we call it, distrust or just hostility, I don't know. Maybe it was partly joking that they thought they were going to have someone arrive in sandals and duffle coat and driving a 2CV. That spell was broken fairly early on when I was a probationer. I took a prisoner in to the custody officer, and the custody officer, he was a sergeant, wasn't in the custody office. And the bloke kicked off. Well I had to relocate him on the floor. Because you can't fall off a floor, you see, can you? Just at that time after he was being subdued, the custody officer and the duty officer, an inspector, walked in. And the duty officer said to the sergeant, 'he'll do'. And that changed their attitude towards me, I suppose. You know, it's just they were two groups of people who didn't really have much of an interface, at that particular time.

I think because, obviously, I was differently educated to most people starting as a constable, and my age, it was anticipated that I would, in the earliest possible period of time, which was then five years as an ordinary entrant, I'd take the exam and be promoted. Which is basically what happened. After four years as a constable I applied to sit the sergeants' exam, which I passed. In those days it was a competitive examination. The job would say how many sergeants they wanted from the competitive exam - say one-hundred-and-fifty. The top one-hundred-and-fifty would get promoted in that year. Simple. There may be two thousand sitting the exam. so it was very competitive. Before the end of the year I was promoted. It was a big deal. Every officer in the police is basically a constable other than the most senior officers at Scotland Yard. They have what's called a Silver Token. Everyone below that has a Warrant Card which gives them their powers in public, if you like. And so everyone is at heart a constable. But when you give up being a PC to become a sergeant, although you're still also a constable in a sense, you're losing some of it because you have a

different role and responsibilities. And it was, yes, it is a big step in one sense, or was in those days. You're leaving the people who, if you're in a good team, you'd do anything for. I don't think that's the case now. But you looked after each other. It's a big move. Your authority comes in wearing a uniform and having a warrant card. So that, in one way, is already there. What you've got is the additional responsibility of having authority over other officers. I took it on, more or less, as being the team leader, as much as anything else.

If you work really hard at something you get battle weary, you know, you can get burnt out. I think probably I was getting to that point when I'd probably had enough of being on the front line. Looking back I can say that. At the time, perhaps, you don't think it's the case. But, yes, I'd been doing it pretty much continuously ever since I started all those years before, most of the time doing the same sort of job. And, yes, I needed a change. When a job was advertised full time at Hendon, I naturally applied and got the post, only to find that my management prevented me from leaving, on the grounds that there weren't enough sergeants. Seriously not happy at that, but when a couple of the senior officers moved on a really nice chief inspector who became a superintendent asked me if I would like to take over a role supervising police ops at the Crown Court. I spent my last ten years there.

The job was undergoing some changes, named the Local Policing Plan. And, although they could never admit it, they would want to do was get rid of officers who had their time in. Because I transferred pension into the job I'd done more than my thirty years' service. I'd only worked for twenty-seven years-ish. But taking seven years pension from ten years teaching into that system meant I'd already worked more than thirty years pensionable service. I'd done my time. So they said, 'basically we're going to remove this job from what's available and you can go and do some shift work again'. And I was fifty-nine. That's not an overly attractive thing in front of you. So I said 'fair enough' and spent the next day just preparing my exit papers. 'Thank you very much, I'll be gone at the end of June'. It wasn't meant as a fait accompli because I could have gone on and I could have done that, and it wouldn't have been too onerous because I probably wouldn't have had to do nights. But I didn't want to do that. But

they can give people a nudge when they have done their time. So I took that as a hint. I thought no, I'll have my full pension and I'll be on my way, no problem at all.

When retired, a lot of guys think that they are going to be always remembered by the job, checked up on and in some way, looked after. Nothing could be further from the truth. The only contact I have with the job as an institution is the occasional letter giving me a pension update. Which is, at least, always good news. I keep a few friends from my time as an officer. So when you retire you probably have some gifts but the main thing is the memories, hopefully mainly of the good times. As far as any 'hardware' is concerned, I keep it all in a box in the garage. A lot of people have their job paraphernalia in the house. Like they'll have a truncheon in a frame on the wall, or the certificates that they've got, commendations, things like that. Frankly, that's not me. I have got my grandfather's medals, and my great uncle's medals from the first war on the wall. But I wouldn't dream of keeping my work stuff anywhere in the house. There's nothing in the house, I don't think, related to the job. I just don't do it. I left it. Put it behind me. Some people live on after the job, and sadly it's what they used to call being married to the job, you know. And when they leave the job you get your lump sum, but they don't seem to disconnect from it. Other people, they go to work, when they finish work they take their uniform off and leave it behind them. And I'm one of that sort. And there are plenty of blokes who used to be policeman who still look at people in a certain way. Or they're always looking round for things that are suspicious. But people expect you to be like that. But I just don't fit into those categories. Because I hadn't been working in a police station for ten years, I'd been working at Crown Court, it was probably easier. So I only had a handful of police colleagues and a lot of court people who I mixed with on a daily basis. If perhaps I'd been working in a police station with four or five other sergeants, an inspector, and thirty PCs, working with them every day, that might be different. But that wasn't how it was.

Teachers are completely thought of in a different way now than they were forty-five years ago. And I think you've got to be realistic and say that, when we started

teaching, that second half of the seventies, we had no idea of the sort of jobs that people would be leaving school for in forty-five years' time. No idea at all. And the jobs that exist now don't necessarily exist when the kid goes to secondary school at eleven, it's changing that rapidly. So careers advice is a bit temporal, it's not really necessarily that solid. And that's not a criticism because kids need advice, but it's difficult giving advice which is of great value for more than a few years hence. From what I understand - I still have one or two teacher friends - their world is completely different to the one I knew. They have a couple of assistants in the class. And I think probably children behave differently in class now to they did then. From what I'm told they don't need a lot of controlling, and because of that the teacher's experience is different, and I don't think they'd be too happy with being given thirty recalcitrant fifteen-year-olds who didn't want to be there. Because a teacher is in a slightly different working environment now, probably to the good. So I think they work in a different world, which is for the better. They're better thought of, as professionals, whereas perhaps we were amateurs doing it as professionally as we could. In one sense anyway. Doing our best without any guidance, if you think about it. You got on with it. If you were teaching in a secondary school the years, whatever they are, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen, I think you had a syllabus. Beyond that, below that, the syllabus is what you wanted to be. You had no one saying you should be doing this, like they do now we have a national curriculum, we had none of that. If you want to teach your first years about Australia, in secondary, about Australia, the second years about South America, and then the third year about something else, you could. You wouldn't be criticised for it because you set the exam at the end of the year and that was it. So it is, in that sense, a completely different ball game. And that's why I say we were, in a sense, amateurs. It's not that we were amateurish and didn't do our best. And we got paid for it, although not very well until about 1986, I think. But it was a different world.

I think now that people don't necessarily start a career at the age of, in teaching terms twenty-two, with the expectation of retiring doing a job in the same line of work. I think those expectations have changed. And so I think that's always something to bear in mind. And there's an awful lot of teachers who don't even get

to do their NQT, they don't even get to do that. The reason that they do that fourth year at university, and I know I'm very cynical, is so they don't have to go into the world of work. And so many undergraduates now finish their first degree, 'what are you going to do?', 'oh, I'm going to do an MA'. You don't need an MA in a lot of the subjects that are taking place in universities now. But it's almost, and I don't mean to sound critical because people can do what they want, and they're taking on more of a loan anyway nowadays, but there's a bit of a work avoidance issue at putting it off. That might be unfair on some people, obviously. There is that thing that I get from young people now, that, if they can stay out of the world of work for another year or two years, it's not going to do them any harm, which might be fine. But when you do go to work don't think that you're necessarily going to be doing that for forty years. Don't expect to do forty years in one job would be my message. Be adaptable.

Come up and see me

Make me smile

Or do want you want

Runnin' wild

(Harley, 1975)

Track 5

Career Story Five

I always liked school. When I was growing up in America I lived in a small village and the school I went to was right across the street from my house. And back then in those days we started school at five years old. And I just really loved it, just really loved school. I liked learning and liked being there. I always remember from when I was about eight or nine years old, ten years old, and I thought it would be really nice to be a teacher and help others. And I just thought that I would be able to do well as a teacher and to help others.

And I honestly don't remember why I put Hockerill down. But I remember going for the interview and it was the vice-principal that interviewed me, with her two dogs. Which was probably a test. If you can get past her two dogs then you're in. And also because I'd only just come back from America that I just thought, 'oh well, this is really nice and English and it's just really nice and friendly'. And it was kind of relaxed in a way. I just thought they were really lovely buildings. And if you look at the architecture, and the chimney pots, and things like that it was just, I always felt, a really unique place to be, because it was old and it had a lot of character. That wonderful tree outside the canteen and also in the area in front of the Porter's Lodge. I just hold a great affection for them because of their shape and the meaning - when you walked across there, people met under there. That tree outside the Library, the Dining Hall. It's just they're kind of monumental really, to me, they're just part of the fabric of the college. I think because it was a small place, when it was full it was only about five-hundred of us, so for three years to be with four, five-hundred people altogether you get to know each other. And everybody is actually very friendly, and there's this great camaraderie because you're a name and not a number. I know now at universities with thousands and thousands of students, and they're all doing different things, you are a number and not a name. It's very difficult, isn't it, for students to know a lot of people now because there's thousands of them. You just know a small group that are taking your subject or are living in your hall of residence. But for us it was different. Also we were in a commuter town, but it was a small town, it wasn't a city, and that also made it quite homey. It doesn't matter how long you've

been away, it's that we've got that link and it's always there. Even though perhaps you haven't been in contact for years, once you get back together it's like we've never been apart. And I think that's what Hockerill nurtured for me.

They started off with getting you into schools right away. We arrived at the college on the Wednesday and the following Tuesday we were in a school. That doesn't happen now. It got us straight in there. Fantastic. And that also gave everybody the opportunity to say, 'well actually I don't like this', which some people at college did, and left. Everything was focused on how to be a good teacher, and how to teach. Apart from your main and subsidiary and everything, but all the teaching of reading, sociology of education, philosophy of education, all those different strands that we were taught and gave you an insight. It's funny, sometimes when you talk about this, it feels like it's a bit of an anachronism really, teacher training colleges are a bygone era. But really important. One thing I did hate was back then in the seventies when I was at sixth form college. The sixth form college I went to was a grammar school so they were always pushing people to go to university, and if you didn't go to university but you went to teacher training college you were like a second-class citizen. And I'm thinking because you don't go to university doesn't mean to say that you wouldn't make it in education. I always hated the fact that teachers were 'oh, teacher training college'. 'Well yeah, that's what I want to do'. Someone who had a degree and then did a poxy x number of weeks PGCE had a higher status than us. It's like going to medical school, isn't it, or dentistry. Going to teacher training college should have had the same status as that and yet it didn't.

It's a shame they went. I remember we went on strike. And we were holed out in the Senior Common Room and things like that. I found it was a really sad time, that teacher training colleges were under threat, and people's jobs were under threat. I do remember thinking that when it closes that the legacy is gone. I remember feeling really sad about it and disappointed. But it was a sign of the times, wasn't it. I can understand that to get rid of them was cost-effective, and to subsume them into universities. Teaching now is, obviously, so different from even twenty years ago because it keeps changing. But I just wonder if they kept teacher training colleges that more students, once you qualify, would stay in teaching longer. And I just

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wonder that getting rid of them gave less power to teachers as a group, as a whole, as an entity. And maybe, if teacher training colleges were kept as an institution, the teaching profession might have ended up being more powerful with governments than not. I don't know, I might just be talking out my backside, but I think that when you dilute something as important as teaching and subsume it into a university of tens of thousands of people you then dilute the power. And maybe because of that camaraderie and that cohesiveness and everything that we stayed in education as a career. I think young people going into teaching perhaps feel they didn't have the support to start with, they don't have the support now, there's so many assessments and so many criteria that you have to juggle. And then you're burnt out. I just think it's really sad actually that people don't stay in teaching as long as we did.

At that time teaching jobs were quite scarce. I got this phone call saying could you cover this sick leave, she was actually a PE teacher but she taught some English, and could I come and cover the sick leave? And they'd put me on a proper contract, you know, not supply rate, but it was a proper contract because it would just lead me into September because it was the same borough. And it was years ten and eleven, English. It was like being thrown in the deep end because it was a rough school. But it was a good grounding start. And then it moved straight onto going to the junior high school, which was years seven to nine. I got a bit fed up with stuff and fancied to do something different. My brother lives in the States so I went out there and I ended up getting a job in a high school. It was literally out in the middle of nowhere and ninety-five per cent of the kids lived on ranches or farms. One of the two best fun years of teaching ever because I had an English accent and they thought I was wonderful. I taught equivalent of junior and senior high so it was probably, if I'm thinking years, probably years six to thirteen. And just a little story. Some of the kids had special needs, they had home problems, or something like that. And there was a woman who used to come out once a month to see a student who was living out there with his stepmother and his father and there were kind of home issues, he had some behaviour problems and everything. And he and I got along really, really well. He was a pain, he was really difficult but he really liked me and we got on really well. Anyway two years ago I got a message from him saying him and his girlfriend were

doing a trip. So two years ago they came down and I met him and that's the first time that we'd met since he was sixteen. And he says 'you were always my favourite teacher. I know that you always cared'. And it's little things like that that you think your job's worthwhile.

My contract wasn't renewed and I couldn't get another job. So I came back and I got a maternity leave cover at the school I was at at the start. It was hard going, it's the discipline, you know, the kids were hard going. They'd come to school with brand-new trainers on and you knew that they didn't buy them. You knew some of these kids were quite threatening. I wasn't the only one who had problems. I'd say 'this kid's real trouble' and they'd kind of 'oh no, he's not' and then the next thing you knew he's broken a bottle and he's threatening some other kid with a broken bottle in the playground. I'm like 'well, I told you so'. So I didn't enjoy it I have to say. I applied for a job at the comprehensive school, and got that. Probably my way of thinking was I want to be in an all-through school, rather than just teach years ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen. And that's how, actually, I ended up getting involved in drama. Because when I got there I had to teach some drama. So what I did was, the local authority had a drama adviser, one of those rare, rare people. And she offered the RSA courses, Royal Society of Arts, and they ran a course called Drama in Education, and it was a year's course, once a week after school, and she would come in and assess my lessons and things like that. And so I thought 'well, if I've got to teach drama I might as well do this and do it properly', because I really enjoyed it. And that's what I did, so I got that qualification.

I got fed up again, I got fed up with Thatcher. Sold my flat, and made a bit of money and I just sort of went back to the USA. I did a bit of supply teaching, travelled about. It was difficult even to get supply work, really. And then I came back here, and got a job at the grammar school where I was until I retired, the longest I'd ever been in one school. Twenty-four years. I got the job because I could teach drama and English. And they hired me mainly for drama, but one of the English teachers was going on maternity leave so they needed someone to do a bit of extra English. And I then was thrown in at the deep end because I had to teach theatre studies. And I'd never done it before. So that was a real eye-opener. It took me a couple years to get my head

round that so it was a bit worrying because at first their exam results weren't brilliant. And being in a grammar school you've really got to be on your game there. When I took over they had one person doing theatre studies, that was difficult, and they had one GCSE group in year ten. So I was teaching a lot of English for the first two years, then with theatre studies I got more and more kids wanting to do it, and then more and more kids wanting to do drama, so I ended up with two GCSE groups in each year. And at one time we had two theatre studies groups. It was down to me to build up the department even though I wasn't head of drama. Then I was made head of drama when obviously things were going.

The head of year was going on maternity leave and so the head at the time was saying who wants to do it? I applied for it and got it. I really enjoyed that job because I always think I was quite successful because being a drama teacher you are caring. You get the misfits in drama, and you get the kids in drama who might have taken it because they think 'oh this is an easy doss', but in fact they learn quite a lot from it, and a lot comes out. And you can see these kids dealing with their emotions and dealing with their problems, and you end up being their mentor or whatever. I always think that drama is such a special subject for that because so much can come out in lessons for them because they don't have to be themselves. But a lot of nurturing and realisation can come out through that. I've always been for the underdog, I've always been someone who wants to, if there's a kid that has problems or needs help or something, to just get hold of them and say look, really help them along. Yes, I think I did quite a good job there. Because even though it is quite a middle-class area, and grammar school people say a lot of middle-class kids go to grammar school, there's also real pockets of poverty. A lot of kids have free school meals, a lot of kids do not come from well-off families, middle-class families. And the primary schools around they see a kid that has got a lot of problems but is bright, well, let's get them to take the eleven-plus and let's get them to a grammar school, to really help them. Doesn't always work because home influence is far greater than school influence. There's a significant proportion of kids that go to the grammar schools that have problems. So the grammar school myth is probably, it's alright in some areas, but it's hard work.

Towards the end I had to take time out. Things were crumbling. I got to the point where things kind of piled up. And I just remember teaching drama and I thought 'Christ. Things aren't working here. Things are definitely not working'. And I could tell that I wasn't controlling the class or anything like that. I just thought 'no' and I walked out. Walked out of school. And the head at the time was really good because I spoke to someone before I went and I just said 'I'm going home'. And I remember the head, really lovely guy, just said 'you all right?' And I said 'no, I'm going home and I don't know when I'm coming back'. So I stayed off for about a term. That was in the summer, just before the end of term, and I stayed off till January. And I went back part-time. That was okay. I got to about fifty-seven, fifty-eight, fifty-nine, I was beginning to have enough. Because drama's tiring. And I enjoyed the exam classes but the years seven, eight and nine, and year nines are always a difficult year group. And I was beginning to think then 'oh, I've had enough here'. And I just found sometimes kids' silly behaviour, which before you kind of laugh off or whatever, and I just used the think 'oh, God'. So I was glad to go when I did even though it was a year early. But I was beginning to have enough and thought I wanted out.

What happened was, we got a new head. I remember it was at the end of the school year and she called me in her office and she said 'you're not teaching drama any more, you've got to teach English'. And I'm looking at her, I'm going 'oh, really?' And she said 'yes, this is what you're going to do'. Now I hadn't taught GCSE English in quite a few years, so I had no idea about the new syllabus, had no idea about that at all. It must have been at least five, six, seven years I hadn't, it was all drama. So she said 'well, yes, you've got a year eleven, you're taking over a year eleven class'. 'Am I?' 'And year ten'. And I said to her 'you do realise I'm retiring next year'. 'Are you?' 'Yes' I said 'I'll be sixty. So I'm going to do all this for a year?' Then she called in my head of drama and told him and I came out, because I said to her 'well who's going to teach the drama then?' 'Oh we'll find someone.' 'So you're taking me out of drama and you're going to find x number of other people to teach drama?' I always remember the head of English, she says 'I don't mean to be rude but we don't want you', and I said 'no, and I don't want to do it either'. So I'm thinking 'well I've got a bit of savings, I'm going to go'. I said to my husband we'll take in students, you know,

foreign students. I'll find some way of supplementing the salary. I didn't think about taking my pension a year early, I wasn't sure about that. But then a friend of mine in senior management told the executive head, and they offered me a certain amount of money to go a year early. And he said 'I don't want you to leave under a cloud, I don't want you to leave pissed off, this is what I'm offering you'. And so that's what happened. And it just goes to show when I left they had to find five people to take over my drama. That's how I got to retire. I think I did miss the creative side of it, because I taught all drama, it was A-level and then IB, and it was fun. I missed the practical side of it. I loved working with the kids, and directing them in their exam pieces, and working on the school play and things like that, I missed that bit. But all the other shit that goes with Ofsted and exams, lesson observations and all this sort of rubbish, no. But it's the creative stuff I really enjoyed. Would I go back and do that? Don't know. But if I could just go in and help with that and not have to deal with anything else, fine. Whether I would have been asked, if I was asked by my ex-colleagues to come back in and help, that say six, seven years ago, five years ago, I might have done. But I wouldn't now. I think it's too far now.

I had a great time teaching, I loved it. I think you have to be passionate, you have to passionately want to be a teacher, and you passionately want to help kids. And you've also got to be passionate about, if in a secondary school, you've got to be passionate about your subject. You've got to be caring. I never really wanted to be deputy head, or head, or anything like that. I firmly believe that if you are a good teacher you stay in the classroom, because that's where you're needed. Because the higher up you go the less teaching you do. Teaching has changed so much over the past forty years, and the way we were trained it's totally different now because government after government decides that you need to quantify teaching, and you can't quantify it. How can you quantify passion for your subject? How can you quantify someone? To be brutally honest, I'm not sure I would encourage young people to go into teaching now. Not sure. I think that it's a fabulous job. Each day is different because you never know what's going to happen. You never know how the kids are going to react. Kids make you laugh. They make you cry. They surprise you.

But the pressures that present and previous governments have put on education now has, I think, killed a lot of that. And I think the pressure of Ofsted, exam results, league tables, is so great that too many young people who I think would be great teachers fall by the wayside, can't cope with it. I don't believe in academy chains, I think it's money, it's profit before education. You've got people in charge there that aren't even educators. You've got education secretary after education secretary. I think government should have no influence on education at all. Ofsted keep changing the goalposts. I saw really, really fantastic teachers in their fifties, a lot of experience, expertise, fantastic, crumble and leave. So I don't think that government should be involved in education at all. Too much government interference over the years. Because they try and quantify teaching and you can't do that, and it doesn't work, and it's just demoralising now. Which I think is sad. I don't know if I'd go into teaching today, even though it is a fantastic job.

Every time I see your face

It reminds me of the places we used to go

(Starkey and Harrison, 1973)

Track 6

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Career Story Six

One of the things that did interest me as I grew in through my teens, having been brought up with a religious background, I was very interested in RE, and wanted to do that. So when it came to making choices about what I wanted to do after school, that was quite a hard one. I suppose from primary years I'd grown up actually quite altruistic, again part of my upbringing I'm sure. The school motto was 'I serve'. And I thought, 'I like that'. That each of us is here, is here not for our own benefit solely, but to help others. And so my ideas when I got into sixth form and thinking about possible career moves, the key one first of all was social work. Because I thought I would like to help other people. I started looking at courses that would be appropriate for a social worker. And I was interested in things like psychology. I was applying for psychology courses and the demands of those universities were quite high. I had an offer to do a psychology degree but singularly failed to make the grades. So I had to have a quick rethink. I don't think at that point, up until then, I'd been thinking in terms of teaching. My school, when I started looking at teaching, they frowned on the very idea of going to a teacher training college, which was an interesting thing. It was an academic boys' grammar school, the sort of place where you would get your name on the board if you went to Oxford, Cambridge. Teacher training college was deemed by my school to be second rate. But I still went through with it and looked at the colleges available. And I think there were two things that attracted me to Hockerill. One was the brochure because it looked like quite a contained, friendly college. Being somebody who was quite anxious about leaving home at the age of eighteen, quite naïve, quite young really, for my age, one of the reasons I applied to Hockerill was, if I'm honest, that there was somebody that I knew not a million miles away from the college.

I duly applied and was interviewed. And then discovered that I had this offer of a place, which was great. In terms of my main and subsidiary subject, I would do RE first then maths. But in thinking of where I wanted to teach, I wasn't particularly wanting to be a subject specialist, I wanted to teach children generally. I went on the primary age course with those subjects. Once I'd arrived I felt this is good, I like it

here. The site was beautiful. It was very well kept. The people, although we were all different, what came through fairly quickly to me was we did share that wanting to do things for others. And so you suddenly realised you were in with a good crowd. The students were great in that they were sharing, broadly speaking, a common focus. When I started the, what I thought was the RE course, and it was really religious studies, and it was about other faiths, that was really very powerful for me. And I have always believed that religion is a key driver in people's lives, whether you have one or not. Having chosen to do religious studies, it was about thinking about an essential part of primary teaching, because it is a legal requirement, but actually it opened out my thinking about life in general, about people in general, about how we should be living our lives really, in ways which I never thought was going to happen. In the subject areas at college it was still very much focused on the subjects, not so much on how to teach it. But through the Principles of Education, the other side of the course, that was where that came out. For us in the seventies we were very much on the backdraught of the sixties, and the sixties thinking about how children learn. I still hold that that thinking was very good. That children need a background in which they feel comfortable, confident and happy. If they're not confident, comfortable and happy they don't learn.

One of the things that struck me was that when I went on that very first teaching practice, because we did in the first term, I was still a child playing at being a teacher. I felt, when I went into that primary classroom, although it was a primary class, I wasn't that far removed from them. I was dressed differently, I was trying to be an adult, but actually inside I wasn't very much. I was still very much the youngster, even at nearly nineteen. But I think that is one of the things which I valued most about that first year, was the way it started to pull me out of being a child teacher into being a teacher of children. The practices were important. It was the first year practice, there was a practice in the second year, and a practice in the third year. And that was quite a change in me personally because of my experiences of Hockerill. Because of everything that was going on both educationally and also socially. When I say socially, yes of course there was the beer drinking in the JCR, the discos, the Summer Balls, the personal interactions which were just about people meeting people. But in those

rooms, out in those open spaces when weather permitted, there was also discussion about teaching and learning and about the courses which went on as well. So it wasn't just about the social life. That private time if you like, the time when you weren't in lectures, was also developmental time where you met with your peers. I feel over the three practices I developed sufficient confidence to go out there into the world and teach. I did go on to do a fourth year at Keswick Hall to get the B Ed.

There weren't many jobs available. I was putting in applications but the jobs were few and far between. The jobs just weren't there. My career started off teaching RE in a secondary school even though Hockerill had trained me for primary and I'd actually not stood in front of a secondary class at all until that first day of becoming a teacher proper, and I was suddenly thrust into the secondary world. Which was fine because I think what Hockerill gave me was an understanding of teaching and learning, and it's not what you know so much as how you get other people to understand and learn with you. But obviously I did have a steep learning curve. I moved and got a head of department post, so I became responsible for developing a department, which was a challenge. I decided in terms of reviewing my career what do I want to do in primary? Do I want to go on up the ladder in secondary education? As a career path where did I go? I was thinking along those terms. And whilst I was passionate about RE, whilst it was dear to my heart, I actually wanted to work with children's learning across the board. And that's why I made that change. It had been my original intention to work with primary children it was just accident that the first job that came up for me happened to be teaching RE in a secondary school. So I did up sticks and got the post in primary school. RE carried on though, although the RE in the primary sector, the primary teaching, wasn't quite so much a part of the job on the day-to-day basis.

I decided one evening to go along to the local union meeting. And as often happens you go along to these meetings and you find yourself on the committee before you've left the door. And the following year you find yourself chairing the committee because people don't want to do these things. So I did get involved in the county branch of the association, which I found incredibly useful. And one of the things that

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I also found was that my school found it incredibly useful. What the school appreciated was the way in which the association kept its finger on the pulse of legislation and changes in what you can and can't do. I was able to feedback into the school information which wasn't forthcoming to schools. But it's through that involvement in the union that I became involved in the SACRE, Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education, because the union had to have a representative on SACRE and I was the obvious candidate because I had a background in RE. And then, because the advisory team got to know me and got to know my passion for RE and my teaching skills, I was invited to apply for a secondment. I was appointed as a full-time advisory teacher for RE on a seconded basis for two terms. That involved travelling around the county, to some remote and rural schools, and supporting the rollout of the new syllabus and the development of RE. That was an important step in my career and it led to me working with one of the guys who was at Exeter University who was very well respected in the world of RE. He and his wife, who was an early years/key stage one specialist, the three of us then wrote the book about RE at key stage two. For me to be part of a team like that writing the book was quite something.

ICT came in and moved my career forward in another direction. For a while they were parallel because I did work with a group that was promoting resources and documentation to secondary and primary teachers to encourage them in their development of RE to start using the World Wide Web and IT-based resources to support learning in RE as well. But then the focus really did become the IT in the latter part of my career. What happened was having done two terms as an RE advisory teacher for the county they were looking to appoint advisory staff. I applied for a post and got it, we were a team of one full-time and two one-day-a-week advisory teachers, which eventually became two days a week. I had a contract teacher who was employed by the school who was extremely good. We would liaise in the middle and at the ends, you know, at the weekends and on the Wednesday to do the catch-up thing. Sadly she had to go off on long-term sickness. The substitute that was brought in was not like that first teacher. And I found myself in fact working an eight-day-week because I was having to cover for this other teacher, I was having to keep

up with parents, I was having to keep up with her marking, make sure she had all the planning, it just did not work so well. I began to get to the point where 'I can't do this', either I've got to stop being advisory teacher and go back into the classroom full-time, or I've got to be full-time advisory teacher, or something. I felt that I couldn't do it any longer, I was working all the hours that God sends. And I was talking to my adviser boss and saying 'look, any chance that it could become full-time because this is becoming too much', and he said 'no, we can't commit to that'. He said I could carry on the two days a week if I left the school but that he couldn't provide me with anymore. When it came to the cut-off date I actually went to my head and said, 'I'm afraid I'm resigning'. Which she was quite shocked at, and I was quite shocked at in a way because I was taking a huge risk. But in the meantime the authority did find some money for me and gave me a full-time contract.

As we get towards the end of the first decade there's a change of government. A change of government means sudden withdrawal of the funding. And for my fellow consultants, for maths and English, and myself, the plug was pulled. The local authority decided that it could no longer afford to have a curriculum advisory team. I had to attend, of course, redundancy meetings, because I was one of those on the list. I tried to fight my case in saying, 'well, who's going to do all this work? How's this going to happen?' 'No, you've all got to go.' There was basically a flat line that everyone was going. Which was quite hard news to have because psychologically I wasn't geared up to it. I wasn't ready for it, I still felt I had things to offer. But, I had to go. I was made redundant almost thirty-three years to the day that I was appointed. But, in the last couple of weeks one of my colleagues in the authority, who was carrying on in the higher echelons, approached me and said, 'you know you are being made redundant, would you come back and oversee this broadband rollout?' And so my line was, 'yes, I'll come back and do it'. I worked pro rata for the same pay for a further nearly eighteen months to oversee this rollout. And also I did some private consultancy work. The broadband management was successfully achieved, all our schools are online, and I finished working with the authority. And whilst I was still open to a bit of consultancy work I wasn't quite ready to be

unemployed on a regular basis. So I joined the delivery team at our local Waitrose, for about a couple of years, just being a delivery driver two days a week. I think my mindset was that I was going to work to at least sixty but of course I was made redundant, I was fifty-six when I finished the full-time employed contract. And then nearly fifty-eight by the time I'd finished work in education as such. I wasn't quite ready to actually stop having some routine in my life and some regularity, and colleagues as well, which is quite important. It wasn't really that much about the money, though it was nice.

While I was still teaching I became a teacher governor. And you have this perception that, or sometimes the media has the perception, that unions are against the employers. But actually the head and the governors were very keen for somebody with a union background because, of course, that's where a lot of the information, the quality legal information, came, from the teachers' associations. So it was a useful thing for me to do for myself, but it was also quite a contributory thing to the school, and to the management of the school, without becoming a deputy or anything like that, which I had no aspirations to become. I did the stint as a teacher governor and then when my two children were in secondary school I was elected as a parent governor. When it came to the end of my term the governing body was very keen that I should stay on. They sought the okay from the local council for me to transfer across to be a local authority governor. Again, were quite keen to have me because of my generic teaching experience, but also my wider experience through working with the council, which I was at the time, and also because of my union background, my IT skills. And then, when it came to the redundancy, because of course we're talking about the point where the career starts to tail off, one of the local primary heads who I knew very well was looking for a governor and approached me and said did I want to be a governor at his primary school? And of course with these things what happened was, because of my experience and so on very soon you find yourself 'would you be prepared to be vice-chairman?' And I'm thinking 'hang on, here it comes'. What inevitably happens is they are looking for somebody to sit in the chair and 'will you do it, please?' So I ended up being the chairman. The last governor role

was one of the most challenging. Because as a teaching practitioner, I suppose because of my politics, my background, I'm a great believer that schools are a public service and they're best in the domain of local accountability, local authorities, on a day-to-day basis. I did not like the academisation process. But the school, because they were a fairly small church school, were very frightened of Ofsted, and that if they didn't get a good Ofsted, or whether they did or not, at some point they were going to be forced into an academy, and there was a feeling amongst the governors as a whole that it would be better to jump than to be pushed. And so they wanted to take control of the process, which I fully understood, and become an academy within the context of their own diocese rather than be foisted onto some other body which was already existent and that they were being forced to join. That was quite a sea change but it was one where I worked with that idea because I could see the logic of the rationale for it, that you need to protect the best interests of the school, and regardless of your own personal views about whether this is the right way forward.

There are times when in retirement you look back and you think 'what was all that about?', 'did I actually have an impact on anything?', 'did I actually achieve anything?' And when you stop and you look back you think, 'actually, I did that', and 'yes, and I did that too and I made that happen'. What I missed the most was the fun with children, the laughs. The colleagues less so. In fact, in many ways, teaching's quite a solitary job. Even though you meet up with your colleagues in the staff room, maybe quickly grab a cup of tea or maybe for ten minutes at the end of the lunch hour when you're trying to stick a sandwich down your throat. But then you're spending most of your time with these little ones. Obviously learning's a serious business and there are stressful moments for teachers as there are for children, and it's not always happy and sweetness and light learning in a classroom, you have your moments. But that's what I miss most, is that working with the children. However, two years after finishing at Waitrose, I became a grandfather. And that is somewhere where that teaching experience, and that teaching knowledge, it all comes flooding back to you. And we're in a much more fortunate position, it's a very strange thing when you think back to bringing up your own children, and of course you've got your own career,

you've got paying for the mortgage, you've got managing a house, you've got everything else going on. And you're so close to it. You haven't got time to really reflect on what's happening. Whereas as a grandparent, when we see the little one, and to see the child development in practice and to be able to stand back a little bit from it and say 'wow, how did that happen?', and to be part of it too, is absolutely fantastic.

What it is to be a teacher? I think it is to be somebody who has an inner need to nurture others into full humanity. I think the nature of teaching for youngsters, young teachers coming into the profession is really rather different from when I started. When I went into teaching you chose a career and it was your career for life. I think today's young teachers don't see it in quite the same way. Many more of them are happy to move into different areas more readily. But what I would like to see is teachers standing up for what they believe to be right in terms of the best outcomes for the children that they're working with. That is, above all, what it's about. And I would encourage young teachers, not to be political, but not to allow what they're doing to be subject to political football, and actually have the confidence in themselves and their own understanding of how children learn, what children need to learn, and what schools should be for them in its totality. I've often thought to myself if I had my time again would I go into teaching? There are certain things which I would say well, if it's the teaching that it is now, and the way it's perceived, particularly in the media, I would have more doubts about it than I did when I started back in the nineteen-seventies. And that's because there has been much more of a focus on exams, about achievement, about what you need to know. And less on what I think was important to us in those early days of the sixties and seventies of a more holistic approach to learning. It's become a bit narrow. But actually it's also about the person you've become, and the person, who I hope, has got a lifelong approach to learning. And is somebody who understands what it's like to be somebody else. Because that to me is very important, that there is in the world understanding of difference, different faiths, different attitudes to life, different politics, different

philosophies, different culture. There are different things that people can do within teaching and learning. It doesn't have to be school-based, there are other opportunities. But I would encourage somebody who's got a passion for children and learning to keep with it but keep strong and don't be afraid to stand up for what you know, or believe to be the best for the children in your care. Because I think sometimes there is so much that comes down from on top, with Ofsted and government. It can feel that teachers are the servants of the powers that be. When in fact a good teacher is not there to do a manufacturing job and develop an output but is there to actually nurture and encourage, and yes, train, and yes, educate.

You ain't seen nothing yet

B-b-b-baby you just ain't seen n-n-n-nothing yet

Here's somethin' that you're never gonna forget

(Bachman, 1974)

Track 7

Career Story Seven

I wasn't always wanting to be a teacher. The reason I went to teacher training college was because a teacher in my secondary school said, 'you'd make a good teacher'. I thought, 'got nothing else in mind so I'll give it a try'. But at Hockerill I realised 'yes, I want to do this'. And it brought out a part of me that is a very strong characteristic, I am a teacher by nature. Teacher and counsellor are the two things that are very natural to me, very instinctive to me. And the teacher part began to take shape at Hockerill. There was also the aspect of being at Hockerill and being one of only three Black people in the whole place. I don't know if they'd had Black students before but it was also a time when there was this supposed "affirmative action" towards employing more Black teachers. And in applying for teacher training college I distinctly remember my sixth form head calling me into his office one time and saying 'you know you really have your pick of colleges because being Black you will have a better chance of getting in than others'. I didn't like that, in fact I left his office and proceeded to cry for about an hour. It was a blow because I interpreted it to mean that I wasn't going to be assessed on merit, but on the colour of my skin. So I would never know if I got in because I was good enough or because I was a token of a political policy. It was a question that lingered in my mind throughout the three years at Hockerill.

I think there was something distinctive about the campus. The way that it was structured so it was like you were embraced within this very special area. And the character of the buildings, the character of the older buildings in particular. I've been to a couple of other campuses that were very clinical and cold. But there was always a warmth about Hockerill campus, it felt like our own. For me it was a wonderful home to be in. There were friends I had who went to different places to learn teaching or other subjects and they never felt the connection to their places that I felt with Hockerill. So it was that sense of being a place that was nurturing, supportive and secure. I think the size of the institution was important too. Having had the benefit of dwindling numbers, the last two years were intimate compared with the anonymity of subsequent tertiary education experiences.

The last year was like a ghost town. The college felt a bit hollow in some ways. But in other ways it was like, 'this is now just ours. We have it to ourselves.' I really don't have a sense of that last year being very different. Probably quieter. But it was a little sad, especially the last term. The Going Down Dinner was quite pathetic, in the sense that it was so small. There was just us, and there wasn't anybody there to celebrate us. There was a sense of sadness. One, at having to leave and go into the real world and back to living at home. But also there was some distress that the place was closing. Because it had meant so much to me. And not feeling that I could come back. Because there were many times when past students came back for a weekend. And I didn't have that opportunity. The place and all that it meant to me wouldn't be there for me anymore. There was a sense of loss.

I left college knowing that I would have a hard time getting a job as a teacher. There was a so-called glut of teachers and a reduction in the number of jobs available. So, I just volunteered, to keep myself busy. At first, I assisted a teacher for a term. When she went on maternity leave I filled in for her and I ended up getting the job when she opted to stay home after the birth of her child. I stayed there for three years. During that time there was a lot of debate about why children from the Caribbean were not performing as well as other children. It bothered me that people like me were being seen as subnormal or inadequate in some way. I had this urge to come back to the Caribbean where I was born. I thought 'okay let me go see what's going on there, work with children there for a while and find out what it is, what's really going on'. The intention was that I would go back to England with my new understanding and push some boundaries, perhaps create environments or teaching styles that were more effective for children of Caribbean families. I did some courses with the local education authority and supervisors would ask me to get involved in things that were related to children from the Caribbean. It seemed to make sense to go and find out more about the Caribbean education systems.

I went back to Barbados, where I was born and had lived until I was seven. I worked first at a country school. One of the first things that struck me about schools in Barbados was it was a journey back in time in terms of the infrastructure. The buildings were old, many built in the nineteen-twenties or earlier. The quality of the

education was very good, in that the education system was very focused on literacy and numeracy and teachers were required to get children reading, writing and able to do the required maths. But children learned by rote. The focus was on getting the children to learn and recall using textbooks. And it was fine, for me at the time, because the kids were great and the school was surrounded by beautiful hills. I worked at that school for two or three years. The Ministry of Education then transferred me to a new Model School in an urban community. The International Development Bank had funded the construction of a more modern school structure with self-contained classrooms, staff rooms and areas for sporting activities. The idea was to create twentieth-century schools. However, many teachers just did the same old things in a new building. It was still pretty much the old drumming the learning in and cramming. Compared to what I had been doing in England, and what I was trained to do, it didn't feel like teaching. So, it wasn't very satisfying. Now I can see that the problem for me was that the curriculum and the pace didn't allow space to address the variety of ways in which children learn, nor to introduce other subjects that children might find interesting like science, music or art.

I learnt to meditate. I think I did that partly because of the dissatisfaction and the frustration I was feeling as a teacher. And everything changed. Meditation helped me to deal with the frustrations, it actually made me a better teacher. It made me calmer, much more patient. And I think I had a greater appreciation of the children. I had an opportunity to add another dimension to my life, to explore the spiritual side of myself and life in general. That changed the trajectory. Meditation and personal, spiritual growth became my focus. I was teaching, but outside of my teaching work I was studying meditation. I became a meditation teacher. Daytime was school, evening was teaching meditation. A new yoga centre was being opened in Jamaica and I was asked to go and spend a couple of weeks during the long vacation to help get things going. I went to Jamaica for six weeks and stayed for two years. I was no longer primarily focused on my school teaching career at that point. I was working to get the meditation centre promoted, serving the students that were there was the focus, but I also had to earn a living and I wanted to be working with children. I got a

teaching job. If I thought Barbados was like nineteenth-century teaching, Jamaica was eighteenth-century at that time. I think I was overwhelmed and disheartened by that posting. Fortunately, I was only there for about two months before the Ministry transferred me. And that was a wonderful experience because it was a primary school where they were trying to integrate the "handicapped", as they were called at the time, with the regular school population. They had conditions like cerebral palsy, muscular dystrophy and encephalitis. Their bodies had varying degrees of limitation and some had a short life expectancy. It was a great experience because there were about six teachers and sometimes my class was two or three children. Children with some severe problems but they were just great to work with because most of it was about the relationship with the child rather than actually getting them to learn. It was inspiring. A very different type of teaching, more about life skills than storing facts and figures. I enjoyed the practicality of it. The sense that I was conveying concepts and practices that could be immediately relevant to their lives. Working with children that might not reach adulthood makes you reassess what is important in education. I was there for about two years.

The level of teaching that I was doing in the yoga organisation demanded that I be celibate, vegetarian and, as the person in charge of the centre, I was responsible for the spiritual routines and business aspects. It was a religious life. I was essentially a Hindu version of a nun. A couple of important things happened in the Jamaica years. There was the transition from being the renunciate to wanting and feeling I could live in the regular world. Another important thing was being introduced to facilitation. Process facilitation, very simply explained, is about taking a person or group through processes that help them to arrive at a desired goal. I've used it in counselling and coaching and as a teaching tool. The facilitator asks questions and just elicits the information and then refines the ideas to get down to the desired outcome. I just loved doing that, it was really, really fulfilling and it satisfied for me something that was missing from teaching. Teaching felt like it was all about this one-way process, 'I have to be the font of all knowledge, all wisdom, and I have to dump it into you'. Whereas facilitation says 'Well, I know this, what do you know? What don't you know and how can we find out?' Once I integrated facilitation and teaching I thought 'wow,

this is the way that I want to work'. It just made teaching much more interesting. From then I decided 'I've got to be a facilitator, that's what I want to do'.

I wanted to be in a family rather than be the renunciate. I met the man who is now my husband when I started learning meditation. We opted to live in Trinidad. I had applied to teach in government schools and something didn't work out. I looked for jobs in private schools and there was a private school near my home, a primary school. It was a very narrow curriculum, strictly three Rs. That was not related to any kind of teaching I was interested in doing. I hated it. That made exiting the traditional education system easy. I moved to working for a few months with a friend, who created an alternative school. I also tutored individuals in creative writing and ran a Saturday class because I enjoyed the interaction with children on my own terms and in a way that was more student centred. My first child was born and then when I decided one was enough the second one came along. Parenting well was really important to me. Which meant, from the way that I function, I had to study the hell out of this thing. I read everything I could find about parenting, about child development. How do I do this right? The United Nations International Year of the Family provided a national focus on parenting and childcare issues. The radio station my husband worked for had created a parenting segment for the Year of the Family and they asked me write short tips on parenting. They were aired as Baby Talk, a one minute broadcast every weekday. I would do the research, write the script and voice it. Baby Talk aired for about twenty years.

I have a circle of friends who are teachers and psychologists and at that time we were concerned that corporal punishment was still a standard practice in most households. They still strongly believed in beating a child into goodness, founded on interpretations of religious teachings. Corporal punishment was also commonly used in schools. The government was moving to ban corporal punishment in schools as part of their commitment as signatories to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. We recognized that the objections that were coming from parents and teachers were based on fear and lack of information. We decided to get some information out to parents and teachers to tell them of the impact of corporal punishment and to show them some alternatives. We started producing a quarterly

newsletter. It was obviously needed because there was a really good response. After a couple of years, the Canadian High Commission gave us funding to publish. We were then able to print two-thousand copies a quarter and distribute them out to schools. As a result, because people saw us providing this information, they kept calling us for help. It got to the point where we were getting calls at all hours from parents who were at the end of their tether. We realised we had to set up some means of being able to connect with them face-to-face. The newsletter led us to setting up the office, the office led to radio and television opportunities to access parents. Then we got international funding to expand our services. We were able to offer counselling services to parents, conduct long-term projects in two schools, and expand on the services by going into communities.

In the early days our focus was corporal punishment and child sexual abuse. We conducted workshops with parents on recognizing the signs of sexual abuse and addressing the issue, we would do talks and presentations at schools for PTAs trying to break through the silence and shame around the topic. We started doing a parenting segment on a daytime television programme which connected us to parents and young people who were victims. During that time I also trained facilitators for an organisation which was setting up a parent education programme. An organisation came out of the programme. The purpose was to train facilitators from organisations that worked with parents on how to relate to parents in ways that work. We trained leaders from organisations in how to listen to parents and relate to them in more compassionate ways. After doing that, mostly at weekends in a retreat format, for three or four years I realised that I had a particular message and a particular focus that I wanted to work on. That was when the parenting work moved from being part-time to full-time. We had registered as a Non-Profit Organisation and settled in a full-time office then. Facilitation was a crucial part of the parent education process, but I didn't actually have any paper qualifications. I joined the International Association of Facilitators and worked to get certification as a facilitator. I did a counselling certificate course to expand the counselling capacity, a Gender and Development Diploma in Women's Studies and National Development, and how the two connected. Which interestingly enough led me to focus on the male story, the

story of men. I wanted to understand what the man's story was, what would touch him and cause him to change the way that he parented. The organisation really grew. It was a wonderful experience because I got to work with psychologists, social workers and people who just wanted to volunteer to change the way that parents were treated, ultimately with the goal of changing the way that children are treated and to raise the image of parents. I pushed to get workplaces to be more parent friendly. What we were trying to do was get people to recognise that parents are doing a really important job and they need time to do it. We were advancing those kinds of concepts, helping parents to find ways to raise children without brutality and ending child sexual abuse, aiming to drastically reduce both. I liked to create projects that were novel, that came at a problem from a new angle. We went into the community and became part of it.

I had had enough of leadership. I needed to stop because by this point I was just tied up in administration and HR management, I hardly got to do facilitation and face-to-face interaction work which is what I really love. So I'd made a conscious decision to leave the work, I had to leave the person as well. And everything that went with it, the responsibility, the associations, all the people, the connection, that network. Because I came to realise that that whole network of people and organisations that had been my support, once I moved away from them I was no longer part of it. So that was part of the confusion. 'I'm not in their lives anymore and they're not in mine'. I stepped away from going to work but stayed in connection because I had to be on the Board and things like that. And if I pulled away there were strands of the identity that were still there, that I wanted to carry forward, like the facilitation, the connection with the whole parenting support world, the parenting empowerment world. And I was also exhausted. I was burnt out. I was totally frazzled. There was also an emotional and psychological impact because I found that in a leadership position you're on your own. Even though there are people around you that are supportive and they're part of the management, at the end of the day all the responsibility is with you. And when things get hard the people that are supportive

kind of hold back. So in that leadership position I often didn't have anybody to turn to. I couldn't talk to anybody about the situation I was going through. I couldn't talk to anybody in depth about the issues because they didn't understand. I found a couple of people outside the organisation who'd been through the same kind of issues and had managed to organise succession planning and ease themselves out. And it was through them that I was able to get some sense of equilibrium and support.

I don't see myself ever really retiring. Too many people I've seen retire get into stagnation. They've either come to a crashing halt and then ill-health, or they've died, or they got into depression. Or they just kind of sat around. Kids have gone. The reason for getting up and going out is no longer there. You have the money, because they might have a pension or something, but purpose is no longer there. And I don't want that game. I left one thing to move into something else, where I have more control over my day-to-day life. I did some facilitation work. I worked with my husband doing communication training. For many years I'd wanted to do work related to healing. Because much of my work involved counselling and just trying to help parents deal with situations, I kept finding that talk therapy can only go so far. And my own work on healing myself has shown me that things like support groups, meditation, hypnotherapy, energy healing, and those kinds of things, can reach the parts of people that hurt, that talk therapy can't reach. I did some Reiki training. It's basically using energy to address the emotional and psychological issues that people have. I've just been learning different things, and exploring, researching, trying out things in that area. I think that's when I started to come back to life. I had decided who I wanted to be and I could let go of that image of my former self, the Executive Director. One of the things about living in a small country is that once you're known - and I have been known and associated with that organisation, I'd been on TV, in the newspapers, I had done radio, and all sorts of public things as this person - I had this identity to maintain, as part of the "brand", supposedly. I decided I could throw that away and just be me.

I have been a teacher all the way through. I've been trying to find out how to transfer information I knew to the child or the learner. Then I realised that doesn't necessarily

work because you can transfer it, but does it stay? I switched. It became about sharing. How can we learn together? Because when we learn together what you learn stays. It is more likely to stay if you have had some connection to it, so you're an active learner rather than a passive learner. Then it moved towards, what am I teaching? Is this really worth learning? Is it relevant? How relevant is it to this person's life? If we are supposed to be preparing children for life in the world then what is it that we need to teach them? I think where I got to is a place of knowing that we just need to teach them how to learn and then let their interests direct them because you always need to be learning. But how do you do it effectively? And I do feel that it becomes ever more important that people who take on that role of teachers be well prepared. Because I see too many people who are adults now who were injured by the way they were taught. And very sadly so. That period of learning should be joyful and pleasant for everybody. When we get into conversations about the education system my thing is always you just have to dismantle the whole thing. And if education has to be about the children you have to just forget about all the other people and start with the children. How do we serve these children well?

But the night begins to turn your head around

(Gaudio and Ruzicka, 1972)

Track 8

Career Story Eight

The school I went to, if you went into the sixth form you were going into higher education. And absolutely everybody did. And Hockerill fitted the bill really well because I knew it. My family knew it. I wasn't going to get A's at A-levels so I thought Hockerill suits me absolutely fine. It was safe. It was small. It was a community. Not so clear about being a teacher. But I wanted to go away from home, like the rest of my brothers and sisters. And teaching looked a nice job. In a previous life my dad had been lecturing and it seemed absolutely, you know, why not? So rather than having a burning ambition, I just followed a path. Biology was my main subject and Physical Science for my subsidiary subject. I've always liked Maths and I've always been good at Maths. The Maths tutor was doing a Secondary Maths Teacher's Certificate, which was two terms. So I thought I'd do that as well. So Hockerill gave me these professional qualifications. Biology, Physical Science with the Physics and Chemistry, and Maths. And I thought well, whatever the job situation is they're going to need at least one of those teachers, aren't they, somewhere in the country. So I was quite well set up when I left, by doing those subjects. I think in a way doing those subjects I've had a bit more confidence than people in other subjects because I've always thought if I don't like it in this school I can teach these four subjects, and have qualifications in them. So I could do the V's-up to any school I didn't like, or if the going got tough I could just walk away and get another job somewhere else. And as it happened throughout my career I have always been able to have work because of those subjects. I was able to do a junior/secondary course. When we came out we could not only teach in juniors, we could teach in secondary as well. And I never met another teacher who'd done a course in junior/secondary. I did wind up teaching in secondary and in junior schools because I had the qualification that said I could. So Hockerill, in very many ways, prepared me really, really well for teaching in terms of the qualifications that I got.

It was Cambridge Institute that awarded our qualification. In year three, if you were interested in doing the B Ed degree for Biology, once a week we went to Homerton College in Cambridge and used their laboratories. Well there is no way that I would

ever have been at any sort of college and anything to do with Cambridge University when I left school, so Hockerill was able to make me feel that the possibility of a B Ed or something at Cambridge was possible in the future. Didn't do it there but enjoyed going there. I think a number of other people thought Hockerill gave them a route to Cambridge as well, which they wouldn't have had if they had applied to Cambridge when they left school. It did give me the confidence when I left Hockerill to go and do a B Ed, although I did it somewhere else other than Cambridge. And I did it a while after I'd started teaching, I was actually teaching full-time. After that I gained a lot more confidence and went on into management in schools and then school leadership. So Hockerill was quite a good confidence builder. And I was thinking all the time I've been doing teacher education I reflected on Hockerill. And I compared the teacher training courses that I taught on over the last fifteen or twenty years with what I went through. And lots of things that we did at Hockerill are much more difficult to do now. When I think of the professional studies of the one-year PGCE that I taught on, there's no way we could offer the professional studies that Hockerill was able to offer. And during the teacher training programmes that I have taught on the experience is a lot less in terms of professional studies compared to what we had, because we were in a college totally focused on training teachers for three years.

Hockerill, as well, is where I met my partner. We never had any problems at Hockerill, although we didn't go around with a big gay flag all over the place. But lots of people knew that we were together. And so Hockerill was actually quite a safe place in many ways regarding that. There was some event, I think the National Union of Students put up a 'support your gay students' poster in the Dining Hall once during a gay liberation week or something, and it was ripped down and torn up. But apart from that I don't remember coming across too much else. I think being gay can present a challenge. But if ever something like that reared its head, and actually it very rarely did - almost never really, to be honest - the focus is whether you're a good teacher or not, not who you live with and what you do in your life out of school. I suppose I've always thought 'right, I've got to actually be a good teacher otherwise everyone around you, the children and other members of staff, are going to try and pick away at you, they're going to try and find something to throw at you to undermine you'.

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So I think I've always thought 'right, okay, I'm here to be a teacher, that's what this is about, I'm going to be the best I can, and this other stuff will not present a challenge'. I suppose for anyone who's in a minority group they have to prove themselves a bit more than the main group.

The very first school I taught I was there for a couple of years. And that school taught me a lot after I left Hockerill, the first introduction to being a proper teacher with proper responsibilities and all the meetings that went along with being a teacher, and all the things we didn't do when we were at Hockerill, the roles and responsibilities, embedding them. Teaching practice is one thing but when you actually hit the ground in your probationary year then that was when it all unfolded. My partner was already at another school and there was a maths vacancy they couldn't fill so I got that job. It was a big school, a lot of staff. That was when I really was, in a way, on my own because in those days a lot of teachers didn't share their lesson plans with other teachers, and a lot of teachers didn't have departmental meetings in the way that we now do around how to deliver the curriculum, and teaching styles, and what are you doing to make your lessons better, and can I copy that, or can I come in and see what you teach to see how you do it? In that school we had nothing like that at all so I was on my own teaching across the school whatever I liked, really, in terms of maths. There weren't many maths teachers in the school because loads of people don't teach maths, do they, and don't have a qualification to teach it. So there was only me and two or three others and there was about a thousand children in that school. The children couldn't make a choice after year nine so they all had to carry on doing maths, so me and the other maths teachers, it never eased off. We never had had the luxury of smaller classes so you had to be on the ball.

There was a while at the beginning of the eighties when there were a lot of strikes and teachers hadn't had a pay rise for a couple of years and inflation was running at

something like twelve or thirteen per cent. And the government at the time wasn't going to give us a pay rise, so I did look for another job. And because I'd done maths I did apply to the civil service. I became a fast track civil servant and I was there five years and was a legal aid manager and then I was an inspector. It was a very nice job, very well paid. There was no pressure like there was in teaching. There was no planning like there was in teaching. We had what's called flexitime so you could start any time in the morning from seven-thirty to nine-thirty, it was a flexible start time. And you could finish any time between three-thirty and six-thirty at the end of the day. And you could have up to two hours for lunch. So no homework to mark, no school plays to be part of, or anything like that. No behaviour management issues. No lesson planning. I doubled my salary within a week, moving from teaching to the civil service. That really helped out on the property ladder.

Anyway, after five years of being in the civil service the pay was all right again in teaching so I went back to being a teacher again. A local authority were desperate for teachers, Scale 2 supply teachers on permanent contracts. I got that even though I'd been out of teaching for five years because I had maths and science. And at Hockerill we'd done the junior/secondary qualification. So, for a supply teacher in the authority to have junior/secondary, and maths and the science subjects, I don't think they had anyone else. I got a Scale 2 permanent contract and they bumped me up the increments. Suddenly I got quite decent money. It was a little bit more than the civil service. I'd gone from teaching to the civil service and got more money. And in the meantime, those five years, teachers' salaries had gone up and the civil service had gone down, I moved from the civil service back to teaching and went up again, so that was good. I stayed at that school for quite some time, more than a year. It was a really good fun school to be in. There was no SATs at the end of year six, children just transferred to the local comprehensive school of the parents' choice, because there were three or four to choose from, so you didn't have that pressure.

Then I went to another school for children with, temporary they were considered to be, behaviour issues. The children had been taken into care because their families were dysfunctional and the children were considered to have some sort of period where they needed intensive teaching. They called them opportunity classes. Today

it would be a pupil referral unit. It was nine or ten children who had particularly strong educational needs, or behavioural needs, and I became the head of this opportunity class. And that was a really wonderful time having just this small group. Behaviour hadn't really been an issue. I'd learned quite a lot from the schools I taught in before about how to tailor a programme towards children's needs, and how to implement behaviour strategies effectively. That was really enjoyable but the funding was being withdrawn. Central government wasn't funding these units anymore. So while I was running that unit, which then was about to close down, and those children were going to be supported in mainstream, a special school needed a head of science. And the council network that supported the opportunity class also supported the special schools. And because I worked for the council, like we all did then, all the schools were under the council, they shifted me to this special school as the head of science. All the children had physical disabilities but they had the complete range of mental ability and academic ability. In that school there was only about thirty, thirty-five children in the school altogether, and that was primary and secondary. And then the next term we came back after the half term, suddenly there was no head of primary and head of early years. So the headteacher said in the staff meeting, 'we've got no head of primary, no head of early years, we need someone to step forward for this job'. I applied for it and I got that job. Then I was there for the next ten years as the head of primary and early years. Our school took children from the age of two or three years old, depending on when parents and the local authorities could fund the child's entry to the school. So it was very expensive to send your child there but they came from all over, it was a big catchment area and we became quite well known as a school that could cope, and that could offer a curriculum that wasn't just solely a place where children were parked who had a disability. We became quite a good little centre of knowledge about supporting children with physical disabilities.

A job came up for the Support for Learning Service, and that's a group of specialist teachers. This team would support the schools with difficulties with children with behaviour difficulties, so EBD children, children with autism. I got a job with the Support for Learning Service, local authority team, and my area of expertise was EBD

and autism. While I was at the special school I did a qualification with the University of South Carolina in the United States on a programme to support children who had autism, to support their learning. It's called TEECH. I was part of a team of teachers working in EBD and autism, and then there was a slight reorganisation. After two years of being there I then became the head of that team. When I became the manager of that team I then had some time being back at base rather than going into schools, so then I was at school less and at base more.

At that time the local authorities were trying to get universities involved with in-service training for teachers and support staff working in the borough. There was some pressure from government that we should deliver training. The Open University approached us offering something called a STAC course, Specialist Teachers Assistant Certificate, and it's an Open University undergraduate module for teaching assistants. We were trying to get our teaching assistants trained up with some professional qualifications. I volunteered to teach that course. At the same time I did that, I was also teaching an evening qualification for nursery nurses. Nursery nurses, if they wanted to move up as a nursery nurse, the NNEB wasn't enough anymore, they had to have the Advanced Diploma, which was an undergraduate qualification. It was the Advanced Diploma in Care and Education. I did that in the evening once a week, six o'clock till nine o'clock, one day a week, and for about twelve years. That course actually closed down because schools had to pay a couple of thousand pounds for each of their staff who came on it. The money dried up, so they couldn't afford to send the staff on that course. And then the nursery nurses couldn't afford to pay for it themselves. A few of them could but not enough to make the course run. So it just stopped. And it just stopped abruptly one year.

When that shut I taught the undergraduate evening degree for a university for the special needs module. I then started up my own. There were the TAs who had some qualifications, and the TAs in local authority that didn't have qualifications so I started up a course for them. And it was a Level 2 teaching assistant qualification. Loads of the people on that course went on to then do teacher training, which is great because then we started the teacher training programme in the local authority as well, the Graduate Teacher Programme, and then that morphed into the PGCE. I

was the tutor from the local authority for the GTP and the PGCE. Then I became the deputy head of the whole of the Support for Learning Service. We were basically managing a team of teachers that went out into school and a team of advisers. So our job really was negotiating what people were going to do when they go in, sorting out a contract with the school, or an academy chain, and then monitoring the performance of our team, and giving them targets, and observing them, and writing reports about them.

I'd done forty years. And actually, after the tax, my pension was not far off the salary. There were no issues at work or anything that were difficult. I suppose in a way, it's quite nice to go out when things are good. I didn't want to be chucked out or be too old or have a nervous breakdown or something like that. I wanted to go whilst I was healthy and quite well-regarded, I suppose. In the authority, over the years, quite a lot of headteachers had overstayed their welcome. They were good for a while and then the job's so difficult, isn't it. Their health had deteriorated, or their performance had, and then they left under a cloud. And I thought 'oh gawd, I never want that to happen to me', because people remember you at the end, not all the other good stuff you did throughout your career. I thought 'oh, I'm going to go whilst the going's good'. I did a course at Cambridge for a year. As soon as I left work I thought 'right I'm going to do a course on something that I'm interested in' and they had this course there. I'm not a religious person, but it's about the role of the Church on British society. And it was quite nice to do that for a year.

I've always enjoyed putting things together or taking things apart, and buying things from IKEA and putting them together without looking at the instructions, that type of thing, so we've bought a few places over the years and done them up and sold them and sort of moved on. So that's kept me busy, that's kept me working. But it's also you can never stop earning money, can you. The places that we've bought have gone up in value. So although we were teachers, and now we're retired and we got our pension, but we're still sort of earning a little bit on the side, doing places up and

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selling them. I suppose one of the things we've been able to do is go on holiday when it's not term time. And that's actually quite a nice thing to be able to do, because you're not rushing to an airport after the end of term, and you're not on holidays with loads of children or loads of British people with all their children. Being able to go on holiday while everyone else is at work was quite a treat. And of course the flights are cheaper, and the hotels are cheaper, and so you can get to more places on the same budget. And of course one thing I'd say to people who are currently teaching is to stay in the job so you can get the pension, that's a good bit of advice, because the pension's amazing.

I haven't missed the job. The people that my partner and I worked with are really lovely and we still see them. We did all get on very well and we've carried on into retirement, four years later we're still seeing each other regularly. I think, really, we were very lucky to come into teaching when we did because we didn't have the Ofsted, we didn't have the National Curriculum. And I think when we came into teaching you really had to work hard to develop your character and your personality, otherwise it was sink or swim. And now there's lots of networks to support you and make you better, and lots of in-service training. But then there wasn't. But it did mean you could have a laugh. And we did have a laugh at the beginning. And some of the laughs got less, and less, and less as time went by, as things became more and more supervised and structured, and people started bearing down on you from above.

Reflecting on my own schooling, which was at a different time in the nineteen-fifties and sixties, today the job seems to be a little bit more important, if you like. Because family structures are very different now to how they were, and poverty seems to be more widespread now than it was. And the stresses of living if you're quite poor seem to be greater than they were when I was a child. And people are now exposed to a lot of criticism, and people are performance managed more. I think you have to be prepared for performance management. And you have to be rock-solid with your beliefs in what you're there for. Because people are going to pick up small things. You have to be prepared to deal with the small things that people pick up and not fall to pieces. Stay with your rock-solid reason for being there, developing the next

generation, and giving people as many chances as you possibly can, whether they're academic or not. But you've got to be clear why you're there and what you're doing. Take the advice but don't be knocked down by it. Don't allow yourself to be run roughshod either. Have a voice and say why you've done things, and that you're learning, and that you're there to learn, and that you will take on board things. But don't be destroyed by what's happening around you. And if a place doesn't suit you, there are other schools. And look for a group of people that you can work with. I'd say get to know what the headteacher's like, really look at that school before you apply for a job there. Or, if you do wind up in a school where the headteacher's changed and it's someone you can't get on with any more, then move because you've got your reasons for teaching, you've got your commitment to it, your dedication, which will never go away, and find an environment where you can do that to the full.

I could be

Here and now

I would be, I should be

But how?

I could have been

One of these things first

(Drake, 1970)

Track 9

Career Story Nine

I wasn't mature enough to cope with the academic work that was thrown at me by Hockerill. I just couldn't cope with it. I just couldn't get my head around it. I hated exams, I was frightened of exams. Although I did pass my PE. I ended up leaving Hockerill. Because if I hadn't have left they would have thrown me out – 'You've not got the coursework. You've fallen so far behind. We are advising you now to do the honourable thing' - so I took the gentleman's way out. I hadn't done the academic work that was needed of me. And I realise that now. I mean if you're going to get through anything then there's academic work you've got to do. And I did not do that. I'd done two-and-a-half years, basically. I was loving it. Loved everything about it. Loved the friends. Loved the sport. And I was a good teacher. I know I was a good teacher. I always seemed to being pushed towards being a teacher. And I've been the first from my whole family to ever go to a college or university. I'm from a very working class background and I was the first to actually get there, and then to actually blow that, and have to start all over again. And as it worked out, I've had to do many, many things first before I've actually become a teacher, at the end. And some of it was very hard emotionally. I mean, leaving Hockerill, it was very, very hard. But. I had to wipe myself down, pick myself up.

What got me out of it was going to work with severely disabled kids in the trust. Once you work with them, you think you've got problems, forget them. I was an angry man, I suppose. I was angry, I was pissed off. I was still playing football, but I was an angry, angry person inside. And I was basically not a happy man. And I think by going to the trust and working with these kids for eighteen months, they just changed my way of life. Completely changed me. I absolutely loved it to death. But I remember going for the interview. The manager met me at the bus station. She took me to where I was supposed to work and all these kids started to crawl all over me, and they were slavering. And I was saying 'please don't offer me this job! Please don't offer me this job!' Then she got hold of me and said 'we'd like to offer you the job', and I said 'yes'! After all these kids had been salivating all over me, and I said 'yes'! I never looked back. Amazing.

Then I worked as an unqualified social worker as a counsellor with kids that were coming out of Borstal, or were coming out of children's homes, but had passed the age of eighteen. Then as a house father and team leader in a residential unit for mentally disturbed children and young people. They'd been battered and bruised by adults. They'd been abandoned by adults. And we were picking up the pieces and trying to put those pieces back together again for them, and trying to give them a life. And what we did, we worked as a shift team, so it was twelve hours on during the day, twelve hours on during the night. So they were never ever left twenty-four-seven, three-hundred-and-sixty-five. I don't remember ever going home for Christmas in my time there. New Year maybe. I used to spend Christmas with the kids. I mean it takes a lot out of you, twelve-twelve and two weeks holiday, that's all we got. And yes, it nearly burnt me, I just had to go and do some studying. It was a diploma in social work which was then transformed into, five years later, an ordinary degree in social work. Because they were only doing diplomas then, that's why I only did two years to be a qualified social worker. I got funded by the residential unit to go and do it. I did give them three and a half years of residential social work, and then I went off for a couple of years, and then I went back for another couple of months and worked with them. Then they let me go, thankfully. That's when I became a community social worker. I used to work at a youth centre, a rough area and a lot of these kids were not only under our care but they all had personal social workers. But we used to bring them in as a group to do different things with them, informal social work. Then I worked as a county council duty social worker dealing with everything that came through the door, from disabled badges to child abuse.

I'd watched Live Aid. And I'd been through the miners' strike. And I was sick of Margaret Thatcher. There was a big advertisement, 'wanted, professionals to work abroad'. So I volunteered, not expecting to go anywhere. VSO said yes and I could have gone to Egypt to work in a blind school. I could have gone to Sierra Leone to work in a residential care unit. But I didn't. I said I'd go anywhere in the world, I said 'I don't mind, I don't mind at all, just send me somewhere for a couple of years'. And

what then VSO ended up doing was sending me to Sri Lanka. It's complete and utter luck that I went to Sri Lanka, I meet my wife, we have kids, and we form our charity. It's completely random. Luck. Complete luck. And out of that I get an MBE and a bit of congratulations from people saying, 'well done'. I could have tossed a coin.

I went there as a volunteer, was supposed to work two years, but I never came back to the UK really. My job description was to go into the local government office to do training for all the people within the local government office on how they can respond to their community, which was my title, community development training coordinator. I'd set up all these training sessions and nobody turned up. Nobody turned up to them. So I went to my employers who were then a Dutch organisation who were funding my basic salary, which was about twenty pounds a month at the time, which was a local government salary. And I said, 'look, nobody's turning up to my training, I would like to set up something. I'm working with these unemployed young women, eighteen-plus, and I would like to look at ways that we can get them involved in their local community'. We'd come up with the idea of working with the disabled because there was nothing for disabled in this whole district and I went to them and said, 'could I do this?' And they gave me the go-ahead. So I started off with six kids and volunteers from that group. And now we're working with over three thousand children and their families island wide from six kids, thirty plus years ago.

We open at eight o'clock and we close at two-thirty and we have a respite care centre just down the road. I meet with the parents on a regular basis. I just go in with their meetings, greet them, listen to what they've got to say, and then I let the staff take over. The kids, basically that's the teachers or community workers jobs is to be with them. And I'm just very lucky because my office is just either in the building, or just down the road from the building, and I can get up from the computer any time I wish and just go and see the kids and have a chat with them and visit the classrooms. What we also do is a programme where every child is visited at home. If they haven't been to school for about a week we do a home visit during the week. If not the general home visits, as we call them, are done on a Saturday. The team goes out and they go and visit the new children, new admissions, or the children generally that need a bit of support at home. So the teachers are like teachers, social workers, physios,

technicians, and also friends of the family, basically. You've got a multi-roled person in a member of staff. And we encourage the parents all the time. Because until they've met other parents with disabled kids, parents in this country seem to feel as though they're the only people in the world that has a disabled child. And the fact is they aren't, and the fact is that when they meet people that have similar children to themselves they actually understand, and they're into supporting and fighting for the rights of these children. They have very little rights at the moment as far as education is concerned, and as far as work is concerned. I think it's something like ninety-per-cent of children with disabilities around the world don't have any schooling.

When I got the job of country director with another organisation working in the war zone, basically they said I couldn't be a volunteer anymore. I was helping a mate of mine, we were working in a big children's home there run by a Swiss organisation, and then he asked me, 'I'm leaving, somebody is coming over to see you, would you fancy taking on my job?' And I said, 'well, I'll give it a go.' And what I did in the meantime, as I was helping him out, we looked at deinstitutionalising this big kids' home. Because most of the kids were from the war zone. What I tried to do is I broke down the big children's home and I set up family group homes where kids had come from. We broke it down into kids of no more than ten to twelve in each of the homes and with a house mother, or two house mothers. And then we tried to trace family and put the kids back with the family instead of keeping them, which I'd come across in a previous organisation, kids that had been institutionalised all their lives and could not function outside of that institutionalisation. I oversaw the deinstitutionalisation of the big place, I set up the family group homes. I got most of the kids back to either aunties, uncles, sisters, or brothers, older brothers. And then I started working with kids in the community. This is when we set up the nutrition programmes in the war zone, play activities in the war zone. And that's when I integrated the able and disabled kids in all of the playgroups from the coast. That's when I called it a day and said 'okay, I'm handing over to somebody else'. I'd done nearly ten years.

I went back to our charity. Within three years of me returning, the tsunami hit. Back over there within twenty-four hours. Looked at the devastation. Asked by a Netherlands organisation to set up programmes for them, which I did. The Netherlands organisation have always wanted us to work with disability and war zone children, have always sponsored us to work with children with disability in war zones so that's what we've done. But it's always going to be a struggle if you work in the developing countries and you're working with disabled people. And foreign money is being concerned and you've got a government that doesn't give a shit about the learning-disabled because they can't function and they've got no function in society, as their society sees it. And you want to see instant success from your donors abroad, they want to see instant success in one or two years. And I've got to turn round and say, 'I'm working with the learning-disabled here, you're not going to see instant success in one or two years. It's going to take years and years'. So it's always going to be a struggle to get money, always.

All the people that have come through our charity, ever since we founded it, we've taught them. Taught them how to work with children with disabilities, taught them how to work with learning disability. And some of the women - it's been nearly all women that have come through our charity in the thirty-five years that we have been functioning - they've gone on to have brilliant careers and brilliant jobs. I suppose I've learned to teach but I'm teaching in a different way. It's not a formal teaching role but I get in front of a whiteboard or a chalkboard, and say whatever I need. What I have to plan for is try and get over a message to the young staff that are here, and a message to the kids I work with, and to the people I meet that I'm trying to raise funds for the programme. And I'm very passionate about what I do. Very passionate. I've had to mould Western theories into Eastern theories, bring them together and there's been a joining together of my Western education and the Eastern education that these kids are coming with, and everybody comes with. I see myself as a teacher, and I would like to think I am an innovative social worker who is working with an innovative programme and project that doesn't stop still and learns every day. If it hadn't have been for the Masters, and if it hadn't have been for the Doctorate - given for the amount of paperwork I shoved at the university about work I was doing with

disabled kids in Sri Lanka, I just felt I'd learned so much about working with disability in a developing country and I realised that not a lot of people had written about it - I don't think I'd have been able to put some of the ideas that I had maybe floating around in my head into actually consciousness and to be able to at least give it a go. And we have given it a go and most of the stuff has worked. I see myself more as a catalyst then anything, that I've allowed this experiment to succeed.

TLC. Tender Loving Care. That's what you need most of all. You need a big heart. You need a lot of patience. And a lot of TLC. Because a lot of these kids haven't had any TLC that we work with. They're seen as nobodies and nothing. And especially in a country like Sri Lanka where disability is not particularly seen as a healthy process to go through. We've had staff that have become pregnant and have been told to leave the programme because they believed that disability is passed on. We've had children leave the inclusive pre-school because they believe that if they're in a classroom with another disabled child like Down's syndrome their kid's going to get Down's syndrome. That's the sort of folklore that we have to deal with in Sri Lanka.

We were staying in this planters' club, we had a bedroom there. And mobile phone came through, 'this is the British High Commissioner', and I said, 'Yes, what can I do for you, sir?' 'I've just been told you've been awarded an MBE for your work in Sri Lanka.' I said, 'You what?' He said, 'yes. First of all, before we go any further, will you accept it?' And I said, 'I will accept it, sir, as it long as the citation takes in all the people at our charity.' And he said, 'that sounds okay with me, I'll come back to you.' And that's what happened. Basically I took that MBE on behalf of our charity and the work that the staff did, and the parents, and the children. I suppose it helps if you've got MBE after your name when you send out emails for donors, and stuff like that. Whether you get more money or not is another question. But I think it obviously helps when on my emails I sign them PhD MBE, and when they see that, obviously, they going to take a little bit more interest. But I think that's about it. But it hasn't changed the way I work, hasn't changed me as a person, I don't believe. I'm still, I

believe, down-to-earth, and we do down-to-earth things in Sri Lanka with kids that have no resources. Every day I wake up I'm learning something new. And the day I stop learning something new is maybe the time I call it a day. In Sri Lanka every day I wake up, I wake up to poverty. I step outside my front door, there's poverty outside my front door. How do I handle that? I suppose at times I become very hard and I become very immune to it. How do I handle the war? Again, it's been difficult. Every place I've worked in Britain we always had a backup, we had somebody come and talk to you. In Sri Lanka I've had to find my own. I've had to learn my own coping mechanisms within me to deal with what I've got, or what I'm facing, or what I come across.

And what I have found I am is a very, very good adapter. I can adapt to most situations, which if you take me back to my Hockerill days I'm not sure whether I could have done that. Towards the end there it was a pretty bad time for me. I didn't cope very well. But then going on and learning social work and then going as a volunteer in a developing country, you've only got your own self you're left with. And when I look back, I feel very proud. It's been a journey, some journey. But it's been a bundle of laughs along the way as well. Some hurt, a lot of hurt, but it's also been a bundle of laughs. My dad used always to say to me, he said, 'listen son, no matter where you go, no matter whatever you do, they'll always be a bed waiting for you'. And I've passed that onto my kids. And I suppose I've developed that philosophy over the years. I was starting to develop it in Hockerill. I certainly developed it as a social worker. And I think of just taking it to another level with my work that I've done in Sri Lanka. But I think it's values that I was brought up with as a working-class kid. You all look after each other. If you look after each other you can't be beat. I would never have missed Hockerill for the world because I met so many friends. I sometimes wish that I'd finished the course. I sometimes wish I'd buckled down and said, 'come on, get yourself in gear here'. But then, at the same time, would I have ended up here where I am if I had finished the course? But I'm glad I did actually go, because I had a ball.

I would like to see the teachers of today be given a more open forum, an open way, and, if possible, like they do with the nurses and the doctors and the therapists that

we've had come out from the UK, give them the chance to come abroad and see how the other half lives. I really wish that governments, whether it be Labour, whether it be Tory, whether it be Liberal, whether it be Green, Blue or Pink, that they listen to what children want, and what parents want, and what teachers, the professionals, would like to do, instead of coming from the top and going 'hey you will do this, you will do this, you will do that'. I think for once people that are so-called rulers or elected rulers of a country need to listen a little bit more. Listen a lot.

I'm not retired, I'm still working. I haven't really thought about retiring, to be honest. I don't have a plan to retire. Basically we can't at the moment. I really can't see us leaving in the foreseeable future. We are doing it for nothing because we are not getting the funding at the moment, so we're doing it on a voluntary basis, we're not getting any salary for the work that we do. We have a partner on board so we've got enough money to pay the staff their salaries. We put a proposal in for a five-year funding programme. If we get that five years funding then I believe we are in a position where we would be able to get our charity at least eighty-per-cent self-sufficient in that five years. And if that's the case then maybe when I'm about seventy-five, if I get to that age, I can think about stepping down a little bit. I'm just going to keep working. I just have to keep working. That's the plan.

I'm not in love

So don't forget it

It's just a silly phase I'm going through

(Stewart and Gouldman, 1975)

Track 10

Career Story Ten

I'd spent three years trying to get into Sandhurst and then three months trying to get out. I got in, but hated it. Absolutely hated it. Hence the year off from leaving sixth form and then going to Hockerill. So I had a year's more maturity, though that didn't often show. But there was a conviction. I knew I wanted to teach and personally that's what Hockerill did for me. It gave me the confidence. You take your children to their universities and you go yourself, but I've never found anywhere that had the grounds that we had. It was the grounds that made the college for me unique. Because it was homely, it made it easy to get to know people. It made it easier to study. And it was just a really, really lovely place to be. It made me feel safe. The location of it was perfect because it was just outside the town, so you didn't get that spurt of people coming up, but it was close enough for us to go down shopping and into the pubs and stuff. The quad layout was absolutely perfect for opportunities. We could have breakout groups, personal tuition. Because of the location, and because of the sense of community and smallness, I never seemed to be on my own. It was just easy to make friends. And when it then became, if you like, a public school, it actually fitted. You'd expect it to look like that. But we weren't at a public school, we were at teacher training college. An old, established teacher training college. I just had an understanding that I was following in people's footsteps.

It's inevitable when you talk about college, you talk about the buildings, you have to then move into what was the important bit and that's the people. I just wish I had got photographs of tutors that were dear to me, and I owe a lot to. They gave me this belief that I was doing something important. And I was. The one I remember completely, with complete awe, was the vice-principal. I mean she sorted me out from day one really. And was absolutely meticulous in the way she led me through learning, my essays, my dissertation. But she also saved me in year three, because I was going to get kicked out, big style, and should have been. I well remember her and the principal calling me into the principal's room and then being told by the vice-principal to go and walk her dogs. Now I'm twenty-two, and I'm ordered to walk the vice-principal's dogs. I took them out onto the field and I realised they were

discussing my position. It's May, June of my third year, and they could quite easily have said … But she saw something in me. I remember coming back and she said 'right, we've discussed all this and we're prepared for you to sit your finals and everything.' And then she turned round to me and said 'and just behave'. And it was just fantastic man management.

Hockerill were fantastic at establishing, first of all, the real nitty-gritty of why you go to school. You go to school to read, you go to school to write, and you go to school to learn number. And I've always had that. But actually, what Hockerill was really good at is making sure that schools had, and placed importance on music, on drama, on art, on sport. I got into a lot of trouble with that when I was an Ofsted lead inspector. I'm supposed to be inspecting maths, and writing, and reading, and phonics. But I used to always make sure a number of lessons were art lessons, music lessons, because Hockerill gave me that love of breadth of the curriculum. And the importance of extracurricular, as well. When I went into my first teaching post I knew what to do, because I'd learned it. The three years that we were at Hockerill, it was so dominated by Teaching Practice, we were immersed in best practice. Because if they sent you to a school which didn't care, they'd drag you back out again. They'd got all those good links because of their history. I got involved in a lot of headteacher capability towards the end of my adviser role. And they'd all got one thing in common. And that's they'd forgotten why they came into the profession. You're not in teaching for your mortgage, you're not in it for you, you're in it for the kids. And most of the great teachers you've taught with and impacted on you, and the lecturers that we had had not forgotten that. One of my governors was so pleased – my first headship, a tough, tough, tough gig and it was going really, really well – and he pulled me to one side after a governors' meeting and he said 'I now know why your headship's been successful'. And I said 'but why, tell me, because I'd like to know.' And he said 'it's because you know what makes great teaching'. And it was Hockerill. I learned at Hockerill what it was.

I'd had two years after Hockerill. I'd had a year in industry and I'd had a year at Keswick where I never saw a child while doing B Ed honours. It was the B Ed honours degree that got me my first teaching post, but I never saw a child. So there's an

imbalance there. First post. Great head. I learnt so much about teaching. You learn from good people. You actually learn from dross, as well. My second position, probably the worst headteacher you could imagine, really. And as a result of that my career stalled. You didn't go on any courses. There was no role modelling for leadership. He threw you to the lions when you were dealing with other schools and other members of staff. And really it just left a bad taste. I was there six years, the longest I've ever been anywhere, and learnt probably the least. Three years later I'm a head. And it was all when I met my next headteacher, just a real top, top bloke, who gave me anything I asked for, really, if he thought it was going to benefit the children. That was his waking moment. And he got a lot out of me. And that's a real learning process. If you behave like that, and behave professionally. It was just wonderful the way he acted with all of his staff.

I went for a deputy headship and there was quite a strong governor presence at the interview and I was the only one there. And I thought that odd. And it was going to be for a term, temporary deputy head. The existing head that was there said, 'would you accept this post?' And I said, in front of the local authority, the head, and the governors, 'yes, I would' and I was about to say 'for the term agreed', and as soon as I said 'yes' he turned round and said, 'and now I'm going to resign'. And I thought, 'is that because I've said yes?'. And of course what it was, I found out afterwards, he had had real, real problems with the local authority. I then started the September as the deputy but straightaway I was acting head. I got then an opportunity to put my feet in the water and test it. And that's what it did, it showed me I could do it. And then in that term the local authority appointed somebody who was a more interested in the ecology and the environment than the kids being able to read. The kids were leaving school, can't read, can't count, can't think. But I was only there two and a bit years as deputy so it didn't cause any major problems, I didn't upset too many people there. But the time was right to go and then I moved straight into my first headship, which was pretty tough in a very challenging area. When I got interviewed there were nine on interview. Eight current headteachers and me. And I actually got the job. There was that awkward question when you say to the chair of governors 'why did I get an interview?'. And I got an interview because of my first headteacher buying my

masters degree for me. When he retired he said to me, 'I'm going to send you to the university, and I'm going to fund it personally'. That actually got me the interview.

The next school was the turning point for me when it came to headships. I moved and you do your homework, and if you don't do your homework on the school you can get burnt. And I didn't do my homework. Ofsted had called it 'very good'. I started on the first of January. I walked into a complete mess and suddenly realised that this 'very good' school was actually 'very poor'. Out of I don't know how many kids in year six, no child got level five writing that year before I started. And these are really middle-class, fully supported at home kids. Again, they'd not won a football competition, nobody was going for art scholarships, there were no drama clubs, and that's where the previous experience came in and took hold. And Ofsted came in. Interestingly I got so much support from the kids and the parents, it was ridiculous. But it was at a cost. I mean it was full on, it was an eighty-hour week. Governors were really, really, really hard work, I hadn't got much support from governors. But we got outstanding. And on the day we got outstanding the inspector said they knew that the school had previously – I've got to be careful here – it wasn't an inspection that would fill you with confidence, the previous one. And anyway, they put their hand on my arm in the car park and said, 'this one's right'. And I went back into the school, chair of governors is there, my deputies are there, all the staff are in the room, and I gave them the 'this is confidential but we are what we are'. Everyone was absolutely thrilled. And then, in the same meeting, I resigned. It just wasn't right. And so I left.

The Times Ed fell over onto the carpet. I bent down and picked it up and there in front of me was adviser, general adviser. I thought 'okay, I'll go for that'. Really rigorous selection process. That was a big surprise. But got that and was there five years. Led really, really great initiatives for the whole of the local authority. So nationally they'd bring out Advanced Skills Teachers. Well, I led the whole bag of mashings in the authority. For one day a month I'd be with real, real quality. And you know, you go and see them teach and you'd think, 'blimey, I was never that good'. And they enabled me to move the local authority on at a really rapid pace. So when Assessment for Learning came in, and I led that as well, I used my Advanced Skills

Teachers to go in to support and challenge schools. But that was the time where I got my Ofsted badge. I was asked by my Chief Education Officer if I'd like to go for the Ofsted training. The LA wanted that experience. It was really rigorous training. And basically I had to go through a myriad of days. And it was four weekends away from home, numerous tasks, visits. It all culminated with nine exams on one day in Sanctuary Buildings in London. And I got a letter saying welcome to Ofsted. It was really high-powered stuff. That was the time I started to pick up very quickly what it was that made great teaching. I'd got this 'table'. I've always called it 'the table'. I go into your lesson, and sitting on this table are three things. I'm looking for progress, I'm looking for challenge, and I'm looking for engagement. Those are the three things I'm looking for. I used to explain this on courses. Holding the table up are four legs that get you progress, challenge and engagement. Those four legs were effective questioning, the learning environment, subject knowledge, and feedback, verbal and books. Those were the four table legs. And taped together on those four legs was strong tape that was high expectations. And I learnt that in those four years that I was there.

I'd gone into see the Chief Education Officer and said, 'I think I need to go back into schools.' And he said, 'why?' I said, 'because I'm starting to suggest daft things'. My integrity was gone, because I'd been out of schools too long. A local authority went to see him and said would he take on a school in complete chaos. Both the junior school and the infants school were separate, both in a category, and they wanted a head to come in on a secondment and amalgamate the two. The problem they'd got that nobody told me is that the staff hated each other, with a passion. And that was a shock, actually, starting the school like that. I'd got a three million pounds budget because I've got two staff rooms, two admin offices, two dining rooms. I built virtually a school in the middle, all over the space of a term, really. And all the school came together. And I should have done it for two years, I think, if I'm honest. Did it for a year. And two days after I left Ofsted came in and said 'good school'. So that was credit, really, to the staff.

The whole scenario then turned when I was asked by National Strategies to come and it was money is no object, ridiculous. And it was probably the most dispiriting year I ever had in education. Because I'm in meetings with the Secretary of State for Education and you suddenly realise that I'm the only ex-head in the room, all the rest are civil servants. It was just a complete and utter waste of money. That led me to thinking, 'well, I'm going to go back into local authorities'. I was interviewed and went into it again, as a senior adviser now. But then everything changed when the government pulled the can on all the money, and local authorities then found themselves challenged by academies and multi-academy trusts. And they've had their capacity ripped away. But I'd got fond memories of the local authority, they were a small authority, well led. They're not well led now, but they haven't got anybody. Currently, in the local authority, there's three-and-a-half advisers. When I started there were five senior advisers, I was one of them, and eighteen advisers. Well, you have that stripping away of capacity then, and that is going to get worse as well. Then I started to think about going on my own, really, and set up my own educational consultancy, as an independent educational consultant. I support and challenge state and private schools, both primary and secondary, across the country.

I stopped inspecting. And that was through choice. I didn't like the way Ofsted were going. It's a lousy position now. It used to be really good, working with some really good people. Ofsted had gone in a completely three-hundred-and-sixty degree direction. They'd appointed as chief HMI someone who had been involved in public service and had got no experience of schooling at all. Had never taught, never led a school. And so it was a bit like me being asked to become a chair of a national health trust. I haven't a clue. And they've moved it in such a ridiculous way. Not grading lessons, not having a focus on the teaching and learning. Because it is always about the teaching and learning. They've moved to curriculum, which Ofsted have always had a handle on. Now it's just a hotch-potch. And they've added, this is going to be controversial, but they've added onto the inspection force current, serving heads and deputies. With the idea that they'd get more empathy, and I get it. But the worst inspections I ever led were with a team made up of current, serving heads. Because they just brought in their own baggage. I had real problems with numerous

inspections caused by the headteachers who were inspecting. And they were giving the money to the school, which was a noble thing for them to do. But they weren't as rigorous, they weren't as forensic as the people I had that would support and challenge schools. So it was going in the direction of just not where I wanted to be. And I was in the lucky position, and it was a lucky position, of being able to say, 'no thank you'.

I think we had the best of everything, really. The first generation not to put uniform on, and at the same time, last generation not to have social media. I think that's a win win, really. But we had the luck, being at a teacher training college and at the same time were in it for the right reasons. I went into teaching because I wanted to teach. A lot of people go into teaching today because they don't know what else to do. And that's dangerous, really. I mean I was working, with no word of a lie, I was working as a class teacher sixty-five, seventy hours a week, easy, every week. And I never thought it was hard work. You've got to enjoy what you're doing. You've got to have that work ethic. That's why I get so cross when people start going on about teachers, you know, 'bloody thirteen weeks holiday a year and all that' because, well, that isn't right, is it. And then this idea of valuing people. I was once asked at Hockerill in a philosophy lesson 'who is the most important person in the school?', right. And I put my hand up straightaway 'well, you're mad, it's the head. Who else is it?' And the lecturer turned round and said 'well you wait till your secretary is away from school. And you wait until the caretaker is off sick. And then tell me who the most important person in school is.' You learn, you never stop learning. And it's not about using new-fangled technology, it's about accepting that things happen and you learn from that. We got into trouble pre-National Curriculum because we were too much into thematic approaches, too much about skills, and forgot that the kids had to learn how to count. You've got to be aware that you're facilitating core skills and core knowledge. My job is to get those core skills and core knowledge in a way that is enjoyable. And it's possible. If you don't teach a child to read then, in Ofsted's language, you're not preparing them for the next stage in their education, which is right, isn't it. In fact I'd go as far as to say if you don't teach a child how to write,

count and think, and read, then you're actually disenfranchising them. And so I've always been fanatical, I think that's probably the right word, actually, in making sure that my children, and then later on in my career, my staff, had that same drive.

I've never seen me as just suddenly going, bang, retiring. I was working for six years, seven days a week, every week. So I'd be in schools five days a week but I'd got to write reports, write training scripts, all sorts. And so that meant Saturdays and Sundays. So by now I'm probably doing four days a week. Loving it, got to be honest. It's been challenging. But yes, I've learnt to say no. I think that's what the whole process has been about. I was only asked yesterday, on the phone, would I do some work in a school, and I've just said no. I don't feel any regrets either, so that's a good start. Slow retirement. Piecemeal. It was tough at first, really tough. Because, actually, initially, it made my job harder. It made the schools I was working in needier, and quite jittery. But it was also about organising the fact that I've got to do this amount of work and I've got less time to do it in, that was the initial, real problem. But I'm not bothered now, I'm quite relaxed about it. Better than I thought, actually. Don't they say that you know when you're ready? I don't know if that's true, but I know I'm ready to cut my hours. So I suppose that's the same thing, really. I'll be sixty-seven, nearly. I think I've done my bit. I still enjoy what I'm doing because I think I can give something still. I would say that teaching defined me, but it would be hard to tell you how. But it's that thing that I was given on day one, minute one, second one at Hockerill, about this love of learning, this love of kids. And I've still got that. I still get a buzz at teaching, even now.

It's your own conscience

That is gonna remind you

That it's your heart and nobody else's

That is gonna judge

(Watt, 1973)

Track 11

Career Story Eleven

I think when I first started teaching, after I'd come out of Hockerill, I wasn't prepared for what I met in the classroom, really. And there were a lot of teachers not listening to children, and not hearing, and not looking, and not seeing that either they were struggling or they were having issues that weren't to do with school, or that they weren't interested in the lesson. Yes, it was about trying to just make it a little bit more exciting and interesting and getting them engaged. And making sure that they were doing their best. I think that's what most children remember me for, that I wouldn't ever accept second best from them. It was always 'do you think that's your best?' and if they said 'no' I said 'well, let's go back and do it again then until it is'. And then they start to say 'Miss, can I start again, please, because it's not good enough?', and I think 'yes, now you're starting'. So, yes, I just think it was a drive for the children to be the best that they can be.

And I've always been competitive so I've always wanted to be the best I can be so I think there's that streak is in me as well, competitive, that I do like to be the best. And again, just wanting to be a bit of an overachiever, I didn't want what I was seeing in schools happening to my own children. And I think that is part of what I do in school. If I didn't want it to happen to my child in school, I don't want it to happen to children in my school. And what I want for my children, I want for the children in my class, so there's no difference there for me, it's almost as though I'm a parent of the children that are in my class as well. I can't separate the two. I know some teachers can. But I can't. I expect them to try to do the best that they can do, and be the best person that they can be, or whatever it is that they're doing. Just try your hardest at it and be your best. But at the end of the day be nice, be kind, be good people. I just think it's something that I try and have always tried to do in my personal life and my professional life. Whatever you do, you need to make sure that you do it right and properly and be accountable for things. And it's also about passing it on. Teaching isn't just about teaching, it is about passing on other things. It's about values and things like that. That's why I'm still here, that's why I'm doing it.

When I first went to one school I was still the only Black teacher there. And then gradually more came, but there's still not very many of us. And it does make a difference when you're standing in front of a class of thirty and seventy-five per cent of them are African or African-Caribbean. And you need to see somebody that looks like you. You can't have certain conversations with certain colleagues because they haven't got that frame of reference. And it's important for children to see that they can be teachers, just like the Americans now know they can be President. If you don't see yourself in those places, and you only see sport and dancing and singing, you need to see mathematicians and judges and lawyers. So that's why I stayed in it because they needed to see some Black teachers at least. Just to look after our future. I knew that I needed to stay in it for our community and for our children because at that time there were a lot of exclusions, they weren't doing very well in school, there were lots of behavioural issues and I wanted to try and do something about that.

At the time a lot of my counterparts were doing supplementary education, and doing supplementary schools on a Saturday, and I decided not to do that, that I wanted to try and change it inside. Ha! Big ideas! But I did. And I was part of a lot of the changes so a lot of changing the curriculum, changing the way children were treated. Particularly the curriculum. We were talking about this the other day with a friend of mine – that we learnt to read on Little Black Sambo. There's quite a few of us that were. And no kind of indication of the effect that that has on you as a person, as a young child, thinking that that's the only image that you ever see in books, represented like that. So it was getting books in so that you can see yourself in the curriculum. And that's what they're trying to do now with the decolonisation. But that's more about the history, I'm talking about every day. When you pick up a book you want to see something of yourself in there, so I think that's where it started.

I'd organised a book fair, a Black book fair, and got the bookshop to bring in all the books so that we could get some money and get some into school. And then changing the curriculum fit there. We'd got a Black parents' group going because it was a majority Black school and there was nothing happening. We had an after-school club, we had the basketball club. Then that's when the head said, 'I don't think this is the

place for you anymore'. Obviously didn't like it. I suppose in the end it caused them more trouble because the parents then had a voice to say actually, 'yes, we do want books like this', and 'yes we do want lessons like this', and 'yes we do want our culture included'. And it was all getting a little bit too much for the head so they just said, 'maybe you ought to find somewhere else'. Which I thought 'that's pretty good, I must be doing something then'. But back then you were just seen as a troublemaker. But I just stuck at it so, yes, a bit of a maverick. Still. But fortunately I'd done lots of training for other teachers by then and one of the advisers, the multicultural guy, he was really lovely, and he said there's a job coming up at another school why don't you go for that. And I did and I got it.

And I got there and nobody spoke to me apart from the head. I don't know, I think they thought I might have been a spy or something, or maybe they didn't know how to speak to a Black person. I don't know what it was. But they didn't talk to me. The new headteacher there was lovely and he really took on lots of my concerns and what we needed to do and why we needed to do it. And he listened. He was the first headteacher that listened. And acted on. And would come and ask my opinion and talk to me about things before he made decisions and stuff. He taught me a lot about managing change, I think. When I first came to that school and they weren't talking to me I thought 'I've jumped from the frying pan into the fire here'. I did speak to the adviser and said 'I can't do this'. He said, 'just wait – hold on – hang on'. The deputy head retired and the head said, 'have you put an application in?'. And I said 'no'. He said, 'I think you should'. I went 'okay'. But I never thought about going for it that early because I was only twenty-eight by then. And then my head left and I was acting head and that caused some issues because nobody would believe that I was the head. And I can remember sitting behind the head's desk and talking to my acting deputy at the time and I'd got a meeting with a new adviser. And the adviser walked in and immediately assumed that my acting deputy was the head. And she said, 'I think you've got this wrong. That's the head.' And he went, 'Oh. Oh. Oh.' and I thought 'here we go, here we go again'. So, yes, there were lots of issues like that.

And I can remember there as well one of the things, one of the guys had a mug and it had 'many hands make light work' and then it had slaves carrying things round the

mug. And one of the teachers broke it, because she was offended by it, but she broke it. And I said to her 'so did you speak to him about it' and she said, 'no, I just broke it' and I said 'that's not the issue, the issue is we need to talk to him about it. If you don't like it you need to talk to him about it. I was going to talk to him about it, I was going to take the mug with me and talk about it. You've now destroyed the evidence so glue it back together and go and have the conversation'. But she wouldn't have the conversation with him. That climate is difficult to work in when you can see something is not right but you won't tackle somebody else about it. And so it carries on. The person doesn't have to change their thinking or their attitude. It was interesting that the mug only arrived when I became acting head. It hadn't ever arrived when the previous head was there because he was White. It was only when I became acting head that this mug suddenly appeared. And I thought 'okay'. So there were lots of little, I suppose we call them micro-aggressions now, but they don't feel like it at the time. My first acting headship.

I went for the deputy headship at another school and then that head left and I got the acting headship again. Until then I'd still been the only Black teacher in the school and became acting head. And I think that's one of the things I did at the school because there was an NQT coming in. It was a young Black woman. The executive head said they wanted to put her in at another school because they didn't have any Black teachers there, so I thought 'that's your fault'. I just said to the executive head, 'if you put her over there, on her own, in that environment where they have no Black teachers and they just want her there to say that they do, you're going to lose a good teacher. She needs to be somewhere where she's got some people to talk to, and that she can identify with, and can talk to about things that you possibly couldn't talk to other people about. But if you don't do that you're going to lose her'. He said, 'all right, and you're her, not official mentor, but you are her professional mentor'. I said 'okay that's fine'. And she is a brilliant young teacher. Conscientious, got good identity, knows where she's going. I thought 'she's going to be like me in a few years' time, knocking those doors down, knocking those barriers down', which is good. I think it's quite important that for young Black teachers that they are not isolated. And again I think that's because, I notice in other professions, you're

disproportionately taken to task about things more than your White colleagues. You have like a barrier to it, I think. I don't think that's changed.

While I was acting head I thought I would do NPQH because it would be a good thing. But then after I'd done it I decided that I didn't want to be a headteacher. I thought it's too much, I need to raise my children. If I do this job I am going to lose them. It was a choice really and I thought no, just stay as deputy and somebody else can take the heat and then I can be there for my children as they were growing into their teen years. A new head came in for the first term and they were lovely and it was brilliant and did lots and lots. Then they appointed somebody for the January and between the January and the beginning of May I decided that I didn't want to work there anymore. There were things going on that were not professional and not correct and I wouldn't be a part of that. I've never been a part of anything like that and I could see my name being slurried in the press and I thought 'no'. So I handed my resignation in. I didn't have a job to go to. And then when other people found out that I'd handed mine in they handed theirs in and twenty-four people left. It was not a pleasant place to work anymore.

And then I saw there was a job at another school and because I knew the head there I just phoned him up and said 'I see you're advertising for a class teacher' and he said, 'yes, we are' and I said 'well, if you don't appoint, I'm in the wind, I need a job'. And then a couple of hours later he phoned me back and said, 'yes, I've talked to my executive head, come and talk to us'. I went and talked to them after school and they said, 'yes, we can't pay you what we are paying you before but …' I said 'okay', because that meant I had a job for September which was good. I enjoyed it, I enjoyed every minute of it actually. Back in the classroom. I wasn't pressured and I was able to enjoy it and really get back to doing what I love, which is classroom teaching. Although I never stopped classroom teaching even though I was deputy head. I mean the budgets were so pared. From 2000 I think I had two years out of class but by 2002 I was back in teaching a third and then full-time and still doing the deputy headship. I was in work at six o'clock in the morning and not leaving until six at night and all that foolishness. It was taking its toll. So I went to the school and really enjoyed it and just got back into teaching and loving it.

And then it was time to retire. It was forty years. I think that last term, maybe because the retirement was in my mind, but it was getting more tiring. It's a lot of work, it's long days. So it was getting a bit much, I think. I probably would have made another year. Might have done. But some days when I got home I was just on my knees because you can't keep doing the job at the level when you're that age, your body just won't do it. It's not the same as when you were twenty-odd, getting up at that time of the morning, and keeping those naughty people in control, and dealing with everything that their lives are offering at the time. It's a lot so I'm not sure I would have been able to go on much longer, physically.

Our executive head wanted me to do the training for a project that we'd taken on called Destination Reader. And I'd developed it in our school, but it hadn't really developed in the same way in the other two schools. So he asked me to take that on and go and do the training, and do demos, and do the planning, and get the resources and everything sorted so that it was running as it was at our school in the other two schools. I did that for a term and I was really enjoying that when the year six teacher resigned. And the head said to me, I was sitting in the office working, doing some planning, and he came in and he said, 'I've got a problem' and I said, 'oh, okay, sit down, we can sort it'. And he said 'the year six teacher's resigned'. My head did go on the table because I knew what was coming next. But I couldn't say no because it was my class, I'd had them the year before. And I knew them, and I knew they were struggling, and I couldn't bear to see what was happening to them so I said 'yes'. I went back in four days a week, which I really shouldn't have done, but I did. You can only earn so much otherwise it affects your pension, they just sting you in tax if you go over. And I just thought 'suck it up, the children need it'. And particularly our children, they needed some continuity, and some love and affection over the airwaves. I did all the mornings and three afternoons, so I just had two afternoons off, because he wanted the maths and the English done. So, actually, I didn't retire until this year.

Retirement. I wasn't looking forward to it and I was quite worried about it. You can only prepare so much, can't you, for things, for big events like that. And I did prepare

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in different ways. I started doing things on my own, going to theatres by myself, going to the cinema on my own, walking on my own, that kind of thing, to kind of get that independence that you can do things when you're not working to fill your days. Because that's the problem, isn't it, you've got to fill your days with something.

I was only going to do one day, because the new assistant head needed a day out for management time, and the executive head didn't want a string of supplies and no continuity, he wanted somebody to be able to give them a quality day, so he came to me and said 'would you do it?'. And I said, 'yes, I will'. I did that for a couple of weeks and I thought 'oh, this is nice, just one day a week' and then the head came to me and said, 'we've got some money for catch up. We'd like some quality teaching in it. Would you do a day?' And I went, 'okay, yes'. So I'm doing another day. I have year six on a Tuesday and then I have five different groups on Wednesday, one for maths and four for writing, which I love doing anyway, I love teaching writing. So two days a week again. But I love it. And it is just nice to get up, and to see the children as well. Because the little year fours now that I had in year three go 'Miss, are you going to come and teach us soon?' And I'm going 'no, darling, I'm sorry, not yet'. I'll probably, as long as I can, I'll keep that up. I'm tired, I'm still tired, but I've got longer to recover. So I know when I finish on Wednesday evening I've got Thursday where I can just potter, take my time, you know, recover and then get up and get out. But I'm an active person, I like to be active so I'm not one for sitting in and watching TV and all that kind of stuff. I like to be doing things, and getting things organised, which I am still doing. I think I just want to keep in touch with young people and just keep making sure that they're okay, really, and they're growing, and that they're working, and they're trying. I think, even if I'm not paid, I will still go in and volunteer, do the volunteer reading, or do some groups, or something. I won't stop until I really feel I can't walk anymore. I'll have to do something, somehow.

So two days a week teaching is good and then the rest, every day, some exercise. But I'm quite happy now because I can fill my days and I do walk and I do get out and do other things so it's not as bad as I thought it was going to be. I'm still doing a lot of what I was doing before so it's not quite the same as being fully retired. But then

that's a good thing, I think, I'm still doing it. I'm still loving it. I don't think I'll ever stop loving it, really. I can't quite let it go yet.

But it's also because we've had some other young Black teachers come in and I just wanted to be around for that as well. I didn't want them to be in the position that I'd been in because it's quite hard. So, yes, just to stay and do a bit of mentoring, formally and informally. It's like an older friend, really, that you can go to with your frustrations. But the climate now, I think, for young teachers it's very hard. It's all about being told what to do. They don't feel as if they can say no, which is hard. Because I just say, 'I'm not doing that.' And they say, 'yes, but you can' and I say, 'yes, but you can, you just have to develop it! If you're right and if it's for the children it's okay. Say no, I'm not doing it.' I think that's probably the difference. For younger teachers coming in now I would say stick up for yourself and learn to say 'actually no, I don't agree with that', or 'that doesn't suit my class', or 'that's going to make my life a little bit more difficult'. I think I would say just keep the children at the heart of everything you do. And if it's not going to benefit them, you shouldn't be doing it. For me, if it's not going to affect them, their achievement, their well-being, their safeguarding, you shouldn't be doing it, because it's just a waste of time.

I don't think there are going to be many people after me that remain in teaching for more than ten, fifteen years, if that. They move up through the ranks very quickly, and then they burn out. And I'm not sure why some people come into it either. I don't know whether they've got that in their head, that they know why they're there, or what it is they want to achieve while they are there. It's almost as though it's a stepping stone to somewhere else. And I've seen that a lot in young teachers, that it's about getting to the top very quickly. I just think that's quite sad really. Because my first love is actually in the classroom, with the children, taking time. I think a lot of people drop out very quickly anyway, after the first couple of years. And then I think if they're a bit ambitious they move up very quickly and then I don't know what happens to them, they just don't stay, they go off and do something else. But I suppose that's the changing nature of everything, isn't it, because lots of people are thinking about not having one career but having two or three within their lifetime. But I've always seen teaching as a lifetime's commitment. It wasn't something that I

thought I was going to give up, ever. It never occurred to me to stop and go into something else. I don't know how you can love a job that much, but I do. And I said when I retired that forty years sounds a long time, but it doesn't feel like a long time when you're doing something that you love. It goes by very quickly, very quickly indeed. It certainly wasn't all happy, some of it was very hard and very difficult. But always, always I go back to the classroom, back to the children, and that just keeps you going.

When I had my retirement, in his speech my head said, 'I was trying to think of words that describe this person. Inspiring. Supportive. Diligent. Thorough. Kind. Dedicated. Intelligent. Meticulous. Passionate. And conscientious.' I think that is what it means to be a teacher. Definitely. It's not a job you can do by halves. Because it's other people's lives, isn't it, it's their future that you're creating. It's our future that we're creating.

Coda

Introduction

This final chapter serves as a coda to the verbatim narrative career stories. It outlines some key ideas which seem to be significant and directly relevant to this study, the participant voices it seeks to represent, and the research questions that have informed the methodological approach. It does not attempt to give an exhaustive examination of all of the literature relating to the aspects identified below but does offer a framework for further understanding and exploration by the reader. As such this chapter addresses the following:

- A contextual background to teacher training colleges and their closure with a consideration of significant government policy, reports and legislation, and reference to histories of teacher training colleges

- An overview of ideas about sense of place, with reference to some exemplar case studies of sense of place and a discussion of the relevance of New Area Studies - and related ideas of place and narratives of place - to this study

- An exploration of the concept of career, career stages as they might relate to the careers of teachers, and career change

- A reflection on the concept of professional identity in general, and of teacher professional identity in particular, with a focus on LGBT teachers, Black teachers, teachers with a disability, and retired teachers

In these concluding observations the chapter mirrors the stance of the study as a whole by combining a more traditional social sciences approach to literature review with an arts-based and documentary stance less common in social sciences.

Closure of Teacher Training Colleges

This study is bounded by the case of the closure of an English teacher training college. The focus college was established by the Church of England in 1852 'for the education of persons intended to be Schoolmistresses of Elementary Schools for the Education of the Children of the Poor' (Wood, 2008, p. vii), the tenth of the Women's Colleges

opened in response to 'the founding in 1811, of the "National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales"' (The National Archives, no date, para. 1). Rich (1972), writing about the period between 1846 and 1860, recognises that 'a number of new colleges were established by various bodies' (p. 147) listing: for the Church of England six colleges for men, six colleges for women and one for men and women; for the Roman Catholic church one for men and two for women; for Wesleyans one college for men and women; for the Congregationalists one college for men and women; and a non-denominational college supported by the British and Foreign Society. What is striking in the limited number of histories of teacher training in England and Wales is, not only the stories of social class, gender and religion, but also the portrayal of tensions around academic status, and the influence of political dogma.

Henke (1978), with a background as a journalist on The Times Higher Education Supplement, contends that 'the establishment of teacher training in Britain is mainly due to the Quakers', notes that 'teacher training began in 1798 in Southwark, a slum district of London', and argues that, because 'Southwark rather than Oxbridge was the home of teacher training' that this 'explains many of the problems facing teacher educators today' (p. 13). Henke's argument gives context to, and perhaps helps to explain, the tone of academic, class and gender elitism that may be found in some of the historical narratives of colleges of teacher training. Ross (1973), then a professor in a department of educational research in a university, asserts that 'the training college tradition has its roots in the need to provide a means whereby the poor could be educated and trained to educate the poor in elementary schools' (p. 135), arguing that 'in the age of secondary education for all' teacher training colleges 'continued to train teachers while providing higher education for those who had failed to gain entry to what was considered a superior form of higher education' (p. 146). Lomax (1973), a male doctoral academic then lecturing in education in a university, states that 'until recent times the universities provided places for students of higher social class than those found in the training colleges', with their 'roots in the need to provide sufficient education for a minority of the poor to enable them in their turn to pass on a limited amount of instruction to other members of their depressed and

under-nourished class' (p. 4). Lomax also considers that teacher training colleges were 'essentially female preserves while men filled the majority of places available in the universities', and that the, male, 'university graduate teacher' has 'invariably been educated to take his place in those secondary schools which mainly cater for the needs of the middle and upper classes' (p. 4). The Robbins Report (Education in England, 2011), published in October 1963, acknowledging these perceptions of teacher training colleges, was of the view that:

> The Training Colleges in England and Wales and Colleges of Education in Scotland alike feel themselves to be only doubtfully recognised as part of the system of higher education and yet to have attained standards of work and a characteristic ethos that justify their claim to an appropriate place in it (p. 108)

The Robbins Report recognised that 'in recent years the great effort of the colleges has been to improve the general education of their students' and that the 'extension as from 1960 of the course in general colleges from two to three years' and 'the steady rise in the effective standard of entry' had given students 'educational opportunities for which they had long pressed' (p. 109). The Robbins Report 'sought to enhance the status of the training colleges' (Wood, 2008, p. 63) by redesignating them as 'Colleges of Education' and included recommendations for closer associations between the colleges and universities and, as well as recommending continuation of the three year Certificate of Education (which included Qualified Teacher Status), also recommended that there should be provision of four-year courses leading to a BEd degree. Dent (1977) notes that subsequently 'the first BEd degrees were awarded in 1968, by the universities of Keele, Leeds, Reading, Sheffield, and Sussex' and by 1969 'all the twenty-one universities made awards', but that 'for some years thereafter the number of candidates for a fourth year, and consequently the number of graduates, remained small' (pp. 144-145).

Elvin (1971) describes the changes that the now colleges of education were making through the 60s as 'a fantastic physical expansion with all its problems' (p. 18). Henke (1978) notes the continuing tensions in the relationships between colleges and universities 'as colleges expanded and the Bachelor of Education degree was introduced', but also describes 'growing concern about the quality of the actual

teacher training course' where 'very little time had been devoted to producing an ideal course, partly because no two people could agree about one', and characterises the course as 'academic subject studies (a major and a minor course), a potpourri of philosophy, sociology and psychology, plus experience in the schools' (p. 32). Henke (1978) is critical of the situation following the introduction of the Bachelor of Education degree:

> Little attempt had been made to redesign the course as a coherent training qualification. Most of the new B.Ed. degrees consisted merely of an extra year of academic study in depth, creating an extraordinary situation whereby the better qualified teacher spent the last eighteen months of his course without setting foot in a school or seeing a child. (pp. 32-33)

Simmons (2017), noting that by the early 1970s there were around 160 colleges of education in England and Wales, considers that 'in some ways the demise of the teacher training colleges was unsurprising', arguing that 'many were small and isolated', that some were 'rather parochial, inward-looking organisations' with many 'uneconomical', and where 'the quality of provision was, frankly, variable' (paras. 1-2). However, Simmons asserts that the way the changes to teacher training were brought about were politically 'controversial', contending that the process of change 'was not an "architectural" planned and collaborative process' but that colleges of education were 'forced into a Darwinian struggle and colleges were effectively required to fight for their futures, or perish' (para. 11).

The James Report on Teacher Education and Training (Education in England, 2008), commissioned following the general election of October 1970 and published in February 1972, had terms of reference that examined the content of teacher training courses, their monotechnic – as opposed to polytechnic - nature, and the relationship of colleges of education with other 'further education institutions' (Figure 16):

'In the light of the review currently being undertaken by the Area Training Organisations, and of the evidence published by the Select Committee on Education and Science, to enquire into the present arrangements for the education, training and probation of teachers in England and Wales and in particular to examine:

(i) what should be the content and organisation of courses to be provided;

(ii) whether a larger proportion of intending teachers should be educated with students who have not chosen their careers or chosen other careers;

(iii) what, in the context of (i) and (ii) above, should be the role of the maintained and voluntary colleges of education, the polytechnics and other further education institutions maintained by local education authorities, and the universities

and to make recommendations.'

Figure 16. Terms of reference for The James Report (1972) Teacher Education and Training (Education in England, 2008, p. iii)

The James Report's general recommendations included a proposal that 'the education and training of teachers should be seen as falling into three consecutive stages or 'cycles': the first, personal education, the second pre-service training and induction, the third, in-service education and training'. Dent (1977) explains that:

> reactions to the Report were extremely varied; but in general Cycle 3 was warmly welcomed, Cycle 2 almost universally rejected, and Cycle 1 given a mixed reception that ranged from cordial approbation to apprehensive dislike (p. 151)

In December 1972, in response to The James Report, the white paper 'Education: A Framework for Expansion' (Education in England, 2017a) was published. The White Paper announced, not an expansion as the title of the White Paper might suggest, but a reduction in initial teacher training places from the 1971-72 figure of approximately 114,000 places to an estimate of 60,000-70,000 places by 1981, with

the forecast that 'the number of places in the colleges devoted to the preparation of teachers will be reduced by 1981 to 75,000-85,000 (pp. 43-44). The White Paper also expressed the government intention that 'some colleges either singly or jointly should develop over the period into major institutions of higher education concentrating on the arts and human sciences, with particular reference to their application in teaching and other professions', with others 'encouraged to combine forces with neighbouring polytechnics or other colleges of further education to fill a somewhat similar role' and that colleges of education would need to 'face the possibility that in due course they will have to be converted to new purposes; some may need to close' (p. 44). Wood (2008), in his history of Hockerill College, records that the White Paper made 'pronouncements that seemed to many to be based on what was affordable rather than what was desirable', and that a Permanent Secretary from the Department of Education and Science, in a meeting with college of education principals, was 'compelled to admit that the target figures resulted from a "policy decision" made partly "because the government had to cut back on teaching to buy other things"' (p. 139).

In Paragraph 160 of the White Paper the line of thought implicit in the proposals for the overall reorganisation of higher education effectively signals the closure of colleges of education through 'assimilation' into the 'non-university sector' and with them no longer 'distinguishable' from 'a polytechnic or other further education college' (Figure 17):

160. The logic of the conclusions recorded in this White Paper is that, leaving aside those colleges which find their eventual home in a university, the substantial broadening of function proposed for the great majority of colleges of education will involve their much closer assimilation into the rest of the non-university sector of further and higher education. Put another way, a college which expands and diversifies, either alone or by joining forces with a sister college or a further education institution - enlarging the range of its courses and extending its clientele - will not be easily distinguishable by function from a polytechnic or other further education college.

Figure 17. Paragraph 160 of the White Paper Education: A Framework for Expansion (1972) effectively signalling the closure of colleges of education (Education in England, 2017a, p. 46)

Henke (1978) sees this as 'the reorganization of teacher education' being replaced 'with a plan to reorganize higher education into a binary system', where 'the "problem" of the colleges was to be solved by almost abolishing them as a significant separate sector' (p. 51). Histories of colleges of education make clear the concerns, frustrations and difficulties that the White Paper provoked. Wood (2008) outlines an initial college response to the White Paper:

> The first reaction of Hockerill was to make overtures to Saffron Walden College of Education, whose Principal (Dr Collins) had previously been Deputy Principal at Hockerill. In February 1973 a group of members of the two colleges met and began to explore how a common course might be operated, and another meeting took place on 29 May, but little progress was made other than helping participants to clarify their own ideas. Discussions with the Education Department of North East London Polytechnic came to nothing after one meeting; tentative contacts with All Saints College Tottenham were also unproductive. (p. 140)

McGregor (1981), in his history of Bishop Otter College notes that:

> The strains on college staff were already severe. As well as the anxiety about an uncertain future, the effort to develop new post-graduate and 'In-service' B.Ed. courses, and the expansion of the fourth honours year of the initial B.Ed. degree, made heavy demands; and discussion of possible B.A. and B.Sc. Degrees had begun.' (p. 222)

Circular 7/73: Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector (Education in England, 2017b) was published in March 1973 and set out the administrative structure for the implementation of the White Paper Education: A Framework for Expansion. Circular 7/73 set out an expected fall of full-time students in initial training from 114,000 to 60-70,000, stating clearly that:

> The number of full-time students following teacher training courses, both initial and in-service training, will therefore fall by some 40-50,000 and corresponding higher education provision will have to be made for this number of students by diversifying the role of colleges of education or by providing new places elsewhere (Education in England, 2017b, p. 1)

In Paragraph 4 Circular 7/73 also makes clear the intention for a 'major reconsideration of the future role of colleges of education' (Figure 18):

4. What is called for therefore is not merely the planning of a marginal expansion of higher education, additional to that already under way, in the polytechnics and certain other institutions, but rather a major reconsideration of the future role of colleges of education both in and outside teacher training, their relation with universities, polytechnics and other institutions of further education offering advanced courses and the selection of appropriate institutions which, either singly or in association with others, will provide the additional numbers required outside the polytechnics in the period up to 1981 and a basis for further expansion thereafter.

Figure 18. Paragraph 4 of Circular 7/73 concerning the reconsideration of the future role of colleges of education (Education in England, 2017b, p. 2)

Seaborne (1975), in a history of Chester College, writes that, following the publication of the White Paper and Circular 7/73, ' the subsequent months saw the screw turned even more tightly' (p. 241). McGregor (1981) notes that 'many smaller colleges, and some large urban ones' were put 'at serious risk, irrespective of their quality' (p. 223). Henke (1978) considers that 'the three years that followed the publication of Circular 7/73 were marked by total confusion for all the participants with the possible exception of Department [of Education and Science] officials' (p. 56) and that 'for the colleges themselves, it cannot be emphasised strongly enough the total chaos and

confusion they faced' (p. 61). Dent (1977) establishes that, in addition, 'as the birth-rate continued to decline the DES [Department for Education and Science] repeatedly revised downwards its estimate of the school population in the coming years', and, as a consequence, 'the number of teaching places that would be required' (p. 155). Henke (1978) reports the alarm from officials at the Department for Education and Science that birth rate registrations 'pointed to a further fall in 1976 to an estimated 585,000', with forecasts from groups including the National Union of Teachers suggesting 'some 20,000 teachers on the dole in September, nearly all expected to be newly qualified teachers from the colleges', and with student teachers participating in 'a nationwide occupation of their colleges in protest' (pp. 66-67).

In August 1975 The Further Education Act (legislation.gov.uk, no date a) established new regulations for further education. Paragraph 3 confirmed the reorganisation of colleges of education and their role in the training of teachers through assimilation of their role into a common system of further education (Figure 19):

Transitional provisions

3.—(1) This regulation shall have effect for the purpose of facilitating the reorganisation of the facilities for the training of teachers for service in schools and in colleges and other educational establishments, whether maintained or voluntary, that is to say, the assimilation of those facilities with the facilities for further education provided by local education authorities in pursuance of schemes of further education approved under section 42 of the Education Act 1944 and by persons other than local education authorities in pursuance of these regulations.

(2) An authority or (in the case of a voluntary establishment) the governing body shall comply with any direction by the Secretary of State given after consultation with them and expressed to be given for the purpose of facilitating the reorganisation referred to in paragraph (1) above—

　　(a) as to the discontinuance of any course or courses for the training of teachers; or

　　(b) as to the numbers and categories of students to be admitted for the purpose of attending such courses at—

　　　　(i) any institution provided by them which immediately before 1st August 1975 was conducted as a training establishment within the meaning of the Training of Teachers Regulations 1967(**a**) as amended(**b**); or

　　　　(ii) any other institution provided by them which includes a department which immediately before 1st August 1975 was conducted as is described in sub-paragraph (i).

Figure 19. Extract from Paragraph 3 of The Further Education Regulations 1975 confirming reorganisation of colleges of education through assimilation into a common system of further education (legislation.gov.uk, no date a, p. 3678)

Dent (1977) reflects on the end of 'a system of teacher education and training which had endured for nearly two centuries', one that 'had many defects' but which was 'not without its virtues' (pp. 155-156). Matthews (1994), in a history of Loughborough College, observes that 'Loughborough, and some other former colleges of education, resolved the vexed question of academic diversification' through 'amalgamation with nearby universities' but that 'the majority of colleges of education' sought 'different solutions', for example through diversifying 'either alone or with neighbouring colleges, into Colleges of Higher Education', but that 'the classic monotechnic teacher education institution — the college of education — largely disappeared from the landscape of English higher education'(p. 70).

The college at the centre of this study, despite exploring a range of strategies for its survival, was informed by the Department of Education and Science on the 23rd February 1976 that the college would be closing:

> I realise the decision will be a disappointing one but some Church of England Colleges have to give up teacher training if the others are to continue with viable numbers and we could not regard this College as among those most likely to be able to meet successfully the changing needs of the coming years (Wood, 2008, p. 160)

On 2nd March 1976 the Principal wrote to all members of the college to confirm the closure, explaining that the last intake of students had been September 1975, citing the impact of, and response to, the contextual landscape as explored above, and sharing the 'disappointment' and 'distress' in a situation over which the college had 'no control' and where the college 'could not have done more' (Figure 20):

From discussion with members of the Governing Body and the Church of England General Synod Board of Education, it seems that there is no further way open to us to attempt to change the decision of the Secretary of State for Education and Science that this College cease to engage in initial teacher training and that the last intake of students for teacher training was in September 1975. There is no doubt that a reduction in the number of teachers to be trained in the next few years is essential if serious unemployment is to be avoided nationally. At the same time, we feel deep disappointment that this College should be selected as one of the group of colleges to meet this reduction. The disappointment is more distressing because of the splendid achievements of the College, most particularly in the last three years, in adapting to the changing educational policies initiated in the White Paper on Education of 1972. We could not have done more. The successful launching of the new B.Ed. degree last September and the diversification plans in hand are clear results of our forward-looking and progressive approach to respond to the needs of education in Britain at this time.

It has been our misfortune that other factors, over which we have no control, have not helped this College and other small colleges. Such factors are geographical position, political considerations, the rapid decline in the birth-rate and the present serious economic condition of the country.

Figure 20. Extract from letter written by the Principal to all members of Hockerill College on 2nd March 1976 confirming the closure of the college (Wood, 2008, p. 161)

The college, established in 1852, closed in July 1978.

Sense of Place

For Urquhart and Acott (2014) 'understanding how people relate to places is a challenging task with place-based meanings conceptualized and examined across a range of disciplines including anthropology, environmental sociology, psychology, and human geography' (p. 5). Masterson et al. (2017), developing Tuan (1977), define sense of place as 'the meanings and attachment to a setting held by an individual or group' (p. 2). Alexander (2017), tracing the concept back to the Roman idea of genius loci – spirit of the place – and drawing on contemporary humanist geography,

considers sense of place as 'the essential character, quality, or atmosphere of a place', as what makes 'individual places unique, differentiating them from other places' (pp. 76-77). For Costlow et al. (2020), refining the ideas of Jorgensen and Stedman (2006), sense of place may be 'conceived as a multidimensional construct comprising place-specific beliefs (place identity), emotions (place attachment), and behavioural commitments (place dependence)' (p. 2).

Case Studies of Sense of Place

Case studies that explore the significance of sense of place have informed the analytical stance of this study. Song et al. (2021) focus on the Las Vegas Strip, 'a unique urban landscape' (p. 11). A quantitative study, the research investigates sense of place through attention to the use of language in online reviews from Tripadvisor users, and examines this through topic modelling with Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA). Analysis is through Jorgensen and Stedman's (2006) ideas of 'place attachment', 'place identity', 'place dependence', and 'place quality'. An illustration of aspects of this approach may be seen below in extracts from the Tripadvisor reviews, exemplifying how key words were selected from the corpus according to topic distribution (Figure 21):
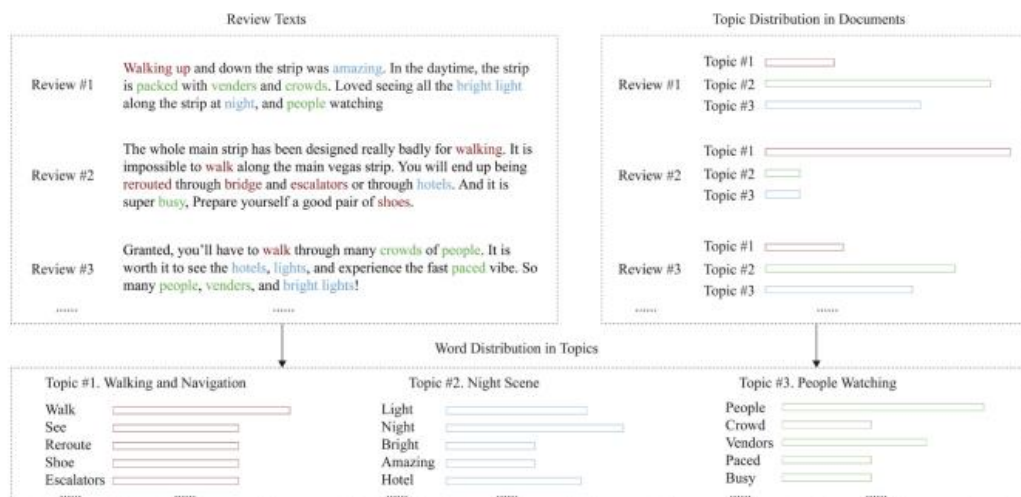
Fig. 4. LDA topic modeling illustration including topic distribution in documents and word distribution in topics.

Figure 21. An illustration of an analytical stance for sense of place (Song et al., 2021, Figure 4, p. 5)

The most important findings of this analysis for experiencing sense of place were seen to be exploring different hotels, the night scene, people watching, and walking long distances.

Cumming and Nash's (2015) case study focuses on an Australian forest school, 'a single school and the surrounding nature reserve' (p. 300). This qualitative study utilises the methods of participant observation, focus groups with pupils, semi-structured interviews with teaching staff, and photographs. Thematic analysis of the data is through Jorgensen and Stedman's (2006) ideas of 'place attachment' and 'place meaning'. 'Positive emotions', 'fun', 'excitement', 'happy', 'sensory connections', 'personal bond', 'social bonds', 'positive staff/student relations' are seen as factors contributing to 'place attachment'. 'Symbolism', 'peaceful', 'calm', 'pride', 'feeling special', 'inclusive' are seen as factors contributing to 'place meaning', as illustrated below (Figure 22):
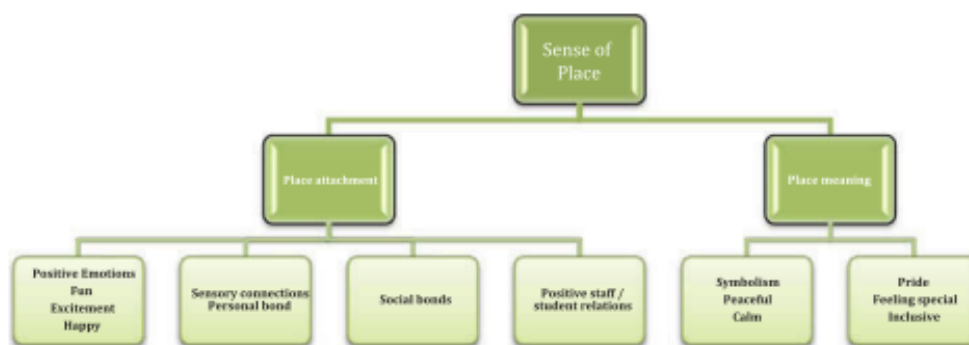
Figure 2. Summary of factors contributing to sense of place.

Figure 22. Example of factors contributing to sense of place (Cumming and Nash, 2015, Figure 2, p. 306)

Cumming and Nash (2015) conclude that 'the sense of place being nurtured in the bush setting allowed for a connection to both place attachment and meaning, strengthening a sense of place in that setting' and promoting a 'more positive learning environment' (p. 307).

Urquhart and Acott's (2014) case study has a focus on Cornish fishing communities, 'the southwesterly peninsula of England jutting out into the sea' (p. 7). This is a qualitative study that uses the method of semi-structured interviews with fishing community stake-holders. Data is explored through thematic analysis. Participant voice is portrayed in the foreground of the report through extracts from the semi-structured interviews, with the authors arguing that 'the relationships between land and sea, natural and non-natural, human and ecosystem, need to be understood through narrative as well as economic valuation (p. 15). An example of the presentation of sense of place narrative through participant voice is given below (Figure 23):

> I enjoy the sea, I love the sea . . . when you're on watch early in the morning and you're there by yourself, steaming up and down on the gear . . . and you watch the sun rise come up over the sea, it's hard to explain but it's fantastic. The same in the evening with sunset maybe and you may be out there in really severe weather and although it's, I wouldn't say frightening, it's still beautiful you know. It's incredible - . . . because out there you feel very small. You realise that you're just a very insignificant speck if you like. (Craig, fisherman)

Figure 23. An example of the presentation of sense of place narrative through participant voice (Urquhart and Acott, 2014, p. 12)

For Urquhart and Acott's (2014) case study sense of place 'was articulated in terms of personal identity, collective identity, and social cohesion, along with the contribution of the physical environment to place character' (p. 10).

New Area Studies

Place and, importantly for this study, narratives of place are central in the interdisciplinary approach to research and learning of New Area Studies. Hodgett and James (2018) characterise New Area Studies as a 'resurgent intellectual movement'

(p. 3) that 'blurs the genres between scholarship from the social sciences and the arts and humanities' (p. 5), a 'blurring' that is a defining characteristic of this study. Developing Clowes and Bromberg's (2016) thinking on 'place-oriented narratives', Hodgett and Smith (2020) argue that New Area Studies may provide a space to present a 'deep understanding of places and the communities who live in them', with an emphasis on the 'importance of the local' (pp. 4-5). Sarkowsky (2021) describes this as the centrality of 'story place' which, through the relationship between place and narration, portrays the 'voices of places', connecting 'place', 'pastness' and 'authenticity' (research group notes). Wilson (2021) contends that 'storytelling is an integral part of academic writing in the humanities and that the rebirth of New Area Studies can be at least in part explained by its stress on narrative' (p. 7). For Nic Craith (2021) this becomes a process of 'replacing place with a textual space' that promotes 'different types of knowledge and different ways of knowing' (research group notes).

An example of this epistemological repositioning in New Area Studies may be seen in Ware's (2012) 'Building Stories'. Developed as a serialised comic strip and centred on a residential building in Chicago, narrative and place are combined through a graphic novel of fourteen separate pieces, for example (Figure 24):
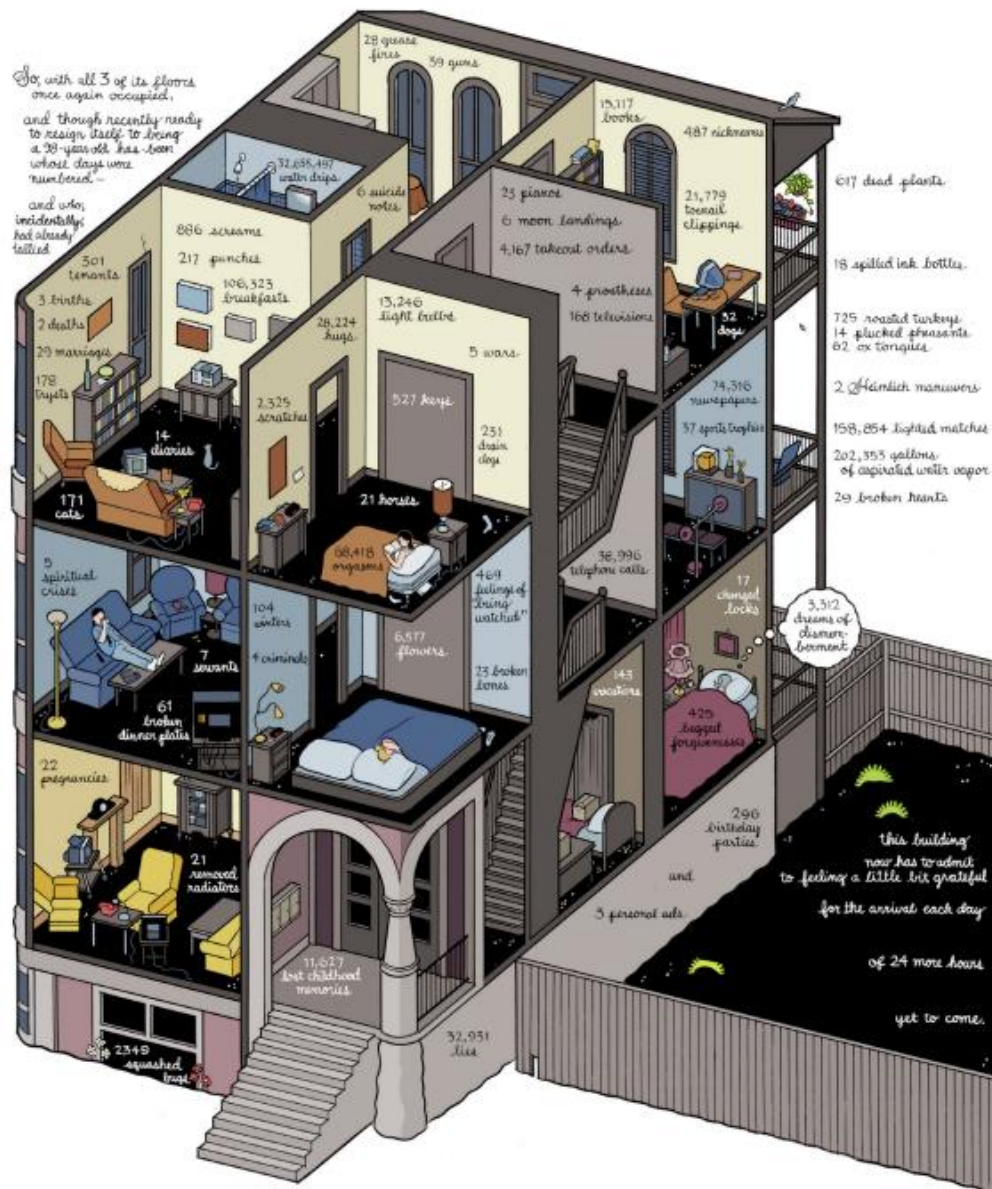
Figure 24. Example of graphic presentation of place and narrative from Ware's (2012) 'Building Stories' (Ware, 2021, p. 240)

As the fourteen separate pieces may be read in any order – as may the eleven verbatim narrative career stories represented in this study – the presentation allows the reader to structure, interpret and reinterpret the story, or stories, of place in a number of ways with the possibility of multiple narratives of place. As seen in Figure 24 Kohlert (2021) explains that 'the focus of Building Stories is (at least initially) on the hyper-local, in the form of a single three-storey apartment building in the city's West Side Wicker Park neighbourhood' and reflects that 'one of the comic's conceits

is that the building itself has a consciousness that allows it to reflect on its various inhabitants over its century-long history' (p. 377). Godbey (2010) considers that Ware's 'personification of the building', and the building's 'characterization as an omniscient presence', may be read 'as a tribute to aging buildings whose presence in U.S. cities is rapidly diminishing' (pp. 159-161). Nic Craith (2021) considers - for example as in the 'place stories' of Tomás Ó Criomhthain (O'Crohan, 1978) and Black Elk (Black Elk, Neihardt and Standing Bear, 1974) - that this 'boundary between fact and fiction is very often blurred' (research group notes). For Godbey (2010) this 'boundary blurring' allows Ware's humanisation of a structure 'typically viewed as a lifeless assemblage of brick, steel, and wood', and enables the reader to 'recognize its history and celebrate its role' through 'close attention to the affective and intangible aspects of buildings' (p. 161).

It is this 'affective and intangible' understanding of place through 'place stories' that is of relevance to the narrative approach taken in this study.

Career

This study focuses on the 'career stories' of the eleven participants. Ideas about story and narrative are discussed in detail in the methodology chapter. Here the concept of career as it relates to this study is explored. For Kelchtermans (1993) the idea of a 'career story' may be defined as 'the retrospective and narrative reconstruction of the career by the teacher, in which his or her professional experiences are reconstructed' and where the 'formal career' may be organised into a 'chronological chain of positions, roles and so on, a teacher is involved in during his or her teaching years' (p. 446). Huberman (1989), however, considers that 'the evolution of a career is a process, not a series of events' (p. 348). Greenhaus, Callanan and Godshalk (2019) balance both of these approaches, offering a definition of a career, adopted for this study, as:

> the pattern of work-related experiences that span the course of a person's life. In our definition, work-related experiences are broadly construed to include: (a) objective events or situations such as job positions, job duties or activities, and work-related decisions; and (b)

subjective interpretations of work-related events such as work
aspirations, expectations, values, needs, and feelings about particular
work experiences (p. 36)

Career Stages

Huberman (1989; 1993), drawing on a broad background of career literature,
suggests seven possible career stages, or 'phases', in the lives of teachers:

1. career entry
2. stabilization
3. diversification and change
4. stock-taking and interrogations at mid-career
5. serenity and affective distance
6. conservatism
7. disengagement

Huberman associates years of experience with some of the stages. For example, he
sees the 'career entry' phase as covering the first three years of experience and
summarises it as a period of exploration with elements of survival and discovery. He
sees the 'disengagement' stage as covering the final thirty-four to forty years of a
teacher's career and defines it, with some reservations, as a time of withdrawal and
increasing detachment. However, Huberman counsels overall that, whilst there
might be strong evidence for the applicability of the 'career entry' and 'stabilization'
phases for most teachers, that 'individual trajectories later in the career cycle are
very diverse' (1989, p. 351). For example, he is clear that many teachers will not go
through the 'diversification and change' stage, moving directly instead from
'stabilization' to 'stock-taking and interrogations at mid-career'. In turn Huberman
also argues that teachers might also move directly from 'stock-taking and
interrogations at mid-career' to the 'disengagement' phase. He also suggests that,
though it may be possible to associate possible ages for each of the stages - for
example suggesting that the phase 'serenity and affective distance' might occur
between the ages of fifty and fifty-five - that 'age is a hollow variable' (1989, p. 357)
and that other more significant factors will come into play for many career

trajectories. For Huberman, then, 'the next phase is thus always undetermined, and the mix of components is always different for different individuals' (1989, p. 358).

Day and his colleagues, drawing on data from the VITAE project, build upon the ideas of Huberman (Day, 2012; Day and Gu, 2010; Day et al., 2007). Characterising Huberman's teacher career phases as reliant on 'state of mind' they question his assertion that the stages are unpredictable and identify six 'professional life phases':

> We have chosen the notion of teachers' *professional life phases*, rather than *career phases*, because this takes us closer to the meaning of being a teacher and an understanding of the complexities of teachers' lives and work. It enables us to portray a professional landscape which distinguishes teaching from other professions. (Day and Gu, 2010, p. 43)

The professional life phases, reflecting teachers' 'cognitive, emotional, personal and moral engagement in the profession' (ibid., p. 47) are associated with length of service and, in part, disassociated from teacher age:

1. professional life phase 0-3: commitment – support and challenge
2. professional life phase 4-7: identity and efficacy in classroom
3. professional life phase 8-15: managing changes in role and identity – growing tensions and transitions
4. professional life phase 16-23: work-life tensions – challenges to motivation and commitment
5. professional life phase 24-30: challenges in sustaining motivation
6. professional life phase 31+: sustaining/declining motivation, ability to cope with change, looking to retire

Here the 'beginning teacher' stage – professional life phases 0-3 and 4-7 – is most often characterised by a high level of commitment. In contrast to Huberman's view, the 'veteran teacher' stage – professional life phases 24-30 and 31+ – whilst sometimes characterised by feelings of being tired and trapped, also has elements of continued high levels of motivation and engagement in the profession. Day and Gu (2010) also recognise that teachers' professional life phases, as defined, are 'not static, but dynamic in nature' and reflect a 'sophisticated and continuous process' (p. 49).

Furner and McCulla (2019), in their study exploring the influences on the professional learning of teachers at different career stages acknowledge previous career literature in general and Day and colleagues in particular. Furner and McCulla identify five career stages, characterised as 'broad' and 'permeable', based on years of teaching experience but also separated by positions of responsibility within a school hierarchy:

1. early career teachers (up to 3 years of teaching)
2. experienced teachers (4–7 years of teaching)
3. expert teachers (8+ years of teaching)
4. leading teachers (formal leadership roles)
5. executive leaders (principals and deputy principals)

Here early career teachers 'were focused on developing classroom management strategies that helped them achieve classroom environments that were centred on purposeful learning' (p. 510), whereas executive leaders 'were fully focused on learning whatever was needed to enhance the effectiveness of the school' (p. 511). In this model, whilst there may be a form of progression through stages one, two and three, there is not necessarily an association with or between stages four and five. It may be possible to be an 'expert teacher' but not reach or aspire to leading teacher or executive leader stages. Similarly, it may be possible to reach stage five, 'executive leader', without working through all, or indeed any, of the previous stages depending on such factors as institutional recruitment, job specification and person specification policies.

For Furner and McCulla 'fully understanding the career trajectories of teachers' remains 'problematic' (p. 509) but that 'by raising the question of how teachers are learning and prefer to learn at various career stages in a specific school context, questions of values and purpose automatically surface as do the underlying influence of school ethos and culture' (p. 516). Rolls and Plauborg (2009) similarly reflect on the concept of a 'career trajectory' but are concerned that 'a series of career stages or phases seems unable to escape a certain linearity' that offers 'a limited number of established pathways' and where 'their general nature means that the individual teacher will seldom be able to recognize himself or herself within the broad brushstrokes of such models' (p. 24). For Rolls and Plauborg 'studies of teachers'

careers are becoming less comprehensive' where the focus is 'on particular aspects of teachers' careers or on individual teachers' life histories', and this 'may reflect changes in the ways teachers' careers are conceived towards a less linear, more individual understanding' (p. 26).

Career Change

Carless and Arnup (2011), drawing on Rhodes and Doering (1983), define career change as 'the movement to a new occupation or profession that is not part of a typical career progression' (p. 80). Bobek, Hanson and Robbins (2013) argue that:

> Most adults can no longer expect lifetime employment within a single organization or steady movement up a predetermined career ladder. Rather, individuals will typically negotiate a lifetime of job changes, work task restructuring, and employer demands for new or higher-level skills. (p. 653)

Shlomo and Oplatka (2020) note that 'the concept of a lifelong career has been disrupted' (p. 13). Potter (2020) considers that 'the complex and non-linear state of (many) contemporary work-life trajectories enmeshes poorly with the biographical anchors of "normal career"' (p. 583). Ahn, Dik and Hornback (2017) contend that 'careers that unfold over decades within a single occupation or organization are the exception rather than the rule', and assert that 'relatively little is known about career changers who decide to voluntarily change their jobs and what psychological resources lead to experiencing this career transition as a meaningful turning point during one's career path' (pp. 48-49). For Bobek, Hanson and Robbins (2013) these career changes may, on the one hand, be seen as 'exciting opportunities', but there may also 'be concerns about having the necessary skills to effectively perform the new job and meet competing demands, as well as a fear of failure' (p. 657).

Carless and Arnup (2011), using data from a longitudinal survey known as the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, find that 'job dissatisfaction was not an antecedent of career change', although they consider that 'job satisfaction improves after a career change' (p. 88). For Carless and Arnup 'the prospect of a higher salary was not related to career change', but that 'lack of job

security led to career change', and 'younger individuals were more likely to change occupations than older individuals', as were 'employees who are curious, enjoy new experiences and have well developed social skills' (pp. 88-89). Cawte's (2020) narrative inquiry focuses on twenty mid-career teachers in Queensland, Australia, both state and non-state, where a mid-career teacher was defined as 'a teacher with a minimum of seven years and a maximum of twenty years of teaching experience' i.e. 'had experience teaching in a classroom' (p. 78). Cawte's study looked at 'three specific categories': 'teachers who had chosen to remain in the classroom'; 'teachers who had moved from the classroom to middle management/leadership positions in their schools'; 'teachers who had left the profession' (pp. 78-79). Cawte identifies the main reasons for participants staying in the profession as the 'intrinsic factors involved in teaching' such as 'building relationships with students and helping them learn', as 'stability and job security and a "family flexible" lifestyle', and 'uncertainty' about 'career options other than teaching' (p. 87). Cawte also identifies three reasons for mid-career teachers leaving the profession: 'stress and exhaustion'; 'limited career pathways for progression'; and 'dissatisfaction arising from the lack of support from the school leadership team' (p. 90).

Goodson (2009) contextualises the influences on career change for teachers with vignettes from British nurses, arguing that:

> it is important to situate one's understanding of teachers' lives and careers in a general context of professional settings. Often these life narrative insights are a cross-professional phenomenon common not just to teachers but to most public service workers (p. 203)

Goodson identifies the pressures of targets and league tables that takes nurses away from what they consider to be their 'vocation', contending that this is a similar experience for teachers. To illustrate this Goodson focuses on an 'individual life story' of a teacher in his 40s, 'Jim', and the following extract from this narrative demonstrates some of the factors and impacts of career change for teachers (Figure 25):

> It's the casualties along the way that get you down. It's the faces of the people that you've worked with who just can't take it anymore. It's the stories of illness, the stories of people leaving the profession who are good – it's not people that you would think would leave. It's the stories of people in my own department, my colleagues who want to find an alternative way to live their lives. For example, I've only been at my new place – this is my third year – and a colleague who's a sculptor was really down on the school. He was down on the initiatives, he was down on the reforms, he was down on performance management. In my first meeting with him, we sat down and I asked him: 'What objectives are you setting?' He goes, 'Jim, I don't want to do this anymore, I don't want to set objectives, I don't want to do performance management and I don't work here next September, so the school can stick it'.

Figure 25. Narrative extract demonstrating some of the factors and impacts of career change for teachers (Goodson, 2009, p. 207)

Goodson describes the teacher as 'caught between this sense of impending crisis and desperation and a continuing sense of hope' enduring 'the same physical symptoms that he has seen so many others confront' (p. 209).

Potter's (2020) narrative inquiry focuses on the experiences of middle-income professionals, including teachers, predominantly from London and the south east of England. For Potter 'the stable and progressive career is a nostalgic construct' (p. 582), describing the 'waxing and waning non-linear career path', where the 'paradigm of "onwards and upwards"' is displaced and the 'tenacity of a linear career as an idealized model' is dispelled (p. 583). Potter illustrates an impact of these 'fragmented trajectories' (p. 582) through an extract from a narrative interview where he argues that the participant's sense of who they were was interconnected with their career (Figure 26):

> I think the hardest thing for me was giving up an identity that I knew, that created a me that I could say, this is what I do, this is who I am [. . .] And I remember the night I wrote my resignation letter, when I decided, when I realised that, you know, the blinders had come off and I couldn't go back, I had to resign. And it was one of those November nights in the Highlands where the wind was howling and the rain was going. And I went down to the post-box by the little Phoenix shop to post the letter. And I was unable to do it. And I ran back and I was literally rocking with pain and fear. And it was a classic dark night of the soul because if I resigned I was cutting the cord to my identity, to my security, to my financial security, to being able to look after my wife and children. And I can still to this day hear the envelope hitting the bottom of the letter box. And I realised that was the moment that I'd, I'd cut, and I was actually terrified.

Figure 26. Extract from participant interview illustrating an impact of career change (Potter, 2020, p. 577)

Professional Identity

Baxter (2020) considers that 'the idea of professional identity is complex' (p. 37), and this complexity often means that much of the literature exploring professional identity lacks precision about just what it is that is being discussed. Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) conclude that 'in most studies, the concept of professional identity was defined differently or not defined at all' (p. 122). Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) suggest that 'defining the concept has often proved difficult for authors' (p. 177). This problem continues with many recent papers with professional identity as the central focus continuing to offer limited clarity of definition (e.g. Ding and Xie, 2021; Dwyer, 2020; Hendrikz, 2021; Mannes, 2020; Shwartz and Dori, 2020). Sfard and Prusack's (2005) criticism is that, in this absence of clarity of definition, 'the reader is led to believe that identity is one of those self-evident notions that, whether reflectively or instinctively, arise from one's firsthand, un-mediated experience' (p. 15) with the argument that, in its complexity, the idea of professional identity in not 'self-evident' and does not emerge 'un-mediated' from research accounts. It seems important, therefore, to attempt to define what the concept of professional identity means for this study.

Ibarra (1999), developing Schein (1978), explains professional identity 'as the relatively stable and enduring constellation of attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences in terms of which people define themselves in a professional role' (pp. 764-765). This is a helpful starting point, with Baxter (2020), for example, reinforcing the idea as a consideration of 'what it means to be a professional', engendering 'both values and ideological positioning' (p. 36). However, the notion of professional identity being both 'relatively stable' and 'enduring' is problematic for some. Cruess et al. (2014) reinforce the significance for an individual of the 'characteristics, values, and norms' particular to their profession being 'internalized' to enable them to 'think, act and feel' as a member of that profession, but see professional identity as 'a representation of self, achieved in stages over time' (p. 1447). Day et al. (2006) characterise teacher professional identity as a 'shifting amalgam' that is 'not always stable, but at certain times or during certain life, career and organisational phases may be discontinuous, fragmented, and subject to

turbulence and change' (p. 613). Hsieh (2014) also questions the idea of professional identity as being 'stable', viewing teacher professional identity as 'iterative, negotiated, and socially situated within particular contexts' with teachers as 'agents in the creation of their identities' (p. 179).

In their review of research on teachers' professional identity, Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) identify four key features of professional identity. First, that professional identity 'is an ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation of experiences' that not only answers the question 'who am I at this moment?' but also the question 'who do I want to become?'. Second, that professional identity 'implies both person and context' with teachers 'expected to behave professionally, but not simply by adopting professional characteristics', differing in 'the way they deal with these characteristics depending on the value they personally attach to them'. Third, that a teacher's professional identity 'consists of sub-identities that more or less harmonize' and where the 'more central a sub-identity is, the more costly it is to change or lose that identity'. Fourth, 'agency', exercised in different ways dependent on 'goals' pursued and available 'sources' for achievement of the goals, where professional identity is 'not something teachers have, but something they use in order to make sense of themselves as teachers' (pp. 122-123). Day and Gu (2010) add to this the significance of personal identity, considering that there is 'an unavoidable inter-relationship between personal and professional identities if only because the overwhelming evidence is that teaching demands significant personal investment', where 'professional craft expertise' is combined with 'their personal selves' (pp. 37-38).

In consideration of the above this study follows Flores and Day's (2006) understanding of teacher professional identity as 'an ongoing and dynamic process which entails the making sense and (re)interpretation of one's own values and experiences', which is 'dependent upon teachers' views of themselves and of the contexts in which they work', and 'influenced by personal, social and cognitive response' (p. 220). The verbatim narratives of the eleven career stories present a composite case of teacher professional identity and some important perspectives on this composite case are illustrated and explored below through a more detailed

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consideration of the professional identities of LGBT teachers, Black teachers, teachers with a disability, and retired teachers.

LGBT Teachers

The career stories of participants who identify as LGBT are an important aspect of this study. For Henderson (2019):

> LGBT identities complicate teacher identities in several ways. In the first instance, they throw into relief the assumptions of heterosexuality that underlie the silences around sexualities in educational contexts. (p. 861)

Russell (2020), in her study of Australian LGBT pre-service teachers, notes that 'decisions had to be made around coming out or hiding on a regular basis; something their heterosexual counterparts do not have to engage with' (p. 13). DePalma and Atkinson's (2010) research 'revealed a prevalent assumption, even among participants who identified as LGBT, that straight and gender normative people don't ever "come out", in the sense of self-identifying in relation to their sexuality and gender', but that 'these people are actually constantly coming out in schools, unconsciously (re) asserting their majority status through small clues', whereas 'not coming out' for LGBT staff 'actually required a carefully constructed system of strategic silences, half-truths and direct lies that seemed to demand a great deal of attention and planning' (p. 1671). Rudoe (2010) considers this as the 'context of the heterosexualised space' (p. 1), with Donelson and Rogers (2004) describing 'heteronormativity', which they see as the 'organizational structures in schools that support heterosexuality as normal and anything else as deviant' (p. 128). Lee (2019) identifies that the 'steps some LGBT+ teachers take to manage their identity and assimilate to the heteronormative discourse places considerable extra strain on what is already a highly demanding and tiring job' (p. 686).

Participants in this study completed their teacher training at a time following the Sexual Offences Act 1967 (UK Parliament, no date) which 'permitted homosexual acts between two consenting adults over the age of twenty-one' but 'restrictions were

placed on what was considered private' and where the act 'only applied to England and Wales' (UK Parliament, no date, para. 2). Tatchell (2017) argues that homosexuality was 'only partly decriminalised by the 1967 act', and that the 'remaining anti-gay laws were policed more aggressively than before', and that 'gay and bisexual men, and some lesbians, continued to be arrested until the 1990s for public displays of affection, such as kissing and cuddling, under public order and breach of the peace laws' (paras. 2-6).

Participants in this study also experienced Section 28 of the Local Government Act in their careers, a law passed in the UK (though not Northern Ireland) in 1988 by a Conservative government (Figure 27):

Prohibition on promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material.

(1) A local authority shall not—

   (a) intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality;

   (b) promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship.

Figure 27. Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988 (legislation.gov.uk, no date b, para. 2)

In a speech decrying the Section 28 legislation, McKellen (1988) attacked the whole notion of the 'promotion' of homosexuality:

> The truth is that homosexuality cannot be taught any more than it can be caught. If heterosexuality could be promoted, there would be no homosexuals, no bisexuals. Everywhere in the media, in the church, in the teaching of literature, language, art and politics, heterosexuality is daily, hourly promoted. I still haven't been persuaded. (para. 17)

In a memorandum submitted to the UK parliament Select Committee on Northern Ireland Affairs by the Coalition on Sexual Orientation it was stated that:

> The existence of Section 28 caused confusion and harm. Teachers were confused about what they could and could not say and do, and whether they could help pupils to face homophobic bullying and

abuse. Local authorities were unclear as to what legitimate services they could provide for lesbian, gay and bisexual members of their communities. (www.parliament.uk, 2005, para. 28)

The legislation remained in place until 2000 in Scotland and 2003 in England and Wales (Day, 2019) and an important motivation for conducting this study was experiencing the emotional distress and continuing, unabated anger of LGBT-identifying teachers when discussing the impact of Section 28 on their professional and private lives. Lee (2019) recognises that 'many of the LGBT+ teachers who experienced Section 28 remain deeply affected by it' (p. 687). For Lee:

> this piece of legislation prohibited LGBT+ teachers from being open about their own sexual identity in the workplace, or discussing non-heterosexual relationships in their classrooms. In the 15 years between the introduction of Section 28 in 1988 and its repeal in England in 2003, many LGBT+ teachers feared the loss of their jobs if their sexuality was revealed (p. 676)

A participant in Rudoe's (2010) study of the identity of lesbian teachers and exploration of this 'public/private boundary' typifies the constraints imposed by Section 28 (Figure 28):

... being secret about my sexuality was very painful to me. Whenever I would have the chance to come out, I would take that chance. But Section 28 did make it difficult ... But it's absolutely essential to take on [a whole-school policy], for the sake of the students who're lesbian, or going to be lesbian or exploring their sexuality. But I don't think it should be done just by lesbian teachers, that's the problem. And it's so difficult to be a role model as a lesbian teacher, because to do that you have to be out, and that does kind of make you quite vulnerable, even now, I think, unless you're not the only person. I do think age has got something to do with it as well. Because I think that I have a different historical kind of view on it all, because of coming out in 1980. It was a different time. So of course if I was starting over now, I wouldn't have had those years! But I would certainly advise anyone going into teaching now that they pick a school where they could be out. Because I think the price you pay for not, for your personal well-being, is huge. (Elizabeth)

Figure 28. Example of participant view of the 'public/private boundary' (Rudoe, 2010, p. 33)

Gray (2013) asserts that LGBT teachers who 'were able to be open about their sexuality at work articulated greater job satisfaction and smoother interconnections between their private and professional selves' (p. 712). Henderson (2019) notes 'the fragility and stability of a present and future teaching identity' for LGBT teachers 'in

which the negotiation of shame, obligation and uncertainty are habitual' (p. 862). Demonstrating the unsettling reality of this 'uncertainty' and 'fragility' Piper and Sikes (2010) 'developed an ethnographic, composite fictional, storied approach' (p. 568) in order to protect the participants in their study of LGBT teachers. Lee (2020) finds that:

> LGBT teachers frequently report that significant energy, on top of an already demanding role, is needed to compartmentalize their personal and professional selves, vigilantly, and tentatively navigating the complexities of their heteronormative school communities and trying to remain as invisible as possible (p. 2)

Henderson (2019) argues that 'LGBT identified teachers find themselves obligated to act as a visible or vocal voice of LGBT identity, for the benefit of their students' (p. 861) but that 'LGBT identified teachers negotiate conflicting obligations both to hide their LGBT identities, and to act as role models for their students' (p. 849). Stonewall (2017) illustrate the importance of this identification for LGBT pupils but report that in schools pupil awareness of LGBT staff remains low, perhaps reflecting the 'conflicting obligations' that LGBT teachers feel (Figure 29):

Two in five LGBT pupils (41 per cent) know of at least one member of school staff who is openly LGBT.

LGBT pupils are far more likely to know of openly gay or lesbian members of staff than of staff who are openly bi or trans. Just **four per cent** know of an openly bi member of staff, while only **three per cent** know of an openly trans member of staff.

LGBT pupils who know of an openly LGBT member of staff are far more likely to say that there is someone they can talk to at school about being LGBT than those who don't (58 per cent compared to 40 per cent).

My English teacher is the only openly gay teacher at my school. He really helped me come to terms with myself and he inspired me to be my best self. Anushka, 12, secondary school (Greater London)

We have a teacher who is openly trans as well as a former teacher, meaning that students are better aware of trans issues than sexuality issues, as uncommon as that may be. Shannon, 19, now at university (North West)

DO YOU KNOW OF ANY STAFF AT SCHOOL WHO ARE OPENLY:

Gay	27%
Lesbian	22%
Bi	4%
Trans	3%
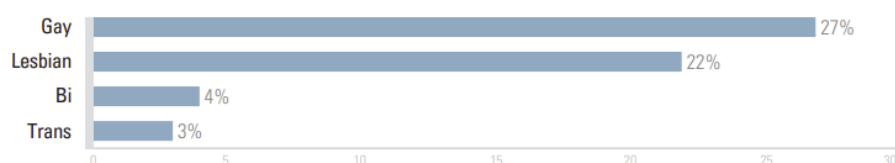
Figure 29. Stonewall School Report – LGBT pupils knowledge of LGBT teachers (Stonewall, 2017, p. 26)

DePalma and Atkinson (2010) consider that, in their research, the 'responses of lesbian and gay teachers revealed a need to hide non-heterosexuality in school environments rife with overt or covert harassment' (p. 1671). To address this Stonewall (2017) identify the importance of clear leadership in schools where 'headteachers, senior management and governors should send out a strong message to all pupils and staff that homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying and language is not acceptable' and where schools 'ensure that LGBT people and experiences are reflected across the curriculum, to celebrate difference and make the diversity of LGBT people visible' (p. 38). In such contexts Rudoe (2010) argues that 'in negotiating the public/private boundary, teachers may face prejudices and stereotypes, and may employ protective identity management strategies in certain situations' (p. 34).

Black Teachers

As interviews for this study were being conducted in the spring and summer of 2020, the international Black Lives Matter protests that followed the death of George Floyd in the USA on the 25th May 2020 (BBC, 2020; 2021) threw the career experiences of the Black participants into sharp relief, finding expression in their career stories. Mohdin, Swann and Bannock (2020) note, describing the context of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations in the UK, that:

> The killing of George Floyd by a White police officer took place thousands of miles away in the US, but his cries that he could not breathe, in a distressing video that was seen across the world, resonated deeply with people in the UK. (para. 1)

Campbell (2021) offers a definition of Black Lives Matter as 'a phrase, and notably a hashtag, used to highlight racism, discrimination and inequality experienced by Black people' (para. 3). The significance of the Black Lives Matter context in terms of this study is exemplified by Anderson et al.'s (2020) analysis of the use of the #Black Lives Matter hashtag in public Twitter posts between 1 January 2013 and 7 June 2020. This period started with the death of Trayvon Martin on 13 July 2013, and included the subsequent deaths of Eric Garner, Philando Castile, Alton Sterling, Stephon Clarke and Ahmaud Arbery. Anderson et al. (2020) highlight the substantial spike in use of the #Black Lives Matter hashtag following the death of George Floyd, the period of time when this study was being conducted (Figure 30):

Figure 30. Use of the #Black Lives Matter hashtag following the death of George Floyd (Anderson et al., 2020, fig. 2)

In a study of Black and ethnic minority pre-service teachers Bhopal (2015) identifies that:

> Trainee teachers continue to experience racism, marginalisation and exclusion in the classroom. Furthermore, some trainee teachers are not fully equipped to teach in racialised spaces in which their understandings of difference and diversity can impact on their teaching styles. (p. 200)

Bhopal finds that for some 'being the only Black teacher in a school had some positive consequences and in some respects indicated a degree of respect from some students and fellow teachers' (p. 201). Bhopal also notes that for others their 'Black identity' caused difficulties in their trainee teacher experience, for example (Figure 31):

It was weird, because I was in an all-White school when I went in some of the students were a bit rude. They did seem to stare at me and point at me and that made me feel uncomfortable and it made *me feel* aware about my own identity. If they had not done that, it would not have bothered me or affected me. It was almost like they were not used to seeing a Black person before. I stood out because of my Black identity, I was different and so they didn't know how to treat me [original emphasis].

Figure 31. Example of Black trainee teacher experience (Bhopal, 2015, p. 202)

Wilkins and Laal (2011), in their study of the experiences of Black and ethnic minority students following a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) programme, identify this concern for pre-service teachers about the 'potential for racism' during placements considering that this may have:

> a particularly insidious impact on confidence, with students understandably reluctant to reveal insecurities that might undermine their attempt to project a strong "teacherly presence", the authoritative professional identity they presume to be required in order to be accepted into the profession (p. 370)

Wilkins and Lall consider that trainee teachers are 'entering an overwhelmingly White professional domain' and, to mitigate this, that Black and ethnic minority pre-service teachers should be 'exposed to the same range of professional development opportunities as White peers whilst not being exposed to increased risk of racism' (p. 383). Wilkins and Lall argue that 'whilst the teacher education community remains overwhelmingly White, "Whiteness" will remain the normative identity and "Blackness" will remain "the other"' (p. 384).

In his study of Black and ethnic minority teachers career prospects Elonga Mboyo (2019) focuses on the 'organisational dynamics of racism that hinder their progression to positions of leadership in schools', arguing that the responses from

his participants suggest an 'inherent belief that the field is not level for everyone' and that there will 'always be a race-based preference' or 'other extra hurdles' requiring that 'school institutions make the recruitment process as fair as possible' (pp. 122-123). Johnson (2017), in her initial study of Black and South Asian headteachers, identifies the issue of Black headteachers as role models 'who feel they must be "twice as good" as White British headteachers and represent their communities' and who felt 'significant pressure to "not let the side down"' (p. 853). Recognising the potential difficulties of being seen as a Black role model, Johnson cites the reflection of one experienced Black headteacher from her study (Figure 32):

I remember one student . . . in the school . . . . she was a mixed-race girl and she said to me, "You do realize you're the token Black don't you?" I said to her that actually I didn't see it like that. I saw that (because) I was there (at the school), I was able to correct misconceptions.

Figure 32. Reflection of an experienced Black headteacher (Johnson, 2017, p. 853)

In her subsequent study - following some of her original participants five years on - Johnson (2021) illustrates the difficulty Black teachers perceive in gaining headteacher posts. She gives the example of a teacher in predominantly White schools who moved into middle leadership and then deputy headship but who 'submitted over twenty applications for headteacher before he got his current position' and 'wondered if his "African surname had made a difference?"' (p. 669). Johnson questions whether some school governing bodies may have difficulty 'envisaging' a Black headteacher. Wallace (2020), in his exploration of Black male teachers and their experiences of promotion to school leadership roles, argues that there are 'three common dynamics' in Black teachers' career trajectories, 'backed', 'blocked' and 'burned':

> First, they were 'backed,' winning support for White senior leaders and BME veteran teachers to pursue mid-level appointments like 'Head of Year,' 'Head of Department,' 'Instructional Coach,' among others. Next, they were 'blocked,' capping their professional advancement towards senior management roles. Last, they were 'burned,' encountering discrepancies between what senior management suggests about their value and the prevailing limitations on their progress. (p. 353)

Wallace argues that there is a 'diversity trap' for Black teachers where they are confined to 'diversity actor' positions up to middle leadership, but 'with a limited capacity to engage in upper-level leadership roles' (p. 361). Miller (2020), in a study that examines 'institutional/leadership practices in supporting and enabling progression' (p. 987) recommends that school leaders should 'combine moral purpose with positional power to challenge racist practices and attitudes among members of a school community, and to create more racially inclusive school organisations through targeted actions/interventions' (p. 1003). Miller's study focuses on headteachers 'who devise, implement and embed positive actions in the recruitment, development, retention and progression of staff of Black, Asian and minority ethnic heritage' (p. 986) and one participant in the study summarises their approach in the following way (Figure 33):

> Equality is a key point for me. I have an equation that I used to use quite often: talent + hard work = success. However, seeing the treatment of BAME staff in our schools, I have since added 'opportunity'. That is talent + hard work + opportunity = success. Opportunity is missing for several persons, and I have spent a lot of my time as a leader helping people to spot those opportunities, and using my influence to level the playing field. Not positive discrimination, but to challenge and remedy issues through structures and systems (P3, male).

Figure 33. Example of headteacher approach to racial equity (Miller, 2020, p. 994)

Miller finds that the headteachers in the study offered 'courageous leadership', 'having moved beyond sympathising to tackling, from talking to doing, being conscious their actions were part of a journey and not a destination', and also 'social justice leadership', which is 'not only about promoting excellence, equity and inclusion but also about delivering or taking steps to deliver these' (p. 1001). For Miller the headteachers had been successful because they had 'committed themselves personally and their schools to mid-to-medium term equity agendas and objectives that were not merely talked about but which were owned by all staff and which had become embedded in key institutional priorities' (pp. 1001-1002).

Teachers with a Disability

The UK Equality Act 2010, which replaced the Disability Discrimination Act 1995, 'legally protects people from discrimination in the workplace and in wider society' (GOV.UK, 2015, paras. 1-4). It defines disability as a 'physical or mental impairment that has a "substantial" and "long-term" negative effect' on a person's 'ability to do normal daily activities' (GOV.UK, no date, para. 1). Acas (2021) explains 'substantial' as 'more than just a minor impact on someone's life or how they can do certain things' which 'may fluctuate or change and may not happen all the time', and 'long-term' as affecting, or likely to affect, a person for at least a year' with the likelihood that the impairment will last for the rest of a person's life (paras. 5-7). For Forber-Pratt et al. (2017) 'disability identity can be considered a unique phenomenon that shapes persons' ways of seeing themselves, their bodies, their ways of interacting with the world and adapting to his or her disability' (p. 198). Forber-Pratt et al. see 'disability identity' as unique because 'disability often occurs in individuals who do not have others with disabilities around them', shaping an identity 'around a particular impairment or difference that their families, immediate circles and communities likely do not share' (p. 204).

Parker and Draves (2017), adopting a narrative inquiry methodological approach to explore the experiences of two pre-service music teachers, one visually impaired, one blind, argue that it is necessary to challenge 'perceptions of able-bodiedness' through the 'purposeful recruitment and support of teacher candidates with disabilities' (p. 400). Moore et al. (2020) note, however, that 'the literature on teachers with disabilities is limited' (p. 272). In their study of six pre-service teachers Moore et al. found that, due to experiences of exclusion and the advocacy of parents, their participants rejected the 'notion of disabilities as a limitation' and 'embraced having a disability as a strength despite how society and others (teachers, professors, peers) might view disabilities as deficits' (p. 81). Despite this Moore et al. also suggest that as the participants' training developed they experienced 'roadblocks to the career' where their 'purpose, career goals, and teacher identities' were 'altered or challenged' (p. 281). This tension between positive 'disability identity' and negative 'roadblock' is illustrated by the view of one participant in the study (Figure 34):

> I can do awesome things that people couldn't do but yet there are still things that they can do, that I can't do. But, the thing is that with the super power there always comes kryptonite. People tend to point out that more than your super power … It gets annoying. It's just like, "Really? Can't you just point out the things that are awesome about me?" … Hearing it from people like, "Oh, you need to work on this." It's really annoying.

Figure 34. Illustration of challenge to 'disability identity' (Moore et al., 2020, p. 278)

A particular focus in this study is on hearing impairment. In their study of deaf and hard-of-hearing graduates Punch, Hyde and Power (2007) find that 'deaf and hard-of-hearing people had experienced a range of barriers, both environmental and attitudinal, in their working lives' where the 'most problematic workplace situations were social gatherings, professional development or training activities, and meetings', and where these situations are 'likely to be difficult for hard-of-hearing persons, who depend on their residual hearing supplemented by lipreading, and for Deaf persons in hearing environments unless supported by adequate sign language, interpreting or other effective accommodations', with participants describing 'feelings of isolation' and 'fatigue resulting from the constant need for close concentration required to function in a hearing environment' (pp. 514-515). Baldridge and Kulkarni (2017) identify their hearing-impaired participants as concealing hearing loss as they feared the response of able-bodied others, described in the following by one participant in Baldridge and Kulkarni's study as 'bluffing' (Figure 35):

> I pretended I understood. I pretended. I just faked it. I bluffed. I did a lot of bluffing … I did not want to confront it. I didn't think people would understand deafness. And if they did understand deafness, I thought they would immediately make the connection with deafness and being stupid. I didn't want them to think that of me. So I just didn't address it. It was better for me at that time to bluff. (Female, Disability Integration Advisor, Skype)[1]

Figure 35. Participant description of concealing hearing loss (Baldridge and Kulkarni, 2017, p. 1225)

Baldridge and Kulkarni find that, in order to 'sustain careers, respondents redefined themselves as well as their notions of 'career success', that participants 'changed how they saw themselves' (p. 1231). Burns and Bell (2011), in their consideration of

the professional identity of teachers with dyslexia, recognise that 'interviewees repeatedly declared that they needed to work harder than their peers', and consider that, for their participants, 'being successful in the teaching profession necessitated the individuals to have an awareness of the patterns of their dyslexia and to have a proactive approach of self-acceptance', and that 'they needed to accept themselves as they are' (p. 959). Dvir (2015), in the context of the necessity to educate teachers 'of the need of inclusion', writes about 'the added value of teachers who have experienced exclusion or are themselves disabled', arguing that teachers 'who have felt excluded as a result of difference of any kind, including physical disability, are uniquely capable of accepting and including their students' (p. 64). A hearing-impaired teacher in Dvir's study illustrates this in their reflection on their 'disability identity' and 'professional identity' (Figure 36):

> I wanted to be a teacher because, in the education I received when growing up, the focus was primarily on the goal of being "normal." They thought that if a deaf person would be able to speak with hearing people around him, he would be seen as normal. On the other hand, a deaf person who wasn't able to communicate with his surroundings was considered problematic. I wanted to be a different kind of teacher, one who accepts the deaf person as he is, and gives him the tools to integrate in society.

Figure 36. Teacher reflection on 'disability identity' and 'professional identity' (Dvir, 2015, p. 62)

Retired Teachers

Maguire (2008), recognising the 'under-researched perspective' of teacher professional identity in retirement, asks:

> What happens to teachers' identities when they no longer work as teachers, when they have perhaps laid down this aspect of their identity, when they have reached their 'end of term'? (p. 43)

In Maguire's study of London-based teachers who have stopped teaching after lengthy careers she argues that, for teachers at the end of their careers, 'the occupational/situational identity is gradually cast aside and left behind' (p. 52).

Maguire contends that 'teacher's occupational identities may be foregrounded while they are still serving members of the teaching force', recognising the potential power of teacher's 'work identities' and suggesting that, for some, 'their professional/occupational identity catches at them more than others', where they may be 'more susceptible to over-investing in their work identities', and where they might move, for example, 'into consultancy and other similar education-related occupations, and thus maintain a work-based identity' (p. 53). Maguire also recognises that for teachers who 'felt coerced to leave', or felt 'that they were less effective than they should have been, or where they simply felt stressed, ill and burnt out, their identities may become dented by these sorts of experiences at the end of their careers' (p. 46).

Teuscher (2010) notes that 'retirement is a unique event in that it takes away an aspect of people's lives that is for many a very important part of their self-definition' and argues that 'even if retirement is experienced as a positive event overall, it is likely to be somewhat threatening to people's self-concept' (p. 103). In her survey of participants in a town in Switzerland, some of whom were retired and some not yet retired, Teuscher argues that 'the professional domain was as important for retired as for not-yet-retired respondents' where 'the loss of the professional role after retirement apparently did not lead to a loss of professional identity', where for many 'the professional domain may indeed be such an important part of their identity that it remains an important aspect of the self, even though it is no longer practiced' (p. 102). For Teuscher the idea that professional identity is 'maintained after retirement' is a not a signifier of a lack of adaptation to retirement but 'a way of maintaining positive past identities as part of an ever richer and more diverse self-image' (p. 104). Borrero and Kruger (2015), in their study of retired professional women in the USA, similarly suggest that 'key components of participants' identities were consistent from work to retirement', including a 'continual involvement in aspects of one's former work role' (p. 324) and assert that, for participants in their study, 'this identity consistency supported participants' adaptation in times of change' (p. 325).

Shlomo and Oplatka (2020) interviewed teachers who had worked in the Israeli educational system and who had been retired for two to six years - some as early

retirees, some at official retirement age - with a focus on 'how the teaching career manifested in the early stages of the teacher's retirement experience' (p. 1). Shlomo and Oplatka argue that 'characteristics common to the teaching career leave their mark on the post-retirement phase, playing a major role in the process of teachers' adaptation to retirement life' (p. 13). Drawing on Reitzes and Mutran's (2006) concept of 'lingering identity', Shlomo and Oplatka assert that retired teachers 'hold onto the identity of work' and that this helps 'to retain a positive feeling of self-esteem using their teaching identity' (p. 15). Shlomo and Oplatka contend that, for their participants:

> professional identity remains dominant in retirement life, in addition to sub-identities such as: mother/ father, wife/husband, grandmother/grandfather and friend. The teacher feels that he/she is still a teacher (p. 14)

Bordia, Read and Bordia's (2020) study was conducted with 'white-collar' participants of the age ranges 54 to 84 (average age 65 years) living in a city in Australia, with a research focus on 'how individuals navigate the exit from work role and transition into retirement' (p. 445) Bordia, Read and Bordia distinguish between those who are 'pre-retirement', those who are 'bridging' as semi-retired, and those who are in 'full retirement' (p. 448), and in their exploration of different role identities argue that 'configurations' of these role identities 'influenced the retirement transition process, by enabling or constraining the transition' (p. 451). Bordia, Read and Bordia initially classify participants into 'two broad forms of identities': 'work role identities' as either 'strong' or 'weak', and 'nonwork role identities' as either 'developed or underdeveloped' (p. 449). They illustrate these 'strong/weak' and 'developed/underdeveloped' classifications through themes – as 'identity', 'attitude to work' and 'attitude to retirement' for work role identity, and 'identity', 'interests' and connections with others outside work' for nonwork role identity – and contextualising quotations from participants in the study (Figure 37):

TABLE 1 Illustrative themes and quotes that informed the classification of interviewees into the four categories

Work role identity		Nonwork role identity	
Strong	**Weak**	**Developed**	**Underdeveloped**
Identity—"I think it's because [work] is still very much part of who I am and it's, I think, probably what's in the back of my mind is that if I'm not doing something concrete like that, I'm not sure who I am, and I'm only very slowly sort of edging towards being, it's a bit hard to describe, being a real person apart from work." (Female, 65 years, in transition)	*Identity*—"I do not know about ... I've never .... I do not think my work has ever run my life. I do not think I've ever ... sorry, I'm just trying to think. Yeah, it's interesting." (Male, 64 years, in transition)	*Identity*—"I belong to four different craft groups and I work, I'm an elder in our church and through being an elder I volunteer at the ... the Baptist and Anglican's and Wesley Uniting combined run ... like a drop in centre." (Female, 66 years, bridging)	*Identity*—"Very much tied up in what I did [work]. Passionate, and I'd work very long hours and, yeah, so yeah there is this loss about where to now, there's a sense of where to now, what am I doing now?" (Female, 61 years, bridging)
Attitude to work—"And that's ... I think that's what's keeping me in, because I kind of think even if I retired I would not retire." (Male, 57 years, in full-time work)	*Attitude to work*—"Yeah I did but I worked out about probably about 15 years ago that it did not matter what work you did as long as the people were good." (Female, 59 years, retired)	*Interests*—"There were things that I was already involved in that I knew I wanted to continue and increase, but I'd been involved for quite some considerable time. I did not take them up with a view to them being something I could do in retirement." (Female, 59 years, retired)	*Interests*—"Retirement means an absolute hell I think. I am not looking forward to retiring at all. I do not have enough to interest me." (Female, 64 years, bridging)
Attitude to retirement—"No, no I wasn't finished. Well I knew in our retirement there would be travelling with the bent that we have got but I was definitely not finished [with work] and it was the in between our travelling that had to be fixed." (Male, 67 years, retired)	*Attitude to retirement*—"So, the retirement plan was do some travel, make things in the workshop and do anything that came along. I've done some strange things." (Male, 84 years, retired)	*Connection with others outside work*—"You know, this Saturday there's a working bee and a bunch of people will turn up and there'll be a barbecue after the working bee so there's social interaction and engagement. And there are other functions happening, probably three weeks time there's a barbeque for the international students out at the Cotter. So there's a bunch of us going out ... so there's always something to get involved in." (Male, 60 years, transition)	*Connection with others outside work*—"And I felt probably for the first six months or so I missed things about work, less the content, more the people, I missed not knowing the back story when I read things in the newspaper." (Female, 62 years, retired)

Figure 37. Illustration of classification of work role identities and nonwork role identities through themes and contextualising participant quotations (Bordia, Read and Bordia, 2020, p. 450, table 1)

From this classification of work role identities and nonwork role identities Bordia, Read and Bordia create a matrix of four 'pre-retirement role identities': 'rich' – strong work related identity and well-developed nonwork related identity; 'unsustainable' – strong work related identity and underdeveloped nonwork related identity; 'sustainable' – weak work related identity with developed nonwork related identity; 'poor' – weak work related identity and underdeveloped nonwork related identity (pp. 451-454) as illustrated below (Figure 38):

Work Role identity (WRIs) Types	Non-Work Role Identity (NWRIs) Types	
	Developed	Underdeveloped
Strong	Cell 1 **RI – Rich** [Strong WRI & Developed NWRI] N = 19 Males = 11 / Females = 8	Cell 2 **RI – Unsustainable** [Strong WRI & Underdeveloped NWRI] N = 15 Males = 9 / Females = 6
Weak	Cell 3 **RI – Sustainable** [Weak WRI & Developed NWRI] N = 9 Males = 4 / Females = 5	Cell 4 **RI – Poor** [Weak WRI & Underdeveloped NWRI] N = 7 Males = 1 / Females = 6

Figure 38. Illustration of matrix of 'pre-retirement role identities' (Bordia, Read and Bordia, 2020, p. 451, fig. 1)

Bordia, Read and Bordia identify a complex picture of 'retirement transition' through this 'theoretical lens of role identity transition', finding that: a 'rich pre-retirement role identity' had 'varied and differentiated role identities that allowed relatively easy continuity into the retirement transition phase'; an 'unsustainable pre-retirement role identity' had a reliance on the work related identity, and therefore that this work related identity was 'extended' for 'as long as possible' until 'forced to acquire other roles and associated role identities'; a 'sustainable pre-retirement identity', due to a 'low attachment' to the work related identity that was 'easily divested', 'perhaps had the easiest transition' with retirees continuing 'with the variety of nonwork roles they possessed'; a 'poor pre-retirement identity' had 'the most difficult transition' due to a 'weak' work related identity' and an 'underdeveloped' nonwork identity (p. 455).

Conclusion

This chapter serves as a coda to the eleven verbatim narrative career stories. It outlines key ideas that are significant and directly relevant to this study, the participant voices it seeks to represent, and the research questions that have informed the methodological approach. The diffuse elements of the closure of teacher training colleges, sense of place, career, and professional identity are connected by the multiple perspectives enabled in the framing and organisation of the chapter, and the study as a whole, as the hybridisation of a more traditional social sciences approach, and an arts-based and documentary stance less commonly found in the social sciences.

The development of narrative analysis in this study through verbatim narrative career stories makes an important contribution to learning through a consideration of creating new knowledge through new ways of doing research. Such an approach, where 'the outcome of analysis is a story' (Barkhuizen, 2020a, p. 195), may be disconcerting for the researcher more used to asserting their authority in an account through what MacLure (2023), in her discussion of post-qualitative inquiry, describes as 'notions of the analyst, or the interpreter, or the explainer as the arbiter of meaning' (p. 215). This may also be disorientating for a reader more accustomed to conventional social science research reports where the findings of the researcher may be presented in headline statements. But the epistemological power of the approach taken in this study is in the capacity of the text to respond to changing contexts, rather than being rooted in fixed and potentially limiting authorial interpretations. The verbatim narrative career stories may be read in different ways at different times as priorities change.

As an illustrative example of how this might look, at the time of writing a debate emerged in England about the role and impact of Ofsted inspections with reports that school staff:

> are being driven out of the profession by Ofsted's punishing inspection regime, blaming a culture of fear and high stress for damaging their health and careers (Adams and Weale, 2023, para. 1)

As author behind the text it is possible for me to revisit the text as reader for a narrative perspective on this debate, perhaps returning to **Career Story Five** and the view:

> Ofsted keep changing the goalposts. I saw really, really fantastic teachers in their fifties, a lot of experience, expertise, fantastic, crumble and leave' (p. 119)

to **Career Story Three** and the reflection:

> I just thought 'I've had it up to here with Ofsted inspections'. The inspector who came in to do the school inspection, I said to him 'have you ever been a head yourself?' And he said 'oh yes, I was a head for two years but it was too much like hard work for me'. And I thought 'how dare you come into my school and tell me what should be going on when that is your attitude'. I was absolutely shocked. And I just thought 'do you know what? I've had it. I'm out. I'm going. Whatever happens now, I'm going'. (p. 100)

and **Career Story Ten** with the explanation:

> I stopped inspecting. And that was through choice. I didn't like the way Ofsted were going. It's a lousy position now. It used to be really good, working with some really good people. Ofsted had gone in a completely three-hundred-and-sixty degree direction. They'd appointed as chief HMI someone who had been involved in public service and had got no experience of schooling at all. Had never taught, never led a school. And so it was a bit like me being asked to become a chair of a national health trust. I haven't a clue. And they've moved it in such a ridiculous way. (p. 165)

In consideration of the above, and as a conclusion to the illustrative example, I might also explore further the advice for current and future teachers from **Career Story Eight**:

> And you have to be rock-solid with your beliefs in what you're there for. Because people are going to pick up small things. You have to be prepared to deal with the small things that people pick up and not fall to pieces. Stay with your rock-solid reason for being there, developing the next generation, and giving people as many chances as you possibly can, whether they're academic or not. But you've got to be clear why you're there and what you're doing. Take the advice but don't be knocked down by it. Don't allow yourself to be run roughshod either. Have a voice and say why you've done things, and that you're

learning, and that you're there to learn, and that you will take on board things. But don't be destroyed by what's happening around you. (pp. 148-149)

and **Career Story Eleven:**

But the climate now, I think, for young teachers it's very hard. It's all about being told what to do. They don't feel as if they can say no, which is hard. Because I just say, 'I'm not doing that.' And they say, 'yes, but you can' and I say, 'yes, but you can, you just have to develop it! If you're right and if it's for the children it's okay. Say no, I'm not doing it.' I think that's probably the difference. For younger teachers coming in now I would say stick up for yourself and learn to say 'actually no, I don't agree with that', or 'that doesn't suit my class', or 'that's going to make my life a little bit more difficult'. I think I would say just keep the children at the heart of everything you do. And if it's not going to benefit them, you shouldn't be doing it. For me, if it's not going to affect them, their achievement, their well-being, their safeguarding, you shouldn't be doing it, because it's just a waste of time. (p. 176)

Afterword

Picture 7. Drawing of Hockerill College (Wood, 2008, p. ii)

Framed as an exploration in narrative knowledging this study develops an innovative methodological approach that places at its heart the participant voice. Following the final reviews of the verbatim narrative career stories one participant reflected perceptively on my experience of this exploration as researcher:

> What a mountain of work!!! […] I can imagine that this has been a very special adventure for you, reconnecting with the people and the stories would make up for the laborious bits. (Participant Email)

There is no doubt that the methodological approach developed for this study – 'a very special adventure' – does make different demands on the researcher, participant or reader from conventional forms of research reporting. But a potential benefit is in its capacity to address the imbalance of power and authority found in more traditional research reports that is often in the favour of the researcher and to the disadvantage of the researched. In essence this study develops an exploration of research that is done *with* and not *to.* It does not replace standard approaches to social science research but sits alongside as an alternative but complementary

process of 'meaning making, learning, or knowledge construction' (Barkhuizen, 2011, p. 395).

Nelson (2013) argues that:

> Undertaking narrative research requires methodologies that are innovative and rigorous, but so too does communicating this sort of research, especially if the aim is to engage broad but discerning audiences across as well as beyond the academy. (p. 222)

With the research findings embodied in the form, contents and sequencing of the verbatim narrative career stories it is possible for the reader to access multiple perspectives on the participant experience dependent upon the critical questions being asked of the text. Through Barkhuizen's (2011) concept of '(co)constructing narratives' (p. 395) and Nicolazzo's (2021) ideas of 'polyvocality' (p. 515) and 'textual disruption' (p. 532) the innovative methodological approach of this study seeks to facilitate a powerful, interesting and engaging representation for a broad range of readers, both within and 'beyond the academy'.

❖

On Saturday 22nd October 2022 the Hockerill College Association (HCA), an organisation formed for Hockerill College alumni, was wound up. The HCA Chair offered the following explanation of the decision to close the association:

> The college as we knew it no longer exists, and as a consequence, any future membership stopped when the college closed. […] It is with a heavy heart that the committee has had to face the fact our membership and funds are diminishing. Rather than limp on, the committee unanimously agreed that it would be better to bring the Association to a dignified closure. (Hockerill College Association, 2022, p. 3)

This study is offered as a valedictory salute to all past staff and students of Hockerill College.

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Appendix 1

Tracklist

1   **Bee Gees**

Spirits (Having Flown)

2   **Eagles**

It's Your World Now

3   **Cat Stevens**

Lilywhite

4   **Nilsson**

Everybody's Talkin'

5   **Steve Harley and Cockney Rebel**

Make Me Smile (Come Up And See Me)

6   **Ringo Starr**

Photograph

7   **Bachman-Turner Overdrive**

You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet

8   **Franki Valli & The Four Seasons**

The Night

9   **Nick Drake**

One Of These Things First

10   **10cc**

I'm Not In Love

11   **The Wailers**

Pass It On

Spotify Playlist

A Spotify playlist of the songs in the tracklist above is available at:

https://open.spotify.com/playlist/1FJvwiYObgHz4nGQXsRybk?si=0kFu43smTPeOXG
zQKANfwg&utm_source=native-share-menu

Spotify Download

Spotify may be downloaded as a no-cost version from:

> https://www.spotify.com/uk/

> Select 'Get Spotify Free' button

Spotify Settings

In order to experience the songs from the study tracklist without interruption from other song suggestions it is advised to turn the Autoplay feature off:

> In settings go to Autoplay

> For 'Autoplay similar songs when your music ends in this app' select OFF

> For 'Autoplay similar songs when your music ends on other devices' select OFF

Lyrics for the songs may be accessed by, for desktop, clicking on the microphone icon in the bottom right hand corner of the Spotify screen, or for mobile, selecting the play bar at the bottom of the screen then scrolling up.

Appendix 2

Graham King

Associate Tutor
Postgraduate Researcher

09 May 2020

Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and Lifelong
Learning
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

Email:g.king@uea.ac.uk

An exploration of teacher identity and wellbeing through the life histories of end-of-career teachers

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT – Hockerill College of Education

(1) What is this study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about the experiences of those who were associated with Hockerill College of Education and the subsequent career histories, teaching and non-teaching, of its ex-students.

Through this study the aim of the research is to develop an understanding of what was distinctive about the contribution of Hockerill College of Education and what were the career histories and end-of-career experiences of the college's ex-students. Through these elements personal and professional identities will be explored and it is hoped to develop from this an understanding of potential markers for developing healthy career trajectories for current beginning, mid-career and future teachers.

You have been invited to participate in this study because of your association with Hockerill College of Education. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the study. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving consent to take part in this study you are telling me that you:

✓ Understand what you have read.
✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.
✓ You have received a copy of this Participant Information Statement to keep.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Graham King, Associate Tutor/Postgraduate Researcher, School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia.

The study is being supervised by: Dr John Gordon, Reader in English Education, School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia.

(3)   What will the study involve for me?

You will asked to contribute to a maximum of four interviews over the course of the study. These will usually be individual interviews but, if considered suitable and by mutual agreement, there may be an opportunity to conduct one or two interviews in a group. These interviews are likely to take place between May 2020 and August 2021.

The interviews will be conducted through email, telephone, Skype, Facetime or face-to-face (if permissible under current health guidelines). Interviews will be confidential. No information that you ask to be kept in confidence will be reported. At the end of each interview I will ask you if I have your permission to use the interview and, if so, if there is anything from the interview that needs to be excluded. In addition, if you choose to take part in a group interview there will a briefing immediately before the interview to review consent, to mutually agree guidelines for the interview (including issues of confidentiality and anonymity), to be able to raise further questions, and to give the opportunity to withdraw from the interview at this stage if required. A group interview will be moderated by me to ensure that the agreed guidelines are observed. Following a group interview there will also be an opportunity for an individual post-interview debrief to raise any concerns or issues that you have not been able to address in the group situation.

In general terms it is likely the first interview will focus on your experiences of Hockerill College of Education, the second interview your subsequent career, and the third interview your end-of-career experiences and experiences of retirement, if appropriate. I am interested in what you consider to be important and significant and will be guided by you in this. I will also ask you to select some key music and photographs that are significant for you and that we will talk about in the interviews. Lyrics from songs and, with your consent, photographs may be used for analysis, in the final presentation of the study, and in any associated publications or further research. Where photographs are used in the presentation or publication of the study others in the pictures will be anonymised, for example by blurring their image. I will also ask you if there any key documents or policies associated with your experience of the college, subsequent career, end-of-career or in retirement that you would like to talk about. There may be a fourth interview for further points and clarifications or as a follow-up to a photo-based activity at a proposed college reunion on the college site.

With your consent email interviews will be saved as text and excerpts may be used for analysis, in the final presentation of the study as a doctoral thesis, and in any associated publications or further research. With your consent telephone, Skype, Facetime or face-to-face Interviews will be audio recorded and selectively transcribed and excerpts may be used for analysis, in the final presentation of the study as a doctoral thesis, and in any associated publications or further research. With your consent extracts and quotations from documentation may be used for analysis, in the final presentation of the study as a doctoral thesis, and in any associated publications or further research.

There will be opportunities for you to review any information from documentation and interviews following their transcription. You will be able to check these for accuracy, fairness and relevance and will be able to edit or add in information if required. I will ask your permission to use any direct quotation, attributed judgements or extracts from related documents. Before

publication details will be checked with you for accuracy, fairness and relevance and you will be able to edit and add in information if required. Timelines to complete these arrangements, within the period May 2020 to July 2023, will be agreed with you.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

There will be some preparatory activities for each interview that will involve collating music, photographs, policies and documents that have been important to you. You will also be asked to draft a career timeline prior to the second interview. You will be able to decide how long you wish to spend on these preparatory activities. Individual interviews may be conducted by email and it will be up to you to decide how much time you wish to spend on these. It is expected that telephone, Skype, Facetime, face-to-face or group interviews will take no more than 60 minutes for each interview. It is anticipated that there may be a series of up to four interviews over the course of the research and it is hoped these will take place between May 2020 and August 2021. You will have the opportunity to review interview transcripts if you wish and you will be able to decide how long you wish to spend on this activity.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with the researcher or anyone else at the University of East Anglia. If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later, you are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by letting me know by email (g.king@uea.ac.uk) or by phone (07941 939060). You are free to stop an interview at any time and, unless you say that you want me to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information you have provided will not be included in the study results. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during an interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study your information will be removed from my records and will not be included in any results, up to the point I have analysed and published the results. If you take part in a group interview, you are free to stop participating at any stage or to refuse to answer any of the questions. However, it will not be possible to withdraw your individual comments from my records once the group has started, as it is a group discussion.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

Should there be any disclosure of illegal activity I would have to intervene and pass this on. Aside from giving up your time, I do not expect that there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study. There is the possibility that, through the nature and focus of the life history interviews, you may revisit or reflect on unpleasant, disturbing or traumatic experiences. You will be not be required to answer any questions or talk about areas where you feel uncomfortable or that you do not wish to cover. If I feel that there is a risk to you because of this I will take responsibility to discuss the implications of this with you before continuing with the research. If required, additional support will be available to you through Education Support (www.educationsupport.org.uk) an organisation that offers support from trained counsellors through a free helpline available to all serving and retired teachers, lecturers and staff in primary, secondary, further or higher education. Transcripts of interviews will be checked with you before they are used in the research. Drafts of pre-publication material will be checked with you before publication.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

You may enjoy being able to reflect on your association with the college and your subsequent career in a way that will be beneficial and positive to you, resulting in a recognition of your contribution to society and the communities that you served. Your participation may also support beginning, mid-career and future teachers in developing healthy career trajectories, be beneficial for future Higher Education provision in Initial Teacher Education, and help the future development and understanding of positive health and wellbeing models for schools and other educational communities.

(8) What will happen to information about me that is collected during the study?

I will collect information about your experiences of Hockerill College of Education and your subsequent career through interviews, photographs, music and documentation. My research supervisor will also have access to this information. A professional transcription service may be used to help with the transcription of audio recordings. If this is the case, to ensure data collection guidelines are followed, this will be through a transcription service company employed by the university and a Data Processing Agreement will be set up with support from the university's Information Compliance and Data Protection Officer. You will be given the opportunity to review the information before publication.

Email interviews will be saved as text. Telephone, Skype, Facetime or face-to-face interviews, with your consent, will be audio recorded and selectively transcribed. Excerpts from email text and audio transcription of interviews, extracts from documents and selected photographs will be used for analysis, in the final presentation of the study as a doctoral thesis, in any associated publications or reports, conference presentations, and further research. Personal information will kept confidentially through using pseudonyms and codes for you as a participant. The exception to this will be if there is a disclosure of illegal activity. In such a case I would have to intervene and pass this on. Electronic information will be password protected and hard copies of information stored securely. Where cloud storage is used this will be through the university's system that is password protected.

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to me collecting personal information about you for the purposes of this research study. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 2018 General Data Protection Regulation Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2019).

You will be given the opportunity to choose whether you wish to be identified by name or wish not to be identified by name in publications of the research.

If you choose to be identified:

Your information will be stored securely and your identity/information will only be disclosed with your permission, except as required by law. Study findings may be published, but you will not be identified in these publications unless you agree to this using the tick box on the consent form. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

If you choose not to be identified:

Your information will be stored securely and your identity/information will be kept strictly confidential, except as required by law. Study findings may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect your identity, there is a risk that you might be identifiable due to the

nature of the study and/or results. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

If you choose not to be identified by name I will do my best to anonymise your participation and protect your identity. Your name will be protected through such devices as the use of pseudonyms and a range of arts-based presentational techniques including fictionalised composite characters, generalised narratives, and poetic and scripted approaches. Photographs that contain your image that you provide as a stimulus for interviews will not be used in any publications of the study. I will also do my best to use the devices outlined above to ensure that information provided by participants who choose to be identified by name in publications of the research does not reveal your identity.   Although I will do my best to protect your identity through the means described, as the research is a study of specific location with publically accessible records and contextual details, it is important that you are aware that it is not possible to guarantee that your anonymity can be maintained. However, I will check, review and discuss any information about you before it is published to ensure that you are comfortable with what has been written and will discuss with you any changes that may need to be made to remedy any problems.

(9) What if I would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information I will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to discuss this information further, have any questions or if you would like to know more at any stage during the study, please feel free to phone me on 07941 939060 or email me at g.king@uea.ac.uk .

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can tell me that you wish to receive feedback by ticking the relevant box on the consent form. This feedback will be in the form of a one page summary of the general points from the findings of the research. You will receive this feedback at the end of the study which is planned to be in October 2023.

(11) What if I have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Education and Lifelong Learning Research Ethics Committee.

If there is a problem please let me know. You can contact me via the University at the following address:

Graham King

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

g.king@uea.ac.uk

07941 939060

If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor:

Dr John Gordon

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

John.Gordon@uea.ac.uk

01603 593921

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the interim Head of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Professor Nalini Boodhoo at N.Boodhoo@uea.ac.uk .

(12) OK, I want to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and return to me by email at g.king@uea.ac.uk . Please keep this information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your reference.

This information sheet is for you to keep

Appendix 3

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.

✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.

✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.

✓ I understand that I may stop an interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.

✓ I understand that I may leave a focus group at any time if I do not wish to continue. I also understand that it will not be possible to withdraw my comments once the group has started as it is a group discussion.

✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.

✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me unless I consent to being identified using the "Yes" checkbox below.

☐   Yes, I am happy to be identified. I understand that the results of this study may be published, and that I will be identified in these publications.

☐   No, I don't want to be identified. Please keep my identity anonymous. I understand that the results of this study may be published and, although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**   YES   ☐
  NO   ☐

- **Photographs** YES ☐
  NO ☐

- **Documents** YES ☐
  NO ☐

- **Reviewing transcripts** YES ☐
  NO ☐

- **Reviewing drafts of pre-publication material** YES ☐
  NO ☐

Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study? YES ☐
NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

☐ Email: _____

....
Signature

....
PRINT name

....
Date

Appendix 4

Ethical Procedures for the Conduct of Case Study Research

- The purpose of the study and the anticipated audiences for the information will be made clear at the outset.

- Permission will be sought for access to documents, files and correspondence; these will not be copied without explicit permission.

- Informed consent will be sought for each person interviewed and observed; this includes pupils in schools, even if the school decides to seek permission from parents.

- Interviews will be conducted on the principle of confidentiality.

- Use of data will be negotiated with participants on specific criteria (for example, accuracy, fairness and relevance) and within specific timelines.

- Individuals will be asked at the end of the interview for permission to use the interview and if anything needs to be excluded.

- Interviewees will have an opportunity to see how their comments or observations about them are reported in the context of the case study and to edit and add in, if necessary, criteria of accuracy, relevance, fairness.

- No data will be reported that a participant asks to be kept in confidence.

- Direct quotation and attributed judgements in reports require the explicit permission of the respondent.

(Simons, 2009, p.106, Case Study Memo 14)

Appendix 5

It was very good to talk to you today. Thank you very much for expressing an interest in participating in the Hockerill College of Education study.

I have attached a Participant Information Statement for you. I hope that this will give you all the information that you will need about participating in the study. If you have any questions or would like further clarification or information please do not hesitate to give me a ring on 07941 939060.

I have also attached two consent forms for you. If you would like to take part in the study please complete and digitally sign Participant Consent Form 1 and return this to me at g.king@uea.ac.uk with an email confirming your wish to participate. Participant Consent Form 2 is for you to keep for your records.

If having read the Participant Information Statement you do not wish to participate that is absolutely fine. Please do not feel under any obligation to take part if you feel that this study is not right for you.

Thank you very much for your help with this research.

Appendix 6

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in the Hockerill College of Education study.

I have recorded that:

- ✓ you are happy to be identified / that you wish to keep your identity anonymous
- ✓ that you have consented to audio-recording, photographs, documents, reviewing transcripts and reviewing drafts of pre-publication material
- ✓ that you would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study by post to   / by email to

Please check these details and let me know if I need to correct anything for you.

The next step will be to set up and check the link for online interviews. I would like to use Skype for this as it has seemed to work well across all platforms when I have piloted the interviews. I hope that this will be OK for you. If you do not have Skype installed you can download this for desktop or mobile from: https://www.skype.com/en/get-skype/

My Skype name is: live:moonshine.country

This should come up for you as: Graham King, Norwich, GB

With Skype installed could you add me to your contacts and let me have your Skype name, either through Skype or by email. We can then make arrangements for a test video call to check everything is going to work and to have a chat about preparation, arrangements and procedures for the first interview.

If you have any further questions please don't hesitate to get in touch. Thank you very much for your help and support.

Hockerill Study - Interview One – Hockerill Focus

<u>Key questions</u>

What was distinctive about the contribution that Hockerill made to your professional and personal life?

What did Hockerill do for you?

<u>Preparation: photographs, music and documents</u>

I would be grateful if you could choose a few key photographs and songs that are important to you in relation to your experiences at Hockerill that we might be able to talk about in the interview.

I would also be grateful, if appropriate, if you could identify some key documents that are important for you from your time at Hockerill that we might also be able to talk about.

Please email your photographs and song titles to me a few days before the interview is due to take place. Don't worry if you can't find anything!

<u>Email interview follow up</u>

If you wish to you will be able to continue the interview by email. So if you have further thoughts and ideas, or there were things that you consider important that we didn't have the chance to develop, you will be able to explore and complete them in this way.

Thank you very much for your help.

Graham

Appendix 8

Hockerill Study - Interview Two – Career Focus

<u>Key questions</u>

What has been your career history since leaving Hockerill? This is up to but not including retirement or, if you have not yet retired, what you consider to be a similar point of transition.

How would you describe the relationship between your experiences of and at Hockerill and your subsequent life and career?

<u>Preparation: photographs, music and documents</u>

It would be very helpful if you could draft a brief timeline of your career since leaving Hockerill (up to retirement or similar point of transition) with things like key dates, locations, job titles and personal milestones, if appropriate. I would be grateful if you could send this to me a day or so before the interview.

As for the first interview I would also be grateful if you could choose a few key photographs and songs that are important to you in relation to your career since leaving Hockerill that we might be able to talk about in the interview. If appropriate, if you could identify some key documents that are important to you in relation to your career that we might also be able to talk about that would be great.

Please email your photographs and song titles a day or so before the interview is due to take place. Don't worry if you can't find everything or anything!

<u>Email interview follow up</u>

If you wish to you will be able to continue the interview by email. So if you have further thoughts and ideas, or there were things that you consider important that we didn't have the chance to develop, you will be able to explore and complete them in this way.

Thank you very much for your help.

Graham

Hockerill Study - Interview Three – End-of-Career Focus

<u>Key questions</u>

What have been your end-of-career experiences? This may be from retirement or, if you have not yet formally retired, what you consider to be a similar point of transition.

Reflecting on your experiences at Hockerill, your career history and your end-of-career experiences what do you think it is to be a teacher?

What do you think that beginning, mid-career and future teachers might learn from your experiences at Hockerill, your career history and your end-of-career experiences?

<u>Preparation: photographs, music and documents</u>

As for the second interview it may be helpful to draft a brief timeline of your end-of-career experiences (since retirement or similar point of transition) with things like key dates, any continuing work or voluntary roles, and personal milestones.

As for the first two interviews I would be grateful if you could choose a few key photographs and songs that are important to you in relation to end-of-career experiences that we might be able to talk about in the interview. If appropriate, if you could identify some key documents that are important to you in relation to your end-of-career experiences that we might also be able to talk about that would be great.

Please email your photographs, song titles, documents and timeline, where appropriate, a day or so before the interview is due to take place. Don't worry if you can't find everything or anything!

<u>Email interview follow up</u>

If you wish to you will be able to continue the interview by email. So if you have further thoughts and ideas, or there were things that you consider important that we didn't have the chance to develop, you will be able to explore and complete them in this way.

Thank you very much for your help.

Graham

Appendix 10

Table of Dates for the Life History Interviews

	Life History Interview 1	Life History Interview 2	Life History Interview 3
Participant 1	1 June 2020	20 July 2020	30 November 2020
Participant 2	2 June 2020	7 September 2020	12 May 2021
Participant 3	16 June 2020	12 January 2021	22 February 2021
Participant 4	22 June 2020	12 January 2021	9 February 2021
Participant 5	11 June 2020	2 September 2020	14 December 2020
Participant 6	11 June 2020	2 September 2020	14 December 2020
Participant 7	-	5 August 2020	7 December 2020
Participant 8	5 June 2020	18 August 2020	4 January 2021
Participant 9	15 June 2020	6 November 2020	17 December 2020
Participant 10	8 June 2020	10 August 2020	11 January 2021
Participant 11	15 June 2020	6 November 2020	17 December 2020

Appendix 11

Career Story One

At the time I had an offer from Newcastle University to do a degree there, as well as Hockerill College. But it was because I particularly wanted to be a teacher that I chose Hockerill. I had my O-levels and A-levels so I had a choice of places to go to. But it was Hockerill that I chose. That was top of my list and once I was accepted I just thought 'yes great, it's what I want to do, I can become a teacher'. By then I had already decided I'd like to be a geography teacher. But I was still interested in teaching at the primary and middle school levels as well. I wasn't completely sure that I wanted primary. My main choice would have been middle school but not many places were offering middle school in those days. There were a few. I was sort of caught between the two, primary and secondary. But I have this love of geography as well which I've always had, my main subject was geography at Hockerill which was a great course, a really great course with really well qualified, proficient staff, so Hockerill suited me well. It enabled me to do the junior/secondary qualification and it enabled me to study geography at the higher level.

I think with Hockerill there was, for me, an added ingredient to do with the size of the place, that it wasn't a massive sprawling campus. It felt like a local college. It felt manageable, it wasn't daunting like the big colleges and universities are. I think even the big universities that you go to, it's when you get down to the smaller colleges within the universities, that's when you start to notice the specialness of the place. And you identify with the college you went to rather than the university as a whole. And I think there was something about Hockerill, I know we were part of the bigger Cambridge umbrella, but we were a fairly small college but big enough for all those experiences to develop your interpersonal skills and your confidence in your ability to speak, and think. There was something about the history of the place as well. When your surroundings are pleasant, and the environment is peaceful, I feel that those sorts of things are conducive to a feeling of well-being as well. You saw familiar faces, because of the size of the place, you were able to see familiar faces all the time. You had that feeling that you wouldn't get lost, that there's always someone there who knew you, who liked you, who you shared your hostel with, or shared your main subject with, or your secondary subject. You were seeing the same faces, not all the time, but on a fairly regular basis. And I think all of those things

together with the quality of the lecturing, the history of the buildings, the manageable size and the pleasant environment, it was all special.

Back then you had to have the teaching qualification to become a teacher. And I think that the teaching certificate that we achieved was a particularly good grounding in the teaching profession. Because I think the three years of focus is something that is maybe less important these days. There might be an emphasis on other aspects of education but I think the actual focus that we had, the three years with the teaching practices, the lectures, the field courses, all the other things, I felt it gave me a very solid grounding actually in the teaching profession. Because when you get the teaching certificate you're receiving an endorsement from the society, the government, the country, that you are a professional person. I feel the grounding that you got doing the three year teaching course did stand you in good stead for the future for coping with teaching in all kinds of education settings. And I had noticed in one or two schools that I'd been to that the majority of excellent teachers had all been to teacher training colleges like Hockerill. I felt that they were really good teachers. The teachers that I remember now, the teachers whose names I've got on my lips at the moment, they all went to teacher training colleges. And most of them went to places like Wall Hall, Balls Park, places like Hockerill. Having the qualification enabled me to go on and achieve higher qualifications, for instance a BA honours degree in geography. Because I was in the education environment I was able to access the leadership of extracurricular activities such as the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme in which I became a leader.

That was all prior to Section 28, of course. But at the time no one really talked about being gay except in a fairly derogatory way. Gay people were still stereotyped. They were discriminated against. You had to keep quiet because you didn't know if it could cost you your friendships, your relationships with your family, or your profession. Gay people were conflicted about where they could meet. It was mainly down to some gay pub, usually some crummy old pub in the back streets of any town. So while we were at Hockerill you had to be careful, you know, you didn't want it to be public knowledge. Even at a nice, friendly place like Hockerill. The law wasn't on your side so you felt you had to remain, well, just be quiet about it. And just talk to people who you knew you could talk to because you knew them well enough. But anybody else, no. You wouldn't discuss it with anybody else. Kept it quiet, kept it secret. I suppose they were times when it was comfortable but most of the time it wasn't. Because I'd fallen in love. And all the joy and the pleasure you get from falling in love with someone, that's the primary emotion. That's the main thing that I felt,

was the great joy. Because I never thought that I would be able to. Suddenly, when it happened, with such a wonderful person, I was over the moon about it. I met my life partner who I am still with.

My first teaching job was a secondary school, and I was a geography teacher there for six years. But at the end of it I decided I didn't want to be just a geography teacher. It wasn't enough. It was getting repetitive. Because when you had to teach, for instance, GCE, as it was in those days, O-level, there was no scope for anything other than what was on the curriculum at secondary. On the whole I felt it wasn't challenging enough. We were coming back to London. And I can't say which came first, the desire to go back to London or the desire to leave secondary teaching and go into junior teaching. So they sort of came at the same time. There were two reasons, really. But I'd always wanted to know if it would present any more challenge, or whether it would be more difficult, or if there was another aspect to the teaching career if I'd gone from secondary to junior. I think that I'd always had it in me to choose to either do one or the other, and I just found that junior provided that extra interest and stimulation. I enjoyed it more because everything was on a smaller scale. Some of the classes at secondary school were very large, and I must have taught hundreds of children every week, hundreds of different children every week. That class that I had, just seeing them, the same ones every day, it was so much better and, yes, it felt more rewarding, for me as an individual. And I was really glad that I'd made the move.

They had a unit for deaf children at the school. So for the nine years I was teaching on a regular basis, I had deaf children coming into my class for certain subjects, science, art, and PE. For three times a week I had deaf children joining the class with their teacher. And the teacher would sit in the class with the pupils and would be explaining to them through sign language what I was saying, and what else was being said in the room. I was interested in audiology, in the hearing aids they wore, the communication they used, and how they learnt. And I was interested in the structure of the language of British Sign Language. Because it uses a different structure, it doesn't follow the English word order that English does, it follows its own word order, sometimes with the verb at the beginning of the sentence, not always the standard subject verb object order that we are used to. So I just began to get interested more and more. At first I wasn't keen on doing another year of studying but then, after thinking about it for another year or so, I decided that I would like to become a teacher of the deaf.

While I was investigating moving into deaf education I joined the borough's specialist team of supply teachers. We would go in and take over from teachers who had been incapacitated for one reason or another for a few months before coming back to teach the same class. And then at the end of that I saw the job for a temporary post for a teacher. And at that stage I wasn't a teacher of the deaf. So my position was only for a term. But when I demonstrated that I already knew something about sign language and audiology, which I'd picked up from when I was teaching in the school that had the unit, the school asked me if would stay on and if I would consider doing a Teacher of the Deaf course which I would have to do if I wanted to stay on beyond the term. So I jumped at that opportunity and that's when I got the information about the course. And within the year I'd completed the application and I was given the secondment.

I was very lucky to get a secondment and it meant studying at Oxford for a year to complete the course and to gain the qualification, the first qualification, in British Sign Language Level 1, and audiology, to do with hearing aids et cetera. So after that I was then qualified to teach in a primary school, teach children at primary level. Then later on I realised I needed to get the British Sign Language, BSL Stage 2 which would then allow me to teach at a secondary school for deaf children. Because the new rule had come in that you had to have British Sign Language Stage 2. You didn't need that before but by law now it is, from then you had to have BSL Stage 2. Then while I was at a comprehensive school for deaf children I went down to part-time because I'd started doing peripatetic work. I had the qualifications to be a peripatetic teacher of the deaf from the course I'd completed, and the sign language courses that I'd completed, I was then qualified to become a peripatetic teacher of the deaf.

So at that stage I had two jobs and then eventually a greater workload came onto our books because the population had gone up. Suddenly we had extra numbers of deaf children and the head of the service then asked me if I could possibly come in and be full-time. It was a hard decision because it was a lovely school, lovely kids, great staff. I decided in the end I would, I needed to go. And so for a few years I became a peripatetic teacher of the deaf. While I was doing that, we had a student who there were serious issues around their behaviour. And it got to the stage where, whichever school they went to, they were excluded. So in the end the head of the service decided that we would have to educate the student one-to-one. The head of the service asked myself and one other teacher if we could share this student's education, profoundly deaf and no speech at all, and everything

we had to do was through sign language, British Sign Language. And it was good. So I did that for, I think, four years teaching one-to-one for half of my timetable.

Although colleagues knew that I was married, I never discussed it with any of the children, although I'm sure many of them knew. But the only one who ever asked me, point blank, was the student with the behaviour issues. They asked me about my relationship, because they were quite perceptive. And they had a great understanding. And I don't know if it's because being deaf they hadn't picked up, maybe, a lot of the negativity that can be around gay issues. But they never did have any, they never showed any kind of discrimination or prejudice or anything like that. They wanted to know and they wanted to know how you could love someone of the same sex. And they wanted to know about getting married and things like that. And at that time there was no way of getting married, in those days. So, yes, they asked a lot of questions and they were great. They had a pretty tough life, and they'd had a hard time, had lots of issues. But they were the only one who ever asked me about my relationship.

When the student left us to go to college, I went back to peripatetic teaching for a hundred per cent of my timetable. And I just, you know, going from school to school to school, rushing from school, carrying all your files. The appeal waned. I mean I didn't mind doing it but I just felt that I needed to do something a bit different as well. I think having had the student to teach, and be responsible for their education, and doing the peripatetic teaching, that was quite a nice balance, actually. Because the madness of peripatetic teaching was balanced by the relative calmness of, except on off days, the one-to-one. So that was a nice balance. And when I went back to full-time peripatetic teaching I just thought 'oh God, I just need to do something else'.

 And I'd thought of, perhaps, taking a job at one of the units for deaf children. Because we had units as well - there were three units, a preschool, a primary, and a secondary. And I'd thought about maybe joining one of those, as becoming a permanent member of staff in a unit. But at that time the head of the service job came up and I was interviewed for the post, head of the whole service, peripatetic, and head of the deaf service which included the peripatetic team. Filled out the application form, went through the interview process, and I was appointed. But I'm glad I did, although the first year was really hectic getting my head round everything, and starting to manage staff, and doing their Professional Development Reviews, and things like that. And then attending out of borough annual reviews. And I went back to attend annual reviews of past pupils that I'd had. So, yes, it was

really nice to be able to have the opportunity. But if the job of head of service hadn't come up I would probably have gone into one of the units in the borough.

I stayed there until I retired. I was sixty. I'd always decided I would go at sixty because I had worked non-stop. I'd always felt that I wanted time for the rest of my life. And there were two very, very good people who were junior to me and I thought it was the right thing. I also felt that having done forty years, just about forty years, that I'd done my allotted time. As the first year went on I was approached for advice on a few occasions, write references, the sort of thing you'd expect. I did do some voluntary work with a trust for deaf children, and I was asked if I would like to go back on a part-time basis. I thought I'm slowly being pulled back into a career structure and I thought no, I don't want to do that because I have other things that I was desperate to get on with. And one of the main things was starting with Airbnb as a sort of new business adventure. But that's what I was keen to get started on. So I decided no more in education, I'm having a complete change, and I started doing the Airbnb business. I did that business continually until the coronavirus epidemic and the lockdown came, that's when I stopped doing it. I was winding down by then anyway but I had stopped it.

I've really loved it actually. Yes. It's been great. Well, I'm lucky that I've been healthy. But health enables you to enjoy your retirement. I've found it very enjoyable because I'm able to enjoy it because of my health. Also, I think your pension does give you that piece of mind. Just having that pension just gives you that cushion that you feel you can afford it and of course we don't have children and grandchildren to lavish vast amounts of money on, so we spend it all ourselves. And travel as well. Having the pension is a big help. One of the other great things has been the opportunity to travel and we've travelled a lot. Several times a year prior to lockdown. Now that we're both retired, we wanted to make more use, spend more time in our retirement property. And that's what we've done, we've spent more time there since we've retired. Having a wonderful partner makes all the difference. And my life just would not be as enjoyable as it is. He is just the most wonderful partner. That's the main thing about, well, not just retirement, but more or less the whole of my adult life.

I think with me I didn't really know which aspect of education I wanted to follow. I did jump a bit from junior, secondary. I thought I'd had six or seven years in secondary, I moved to junior, and I thought 'oh great, this is it'. But it wasn't until I came into contact with the

deaf unit at the mainstream junior school that something within me like an awakening, that deaf education, language, communication, audiology, it all came together. One of the things when I think about places that train teachers, whether it's college, university or whatever, is that they don't necessarily offer you those choices. Because I'd never thought about deaf education while I was at Hockerill, I don't think anybody ever mentioned it. Unless you went to a school for teaching practice where there might have been deaf children, then you wouldn't come across it. And I didn't go to any schools in Harlow or Stevenage that had deaf children. So that's one thing that maybe I might have got into deaf education sooner if I'd had some experience of it while I was teacher training. Deaf education, I think, was my sort of forte in the educational world. I really found what I really was interested in. I thought it was junior school teaching, and maybe I would have happily stayed in that. But I got greater fulfilment through entering the world of deaf education. So I'd say to young people maybe it won't hurt to spend the first few years experimenting. If they find secondary teaching, or junior teaching, or nursery teaching, and they click with it straightaway, great. But if they're not sure whether that's right for them, instead of leaving the profession altogether, find, try different aspects, whether it's mainstream education, or special education. Because with special education I don't just mean deaf education, I mean all the range of areas where support is needed, all the special needs that children have. There's a choice there. And I think we lose a lot of young people in the first five years. It is a very high percentage. And I think some of those may have just tried the one school, hated it, or not felt right in it, and then left teaching. And maybe in a lot of cases it's our loss. So, speaking personally, I'd recommend trying other aspects of education.