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**TEACHING TO TIME:
SUPPLY TEACHERS' LIVES
AND WORK**

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CONTENTS

		Page
Abstract		i
Preface and Acknowledgements		iii
Declaration		vi
List of Figures and Tables		vii
List of Acronyms		viii
Chapter 1	Making temporal connections.	1
Chapter 2	Moving targets: methodological issues in researching supply teachers.	33
Chapter 3	Focusing the language: a shifting interface for LEAs, schools, and supply teachers.	65
Chapter 4	Temps in the primary school.	93
Chapter 5	Supply teachers and the substitute curriculum.	127
Chapter 6	Personal and professional worlds. The social construction of supply teachers' times.	162
Chapter 7	On the receiving end: pupils' accounts.	205
Chapter 8	Prospects for change.	228
Appendix 1	Interview Schedules	
a)	Interview with head/Supply co-ordinator	254
b)	Interview with classteacher	257
c)	Interview with supply teacher	259
d)	Post-diary interview with supply teacher	262
e)	Interview with pupils (in pairs)	264
Appendix 2	Diaries	
a)	Diary schedule	265
b)	Accompanying notes to diarist	267
Appendix 3	A Methodological Note: tracing and tracking supply teachers	268
Bibliography		274

Abstract

The central focus of the thesis is a sociological exploration of the lives and work of supply teachers who fill the temporal gaps whenever regular teachers are absent from school. Time permeates the thesis at three levels of analysis: the substantive, the theoretical, and the methodological. The interpretative, and to a lesser extent, the critical and normative traditions in sociology are applied to time in education. Time is used both as a parameter to explore links between educational structures and action as they relate to supply teachers and teaching, and to locate supply teachers' lives and work *in* time. The study is based upon qualitative research conducted in schools and domestic settings.

Chapter 1 highlights the temporal strands which help to construct the chapters and underpin the thesis. In chapter 2 methodological issues are considered, in particular the embedding of diaries within the research process. Chapter 3 explores understandings about supply teachers and teaching in the wider context of educational change, and at the interface of local, institutional, and individual experience. Chapter 4 examines relationships between supply work, temporal commitment, and identities. In chapter 5, supply work is considered in relation to the substitute curriculum.

Temporal connections in lives which move rapidly between private and public spheres are prioritised in chapter 6. The contribution of pupils to understandings about supply work is the theme pursued in chapter 7. The sociological and educational dimensions of the research are assessed in chapter 8. These have overlapping as well distinctive implications for sociologists with interests in time, school organizations, teaching, and in gendered occupations, and for

educationalists with interests in the management of school systems, professional development and training, and importantly, for supply teachers themselves. Appendix 1 and 2 comprise interview and diary schedules, and Appendix 3 is a methodological note on the tracing and tracking of supply teachers.

Preface and Acknowledgements

An interest in time has emerged from personal experience. Juggling adulthood, womanhood, and parenthood, alongside roles as spouse, domestic carer, student, researcher, lecturer, and employee have been exhilarating features of life over the past twenty years.

Drawn towards the educational experiences of women returners during my part-time employment as lecturer in the 1980s, I became increasingly aware of mutually implicating life experiences for students and for returners like me. At the point in time when a reassessment of my professional identity was taking place, I was encouraged by my then M.Ed supervisor Tom Schuller to consider time as a focus for study: as intellectual horizon, as a dimension of experience, as constraint, and as a resource. Leccardi and Rampazi (1993), albeit in other contexts, summarise succinctly the focus of my interest then and subsequently:

Time represents a horizon on the routes of individuals seeking to identify possible and desirable life choices... Secondly, time represents the dimensions of experience within which reflections on continuity and change takes place... Time [also] represents both a constraint and a resource of daily life. It is the strongest constraint that individuals perceive in modern societies with their accelerated rhythms of daily life and their need for synchronisation (Luhmann, 1975) of the various behavioural areas... Time thus comes to be identified in individual awareness with the meanings of the actions it delimits and structures. (p.359)

During the late 1980s, research evaluations of school-focused in-service education and training (Morrison, 1989a; Morrison, 1990; and Burgess, Connor, Galloway, Morrison, and Newton, 1993) sustained an interest in the temporal aspects of

teaching. As importantly they revealed a group of professionals - supply teachers - who, whilst underpinning a system of training for permanent colleagues, appeared to be marginalised and lacking in status. An important dimension of their experience was the rapid negotiation of time spent in paid employment. Such teachers became the focal point of this thesis which, informed by the above, draws upon data collected and developed by the author during a research project on supply teaching in English schools, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and reported by Galloway and Morrison at the Centre for Educational Development, Appraisal and Research (CEDAR) at the University of Warwick in 1993.

Acknowledgements are many. First to Tom Schuller who awakened an interest in temporality at a time when I was challenged daily by its overlapping implications, and to my supervisor Professor Bob Burgess for his advice and support through various stages of drafting. My thanks to the Leverhulme Trust. Thanks also to the participants in the research who, whilst remaining anonymous, made the work possible. Thanks to Sylvia Moore for her enthusiasm in typing the script. My love and thanks to Iain, Amy and Andrew who shared the burden in private times. My thanks to Sheila Galloway with whom I have shared many conversations about teaching, and with her, co-edited one of the first agenda-setting publications on supply teaching.

The struggles and satisfactions which have underpinned the juggling of time to produce this thesis constitutes another turning point in restructuring my biography. Linked to womanhood, it exemplifies just one among many features of professional women's biographies played out as jigsaws and in mutually implicating relations.

Finally, acknowledging Oakley's (1981) comments, my personal involvement has been 'more than just dangerous bias'. It has been the essential condition under which I have come to learn more about multiple experiences whilst engaged reciprocally in relations with others. Any errors or omissions remain my own.

Marlene Morrison
September 1995

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Marlene Morrison
September 1995

Declaration

Some of my material on diaries in chapter 2 has been included in:

Morrison, M. and Galloway, S, 'Using diaries to explore supply teachers' lives' in S. Lyons and J. Busfield (eds) *Methodological Imaginations*, Macmillan in association with the British Sociological Association, forthcoming.

Material included in chapter 3 appears in:

Morrison, M. (1994) 'The Language of Supply: A Shifting Interface for LEAs, Schools and Supply Teachers' in S. Galloway and M. Morrison (eds) *The Supply Story. Professional Substitutes in Education*, Lewes, the Falmer Press, pp.137-56.

Material included in chapter 4 appears in:

Morrison, M. (1994) 'Temps in the Classroom: A Case of Hidden Identities?' in S. Galloway and M. Morrison (eds) *The Supply Story. Professional Substitutes in Education*, Lewes, the Falmer Press, pp.43-65.

Material included in chapter 5 appears in:

Morrison, M. (1993) *Running for Cover: Substitute Teaching and the Secondary Curriculum*, *Curriculum*, 14, 2, pp.125-39.

Some of my material included in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 appears in:

Galloway, S. and Morrison, M. (1993) '*Supply Teaching in English Schools: an investigation of policy, processes and people*', a Report to the Leverhulme Trust.

List of figures and tables

<i>Figures</i>		Page
i	Routes through the literature	8
ii	An analytical framework for teacher substitution	13
iii	Diary extract (2.1)	45
iv	Diary extract (6.2)	45
v	Diary extract (3.1)	46
vi	Diary extract (4.2)	46
vii	Diary extract (5.1)	50
viii	A supply teacher's day (6.4)	56-57
ix	A supply teacher's day (3.3)	58-59
x	A supply teacher's afternoon	174
xi	A supply teacher's day (6.5)	175-176
xii	A supply teacher's day (2.5)	184-185
xiii	A morning's routine	190
xiv	A supply teacher's day (1.5)	194-195
xv	Supply Teachers: models of diversity and fragmentation	201
xvi	Tracing and tracking supply teachers	271
 <i>Tables</i>		
1	Sally's school base schedule (June 1992)	172

List of Acronyms

CEDAR	Centre for Educational Development, Appraisal and Research.
DES	Department of Education and Science.
DfE	Department for Education
ERA	Education Reform Act 1988.
FTE	Full Time Equivalent.
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education.
GEST	Grants for Educational Support and Training.
GRIST	Grant Related In-Service Training
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate.
IAC	Interim Advisory Committee.
INSET	In-Service Training.
LEA	Local Education Authority.
LEATGS	Local Education Authority Training Grants Scheme
LMS	Local Management of Schools.
OTAL	Opportunities to Teach and Learn.
SATs	Standard Assessment Tasks.

Chapter 1

Making temporal connections

Rationale

This thesis originates from a belief in the need to make visible the lives and work of supply teachers who make important yet discontinuous and irregular contributions to teaching and to school life. Personal involvement in discontinuous work over the past two decades has accentuated my conviction that it is a worthwhile exercise. With few exceptions, sociological studies of teaching and of occupations have ignored teacher substitutes, more usually known as supply teachers, to concentrate upon permanent teachers' lives and work (Ball and Goodson, 1985; Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985; Nias, 1989). Furthermore, where sociologists have focused upon the classroom and the curriculum, studies have, for the most part, excluded studies of substitute teaching and the substitute curriculum. Central to this thesis is a focus upon time as a means to develop a sociology of supply teachers and teaching. The study is based upon qualitative research conducted in educational and domestic settings. As a driving force, time guides the thesis at three levels of analysis: at the level of substantive research, of methodological interest, and of theoretical concern.

Substantively, the empirical research seeks evidence to explore paradox: namely the centrality and marginality of supply teachers to the maintenance of school systems and to processes of teaching and learning, in which they remain largely invisible. In particular, the thesis addresses the relationship between supply teachers' activities in schools and their subjective experiences of economic and

non-economic activities. Methodological interest focuses on research processes used at the micro-level to access experiences, meanings, and relationships which are often necessarily fleeting and transient. Research strategies are used which tap into lives alternating between public and private spheres and times, set against temporal backcloths of structural changes at local and institutional levels.

Recent developments in time and social theory provide conceptual tools for studying the multiplicity of times, as yet an undeveloped area in the sociology of education. Through the work of Adam (1992; 1995) this is becoming more explicit at the theoretical level but needs also to be operationalised in educational settings. Recognising 'the complexity of mutually implicating and interpenetrating times' (Adam, 1992, p.163), accounts are focused mainly at the levels of individual and institutional experience. Here, the emphasis is upon actors, meanings, subjectivities and interactions in order to stress the relational aspects of supply teaching seen as professional educational activity, as economic reward and as casual work. As such it offers a further contribution to understandings about teacher identities and the interface of private and professional worlds which require rapid temporal and spatial negotiation.

'The multiplicity of times are expressed in our social structures, in our knowledge, in our physical, living and created world' (Adam, 1992, p.18). In traditional analysis, she argues, these are kept separate. A specific focus on time, however, 'pushes us relentlessly' towards social relations, and in supply teaching, towards links with gender and professionalism, 'without losing sight of externally imposed structures' (p.33). Underpinning my theoretical concerns is the question of

whether supply teaching represents a solution to, or remains part of the problem of gendered temporal experience that requires women to 'unify' the 'conflicting temporalities' (Gurvitch, 1963) of economic and non-economic activities.

In this opening chapter, an introduction to these temporal connections is given as they are reflected in the study of supply teachers' lives and work. Connections highlight the conceptual, methodological, and substantive strands which help to construct the chapters, and which underpin the organisation of the thesis as a whole.

Career times and the discipline of work

Time pervades every aspect of schooling. What Adam (1992) describes as 'the regular, collective beat' (p.19) of educational experience pulsates through its daily, weekly, termly, and annual preoccupations to include the career spans of adults and children who work, study, and pass time in school. For teachers, as for most professionals, the length, progression, and co-existence of occupational career times with other aspects of lives, are subject to a complex blend of opportunity and constraint. Here, as elsewhere, the workplace exercises most discipline, and school provides the training ground for the acceptance of such a discipline. Applying an essentially male breadwinner model, Hassard (1988), for example, distinguishes the importance, particularly in developed societies, of a socially sanctioned career time chart upon which timetables and schedules for living are appropriated and status afforded to those who acquire expertise in certain fields, and then pursue careers which might be judged according to the timing of accomplishments within specific areas.

For teachers, school constitutes a training ground, a workplace, and an arena for career progression. Whilst the identification of problems in teachers' careers is not new (Grace, 1972), during the 1980s teachers' careers were thought to be at a crisis point indicative of 'a disjuncture between past and present career perceptions' (Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985 p.3). This was linked to long standing concerns about the absence of appropriate career structures, and more immediate concerns about the intensification of workloads and the effects of economic recession. Experiencing crises of motivation (Cole, 1984) and identity (Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985), teachers were at the same time impelled to participate in in-service training of an accelerating, condensed, and regulated kind (Burgess, Connor, Galloway, Morrison, and Newton, 1993). Increasingly, specified time for curriculum and professional development was conflated with the standardisation of a national curriculum and managerialist approaches to managing schools. For permanent teachers, time for teaching was partially displaced by time in training beyond the classroom.

Temporal gaps

Despite the centrality of timetabling to the daily routines of schooling, and the predominance given to a model of teaching predicated on regular teacher/pupil contact, relatively little attention was given to supply teachers who filled the temporal gaps in school schedules whenever regular teachers were absent. As important, the temporary, discontinuous, and irregular contributions of substitute teachers as casual workers sat uncomfortably alongside Hassard's (1988) model of socially sanctioned career times. Studies of teachers' lives and careers (Ball and

Goodson, 1985; Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985) and of how teachers develop professionally (Calderhead, 1988) tended to concentrate on those in permanent rather than temporary positions. In effect, the continuing dissonance between linear careers and the reality experienced by professionals who might also be charged with other responsibilities, like caring, was frequently ignored. Yet by the late 1980s projects on teachers' in-service training and school development planning (Morrison, 1990; Galloway and Morrison, 1993 and 1994) drew my attention to the ways in which the supply 'situation' was central to the daily operationalisation of what counts as schooling. By 1989, the relative paucity in research was not matched by lack of interest, particularly among school managers faced with mismatches between daily timetables and staff absence. Those who taught 'to time', that is, supplied a fixed number of class contact hours, were included in a range of anecdotes and opinions among managers, staff, and pupils. As will be argued in chapter 3, such discourses affected, and were reflected in the ways in which supply teachers and teaching were used in schools.

The relative neglect of supply teachers has been all the more surprising when considered in relation to the time-ridden characteristics of schools. As in other people-intensive organisations, the scheduling, synchronisation, and allocation of human resources is critical to the daily conduct of schooling. Timetables are underpinned by value and communication systems which support common expectations that, for example, teacher *w* will be with pupils *x* at time *y* for purpose *z*. Here, teacher absence for whatever length or purpose, disturbs the temporal equilibrium which lies at the heart of 'efficient' organisations (Hassard, 1988; Knight, 1989). As long as classroom control and pupil learning by regular teachers

is seen as integral to school experience, teacher substitution becomes part of the immediate solution to the problematic absence of the timetabled teacher. Substitute teachers are used for a variety of reasons. Depending on the situation, the practice of substituting one teacher for another is perceived differently. Secondary school pupils may change teachers six or seven times a day; teacher departures for promotion, redeployment, or retirement, are seen as accepted, even welcomed features of school life. Temporary substitution, however, generates a mix of caution, regret, and sometimes alarm among educational practitioners, and where visible, among parents. Not surprisingly, negative views are more likely when the absence of the regular teacher is unanticipated or long term. Here, disruption to timetables is seen as educationally (and administratively) problematic. Education's version of the emergency teacher trouble-shooter, highly valued in some work areas (the emergency plumber, the locum doctor) offers skills which are at once ubiquitous and scarce, professional but 'different', and linked to perceptions about commitment, professionalism, and expectations at local and institutional levels. Whilst the 'emergency' doctor and plumber might intervene in life and property threatening situations, it appears that the school 'emergencies' of absence are seen only as educationally threatening when they are made visible, or are long term.

Definition, marginality and professionalism

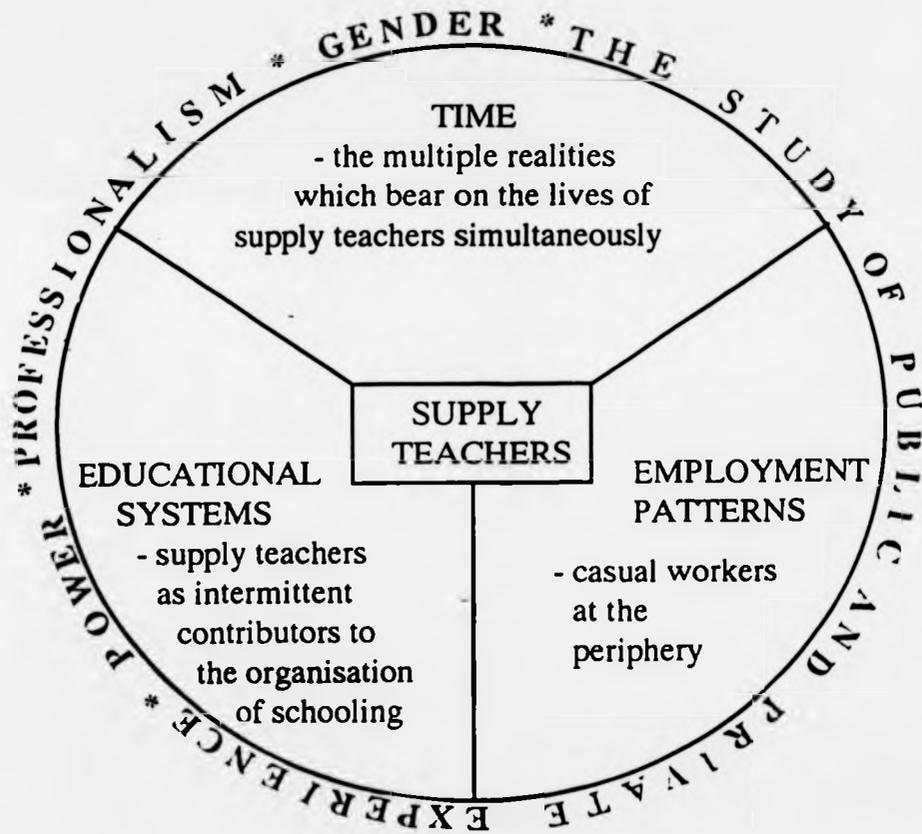
My definition of supply teaching is any occasion when a regular teacher cannot teach a scheduled class, and another teacher is called upon to teach or supervise pupils (see also Galloway and Morrison, 1993). Although this might include internal or external supply cover, the focus of this thesis remains both with

workers who teach on a discontinuous basis and/or are employed specifically as supply teachers, however different their terms and conditions might be. Whilst working on the margins purports to offer some supply teachers (in particular those who work discontinuously) the flexibility to manage private and professional times, paradoxically it also provides employment situations which diverge, sometimes widely, from those for which such teachers were originally trained. Working with varied groups of pupils and staff, supply work is frequently done at short notice. Moreover, when teachers depart the ranks of full-time teachers, the question arises as to whether the right to call oneself a professional (or a 'real' teacher) is still appropriate (see chapters 5 and 7, for examples). As Hughes (1963) points out:

the characteristics and collective claims of a profession are dependent on a close solidarity...constituting in some measure a group with an ethos of its own...A man (sic) who leaves a profession...is something of a renegade...It takes a rite of passage to get him in; another to read him out (p.250).

Discontinuous workers, then, may live in a professional limbo. There are additional pressures in making virtually instantaneous modifications to planned schedules and routines. Paradox persists at policy levels. Whilst peripheral to mainstream provision, supply teachers have underpinned the implementation of training and professional development for permanent teachers as well as providing solutions to the problem of teacher absence. Yet the status given to the work remains incommensurate with its importance at institutional levels where it is sometimes unrecognised as a routine feature of organisational life.

Figure i ROUTES THROUGH THE LITERATURE



Research on supply teaching

Previous research on supply teaching has tended to highlight problematic aspects of teacher absence and substitution rather than supply teaching or supply teachers' lives (see chapter 3). Where explorations have taken place, the latter has remained largely beyond the remit for investigation (made clear in Galloway and Morrison (1993), for example). Figure i highlights routes through the literature search for this thesis. With few exceptions, the focus for earlier writing has been upon the management of educational systems. Galloway and Morrison (1994) have summarised the literature to date and, in particular, noted both the relegation of supply issues to the management of teacher absence and, where attention was given, the priority shown to problematising substitutes and substitution. Here we learn that Earley (1986) was among the first to identify basic concerns about supply cover, while Mullett's (1989) survey for one local education authority (LEA) gave useful data on supply issues. Earley (1986) identified four main categories of supply teacher: married women, many of whom wanted to re-enter teaching after a career break; retired teachers prepared to help out now and then provided it did not adversely affect their pension rights; unemployed teachers for whom supply teaching was a useful way of by-passing ring-fence policies and gaining full-time employment; and those for whom supply teaching fitted with their lifestyle. In contrast, Loveys (1988) provided a detailed and first-hand account of experience as a supply teacher. Connor's (1993) investigation assessed the impact of cover related to INSET in four secondary schools, using information from substitution sheets alongside interview data with school managers. From a long-term study of teacher identities, Nias (1989) briefly explored material on temporary, part-time and supply teachers.

A research project on classroom management issues was the impetus for Trotter and Wragg's study (1990) of supply teaching. Interviews with twenty supply teachers centred on how they saw their work, and first encounters with unfamiliar classes. This study stressed the importance of careful preparation, and the management of teacher entry into the classroom. Shilling (1990, 1991a and 1991b) explored the issues of supply teachers' motivation and domestic contexts, identified earlier by Earley (1986). His review of the literature set out the role of the supply teacher in the late 1980s, and assessed features of their work. In Shilling 1990 and 1991a agency nursing was compared with supply teaching: a comparative case study of cover arrangements in one LEA and one District Health Authority permitted the analysis of issues like domestic contexts, its effect on continued work, and the structural features of the support systems for both organisations. Moving away from supply teachers, Brown and Earley (1990) returned to the management of cover situations, again in the context of increased levels of INSET. Their analysis of findings for the then Department of Education and Science (DES) aimed to highlight ways of minimising cover, and was focused at LEA rather than at school, classroom, or individual levels.

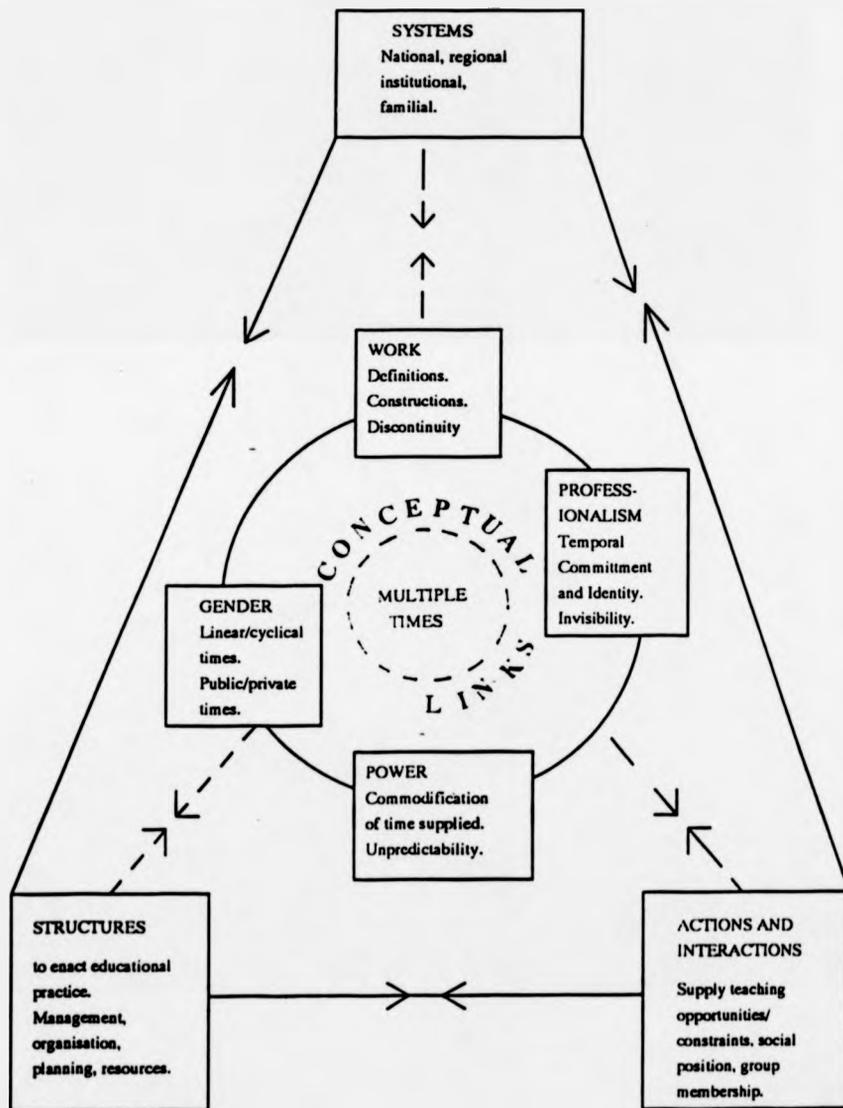
Towards conceptual frames

Most of the earlier literature reflects a minority and partial interest in supply teaching, to the extent that Galloway (1993a) records the non-referencing of supply teacher issues as a general feature of the literature, whether nationally, locally, or institutionally focused. Previous work had begun to make visible issues of teacher substitution which had hitherto been assumed or ignored. Yet with a

continued focus upon the management of teacher absence, the literature is less helpful in exploring conceptual themes for researching individual experience (but for an introduction see Galloway and Morrison, 1994). In this thesis, time in education is used as a perspective to draw closer to dual interests in supply teachers' invisibility and marginality, and to the structures and interactions which help to construct their lives and work. The mutual implications of structure and action are not new to the sociology of education (Shilling, 1992). At the macro-level, sociological theories have the potential to explore national policies on teaching and supply teaching as they are then conveyed, filtered, and mediated as school and work practices (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1992). A management systems approach can also help in documenting how school managers operationalise supply cover arrangements (Hufferdine, 1992). However, it is also evident that restricting analysis to a systems approach would be inadequate for studying those who operate mainly outside school systems. Following Adam (1992, p.33), my study exploits the potential for time to extend established concerns in the sociology of education to supply teachers and teaching. Temporal considerations promote the exploration of the private and public worlds of supply teachers and the extent to which such worlds overlap. Time provides a focus for making visible the lives of those whose work is dominated by the necessity to supply 'time', in fleeting, temporary, and emergency contexts. Figure ii outlines some of the themes and connections that can be made. Times are seen in relation to continuity, predictability and regularity, and as linear, cyclical, and multiple. With time, other concepts vie for attention: gender; work, employment, and non-economic activity; identities; power; professionalism; and commitment. Each are interlinked, and

relate as much to interactions between individuals and groups as they do to systems and structures.

Figure ii AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHER SUBSTITUTION



Beyond time management

Explanations as to how and why adults, mainly women, commit themselves to these kinds of experiences, and its relationship to other aspects of institutional and personal lives, link time and gender issues. As importantly, they extend beyond applied time management models of recent interest (Knight, 1989, and in contributions reviewed by Provonost, 1989). With increasingly interventionist policies of the 1980s, 'management goals' became central to the 'ideological strands ... at work upon and within education' (Walker and Barton, 1989, p.1). Among the theoretical limitations inherent in seeing time only in terms of industrial-style management philosophy is the tendency to assume that the 'problem' of supply is one of time-related individual deficiency rather than aspects of social processes within and beyond schools. As Burgess (1992) notes in relation to 'teacher time', strategies to combat the ineffective management of personal time become part of 'the cure for teacher ailments and problems' (p.13). The cause and the cure, therefore, rest with individuals. As she points out, this tends to preclude a view of practitioners (whether permanent or temporary) as the intended or unintended victims of complex demands, processes, and relationships. Not only does this sidestep the issue of making teachers' lives visible, but it also retains an instrumental view of temporary teachers as outsiders to be manipulated for particular ends. Casey (1991) notes a similar tendency when she reflects on the 'silencing' of professionals who leave teaching (p.188).

Time, work, and social theories.

Social scientists have continued to grapple with time as an aspect of what Archer (1982) described as the problem of linking human agency and social structure

(Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1987; Adam, 1989, 1990; Young and Schuller, 1988; Provonost, 1989). For Giddens, seeing how activities are distributed in time and space is fundamental to understanding human relations, as well as the basic aspects of social life in general. In Giddens' (1979; 1984) theory of structuration, social structures are not viewed as external to social actors but are themselves the rules and resources which are produced and reproduced in their practices. In relation to time there is a strong notion here of 'repetition' and 'the idea of something being formed by that which is itself forming' (Adam, 1990, p.85) - the duality of structure and action. Archer's (1982) critique of Giddens finds something missing from his analysis. She suggests that Giddens evokes two images: *first* of recurring, routine action, and *second* of major change, and admonishes Giddens for failing to reconcile or distinguish between the two. Archer favours 'the morphogenetic approach' of general systems theory. Major change is identified by Archer with metamorphosis 'when agency rides on the coat-tails of [structure] to produce fundamental change' (Archer, 1982, p.459). More recently, Adam (1990) contends that Archer's alternative approach offers no solution to the shortcomings of Giddens' work. The systems theory she presents, argues Adam, is 'an affirmation of dualistic thinking resolved by dialectics ... what Archer presents as a virtue, Giddens presents as a problem'. For Adam, however, 'transformation and repetition are not separable, they implicate each other' (p.86).

Some of the work of these writers on time mirrors and extends explorations by classical theorists. Together 'they have provided starting points for more appropriate approaches ... to the interpretation of times in education' (Adam, 1995, p.63), which in this thesis, are integral to the study of supply teachers' lives and

work. But, according to Adam (1990), the fundamental flaw of recent writers is not only to have separated understandings about biological and social times but to have misinterpreted the relationship. Whilst post-Newton shifts in understanding have occurred in the natural sciences which illustrate 'that all of nature is emerging as fundamentally dynamic' (p.89), social scientists, she argues, have been left with a dilemma, 'stuck' with the abstractions and dualisms of 'timeless' statements about human relations. A problem in viewing biological time as 'the other', namely that which social time is not, is, in her view, 'based on a faulty understanding of natural time' which is also 'antithetical in understanding continuities and relations' between both (ibid p.90).

Adam's (1992) starting point that 'there is no time, only a multiplicity of times' (p.18), provided an introduction to understanding my own as well as other trajectories of discontinuous work. Intuitively, past personal experiences as part-time and temporary lecturer, researcher, wife, and mother, made it imperative that I acknowledge a multiplicity of times. Unless my temporal route to adult-, woman- and parenthood had been atypical, I suspected that those who also made discontinuous and irregular contributions to teaching would, in similar ways, need to adjust and create temporal patterns between different facets of their lives. Time budget studies (reviewed in Provonost, 1989), and previous research into part-time employment and part-time education by women (Morrison, 1989b and 1992), reveal partially and empirically what we accept implicitly, namely, that not everyone has the same control over day-to-day times (Provonost, 1989, p.87). Different rhythms are observed among individuals and between groups and

communities. Linked to educational experiences, Adam (1992) pursues this further:

Time is not only integral to the objects of observation but is implicated when we write educational histories, chart developments over time, plot individual space-time trajectories... teaching and learning, and when we use time as a measure...whether we are interested in patterns of change, processes of interaction and their collective outcomes, or structural relations of power. It is implicated whether we focus on the micro or macro, public or private...In traditional analyses these aspects of social life are kept separate. An explicit focus on time, in contrast, forces us to accept that the measure, the resource, and the commodity, the time clocks and the calendars, of pattern and change, of order and control...are not phenomena we can choose from on an either/or basis. (pp.18-19)

In such ways timing has implicit and explicit dimensions. For supply teachers, 'bells, timetables, schedules and calendars' (Adam, 1992, p.21) necessitate a rapid negotiation, familiarisation, and management of classroom settings, frequently in the absence of prior knowledge about the school or students, and in the role of 'outsider' or 'stranger'. Implicit norms are also critical, although, as Adam points out, these are frequently assumed. Here, the need is to highlight the synchronisation and switching of time worlds which occurs when teachers are required to suspend immediate or prior concerns and come together for timetabled slots of 'knowledge absorption' (ibid, p.22)! An example from my fieldwork highlights the issue of synchronisation, and the fusing of personal with work or study times. Here, a fieldnote records that:

Susan Jay has accepted a morning's supply work. On the way to school she drops a fractious daughter to a child minder, negotiates heavy traffic, and arrives to conduct a GCSE examination. Pupil

Louise has had an early morning row with mum, is reflecting on a recent weak performance in an oral exam, wonders if she will be accepted at a further education college. A few minutes before the lesson, Janet learns she is going to have a cover teacher. She's "really pissed off" [she tells me at an interview later]. Enter supply teacher.

When recognised by social scientists, these kinds of time-weaving processes can be explored with the actors involved. Strategies for coping and surviving such encounters are among the critical features of research accounts in later chapters. To facilitate an understanding of supply teachers' lives and work, we are able to draw upon the normative, critical, and interpretative approaches to sociological and educational research which, in turn, 'have their counterparts in the time theories of Marx, Mead, and Schutz as well as their contemporary exponents' (Adam, 1992, pp 24-25). Some features of these triple links are now introduced.

Normative approaches

As Adam (1992) reminds her readers, an emphasis upon order and synchronisation, timetables and schedules, time management and time budgeting (featured also in the work of Moore, 1963 and Zerubavel, 1981) correspond to liberal and normative approaches in educational research. In this functionalist emphasis on temporal order, the concept of time:

tends to be used pretheoretically within the dominant, largely quantitative tradition of social science and be premised on assumptions of an external, objectively observable reality uncontaminated by temporality and unaffected by processes of observation. (Adam, 1995, p.74)

As the resumé of the literature on supply teaching suggests, much of the early work on teacher absence comes under this heading (for example, Brown and Earley, 1990; Connor, 1993). Given the overriding emphasis upon the management of teacher training and of teacher absence, the dominance of technicist concerns about the operationalisation of schooling is not surprising. The positive contribution of such approaches, however, has been to make visible what had previously formed part of the taken-for-granted backdrop to the sociology of teaching, namely the many daily acts of teacher substitution. As expressions of concern, such studies are revealed most clearly as management issues, but are also evident in the daily and weekly schedules of supply teachers (as illustrated in chapter 6, for example). For the former, the focus is on finding a temporal equilibrium for organisational experience, and for the latter a balancing and juggling of work and non-work spheres.

Critical approaches

What remain invisible in normative approaches, namely questions about power, is made explicit in the critical approach with its Marxian emphasis upon the commodification of time. In their development of Marxist approaches, Giddens (1981) and Nowotny (1985) argue that time as labour has become exchangeable with other times and is used as a medium for exchange. Here, time supplied by the teacher substitute is a medium which translates labour into its monetary value. In supply teaching, the temporary and transient nature of clock time supplied emphasises the instrumental nature of that exchange. This has several implications. For temporary as well as permanent teachers, clocks and bells make explicit the boundaries between contact and non-contact time with pupils in classrooms,

though not between the simultaneity and overlapping of private activities in public time. This is not to argue that teaching time can be equated only with contact time (or private activities with non-employment times). Among permanent teachers, work done beyond school remains part of the temporal iceberg whose invisible dimensions have only recently been fully revealed (Campbell et al, 1991). However, because 'teaching to time' is often equated with teaching as time supplied, supply teaching has largely been excluded from this analysis. Its quantification means that cover time can be allocated, budgeted, managed, competed for, and controlled. As a commodity, it is interwoven with relations of power. In such contexts, supply teachers tend to remain peripheral to the operation of school practices. Paradoxically, terms like invisibility and marginality are reflected in a lack of power in individual settings set alongside powerfulness when, as a group, they are unavailable for work, or in short supply.

Control over the time of others as an expression of power also permeates the interrelations of the commodity exchange. For pupils and teachers, 'getting to know who waits for whom, who controls and structures the time of others and is subjected to such time control' (Adam, 1992, p.24) are important features of educational experience. Explored in my fieldwork are various ways in which children and adults 'valued' supply time. How was supply teaching understood? What value or worth was it given by school managers, by teachers, by pupils, and by supply teachers themselves?

Interpretative approaches

In the critical tradition, time is still primarily conceptualised as 'a parameter in which life is enacted' rather than in terms of 'context, biography and life plan' which locate individuals 'in time' (Adam, 1995, p.75). The connection between what supply teachers 'do' and what they and others consider them to 'be' is critically focused in the interpretative tradition. Here, the study of supply teachers' lives and work is approached through research into its social construction. The latter moves analysis beyond monetary values, and includes assessments about 'real' teachers, 'proper' professionals, and appropriate forms of teacher and pupil work over specific time spans. In the social theories of Schutz and Luckmann (1973) and Mead (1932), there is a critical emphasis upon time *per se*. Schutz and Luckmann focus upon ontological concerns whilst Mead concentrates on issues of epistemology. Mead explores temporality in terms of ways of knowing the world; he draws specifically on the status of 'reality' and the construction of the past, present, and future. For Schutz and Luckmann, time is central to *how* we know what we know and includes theoretical explorations of human 'reflection', multiple time worlds, and life schedules. In 'The Structures of the Life World', Schutz and Luckmann (1973) focus on time in relation to the multiple times of that life world. Applied to supply teachers, multiple times are implicated in efforts to merge rapidly negotiated times with the multiple times of pupils, other teachers, and schools, and with their families. Schutz and Luckmann's emphasis on the multiple interpretations of temporal experiences are also useful reminders that class times are never monolithic. However clear the notes left by the absent teacher, however regular the conditions in the classroom, last week's lesson on 'healthy diets' can never be the same as the one taken this week in the regular teacher's absence.

These interests in time are shared and extended by Mead (1932). For the latter:

The past 'in itself' is not a past at all; only its relation to the present is the ground for its pastness...the real past just like the real present is unobtainable for us. Only through the mind is the past open to us in the present. (Adam, 1992, p.30)

Implications for the study of supply teaching have methodological, substantive, and theoretical aspects. First, descriptions and interpretations of supply teaching are primarily accessed through the subjective accounts of the actors involved, including the researcher's, which is, in turn, an interpretation of accounts. Second, the multiple realities of supply teachers' lives and work need to extend beyond the workplace focus and beyond the clock time units of teacher time supplied to the public/private interface of teachers' lives. From such perspectives, previous concerns of permanent teachers who become supply teachers (and vice versa) can be understood within the context of a continuously recreated and re-assessed past expressed from the standpoint of the emerging present. 'Old' concerns about teaching can be reformulated in the light of 'new' experience. Third, approaches need to take account of the historical settings in which actions are located. As is shown in this thesis, accounts of supply teaching experiences, whether by observation, through diaries, or by interviews, vary in shorter and longer term perspectives. As importantly, Mead's work directs attention towards assessments of 'historically sedimented knowledge' and 'its permeation of current perceptions and actions' (Adam, 1992, p.28). These provide important starting points for chapter 3, where the discourses of supply teaching are located within the dynamics of wider educational change, and the overriding language of permanent rather than temporary or discontinuous stakeholders in education. Above all, Mead reminds us that there is more than one conceptualisation of time. Clock time is one such

conceptualisation; it is a characteristic of Western cultural identity, and one which is learned at school.

Adam's (1992) work stops short of making post-modern connections, either in relation to post-modernism as a social condition or as a new body of theory to supercede those already discussed. Whether or not we are moving into a post-modern era, it is evident that we are experiencing a period of major social and technological change which, among other things, has important implications for the understanding of work and non-work, employment and unemployment. The scenario of post-industrial society is one in which the production and work times previously interlocked by mechanisation begin to separate. Such flexibility is the vision of a post-modern society (Bauman, 1988) in which 'new technologies can also create a scissors-effect between work time...and the provision of services' (Paolucci, 1994, p.6). Randall (1993) also hints at a post-modern focus for the sociology of time in which the 'separating' and 'emptying' of time and space, identified by Giddens (1990) as aspects of modernity, are being gradually displaced by post-modern reductions in the social and technological distancing between time and space, as increasing numbers of professionals work and communicate from 'home'. 'To use the same place for both work and home crosses all kinds of physical and ideological boundaries involving time and space, and people who work from home find themselves having to renegotiate legitimacy' (Randall, 1993, p.19). All teachers cross boundaries when they move between home and work. What is distinctive about supply teaching work is first, the speed of temporal and spatial negotiations between home and work; second, the changing relationship between employment and non-employment times; third, variations in work

locations; and fourth, the centrality of home and/or other work rather than schools as the locus of work activity. In transgressing professional teaching norms which include continuous work trajectories and relatively stable working environments, supply teachers also need to renegotiate legitimacy on a continuing basis.

Gendered times

So far in this chapter, explicit concerns about gender are absent from discussion about the theoretical frameworks of time. The majority of supply teachers are women¹. In a volume devoted to *The Sociology of Time* (Provonost, 1989), cursory attention is given to time and women (pp.69-71). A statement that "women's time" is determined by their roles and the power they hold" is tantalising, if mostly bereft of explanation other than briefly linked to domestic divisions of labour. In education, the liberalism which framed social policy in the post-war period has also remained:

firmly committed to the division between private and public spheres... Ironically it was precisely the...expansion of education which "hurtled a generation (of women) beyond the confines of their mothers' world into a male sphere of public affairs and work",

¹ In the Local Education Authority (Centrelink) where I conducted my research, the ratio of female supply teachers to male supply teachers was 4:1. Nationally, there is a paucity of accurate statistical data on the total number of supply teachers employed and of the gender breakdown. The Department for Education and Employment does not record gender differences. The latest figures for England and Wales (at August 1995) are based upon figures collected during 1993 (DfE, 1994). These give a breakdown of supply teachers (male and female) as follows: regular full-time teachers (3,900); regular part-time teachers (1,100); and 'occasional' teachers (12,700). This, of course, excludes part-time teachers who might also do occasional supply work and teachers who are not registered as available for supply work. As with supply teachers, the DES abandoned differentiating between part-time male and female teachers in 1975 (Evetts, 1990, p.32). Meanwhile, references to supply teachers (for example Nias, 1989 and Loveys 1988) refer to supply teaching as a predominantly female activity.

only to result in their discovering that no provision had been made to care for their children. (Arnot, 1992, p.44)

Adam's interest in 'the multiplicity of times' (1990) provides a focus for exploring such concerns about private and public spheres. My interest in the multiple and intersecting activities of marginalised actors in educational settings includes, but is not totally absorbed by gender issues. Adam's organising construct is considered even more compelling against a changing educational and political backdrop where inequalities in power and status render some accounts more visible than others. Following Mead (1959 edn) and Elias (1992), her approach to time includes:

A comprehensive understanding of time [that] is not possible from a position where nature and society are kept separate. Not humans and nature but human society as nature is the basis to understand the multiplicity of times. (Adam, 1990, p.153)

Noting historical tendencies for social science to turn to philosophy to understand principles of time, her theoretical journeys are through the natural sciences. A central aim is to extricate social science from its dualist conceptions of natural and social time. Her routes through developments in understandings about natural time from Newton through Einstein to the present day lie beyond the primary focus of this study. Destinations, however, release temporal understandings from a view of time as mechanistic and subject to invariable laws, to times which are multiple, and implicated in nature and society. All times are not 'social times':

The complexity of social time cannot be understood by focusing on aspects in isolation if that focus excludes an awareness of the bearing of diurnal, seasonal, menstrual, and metabolic cycles; the variety of time structurings...the relationship we have to all those time aspects of existence. (Adam, 1990, p153)

Such relationships provide a basis from which to understand my own gendered experience and to explore that of others. Such an approach, it is argued, can be 'profoundly innovatory ...At stake is the need to break down rigid dichotomies, such as productive versus reproductive time or instrumental versus expressive time, upon which the temporal edifice of industrial society rests' (Leccardi and Rampazi, 1993, p.354). Breaking down dichotomies makes it possible to explore the overlapping and mutually dependent facets of supply teachers' lives within and beyond schools.

Complexity and simultaneity of times are critical aspects of gendered and personal experience. For domestic and personal reasons I used to work part-time. Such reality placed me in specific temporal relations with my family, students, and colleagues. This offers a partial explanation of life experiences then and subsequently. In time, various facets of linear and cyclical life patterns assumed and assume greater and lesser significance. In experiencing guilt at sending an almost well child to school, and through the occasional collision between part-time employment and debilitating pre-menstrual migraines, for example, I became aware of the multiple, linear, cyclical, biological and social criss-crossing of time lines.

Such approaches

entail that the personal be acknowledged not only as valid but as essential. It implies that interconnections, relations, and transactions - all those temporal aspects of social life are important. It also means that we must take account of the physical, biological, psychological, technical, and historical aspects whenever we are focusing on a particular aspect of social life. (Adam, 1989, p.462)

Such issues provided key reference points for researching professionals who, through choice or necessity, move through different temporal and spatial spheres. Parallel themes of gendered times have been pursued by others (Davies, 1990; Hantrais, 1993; Leccardi and Rampazi, 1993). And, whilst the gendering of the labour force has been of sociological interest for at least twenty years (for example, Crompton et al, 1990), work on gendered time is more recent and relates to the way time is socially structured for women and for men. Davies (1990) focuses on the mismatch between cyclical and linear times and career trajectories for women, and the historical construction of clock time by men. Such concerns contradict a tendency, for example, to view all teachers' lives as evolving in a 'set of relatively ordered [and age linked] sequences of events' characterised by 'distinct and unifying qualities' (Levinson et al, 1978, p.49).

Others, like Fildes (1989) and Ramazanoglu (1991), reflect upon the interconnectedness of public and private spheres. For women in particular, they point to structural contradictions which remain irresolvable in the absence of major socio-economic transformations in the domestic and employment arenas, and in the provision of child care. Not only is time itself a resource to which men, women, and children have differential access, the important question of whether women's leisure time exists is also raised (Deem, 1986). More recently, research by Hantrais (1993) leads her to conclude that professional women need to act like 'surrogate men' if they wish to obtain similar objectives. She also makes connections with time. Her research suggests that professional women

are obliged to operate simultaneously in two time frames, taking account of the linear pattern which is still characteristic of the male

career in professions, whilst managing the multiple interacting and interdependent temporal structures resulting from the addition of professional, family, and personal activities which are tightly enmeshed in one another. (Hantrais, 1993, p.155)

For Paolucci (1994) the mechanisms characteristic of the post-modern organisation of time have much in common with the traditional 'task-orientated' domestic times of women:

From this standpoint the work done by women within the domestic sphere represents the most meaningful example of the dialectic set up in post-industrial societies between the experience of time as measured by the clock and the sense of time derived from task orientation. (p.14)

Yet being in the middle of these multiple interpretations of time is potentially 'a source of disorientation and exhaustion, as well as of wealth, for the female psyche' (Paolucci, 1994, p.14). Whether supply teaching constitutes a solution, or remains part of the time frame problem for teachers is central to my research, as is the issue of whether supply teaching provides an 'alternative' teaching career. Such themes underpin the research outcomes to be explored in the chapters which follow.

Organisation of the thesis

In the following chapters, 'multiple times' are explored in a variety of contexts and settings. Placing time into the central conceptual frame has methodological implications. These are examined in chapter 2, which also reviews research processes. It was very important to make the methods explicit, especially in situations where relationships among participants, and between participants and researcher, were fleeting, transitory and/or opportunistic, and where supply teaching had been largely excluded as a topic for investigation. Temporal issues

are also considered as aspects of logistical solutions to problems of observation at multiple sites for relatively short periods. As importantly, a focus upon time as a methodological device gave access to public and private worlds. In this respect, diaries were particularly important, and this chapter considers the strengths and weaknesses of diary use.

Making visible the lives and work of supply teachers also necessitated making explicit the many implicit aspects of time in education, reflected in this study through the ways in which 'historically sedimented knowledge' (Adam, 1992, p.28) coloured the perceptions and understandings about the phenomena under discussion. Research took place during a period of changing relations between LEAs, schools, and supply teachers. Chapter 3 explores the language used to frame supply teachers and supply teaching, set against a temporal span of wider educational change and concerns about availability and quality. Questioning past assumptions, in particular those reflected in the literature on supply teaching, and in response to requests for information, the likely effects of retaining stereotypical assumptions upon current and future prospects for supply teachers (and teachers in general) are considered.

In chapter 4 frameworks for analysis move towards the ways in which supply teachers and teaching were being defined and interpreted at the level of primary school practice. In recent years, sociologists have focused increasingly on teaching as work, and upon the relationship between teacher identity and commitment. For those in discontinuous employment, the terms were problematised, with permanent teachers 'positioning' themselves at a distance from teachers who had fixed or

limited locational and temporal 'commitment'. Here, the interpretative traditions of Mead are used to explore identities in relation to the continual development of the self. In posing questions about the relationship between temporally constrained teaching, commitment, and identities, basic issues about the nature and context of permanent as well as temporary teacher identities are made visible, and with them common and distinct features of both kinds of teaching.

Links between what supply teachers 'are' and what supply teachers 'do' are explored further in chapter 5, where the construction of supply teachers' work is investigated in relation to interconnections between supply teaching, the curriculum, and the organisational dynamics of a large secondary school. In the latter, first steps were being taken to recognise substitute teaching as a curriculum, staff, and school development issue. Aspects of this recognition, illustrative of the normative, critical, and interpretative approaches introduced earlier, are recorded and discussed. When linked to a range of beliefs and activities surrounding teacher substitution, conclusions point to the relevance and immediacy of developing further understandings about the temporal opportunities and constraints of teaching and learning which supply work exemplifies, but are found in all forms of teacher work in mass schooling systems.

Temporal connections in lives which move rapidly between public and private spheres, and between different public spheres, is the central focus of chapter 6, which uses data from diaries and interviews to explore the motivation of individuals who did supply work. A synthesis of multiple experiences and times makes visible aspects of lives and work that drew on flexibility and internal

resources, frequently in the absence of colleagues with whom identities might be nurtured, and experiences shared. Various interpretations of the advantages and disadvantages of supply teaching are seen in terms of connections between the personal, social, educational, and work 'co-ordinates' (Woods, 1990a) of supply teachers' lives. Overall, the findings presented in this chapter confirm that the social and sociological meanings of supply work vary in accordance with the sociographic backgrounds of supply teachers, and the meanings applied by them. Gendered experience, moreover, is not uniform, and temporal relations between employment, locations, marriage, parenthood, interests and beliefs are shown to be complex, ongoing, and dialectical. Aspects of that complexity are sketched out as supply teacher models which take account of diversity and fragmentation (Figure xv, p.201).

In chapter 7, the role of pupils in constructing and interpreting supply teaching experience is the theme pursued. Much of the negotiation involved in developing relationships between pupils and teachers occurs over extended time spans. Not so for supply work, where there has also been a scarcity of data on pupils' accounts of substitution. This chapter draws on fieldwork in two secondary schools to ask: in what ways were supply teachers, and the work of teachers and pupils being defined by pupils, and to what extent did distinctive pupil and teacher responses evolve in relation to teacher absence and substitution? Pupils' accounts illustrate that supply teaching has a number of features in common with teacher and pupil strategies described previously as 'occupational therapy' (Woods, 1984). Here, both pupils and teachers passed time in order to be seen not to waste it. Distinctive features of shifting and transient teacher-pupil relations, however, also

distinguishes supply work from other kinds of teaching for 'survival'. Findings from this chapter reinforce those of earlier chapters, namely the need to take more account of well-considered strategies for teaching and learning in temporally constrained situations, and give less attention to equating busyness with pupil work. In the short term, human costs are borne by supply teachers as they derive some of the meanings of supply work from their daily interactions with pupils; in the longer term, the costs of ignoring distinctive patterns of teacher-pupil relations are borne by pupils.

In the final chapter, retrospective and prospective approaches are taken to explore implications arising from the research as a whole. Sociological and educational dimensions are outlined: for sociologists with interests in time, school organisations, teaching, and gendered occupations, and for educationalists primarily concerned with the management of school systems, professional development and training, and most importantly, for supply teachers themselves. In such ways, the rechecking and development of relations between theory, consciousness, and experience make supply teachers and teaching visible. Visibility offers at least prospects for the recognition and continuing analysis of the lives of workers at education's periphery.

If the voices heard in this thesis suggest that the work of those who make daily contributions to schooling are worthy of further investigation, the methodological challenges of the task need to be clarified. These form the basis of the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Moving Targets: methodological issues in researching supply teachers

Time... is not only integral to the objects of observation but is implicated when we write educational histories, chart developments over time, plot individual space-time trajectories... when we use time as a measure... whether we are interested in patterns of change, processes of interaction, or structural relations of power. (Adam, 1992, pp. 18-19)

Researchers with temporal interests in education face a number of challenges. Making strange the familiar temporal routines of educational practice is among the most significant. Some features, like school timetables, are so taken-for-granted that they become almost invisible. When awareness is aroused, this is frequently linked to the daily operationalisation of the school curriculum, in particular the management of classes when teachers are absent. As teachers gather around the 'cover' noticeboard in the staffroom each morning, one group of educational actors - supply teachers - are usually absent. Whilst essential to the continuity of schooling, they operate mainly outside the micro-system which is the school. Moreover, this separation of internal and external influences upon schooling also finds parallels in the more general and historic aspects of the English education system. It includes the lack of support from educational policy makers to connections between 'public and private spheres' and 'between family and employment' (Arnot, 1992, p.45). According to Pascall (1986), this confirms an ambiguity at 'the heart of girls' education' (p.103). Such ambiguities are also

reflected in the lives of women teachers. Whilst feminist research has provided ethnographic studies of working class and black girls' responses to schooling (Anyon, 1983; Griffin, 1985), far less attention has been given to the lower stuated, discontinuous professional positions in school currently occupied by supply teachers, who are mainly women. As with pupils, patterns of gender differentiation and hierarchy might also be interpreted as another aspect of the continuing reproduction of gendered power relations in the family and educational settings. If the debate about teacher professionalism no longer excludes the politics of gender (Apple, 1983; Arnot, 1992), it has for the most part excluded supply teachers.

An initial task, then, was to develop an appropriate methodology for exploring discontinuous work experience and interconnections between work and domestic settings. An ethnographic approach was selected to explore through 'thick description', the multiplicity of times and daily experiences which comprised supply teachers' lives and work. The task was two-fold. Of specific interest was the need to understand better the experiences of teachers, substitute teachers, and pupils when a regular teacher was unable to take a class and children were taught and supervised by another adult. With the introduction of the National Curriculum and developments in the local management of schools, the entry and utilisation of substitute teachers has been increasingly critical, yet detailed exploration of what occurred within classrooms remained mostly unresearched. But the ethnographic approach was also used to take me beyond school-based teaching times in order to explore the weaving of casual employment with domestic or other times, in order to focus a 'life'.

The methodological approach taken shares with other ethnographic approaches the following features: an exploration of behaviour in everyday settings; the gathering of data from a range of sources; a focus upon a small number of settings; and a concern with the meaning and interpretation of human action explored through verbal description, explanation, and observation. This drew upon semi- and unstructured interviews, diaries, and documentary evidence. The approach taken also allowed me to extend discussion on a range of methodological issues, including the use of diaries. In this chapter, the emphases upon self-consciousness and reflection that were encouraged among participants are applied to my assessment of the methodological stance taken. In particular, I examine the contribution of supply teacher diaries set alongside other methods for exploring the multiple worlds and times of supply teachers. This begins with an overview of the research process into which diary use was embedded.

The research process

Central to the thesis is the exploration of supply teachers' 'multiple times'; these were explored in a variety of contexts and settings. This had methodological implications, although its starting points, in the literature, were traditional enough. Routes through the literature, introduced in chapter 1, and shown as Figure i, provided outlines of national and local perspectives on supply teaching from available research, from HMI Reports, and from professional associations. For local education authority perspectives on supply teachers and teaching, the thesis draws on contacts made by the author with English LEAs during 1991-1992 for outlines of policies on supply teaching (Galloway and Morrison, 1993). Thirty-

three responses, and subsequent meetings with LEA representatives, gave me a basis for analysing LEA strategies on supply provision. As importantly, responses illustrated a range of discourses about supply teachers and teaching, and provided opening frameworks for exploring the relative invisibility of those who 'teach to time'. These are considered in detail in the next chapter.

Access was agreed in order to work in an authority I call Centrelink LEA, chosen against criteria which included socio-economic and geographical features as well as written policies for the engagement and deployment of supply teachers. The metropolitan authority offered inner city, multi-ethnic, urban/suburban situations, and, at the commencement of the research, primary and secondary supply teams. In recent years, Centrelink had experienced changes in its commercial and industrial infrastructure, and this was reflected partly in urban redevelopment programmes, a shift in population, and falling school rolls. In 1991-1992 primary schools without delegated budgets, for example, had been expected to participate in a supply team scheme. During that period, of the twenty-seven schools with the choice to opt out of the scheme, nine chose to do so. Together with a centrally maintained casual supply register, supply teams serviced the needs of an LEA with ninety-eight primary schools and twenty-one secondary schools.

Traditionally the LEA had fostered close links with schools. Programmes of in-service training and professional development took place at an education centre, where the primary supply team was also based. Throughout the investigation, financial, political, and educational changes posed significant challenges. With policy and practice at the LEA/school interface in transition, the future of the

supply teams was part of that uncertainty. During 1992, the secondary supply team was disbanded.

Detailed work took place in four schools which also provided gateways to initial meetings with supply teachers, and to shadowing teachers in two additional schools. Selection criteria for schools included size and location, aiming not at a representative group, but rather schools that would not be atypical of their Authority. Two primary and two secondary school case studies provided important contexts for exploring supply work and tracing supply teachers. Interviews were tape-recorded with headteachers, supply coordinators, class and subject teachers of varying seniority, and, critically, with supply teachers themselves (interview agenda are shown in Appendix 1). School documents were analysed, in particular substitution sheets. Mechanisms associated with supply were observed, as were classes taken by regular as well as supply teachers. (The latter were usually externally supplied staff, but occasionally colleagues of the absent teacher, to reflect parallel use of internal cover). Pupil interviews in pairs took place in two secondary schools; pupil data thus obtained provided a framework for assessing pupil perspectives on supply teachers and teaching. These are explored more fully in chapter 7. A methodological note (Appendix 3) also details the mechanics of tracing and tracking the supply teachers.

The major methodological challenge remained to study supply teachers in ways which included, yet moved beyond experience within schools. In total, twenty supply teachers were interviewed. These included those met in the schools, at LEA training events, and as full and part-time members of the Centrelink supply

teams. Many more supply teachers were encountered only briefly. Pseudonyms are used throughout.

Investigating lives

What is the value in exploring supply teachers' lives? Chapter 1 provides a rationale for the focus on supply teachers' 'multiple times'. Moreover, background to the research hints at its immediacy and relevance at a time when technicist models of teachers' work were coming to predominate. Goodson (1991) offers a supporting rationale when he comments:

In an era of new reforms and attempts to restructure schools... studies of teachers' lives re-assert the importance of the teacher; of knowing... listening... and speaking with the teacher. (p.234)

Much of the literature about teachers draws on research in which sustained relationships are developed between the researched, usually permanent teachers, and the researcher (as, for example, in life history approaches), or from detailed ethnographic studies grounded in a thorough understanding of one institution with which researchers have become familiar over lengthy periods of time. The latter is a key feature of studies by Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Ball (1981) and Burgess (1983). Here, the reader comes to 'know' teachers and institutions in which personal and professional beliefs are expounded, and practice described and analysed (Galloway, 1992). In contrast, relatively little is known about supply teachers or teaching. What is 'known' tends to be perceived as problematic rather than cause for pedagogic or professional celebration. Until recently, understandings remained largely unsupported by qualitative or quantitative

methods which, in both cases require modification if they are to be successfully applied to research targets who move between schools, and into, and out of differently organised employment situations.

A rationale for diaries

In the context of both teachers and schools, supply work is both 'ordinary (occurring frequently if irregularly) and extra-ordinary (in that they sometimes bring into schools teachers who are total strangers to the pupils for whom they are fleetingly responsible)' (Galloway, 1992, p.9). Together with other ethnographic data, the use of supply teacher diaries provided opportunities to confront four major research challenges: first, the need to explore relationships between teacher substitutes, regular teachers, and pupils, which were often fleeting and transitory; second, to make connections between public and private aspects of teachers' lives which showed wide temporal and spatial variation; third, to capitalise on encounters between the researcher and researched, which were sometimes necessarily brief and opportunistic; and fourth, to resolve the logistical problems of research observation at multiple sites over relatively short and unpredictable time spans. In each of the challenges temporal concerns were critical and, of substantive, methodological, and ethical interest.

In very different contexts Davis (1965) notes that 'most service relationships... between professional[s] and... client[s]... are characterised by certain constraints on too crass a rendering of the service' (p.336). 'Constraints' like reputations, status, and practitioner skills, tend to ensure that interactions between actors will 'exceed mere economic transactions' (Davis, 1965, p.336). In more binding

relationships, the modicum of visible stability, continuity, and homogeneity, helps to prevent relationships becoming 'reputationless, anonymous, and narrowly calculative' (pp.346-47). In Davis's (1965) study, 'fleeting relationship' is the term applied to the transactions and inter-relations between cab-drivers and their passengers or 'fares'. Research on supply teachers in Centrelink LEA was characterised by two kinds of 'fleeting relationships': between researched and researcher, and between the researched and other institutional actors. In combination with other methods, diary accounts provided routes through the methodological and conceptual challenges of researching areas of invisibility and anonymity. The diary's potential, therefore, was both as an approximation to observation 'for those situations where the problem of direct observation resists solution, or where further or more extended observation strains available resources' (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1977, p.481), and as an antidote on too 'crass' a rendering of the researched-researcher relationship.

Diaries were also selected for their potential to research professionals whose lives included a complex and often rapid negotiation of time spent in public and private arenas. To different degrees, most sociological studies of work concentrate on social relations in the workplace. Indeed, the institutional focus of the thesis pays heed to pleas that sociologists 'should pay attention to analyses of educational organisations as workplaces' (Tipton, 1988, p.4). Yet, a key feature of supply work is movement in and out of the workplace and many workplaces over different time spans. The diary accounts, were, therefore, part of a holistic approach to tap into activities which might be variously described as work or employment, unpaid work, non-work or unemployment. In supply teaching, such

concerns are made more complex by gender issues. Supply work has been viewed stereotypically as women's work. Beechey (1983) is among writers to have expressed unease about assertions of a distinctive women's experience of work which, it is argued, leads to a tendency to see men's working consciousness as dominated by the workplace and women's consciousness by the home. A key feature of the research was its attempt to penetrate the interconnectedness of both male and female supply teachers' lives within and beyond schools. To that end, diary accounts were adopted as important tools.

A focus on classroom practice adds a further dimension to assumptions about the workplace as 'public'. Teaching has been regarded as a private activity. Frequently, access into classrooms develops slowly and in accord with notions of rapport and trust between teachers and researchers. Reference has already been made to challenges in tracking and tracing moving targets. Respecting ethical as well as temporal limitations, it was anticipated that diary accounts would provide illuminating self-report snapshots of work in classrooms.

Diaries as research tools

During the first year of the research, data was collected from a variety of sources, as outlined. During the second year, teacher diaries and post diary interviews (Appendix 1 and 2) were used to explore what was becoming progressively but only partially visible to me. Diaries enabled experience to be tracked in detail. They exemplify a range of different situations pertaining to individuals doing supply work, extending the range of what a single researcher could hope to observe, given the practical constraints affecting the fieldwork. Based on a 'what-

when-where-how' formula (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1977, p.486), it was expected that diaries would provide evidence to support that being collected in other ways, and at other sites. However, unlike interviewing, where self-report sometimes occurs after a lengthy time span, it was anticipated that daily accounts would add an immediate and alternative temporal dimension to accounts of experience. These are examined in detail in chapter 6.

In contrast to other formats (Bradley and Eggleston, 1976; Campbell et al, 1991), the stress was on qualitative diary features. The use of a time grid, therefore, was to direct writers' attention to the day's events and not for the purpose of statistical analysis. Research interest also focused on the ways in which diarists sifted the most demanding features of daily activities from those considered more trivial. The critical incident (Oxtoby, 1979) approach (what was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today?) provided a framework for follow-up discussion which was not restricted to work activities. Diary instructions were relatively open-ended (Appendix 2(b)) and in line with interview schedules used elsewhere in the field work. In the recording of activities, it was anticipated that diary accounts would deal with description rather than emotion. In the event, diarists did, in fact, use them as expressive instruments, and, as the following sections indicate, this extended research opportunities and challenges.

The time-consuming aspects of the method are, perhaps, more obvious than for other research approaches. Preliminary consultation aimed to minimise the prospect of reluctant diarists and useless information. This was complicated when research encounters were brief and occurred in schools where supply teachers' time

was mainly class contact time. As Burgess (1994) notes, diaries are useful as preliminaries to in-depth interviewing. Whilst the method was less intensive and time-consuming than life or career history approaches (Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985; Evetts, 1990; Woods, 1990a), there were some similarities, especially where 'the observational log' (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1977, p.481) was used by diarists to move beyond a description of the day's events. Of equal concern was the time span into which diaries were to be scheduled. Unlike regular teaching experience, it was rarely possible to schedule precisely times or days when supply teaching would take place. Instead, an overall time frame was set; diarists were invited to complete five day schedules in which at least two days would be spent in schools. This provided a methodological compromise between the immediacy of work situations and research schedules.

Diary accounts: tales out of school

Research paths are strewn with good intentions that end as time-sapping cul-de-sacs. Diary methods are especially vulnerable to diversionary pressures and unanticipated commitments (Morrison, 1989b). At a deeper level they share with other qualitative methods the opportunities and constraints of self-report. Diary writing is sometimes perceived as an intimate, personal act; in reality, research processes which include diaries are essentially social. Despite the absence of researchers as observers, and unlike most secondary documents analysed by them, diaries are solicited evidence, accounts for readers other than the diarists. Implications are two-fold. First, accounts can be written in ways which allow diarists to manipulate and control the image of self, either through a rationalisation of activities or a selectivity of data recorded leading, on occasion, to even-handed

descriptions of events. A case of the researched emulating actions for which researchers are frequently criticised! Second, the researcher becomes part of the act and context of diary writing. If, as Measor and Sikes suggest (1991, p.212), there is 'a scaffolding of artifice and contrivance behind sociological accounts', part of that construction includes actors' as well as researchers' written accounts. The following sections, therefore, focus on the various elements of that construction and consider its implications for data analysis. This begins with the process of writing.

What to write

Instructions to accompany diary schedules aimed to provide a basis for identifying themes across activities. However, multiple interpretations of an 'observational log' (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1977, p.481), in terms of 'thickness' of description, made analysis complex. In combination with the other methods followed, including post-diary interview opportunities for clarification and expansion, these accounts alerted me to recurrent themes and emergent features at the public/private interface. Brief extracts (figures iii and iv) from two diarists highlight the issue:

Figure iii Diary extract (2.1)

TIME Hrs	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7 - -	Getting ready for work	
8 - - 8.30		

Figure iv Diary extract (6.2)

TIME Hrs	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7 - -	Day 2 of Rosemary Conley's Inch Loss Exercise plan today. Shower, Breakfast outside.	
8 - - 8.30	Water tomatoes. Set off for school. Think it will be a reception class. Not absolutely sure.	School about 22 miles away so a much earlier start. Have covered at this school fairly recently.

In both examples, the diarists' statements are vehicles for further explorations. The second set of comments (figure iv) offers insights into aspects of preparing for 'a supply day' as well as an initial frame for focusing 'a life'. In the absence of a follow-up interview, the first set of comments (figure iii) had little or no value for the researcher; for the diarist, however, it may have provided a mechanism for alerting the reader to areas about which she would be unlikely to obtain access.

The depth and breadth of diary accounts also linked to other interpretations of diary use by diarists; these included their value as reflective description or as expressive instruments. In the following extracts, the descriptive styles for

recording activities between 9.00 hours and 11.00 hours (figures v and vi) show marked differences. In the first example the diarist works only in one school; in the second, the diarist works in a variety of primary schools.

Figure v Diary extract (3.1)

TIME Hrs	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
9.00 - -	Go to DI's office for cover slips. PE: all day. PE: Yr 9 mixed group - volley ball.	
10.00 - -	Teaching game situation. Break. Yr 8 PE mixed group for dance. Boys in particular needed a lot of guidance.	Collected valuables. Locked them away.
11.00 - -		

Figure vi Diary extract (4.2)

TIME Hrs	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
9.00 - -	Fewer than 1/3 of children on time. Whole school assembly, infants and juniors taken by a classteacher who is a fundamental Christian. School 2/3's Asian. Back on simple, algebra exercise. Had considerable difficulty with boy (D) who I'd been fore-warned was 'dangerous'.	
10.00 - -	He had spent most of Friday trying to wind me up and succeeded today. Different background, truculent unmanageable personality. Doesn't work, moves around, argues, swears, picks fights, you name it.	
11.00 - -	Typical Caribbean hard man. Not on playground duty so had chance to recharge batteries	Able to swap tales with supply team member also doing cover here. One only has to mention the name of Y [another child/name school] and the floodgates open. Turned down 2 days work once when realised it was [Y's] class.

In figure v, description is brief, time-related and routinised. Minimal reference is made to issues of difficulty and guidance (linked to a Year 8 dance group). In the follow-up interview that 'event' is described as a 'critical' moment in the school day, although its importance remains unclear from the written account. However, the reference, if brief, provided opening frameworks for discussing more general issues of female 'cover' for boys, girls, and mixed ability groups. No initial reticence on the part of the second diarist. In a subsequent interview, she explains her diary entry as an opportunity to 'let off steam' about teaching 'difficult' pupils to a reader outside the immediate situation. Here the written account goes on to record an 'attempt not to be beaten... by a child who is totally untouched by authority and hasn't a consistent code to live by, either'. Moreover, in each of her diary entries she provides a brief 'picture' of the school, as descriptive background to supply teaching processes.

Yet, in the absence of methods to provide further context, both accounts remain free-floating. In the latter, the diarist provides detailed snapshots because she believes that the school is 'unknown' to the reader (this is a correct assumption). The diary account is unconstrained by inhibitions, whether spatial, temporal, or personal, which might feature in interview or observation situations. In many ways, therefore, the method succeeds in giving access to events that I was unable to observe for myself. But the account is expressed very much in the teacher's own terms. In the former example, I have been observed in the school where the diarist works, and with various gatekeepers. As the reader, I am invited to 'fill in the blanks' and detailed discussion is confined to interviews. As is shown, diary accounts facilitated various approximations to shadowing supply teacher

experiences. However, the analysis challenges any simplistic interpretation of accounts as 'substitute' observation. Aspects of that challenge require further exploration.

'Substitute' observation

Diary accounts share with other the ethnographic approaches used in the fieldwork the aim to explore vicarious experience. Earlier attention has been drawn to whether the act of writing about experience adds an element of artificiality or superficiality to already complex features of data recording in 'natural' settings. Part of the rationale for diary use was its potential to provide some form of substitute for observation. Assessments about validity in ethnographic research relate to whether accounts represent accurately the phenomena they are intended to describe or explain. Among its problematic aspects is the sense in which the same event can be viewed from different perspectives, depending on the starting points and working assumptions of actors operating, for example, in terms of differing temporal perspectives. Indeed, some writers (Hammersley, 1992) point out that 'empirical phenomena are descriptively inexhaustible' (p.24). Among the implications for diary analysis, two are predominant. First, even if diary accounts are accepted as valid in terms of plausibility and credibility, 'how do we iron out the contradictions in what people say [and in this case, write] and do about their deeds?' (p.110). Second, in the absence of concurrent observations, to what extent does a researcher and a diarist share similar working assumptions to describe 'reality'? Where possible, opportunities were taken to observe activities which were also recorded by diarists. (Unlike many forms of qualitative research, negotiation of access was frequently speedy and fortuitous.) On days when I was absent,

accounts sometimes showed a routinised even-handedness not apparent during research observations. Whilst the effects of the latter cannot be eliminated, the following example points to some of the complexities.

Supply cover: containment and teaching

The evidence from my research suggested that the expectations and realities of supply work among regular and substitute teachers were complex and varied. Whilst informants focused both on the multiple skills underpinning teaching in temporary situations, and the need for classroom control, order and containment were among key concerns of senior managers and permanent teachers (chapters 4 and 5). (For teachers contractually obliged to cover for absent colleagues, containment was frequently the sole criterion for judging internal cover.) In the following extracts from a supply teacher's diary (figure vii) and my record as observer, the implications of multiple perceptions for recording experience are made visible.

Guy Symonds, a supply teacher, completed a five day schedule during part of a summer term spent in a boys' secondary school. On the third day I joined him as observer. His diary schedule between 14.15 hours and 15.30 hours reads:

Figure vii Extract from diary (5.1)

TIME Hrs	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
14.15	- Science lesson similar to previous one with Yr 10 but - including more troublesome pupils with lower attention span.	
15.15	Pupils become pests at 15.15 approx.	

Later:

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments ...?

Dealing with (pupil) in last double, without telling him where to go. Today's activities were actually fairly straightforward.

My diary for the same period reads:

14.15. Yr 10 dribble in over the next 10 minutes. [GS] aims to repeat lesson given to another Yr 10 group in the morning. One pupil dribbles football up and down side of lab. Other boys at window observing fight below. Loud descriptions given. [GS] moves between the lab and the back office. Returns from office with textbooks.

14.25 Pupil X enters. Informs [GS] that he can be excused lesson to do English project in the library. No slip to confirm. Boys use loud expletives to deny truth of X's claim. [GS] moves to office again to 'phone English dept' re: X's claim. Says 'there's no answer' and writes X a slip to be excused. X exits.

14.30 Voice from the back: are we going to get a lesson or aren't we? [GS] writes instructions on board and repeats them verbally. Gives title of book and author. - writes *You should have finished Q's 1-5 on p.37 and Q's 1-3 on p.35. If not, then finish. If you have then copy fig 1 on p.32. Answer Q's 1-3 on p.33.* Boys who are standing or moving are told to sit. One boy distributes books by throwing them to individual pupils. Noisy. Difficult to record everything. One pupil runs tap at bench, soaks his companion's file. He'll 'get the bastard later'. [GS] moves around the class- answers queries- some genuine, some spurious? One pupil drinking from

Coke can loudly. Told to remove to bin. Continues drinking - once finished, throws can into the bin. Boys are told not to touch equipment or run water.

14.46 X returns. Has been 'thrown out' of the library. [GS] issues him with paper. Sits down at lab. bench with four pupils.

15.00 Ducks fly past window. One boy shouts 'ducks'. Except for 2 pupils at front bench, all rush to the window. 2 pupils at the front work quietly. Finish exercises. When finished, I goes to the toilet. On his return, both put their heads down on the bench till end of lesson.

15.10 6 boys (1/2 class) put their coats on, and sit by the window. [GS] hopes they have finished work, will be examining exercise books. Football dribbling recommences.

15.20 All boys close books of own volition.

15.25 [GS] switches lights off.

15.30 Bell. 6 boys kept behind. Not X. [GS] informs them of his disappointment at behaviour. Expects it of X, he says, but not of them. Future visit to D/Head is threatened sanction. Boys exit. [GS] talks to me briefly about pupils' 'backgrounds'.

Descriptive claims

Guy Symond's diary schedule offers the reader an account of what is described as a 'fairly straightforward' day marred by a few 'troublesome pests', especially pupil X. In the absence of observation I would be obliged to assess notions of 'straightforward-ness' in relation to other research findings about supply and regular teaching experiences. Subsequent discussion, and the researcher's diary, add further dimensions. Guy Symond's language is linked to what he views as success in: containing classes without outside interference/help; avoiding a major confrontation with one pupil; and keeping a group on task till 15.15 hours.

Threats to classroom order and judgements about quality of work are also viewed in relation to pupils' socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds; pupils' achievement potential; regular teachers' supporting assessments of X as troublesome (with two previous school expulsions); the temporal constraints of afternoon double lessons at the end of the summer term; and pupils' imminent transfer to another school. In the way past events are selected, Guy tries to make explicit the variety of implicit features which comprise 'the arena of struggle' (Woods, 1990b) between supply teacher and pupils.

In what ways does my record as observer contribute to an understanding of supply teaching experience? It focuses on teacher and pupil activities in the absence of a regular teacher. With the exception of two boys, the Year 10 group have avoided the tedium of text book exercises and the interference of outsiders. The library escapade seems likely to have enhanced the peer group status of one pupil whilst diverting teacher's attention from other classroom events. In combination, both accounts contribute evidence for assessing the plausibility of whether learning, in accord with official intentions to acquire subject-based knowledge and skills, took place. Given Woods' (1990b) comments that most pupils' views of 'ideal teachers' are those 'who are human [and]... make you work' (p.17), both accounts would lead me to predict that Guy's future relations with the group will be one of contestation and negotiation over the meanings of learning. Whether this is viewed as 'straightforward' will depend as much on previous experiences as a regular and a supply teacher, as to the attention given to self-image and definitions of supply work.

The diary approach allowed supply teachers to select whether to write, when to complete diary sheets, and what to report. The end result was often a record of uplifting as well as dispiriting experiences. The semi-structured diary method at least offers the researched the chance to represent this varied experience. To the researcher, in place of statistically representative information, it offers a glimpse of the variety of life as a substitute teacher. Diary accounts also focused on activities beyond school, and on the links between activities. Such inter-connections were critical features of diary accounts and of my interest in public/private temporal and spatial connections. Using examples, these are now highlighted in relation to gendered experience.

Gendered accounts

With exceptions (for example, Acker, 1983 and most recently, Evetts, 1994), writing on teachers' careers draws heavily on male-orientated life cycles (Levinson et al, 1978) and careers which are hierarchical, continuous, and individualised (Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985; Evetts, 1990). Feminist writers (Gilligan, 1982) focus on connections, particularly at the public/private interface, and implications for contrasting the dynamics of female life cycles. Diary approaches provided opportunities for diarists and for the researcher to make visible on a daily basis, some of those connections among supply teachers (mostly women) whose careers were following alternative trajectories to those of permanent colleagues. In mining a rich ethnographic vein, the aim was to focus on gender as a first-order construct without analysis being totally absorbed by it.

Diary accounts highlighted gender-linked issues which were ongoing throughout the research. Findings confirmed the predominance, but not exclusivity of women in supply work for a multiplicity of reasons. On the one hand, the research drew upon, and adds to the contribution of gender studies in making women's work visible. In educational settings where professional work is shared among men and women, the implications of gender relations are already complex and contradictory, and are cross-cut by class, ethnicity, and institutional contexts. At the periphery, some status distinctions are less blurred. Ramazanoglu (1991) argues that when men do work equivalent to that done mostly by women, men's work is also devalued. One of the few ethnographic studies of supply work lends support to that contention (Loveys, 1988). On the other hand, there are limitations in viewing supply teaching only in relation to gender. Following Morgan (1986, pp.30-58), it was considered that a 'catch-all' concept would reduce the extent to which supply teachers could be studied as 'fully fledged sociological actors' (Fildes, 1989, p.124). The contribution of unusual cases - minority men - was also considered important in understanding supply teacher experiences. Set alongside other methods, then, diary accounts were essential to a research balance between public and private, men and women, and understandings at institutional as well as individual levels.

Two examples (figures viii and ix) offer gendered insights. In the first (figure viii), Sally Knight, a supply team member, describes her day. Its contribution lies not only in making visible the skills and adaptability required by substitute teachers daily (including, in this example, the risk-taking task of supervising 'unknown' children in a swimming pool), but also in making connections with the private: in

relation to bodily functions, caring, dieting, and social contacts. For Jane Symes (figure ix) there are continuing interactions throughout the day between work activities and the demands of multiple roles as mother, daughter, housewife and custodian of the family pets. Such records are in contrast to diary accounts which focus only on critical 'work' incidents, and to life histories which tend to present longer term, ironed-out career accounts. An issue for ethnographic research is how to sift the minutiae of vicarious experience from the central themes. Evidence from the diary accounts and elsewhere in the research suggested that it was through these kinds of combinations and connections that such minutiae structured gendered experience.

Figure viii
REF 6.4

A SUPPLY TEACHER'S DAY

DAY Thursday
DATE 18.6.92

HRS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7.00	Day 4 of exercises → shower Breakfast inside today. Up later not feeling totally together. Watered garden. Nursed rabbit for 1/2 hr. trying to get her to drink or eat.	No where yet to go so can set off to base at 8.15 and still be there before time.
8.00	Feeling a bit down (PMT and rabbit referred to in previous day's schedule) Set off to base. Arrive base. Chat to fellow supply - see how things are going.	
8.23 8.45- 9.00		
9.05	Just getting breath when message comes to go - but no age range given I & J school. Set off. Arrive school. Look for entrance & park. School deserted - no sec. in office even. Eventually find hall - children in Assembly. Teacher near door beckoned me in. When ready to go out same teacher pointed out the class - Yr 2 class. Tells me they are worst in school - messed about.	I had to follow A-Z quite carefully. I hadn't been to this school for 2 yrs and then only for part of a day I listened to end of Assembly. Introduced by the Dep. as Mrs A. at end of Ass.
9.25- 10.00		
10.00	10.00 go to class. Chat about self. Set them picture and writing to tell me about self. A lot of disruption. One or two quite difficult.	10.40 Play. Went to staff-room for a coffee and put lunch away.
11.00		
12.00	Collect children from playground. Took ages to get order - so much fuss. Back to class - for milk. Lunch had been taken out. Carried on writing - if finished did their maths. Followed Peak which I know. Heard some readers but difficult as children needed disciplining a lot. 11.30 Singing.	Got told at play that my class goes swimming after dinner. Singing - I was left with the 2 Yr classes & a peripatetic pianist. Wow what a hard session.
13.00	Dismiss Children. Quite a lot went home - unusual. Marked work up to date & change any books. Get changed for swimming. Fill in a form for my mum. Ring Vet to book rabbit in. Ring bank - slight cash flow problem. Eat Lunch in staffroom. Staff not particularly chatty but glad of the rest!	Ringin' up took ages. Office locked - no idea where key was till found someone to tell me.
13.10	Children in. Did register. Didn't tally. Incorrect from morning! Took ages to sort out some children's names difficult to pronounce. Reg. not very clear. Needed to be accurate for swimming. 13.20 Eventually set off. Took a while to get there as kept starting & stopping. Work out when I arrived!	A mum came with me - as older lady - very nice but not very effective. Very noisy in changing areas. I was doling from one to the other.
14.00		
15.00	Eventually we got there down to the pool. 1 Instructor. He took the more able group - leaving me alone with 20 children in small pool. We worked hard but they didn't tire. Changing took ages. Walked back better after a great lecture from me. Got back 14.40. Too late for play.	I have never felt so worn after swimming. Only 1 I had to get out of water for a short while. Miracles never cease.
15.30	I kept them out for 10 mins. play whilst I had a drink. An EMS teacher took a group for reading. I let rest finish off any work then get an activity whilst I heard readers. Behaviour improving. Dismiss children. Write note for teacher.	Didn't think they'd settle to a story and they hadn't read all week.
15.45	Leave school after a chat with Dep.	Dep. wished I was going back as I'd controlled class!

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TIME	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
16.00		
16.50	Arrive home. 10 mins. walk for Rex. Rang Bill to tell him about rabbit. Collect rabbits go to vets. Ben came for company. Female rabbit had to be put down. I brought her home	Not feeling wonderful!
17.00		
15.30-18.00	Called at friend's for our weigh-in. I had <u>not</u> lost any weight from last Thursday!! Told friend about rabbit!	I stayed for longer than I'd planned.
18.30-18.45-19.00	We had a chat over a red wine & tonic - much needed! Call at friend's with a book I'd picked up for her. Got home. Played with rabbit. I had a bath. Soak! Soak!	
20.00	Ate nothing as no time! Rang my sister to tell her about rabbit. Mum rang. Rang Bill to tell him. Got dressed.	My nieces had given me the rabbits at Christmas.
21.00	Went round to friend's house from my base school to a Pippa Doe. Very expensive for what it was. Resisted all the lovely cakes - just had a bit to taste as they were homemade (from a friend's piece). I listened to the demonstrator telling us what a stressful day-time job she had.	Only bought some orange foam bath!! Tried on some clothes with rest of base school - just for fun.
22.00	She wasn't a teacher!! Offered a coffee by hostess's daughter and gratefully accepted. Just a few left - all base school staff. Had a chat and laugh.	I needed that!
22.30-22.50	Put the world to rights. Set off home. Arrive home.	

Anything before 07.00 hrs? Anything after 22.00 hrs?

6.45 Got up later! Quickly walked dog - short walk. Cover rabbit.
Fed fish & checked rabbits. Walk dog.
Female very ill. Have a bite to eat - literally. Pack for Wales. Flop to bed.

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments on today's activities? Please continue on the back of this sheet if you wish.

Singing - not really fair to be landed after only 1 hr in a school with 2 difficult classes. Coped, but throat sore.

Swimming - Very dangerous situation - particularly at the baths. 1:20 ridiculous.

Figure ix A SUPPLY TEACHER'S DAY

REF 3.3

DAY Wednesday

DATE 25.3.92

SUPPLY TEACHING DIARIES

HRS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7.00		
-	Got up, washed, dressed etc. Fed dogs and cats. Gave dogs a run.	
-	Prepared breakfast etc. Woke kids 7.45 am - got them washed and dressed. Made beds.	
8.00		
-	Eat breakfast - washed up. Checked kids were prepared for school. Left house at 8.30 - took kids to schools then travelled to D... [the school].	
-		
9.00		
-	Picked up cover slip.	
-	Yr 9 PSE Tutor Group. Lesson on "Problems they find at this stage in their Lives". Not seen work before.	
-	Last minute cover.	
10.00		
-	Break followed by Yr 10 GCSE Dance group.	
-	Supervision of theory work. Messy because of room changes.	
11.00		
-	Yr 7 History cover. Work set.	
-	}	
-	}	
-	}	
12.00		
-	Returned home. Washed and set mother's hair.	
-	Cup of coffee then back to school.	
13.00		
-	Yr 7 PE Mixed group for dance. Followed up previous week's work.	Collect valuables before lesson -
-	(Kids informed me). "Directions". Did a lot of work on warm up first -	keep them return at end.
-	why etc.	
14.00		
-	Yr 11 PE: Aerobics - girls only. Gave idens, supplied music. They worked in groups routine.	
-		
15.00		
-	Return to changing room - supervise and return valuables.	
-		
15.15		
-	Left school to fetch kids. Returned home. Combed mother's hair out.	
15.30		

continued from previous page

HRS 16.00	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
- - 17.00	Fed dogs, gave them a run. Prepared tea. Got kids swimming kit ready.	
- - 18.00	Ate tea. Sorted clean washing from yesterday ready for ironing sometime!!	
18.15 - - 19.00	Left to take Petra to swimming lesson (6.30 - 7.00). Went to Asda to do some shopping - returned in time to dry and dress her at 7.00.	
19.15 - - 20.00	Took Petra and shopping home. Picked John up and took him for his lesson (7.30 - 8.00). Went to Slimming Club for "weigh-in". Returned for John at 7.50 pm (ie saw last 10 mins of lesson).	
- - 21.00	Sorted out swimming stuff. Did a load of washing - put it to dry. Got kids to bed after washing and drying their hair.	
- 21.30- 22.00	Cup of coffee until 22.30 fell asleep on the settee!! (Didn't want to watch tele anyway).	
- -		

Anything before 07.00 hrs? Anything after 22.00 hrs?

No

No - only bed!

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments on today's activities? Please continue on the back of this sheet if you wish.

1. Doing aerobics with Yr 11 for 1 hr 15 mins., with my knee hurting too much to take a full active part.
2. Finding my "lightest" clothes for Slimming Club weigh in!!

Ethical boundaries

Ethnography generally recognises the importance of relationships between the researcher and the researched. Sustained aspects of friendship and reciprocity feature frequently in ethnographic accounts like life histories and case studies. My relationship with the diarists recorded in this and later chapters was usually more transitory, yet these diaries gave access to experience which crossed boundaries between the personal and the public, the social and the professional. At first sight the research bargain looks strange and one-sided. Yet these relationships were not underestimated. Observing a supply teacher at work provided a fairly sound basis for developing rapport, especially when that time was spent in demanding, and, on occasion, fairly intimate (home) circumstances. There were other safeguards. Initial encounters were usually in schools. Here, an interest in supply teaching issues, addressed to supply teachers, was generally welcomed by them as overdue and relevant. This moved relationships beyond the importance of being listened to; 'making visible' was a reciprocal point of contact for the researcher and the researched. Diary accounts were also set alongside the other methods used. Supply teachers were made aware of this and some preferred to give interviews rather than write diaries. Post-diary interviews provided opportunities for formative respondent validation and advanced the analysis in important ways. Finally, diary accounts allowed a degree of emancipation from the one-sided constraints of other methods, for example interviewing. In important respects, they presented explicit opportunities for participants to exercise control both through the selection of data and the mode of description.

Other aspects raise more contentious issues. At a general level, there was agreement between the researcher and the diarists about the purpose of the accounts. Diarists were made aware that diaries would provide important bases for recording and analysing lives at and beyond school, and that work would be presented using pseudonyms. For several diarists, the act of writing raised consciousness about complexities at the public/private interface; mechanisms to support that consciousness remained beyond the agenda for the thesis. There was no developmental format for training or networking, for instance, and diarists did not know each other, so this activity left them as much in isolation as in their normal circumstances (Trotter and Wragg, 1990).

Linked to previous commentaries (for example, Burgess 1989), the ethical boundaries of diary research are comforting or assuaging, depending on whose perspectives are taken. Moreover:

In research relationships there is no natural bargain that would be recognised as fair by all... Respondents are not fearful victims who open up their lives and souls because they are told to. People have boundaries and strategies to protect themselves in research situations. (Measor and Sikes, 1991, p. 230)

In diary accounts, diarists have opportunities to establish boundaries as they decide *whether*, *what*, and *when* to write. This freedom is far greater than that which pertains to interviews: once the decision is made of *whether* to agree to be interviewed, the *when*, that is, the timing of the interview, is negotiated. *What* may be more problematic. The interviewee can resist, sidestep, or ignore questions put by an interviewer, but the call for a response has an immediacy that

can create pressure, and it is rare for such evasion to be complete. Interviewees also present images of themselves, but diaries offer greater opportunities for manipulating information, whether consciously or unconsciously, without the immediate presence of 'the listening ear'.

Methodological assessments

All teachers cross boundaries when they move between home and work. In chapter 1, the distinctiveness of supply work was considered: first, in relation to the speed of temporal and spatial negotiations; second, the changing relationship between employment and non-employment times; third, variations in work locations; and fourth, the centrality of home (or other paid work) as the locus of prioritised activity. For these reasons, it had always been foreseen that the research would be methodologically demanding since its core is the study of phenomena that are discontinuous and unpredictable, whilst the scarcity of information at national and local levels provided only a patchy literary framework. Moreover, the connections and disconnections between what supply teachers 'do', what they and others *say* they 'do', and what they and others consider themselves to 'be' was as critically focused in theoretical and substantive concerns as it was in methodological interests.

In this chapter, the methodological implications of studying workers who 'teach to time' have been prioritised. Of specific interest are the strengths and weaknesses of the diary method set alongside the other methods used, in enabling me to understand and make visible supply teachers' lives and work. Where targets were constantly moving both for myself and the researched, the diaries provided

valuable data in terms of the description and interpretation of the rapid spatial and temporal movements that comprise supply teachers' times. In doing so, they raise important issues about ways of representing professional and personal lives when teacher professionalism is itself being re-appraised, and there is persistent resistance to recognising the role of teacher substitution in mass education systems. Diaries were, therefore, part of an exploratory approach which set diverse qualitative approaches alongside each other. Throughout the research the aim was to :

steer a path between, on the one hand, those views of ethnographic research which are based on naive realism whereby the goal is simply to represent social phenomena 'in their own terms', and on the other hand, those who abandon realism in favour of a direct, practical payoff and the creativity of ethnographic analysis and writing. (Hammersley, 1990, p.127)

Judgements about the effectiveness of diary accounts as a research strategy have been linked to research definitions and to the focus of the thesis, in particular the conceptual frameworks of time, work, and gender, and to transitory relations among key actors (including the researcher) at the public/private interface. Equally, assessments have sought to make links with validity in terms of plausibility and credibility, and relevance in evidence from the diary accounts. This included an exploration of writing in relation to action, process, circumstance, and interpretation. In other respects, diary accounts were part of a trade-off, in resource and contingency terms, between the accounts of diarists and the use of observation and interviews. Neither were ethical issues ignored in efforts to make supply teachers' lives visible. What was public or private, work or non-work,

either in domestic or school settings, was not always clear-cut. What supply teachers said, wrote or did, were important aspects in making the invisible visible and of the mutual implications of private and public times. What they chose to omit was also important, as in the Guy Symonds' example. To that end, my intention was to minimise negative consequences for the researched, and maximise opportunities for follow up. Together with the other methods outlined, the use of diaries provided one contribution to understanding further the multiple realities of supply teachers' lives and work. Such realities were partly bound within the time frame of the thesis and the wider dynamics of educational and social change. In the next chapter those dynamics provide the backdrop for examining supply teaching. Specific attention is paid to the predominant discourses of supply at a time of shifting power relations between LEAs, schools, and supply teachers. In such ways, temporal interests provide simultaneously the focus *and* the backdrop for studying supply teachers and teaching.

Chapter 3

Focusing the language: a shifting interface for LEAs, schools, and supply teachers.

Action is simultaneously bound by the common stock of knowledge, by language and by the imposed relevances of the group, all of which are past dependent...each penetrate present and future actions. (Adam, 1992, p.28)

Much has been written about the professional standing of teaching and the 'state' of education over the past twenty years (Ball, 1994; Woods, 1990a; Ozga, 1988). In the ordering of interest and concerns about teaching, supply work has come low on the list of priorities, and rarely as a cause for pedagogic or professional celebration. Such an absence is rooted in supply teacher invisibility. Considered alongside the predominance of concerns about teacher supply overall rather than supply teachers and teaching, teacher substitution has, until recently, been subject to a lack rather than emergence of interest. Lack of interest is also mirrored in teacher accounts, as in the following extract from an early interview during the school-based fieldwork:

I arrived at the school the next day and was walking along the corridor to meet a new class... just in time to see a teacher in front of the class, tearing up the work I'd done with them the previous day. (Secondary schoolteacher Jenny: an ex-supply teacher)

Yet there is nothing novel about teacher substitution. As Stenning (1990) pointed out, the core teaching force has been supported by peripheral supply workers for a

number of years. A critical contention of this chapter will be that views about supply teachers and teaching have been dominated by the relatively unchanging views of permanent stakeholders in education about what is 'real' teaching and what constitutes the supply 'problem'.

This is in contrast to the complexity which surrounds some of the multiple interpretations of recent educational change. Ball (1994; 1990), for example, has noted the ways in which permanent members of local educational and school systems can and do re-interpret the role of the teacher in classrooms; this is often linked to educational reforms, and changing definitions of the curriculum. From a temporal perspective, understandings are frequently based on educators' own, albeit complex and sometimes competing views of a collective past. Yet, 'the past we can therefore say has no status apart from its relation to the present' (Adam, 1995, p.75). As Mead (1959 edn, p.11) argued, there is a tendency to think of the past as something 'out there and unchanging'. Instead, it is re-formulated into different pasts from the stand point of the emerging present.

In relation to supply teachers and teaching, such re-formulations have been rare and dominated by the powerful voices of those who are not supply teachers. Power can take a number of different forms which exclude some kinds of teaching from the agenda of professional interests: when supply teaching is absent from national and local agendas, or when the operationalisation of school systems includes the implicit use of teacher substitution but excludes reference to it. This chapter considers the relevance of these 'other' voices during the period immediately preceding and then including 1991-92 when the fieldwork took place.

These were times of shifting locations of power and influence at local and institutional levels. The vehicle for exploring the links between educational change and supply teaching is the language of supply. This was selected to consider the ways in which understandings about supply work were being defined, interpreted and transmitted as 'the common stock of knowledge' (Adam, 1992, p.28) about supply teaching during a temporal span in which shifting political alliances were being paralleled by ongoing re-assessments of teacher professionalism and school curricula. The intention here is to develop further the conceptual links between structures, systems, and actions that were introduced in chapter 1 (figure ii) but which gave less attention to the historical and temporal dynamics through which such connections were, and are still being made.

Many of the supply teachers encountered in Centrelink LEA worked at the margins of both local and institutional frameworks, and were frequently employed on a day-to-day or part-day basis, usually at short notice. Until the early 1990s, and in some LEAs, like Centrelink, they also included a permanent supply pool or team, seconded or recruited specifically to facilitate coordinated planning, particularly with regard to the major training initiatives of the late 1980s. Supply teachers were also drawn from those who worked part-time, in some cases working across LEA boundaries with different rates of pay and conditions of service. By 1992, financial and political exigencies cast doubts on the survival of supply teams. With increasing emphasis on locally managed budgets, supply teaching is now among the current range of options for school managers concerned with financial flexibility. Whether by intention or by default, supply teaching issues are likely to demand a high priority in the future.

In this chapter, responses to requests for information from LEAs during 1991-1992 are interwoven with a reassessment of available literature; together, they provide an important focus for analysing some of the ways in which the language of permanent educational stakeholders, in itself 'past dependent', was being imposed upon definitions and interpretations of supply work. Clarifying some of the assumptions which underpin the language of supply is intentionally provocative. That intention, however, sets the social construction of supply teachers' lives and work within the context of educational change and a time-lag in the discourses which accompany them. As long as classroom control and routinised learning by permanent teachers is seen as central to school experience, teacher substitution has also been part of the immediate solution to the problematic absence of the timetabled teacher. Yet, temporary teaching has tended to be viewed with a mixture of caution, regret, and sometimes alarm. Negative views by permanent teachers, and more recently by parents and pupils, have been more likely when the absence of the regular teacher is unanticipated or long-term. Disruption to pupils' timetables has been seen by them as educationally (and administratively) problematic. Supply teachers' skills are at once ubiquitous and scarce, professional but 'different', and linked to perceptions about commitment, professionalism, and expectations at local and institutional levels.

A problem for whom?

In this chapter the terms 'problem' and 'problematic' are used to explore understandings about supply teachers and their work, particularly at local and institutional levels. Reference to 'problems' of supply in the context of

accelerating educational reform in the late 1980s and increased in-service training, was not uncommon in the literature; this included surveys on teacher supply (for example, AMMA et al, 1989, 1990). Yet, a major issue relates to the paucity of accurate statistics on supply teachers (Galloway, 1993a). Equally complex are the constituents of the 'problem' and assumptions about casual employees upon which discussions were based. In the surveys mentioned above, for example, supply cover issues were embedded within concerns about teacher supply overall, including vacant posts and regional and subject variations.

Research for the then DES (Brown and Earley, 1990) focused on supply cover issues as essentially problematic in relation to teacher release for inservice training. For Brown and Earley (1990), research methods were predicated on 'a situation where cover arrangements were becoming increasingly *problematic*' (p.4 - my emphasis) and where research aimed 'to explore potential *problems* and future issues for schools and LEAs' (p.4 - my emphasis). The conclusions emphasised that 'there was no magic solution to the *problem* of cover' (p.39) and recommended that 'serious thought must be given to the ways in which demand for supply teachers is kept to a minimum, or which at least ensures that their use creates *as little disruption as possible* (p.39 - my emphasis).

Absence, disturbance, and substitution

In such contexts, what is meant by disruption? Disruption implies the 'breaking up' of classroom practice. What I prefer to describe as a process of disturbance, namely interruption, is an endemic feature of complex people-intensive organisations like schools. Using a Weberian perspective, Hassard (1988) notes

that the more complex the organisation becomes 'the greater the functional specialisation, and the need to synchronise and coordinate activities' (p.94). Secondary schools have traditionally favoured subject specialisation; more recently, primary schools have been enjoined to develop subject specific skills (Alexander, Rose, and Woodhead, 1992). This suggests that the need for teacher-specialist substitutes to replace absent colleagues is likely to remain an ongoing feature of school organisations. Viewed in this light, solutions to organisational disturbance may be not only to minimise the frequency of temporary 'aberrations' but also to promote strategies for encouraging effective learning, achievable via interchangeable professional skills among regular and intermittent teachers, and the management of teacher substitution on a continuing basis. This brings into sharper focus the specific skills required of 'temporary' professionals in organisations which are a complex mix of central control, subject and role specialisation, and classroom autonomy.

We may also need to ask: disturbance to what and for whom? Is this to pupils' learning, the temporal routines of the school, and/or the performance of the regular teacher? This means unpacking underlying assumptions, which include views about the negative impact of teacher substitution. Some comments have been direct and dramatic: 'we are sacrificing today's children for tomorrow's' (quoted in Earley and Baker, 1989, p.42). A corollary might be that consistent and regular inputs sustained by one specific teacher are among the necessary criteria for effective teaching and learning. This, perhaps, sits a little uncomfortably alongside trends towards team teaching and cross-curriculum initiatives where, again, the accent is on the successful management of activities and people. Expectations are

not always reflected in research evidence. Sanday (1990) draws on previous work, for example, Rutter et al (1979) and Mortimore et al (1988), to identify characteristics of effective schools. Whilst recognising complex issues in comparing data sets, Sanday comments that:

no correlations were found in secondary schools with stability of teacher groups, or of association of teachers with teaching groups, which is contrary to many teachers' expectations, since many primary and secondary schools make considerable efforts to maintain this degree of stability [Rutter et al., 1979, p.133]. (Sanday, 1990, p.24)

Conclusions from Sanday's (1990) work point to the importance of purposeful leadership and the quality of teacher-pupil interaction as crucial factors. As evidence presented in this thesis illustrates, issues of quality and disturbance linked to teacher substitution are also related to levels of expectation by pupils, school managers, and by teachers, whether regular or intermittent, and these are themes which recur in the ensuing chapters.

Boundaries and limitations

There is documented evidence to reinforce the negative implications which result from 'the cumulative effect of...[persistent]...staffing turnover on the total pattern of learning in some instances (HM Inspectorate, 1989, p.5). The same report noted that :

When there had been a succession of teachers, the planning of work had frequently been neglected and records were incomplete. In some primary schools classes with inexperienced or supply teachers, where there had been a succession of changes, the children's work and behaviour was poor...Rooms were...

uninteresting, untidy and unkempt and children's work insufficiently displayed. (HM Inspectorate, 1989, p.5)

In such cases, the 'problem' was one of succession and inconsistency, compounded by inexperience or supply cover. In contrast, among the few published accounts of supply teaching experiences, are indications that permanent teachers may themselves set boundaries and limitations to what supply teachers might achieve. The previous extract commented on 'poor displays'; the following description in which a researcher as supply teacher describes the process of conforming to school expectations of performance, provides an alternative perspective. He writes:

I began in earnest to replace the previous occupant's display work with work done by the present class... When we eventually ran out of space we decided to renew the corridor display with one of our own... I was eventually taken aside by the acting deputy head, who informed me that he considered I'd done by far enough display work for now and that I'd 'better leave some for Mr. Stewart to do when he returned' ...I was beginning to set an unwelcome precedent, for traditionally work at 'our end of the corridor' (i.e. the upper juniors) did not involve an emphasis on display work. (Loveys, 1988, pp.187-88)

With interest in supply cover tending to focus on the negative effects of substitution, research into the effects of colleagues' expectations on supply teacher behaviour remain sparse but valuable (Loveys, 1988; Nias, 1989). If the 'problem' of supply cover is also linked to the attitudes, behaviour, and responses of those for whom they are substitutes, then it will no longer suffice to focus solely on the negative impact of supply teaching. The school-based organisation of teaching and learning needs also to be considered. Moreover, in educational contexts where teacher appraisal continues to be debated as a complex and demanding activity,

respondents in questionnaire surveys were less cautious in pronouncing judgements on the 'quality' of supply teachers (AMMA et al, 1990). This remains intriguing in a work situation persistently acknowledged as isolating, isolated, and not easily subject to appraisal.

What's in a name?

A language of 'cover' which has emphasised problematic features begs at least three questions. First, is it a persistent feature of supply teaching that it attracts and/or remains available only to a 'quality' of teacher considered less than that claimed by those in permanent employment? How is 'quality' or 'lack of quality' ascertained and/or tackled? Previous research (Brown and Earley, 1990; Galloway and Morrison, 1993) highlights the paucity of specific training for supply teachers. Second, does the practice of supply teaching, and the speed of temporal, personal, and spatial negotiation required, demand levels of competence, confidence, and flexibility *more* complex than those needed by permanent teachers? In previous research (for example, Earley, 1986) there is an acceptance of supply teaching as difficult and onerous. A head in one study commented: 'they need to be so good that training would not really help!' (Earley, 1986, p.20). Paradoxically, such views co-exist with alternative perspectives that supply teachers are relatively well paid for what amounts to a child minding/holding operation. Finally, do comments about supply teachers reflect both gendered expectations and deficit models of casual employees, which crystallise over terms like commitment, ambition, and confidence, frequently seen in terms of linear and continuous temporal perspectives?

To date, discussion has generated contrasting images for considering such questions. Imagery rests on understandings evoked by the umbrella term 'cover' rather than the structural conditions in which 'it' and 'they' operate(s), and have evolved. In a now classic article linking work and the self, Hughes (1951) included the significance of occupational title for self-image, described as both 'a price tag and a calling card' (Hughes, 1951, p.209). He noted, for example, that 'school teachers sometimes turn school teaching into educational work' (p.209). Subsequently, teachers have become managers, curriculum coordinators, incentive post-holders, pastoral heads, 'facilitators' and 'enablers'. Hughes argued that the extent to which workers endeavour to choose titles which show them in their most advantageous light 'implies an audience' and an attempt to address 'claims to be someone of worth'. Their ability to ensure that certain titles are given preference over others might also reflect their collective power vis à vis that audience. In contrast, and despite an increased demand for their services, educationalists have retained a language of supply which reflects supply teachers' individual lack of power to redefine what they do either in relation to colleagues or pupils. Flexible incentive-holders, multi-skill curriculum coordinators, cross-phase specialists, educational trouble-shooters, could be alternative titles for those persistently described as casual cover, time-sheet supply, the supply pool, or teacher substitutes. Informal teacher and pupil codes such as 'minders' or 'baby-sitters' have even more negative implications for those who 'teach to time'.

Moreover, the language of supply also disguises a heterogeneity in pay scales and conditions of service among those described as 'cover', which also masks a range of teaching experiences, from teachers working in one or a small group of schools

for up to one term to those working in different schools on a daily basis. At the start of my fieldwork in Centrelink LEA in 1991, LEA supply teams probably represented the most continuously employed group among supply teachers. Evidence suggested that this was more likely in the primary than secondary sector. In Centrelink, the primary supply team had been purposefully recruited; redeployment was a more common precipitating factor in the secondary team. At the time of writing, the survival of such teams is doubtful. Whether their existence actually increased differentials among supply teachers, casual supply constituting a kind of 'under-class', interpreted here as elements of a growing number of workers with non-standard employment and unemployment patterns, in an already marginalised group, remains debatable. Paradoxically, during times of economic restraint, demands for such an 'under-class' might increase if they are seen to be cheaper than the organisational costs of retaining regular supply teams.

Hughes (1951) considered that a methodological problem in the study of work behaviour was that those who worked in those occupations made specific use of words and concepts as 'blindings' (Hughes, 1951, p.210). In relation to supply teaching, then, it is important to examine carefully the 'problem' of teacher substitution and quality, ascribed historically to a sector of the teaching force in a language largely monopolised by permanent and full-time educational professionals.

Quality

In recent years, expectations of supply teachers, linked to adaptability, flexibility, specialist knowledge, and control, have been so high as to render the 'quality'

threshold almost inevitably problematic. By 1990, 'cover' had been discussed in terms of quantity, quality, and availability, and combinations of all three. Brown and Earley (1990) adopt the combination stance:

The availability of supply teachers, especially those of high quality, continues to be a problem that is unlikely to be resolved in the near future. (p.39)

Other findings have been equally forthright:

By far the most common worry expressed by headteachers responding with detailed comments in the survey concerned the availability and quality of supply cover. (AMMA et al , 1989, p.2)

Concerns about 'quality' will, of course, depend on the way it is viewed. In the language of supply there persists a tendency to link issues of quality to the characteristics of supply teachers themselves rather than the structural conditions in which they operate.

Support groups, either self or LEA generated, have been among the responses to such issues, either linked directly to supply teacher needs or related to wider concerns about re-activating teachers in career break situations (Mullett, 1994; Buzzing, 1994). Buzzing (1989) presents a picture of 'career break' women, some of whom were re-entering teaching via the supply route, and who had experienced career breaks as 'a time of breaking down in confidence and in communication with the profession' (p.1). Here, the experience of child-rearing is discussed by participants in terms of being under-valued but also impinging on a sense of self-worth. Buzzing's work suggests a group of returners, initially vulnerable, and then

at pivotal phases in deciding whether supply experiences would lead to a continued career in teaching. Elsewhere, Green (1994) celebrates the contribution of experience in career breaks, and Evetts (1989) provides a relatively optimistic picture of career-orientated primary headteachers, where:

the availability of part-time and of supply work allow women to maintain contact with their teaching work while they are at home working as housewives/mothers. (p.195)

Albeit for a minority of women destined for primary headship, continuous service was not seen as a necessary pre-requisite for promotion into the upper sectors of the internal labour market. She reports that 'for women in my study the break in service increased their self-confidence' (p.195) whilst supply teaching provided continuity.

In contrast, where 'quality' of cover is located in wider structural conditions, then individual experience and prospects for improvement will be understood in relation to systemic aspects of school organisation and career profiles. Until as recently as 1992, these were occasionally reflected in strategies among some LEAs to recruit and/or contribute towards the professional development of supply staff, frequently linked to returners schemes. Decisions to delete this area of funding from the GEST (Grants for Educational Support and Training) programme, was likely to reverse a trend whose take-up was, in any case, always patchy. Meanwhile, at school levels, whilst the negative implications of unwelcoming induction for supply staff, and positive suggestions for improved management strategies, have been

increasingly documented (AMMA et al, 1990; Hufferdine, 1992; Morrison, 1993), uniform prospects for improvements in pay and conditions seem unlikely.

Gender and professionalism

Supply work is mostly conducted by women, and not infrequently by those returning to a career after a break. As in other occupations (Martin and Roberts, 1984), evidence from earlier research (Buzzing, 1989) suggests that this produces a deterioration in career prospects relative to those in continuous employment. In a profession with significant numbers of women, it might have been anticipated that LEAs, schools, and teachers would respond more enthusiastically to the needs and contributions of supply teachers. Among suggested reasons for a relative lack of progress are those which relate to the proliferation of males at managerial levels, and a view that supply teaching continues to function as :

a second probationary period whereby teachers could sample schools and vice versa without the interference of any formal contractual obligations on either side. Just as schools could terminate a supply teacher's placement without reason, so the supply teacher could leave a school at very short notice and similarly without reason, although ... this involved ... more potential risk on the part of the teacher rather than the school. (Loveys, 1988, p.180)

Moreover, Chessum (1989) notes that features of 'the gendering process', in which mainly female teachers weave casual or part-time employment with other aspects of their lives, is masked by 'a language of professionalism' (p.87) which:

serves to include those women who have been able to organise their lives in a full-time way similar to men, but separates them from their part-time sisters. The perspectives of full-time women teachers are

often governed by this professionalism even though they may be part-timers in the future or have been part-timers in the past. (Chessum, 1989, p.87)

Viewed in this way, full-timers have survived the 'caring' tunnel and emerged as 'copers' with full-time 'commitment'. Chessum's (1989) study remains useful in highlighting part- or supply-time commitment as a concentrated application of teaching effort which remains distinct from domestic or child-rearing pressures; the important issue of commitment re-emerges in the next chapter. The extent to which the monopolisation of such concerns about supply teaching by permanent staff were reflected in the interests of local education authority spokespersons during 1991-92 were among my research interests. Responses provided an important focus for considering these and other discourses about supply.

Local voices

Thirty-three responses to requests for information about supply teaching issues, and subsequent meetings with LEA representatives in Centrelink, offered local perspectives. In 1991, these reflected a range of organisational approaches and pending changes as financial budgets were devolved to schools. In some respects, responses reflected the ad hoc and diverse situations noted previously (Earley, 1986), as well as differences in philosophy and staffing levels. Many of the respondents had the words recruitment, retention and/or personnel included in their titles, reflecting a shifting if transient emphasis on teacher supply at that time. Titles ranged from those as specific as Co-ordinator of Teaching Recruitment to Recruitment Manager. Two respondents identified themselves as members of school middle management seconded by their authorities to 'sort out' supply and its

organisational arrangements. Several authorities had prepared (as in Centrelink), or were preparing introductory packs for supply teachers and guidelines for schools. More significantly, responses indicated shifting definitions of responsibilities and practice as aspects of changing staffing, financial and political circumstances. Some authorities had a surplus of teachers in situations of falling rolls; others were using supply to cover for existing deficiencies. Of course, no claims are made that the initial responses encapsulated all that was happening or not happening in those authorities. By 1993, the changing role of LEAs would mean that most aspects of supply provision would be devolved to schools. What follows, then, is also the language of the interim, with its sense of uncertainty about future priorities embedded both in current activities and past experiences.

Seven authority representatives discussed supply as a problem or as a problematic issue; this was expressed in a number of ways, and with varying emphases on a continuum from central direction to relative autonomy at school levels. Authorities which stressed positive action, affirmed the need for continuing efforts to 'increase availability' and 'improve quality'. Cost was emphasised specifically by authorities with both central registers and permanent supply teams. Two authorities were keen to emphasise that 'we do not have a problem'. Both related the absence of a problem to availability rather than quality. A respondent acknowledged the need to 'consider [supply teachers'] National Curriculum training...' and that it 'planned to give training in SATs [Standard Assessment Tasks] to supply teachers'.

For two authorities, specifically in relation to secondary supply, the creation of supply teams had solved a problem, namely that of preventing compulsory redundancies, whilst facilitating a more effective organisation of teacher release for inservice training. Writing in 1991, one respondent commented on 'protecting teachers from compulsory redundancy' for an occupational span of 'at least the next 2-3 years'. Similarly, an interview with an authority representative indicated that solving one problem had delayed the onset of another. In this case, secondary supply teachers were displaced teachers; with a cut in educational budget for 1991-1992, the team was being disbanded. It was increasingly difficult to persuade senior school managers to re-employ teachers who may have been released with the least reluctance in the first place. Retirement and compulsory redundancies were the remaining options. Thus, it appeared that in such cases supply teaching was a staging post into permanent teaching after a career break, and out of teaching prior to redundancy or retirement. There were accounts of strenuous efforts to improve the efficiency, quality and quantity of supply cover, even if 'positive action does not eliminate all of the problems' (LEA spokesperson). Among comments was the observation that:

The basic philosophy is to regard [supply team] members as adaptable and prepared to tackle any situation positively. Nevertheless there has, on occasions, been a mismatch of expectations and the incoming teacher has been regarded merely as a 'baby-sitter'. Work left on occasions was less than adequate; on the other hand ...[schools]... have indicated that team members have not always grasped the opportunities available to them. (An LEA spokesperson)

With the exception of responses from members of teacher associations, which took a Janus-like stance to supply, both from the perspective of supply teachers' pay and conditions, and from school-focused positions on availability and quality, few respondents perceived issues from the perspective of supply teachers. There were exceptions, including examples of authority-wide interest, sometimes sparked by a core of supply teachers. Large authorities emphasised the organisational and administrative issues in keeping supply lists up-to-date, accurate, and regularly circulated; one respondent reflected on the variety of approaches being used within the same authority.

Only one authority used the term 'disruption' in the context of negative implications for 'school routine', but stopped short of making those implications specific. Three authorities were also prepared to comment on geographical disparities, particularly in relation to availability:

A large number of supply teachers are in theory available to work in the area [X], but once the name of the school is given their diaries appear to become more problematic. (An LEA Division Statement, 1990)

Among positive responses was a pilot scheme to attract supply teachers into a specific area within one authority. Supply teachers were recruited to serve a cluster of primary schools. Here, supply teachers qualified for a bonus payment of £50 after teaching the equivalent of ten days in schools within their cluster. In addition, each supply teacher who attended a training day during the pilot period was paid a salary allowance of £20. This offered a rare recognition of time spent

in training as 'costly' to the supply teacher rather than assumed to be 'free' time available.

A vocabulary of low expectations

In the choice of vocabularies used by some respondents there was something of an as-long-as-they-can-walk-talk-and-breathe flavour about recruitment which reflects some of the wider images of supply teachers. This was particularly evident in relation to 'casual' workers on central registers, described intriguingly by several authorities as 'ad hoc' teachers. The criminal record check was the constant and minimum requirement. Qualified teacher status, post-probationary and pre-retirement conditions were the more flexible criteria, and varied widely. For example, an LEA respondent commented that 'the Authority has no specific policy for the recruitment of supply teachers. Requests are received from a variety of teachers seeking regular, often part-time work'. In an admittedly brief response, there was little indication of the terms upon which 'the request' was accepted, and as long as schools were 'aware', 'the Authority also employs newly trained teachers who have not passed the probationary period'. Another representative noted that 'we recruit anyone who meets the basic requirements of satisfactory references, medical clearance, and criminal disclosure'. The only other group to be excluded were those 'who might have retired on the grounds of ill-health'.

More vigorous and career orientated policies had been pursued by those authorities which had encouraged supply teams and/or returners schemes. This was especially evident with regard to interview procedures, and served to highlight further the hierarchical gradations within an employment sector described generally

as supply cover. Two authorities interviewed everyone on their lists; five authorities interviewed applicants for either or both primary secondary supply teams. Those on career break schemes might or might not be interviewed. And, of course, the largest group of 'unknowns' remained those recruited individually by schools.

During 1991, with increasing, if transient attention given to recruitment and retention, and supported by Grants for Educational Support and Training (GEST) funding (Great Britain House of Commons (IAC), 1990, pp 46-48), more LEAs were engaged in returners schemes; these included programmes of professional development for re-entrants or mature entrants, among whom were those likely to take the 'supply' route. One LEA with an affluent catchment and high local housing costs had identified a pool of inactive teachers, already located within the area as a result of domestic partnerships with those whose earnings allowed them to reside there. Encouraging women in career breaks was seen partly as a pragmatic response to recruitment in an area which might otherwise experience difficulties in gaining new entrants on lower salary scales. Doing supply work was one route back to permanent teaching; strategies to discourage negative supply teaching experiences were, therefore, critically focused. In two authorities, professional development and supply teaching were being encouraged by the provision of child care allowances. Overall, however, training for supply teachers was unusual, although a few authorities were clearly pursuing this more vigorously than others.

Future roles

The most striking feature to emerge from responses was a snapshot of authorities at various stages in deciding future roles in teacher supply. This was enmeshed within ongoing pressures on educational budgets and increased financial delegation to schools. It crystallised over the issues of whether 'permanent' supply teams would continue, in situations where the financial burden of maintaining full-time teams was proving too great for most authorities, as the following comment from an LEA spokesperson suggests:

The position since 1988 has changed significantly. With the onset of local financial management, coupled with major changes in INSET funded by the DES, the education department has had to review the position of teams which, throughout their existence were meant to be self-financing. The secondary team has been scaled down, and during the past year replacements to the primary team have been appointed on a fixed term contract basis only. It is anticipated by March 1992 INSET supply cover will once more be engaged on an ad hoc basis only, and this innovation which has enabled schools to participate in an intensive programme of day-time provision will have run its course.

Similar events were occurring in other authorities but over shorter time-scales. One recruitment manager was 'counselling' the supply team back into schools; the primary team in another authority were being similarly redeployed, whilst the secondary team and overall team members were taking redundancy and retirement routes. In one authority, recruitment to supply teams 'has been temporarily disbanded pending further developments in local management of schools and delegation of budgets'. I was informed that, from 1991, schools would arrange their own supply cover, noting 'indications...that this will increase the tendency to

use models of inservice provision which lessen the need for teacher release during school time'.

A few authorities still anticipated a role in strategic planning as one among several ways of retaining important ties between themselves and schools in the face of diminishing links elsewhere. Centrelink LEA recorded its attempts to stabilize that relationship. It operated a Relief Cover Team which consisted of 73 FTE teachers, of whom 52.3 were in the primary sector. Following a policy review the latter was reduced to 42 in April 1991. The comparatively smaller size of the secondary team reflected the option that secondary schools had taken in enhancing their staffing to provide cover. In 1991, schools without delegated powers were expected to participate in the scheme. Schools paid a non-recouperable base charge for the year to take into account cost factors like; team member absence, under use, car mileage, advertising, INSET recruitment, and administration. (Team members had administrative bases in schools.) The authority stressed that the continuity of a well-trained supply team would depend on the numbers who 'opted in'. Of those with the option to do so, more than two-thirds had opted in by May 1991. The team was retained but with reduced levels of staffing. Subsequently, the secondary supply team would be disbanded during 1992.

So, by 1993, evidence suggested that the employment agency role for LEAs, in particular for supply teachers, was to be severely curtailed. Previously, LEA perspectives on teacher supply and cover issues had shown considerable variation, and wide disparities in organisation and planning. These continued to fluctuate as financial and political constraints moved authorities in a number of directions,

despite advice to 'review what [could] be done in each case [of cover, supply teachers, and the recruitment of returners], and adopt the appropriate best practice (Great Britain House of Commons Interim Advisory Committee on School Teachers' Pay and Conditions, 1991, p.24). During 1991-1992, there was evidence that some LEAs were grouping together to coordinate marketing and publicity strategies for encouraging a wider recruitment and retention of staff. Since the end of GEST funding and with a more vocal government emphasis upon the mode of teacher training rather than teacher supply, prospects for collaborative action look far less promising. Currently, their role consists primarily of vetting supply teachers' records, allocating funds to cover regular teachers' training, and paying supply (and short term contract) teachers. Schools are now most likely to make the offer of employment on an occasional basis and deploy staff as appropriate. This is leading to an increasingly heterogeneous market, and disparate conditions of employment for those engaged at education's periphery. Towards the end of the fieldwork, a new group of actors were beginning to assert themselves; private supply teacher agencies now advertise widely, though it remains to be seen what their overall effects will be (Knight, 1994).

In times of re-organisation at the meso-level, and increased complexity of educational tasks at the micro-level, LEA activity during the interim suggested an even greater need to refocus the language of supply. At the commencement of the research, there was a transient (and pragmatic) emphasis on supply teacher issues. Subsequently, the Marxian emphasis upon the commodification of supply teacher time as a medium which translates labour into monetary value (Giddens, 1987; Nowotny, 1985), and 'cover' into an administrative rather than educational

challenge, continued and continues to be asserted first by local education authorities, and most recently by locally managed schools. Each raise important questions about the links between supply work, time, and power.

Alternative perspectives

In supply teaching, the temporary nature of clock time supplied emphasises the instrumental nature of the exchange and the relative bargaining power of each party. In the educational world of the 1990s, organisational perspectives are dominated by accountability and rationalisation (Stenning, 1990, p.172). The language of supply reflects such perspectives. Analysis of the initial responses from LEAs and from the literature revealed contradictions and paradoxes. Supply teachers were deployed to facilitate a process whereby those for whom they substitute became more accountable. To achieve this, an amoeba-like group of casual workers was needed to expand and contract as the twin demands for accountability and rationalisation grew, and the daily implications of teacher absence remained hidden. The 'problem' was to ensure that the group remained mobile, flexible and large enough to support the schools that used it. The 'language' employed relates to the ability and/or inclination of supply teachers to respond to the multiplicity of demands made upon them. The organisation of teaching and learning, the experiences and conditions of supply work, the effects of their relationships with permanent colleagues, and of both groups upon pupils and vice versa - all remain secondary to hierarchical and commodifiable concerns about the availability, quality and cost of supply teachers.

In earlier work (Morrison, 1989b), I argued that Atkinson's model of 'a flexible work-force' (Atkinson, 1984) was a useful starting point for understanding educational employment, specifically the experiences of its casual and part-time workers in the late 1980s. More recently, Stenning (1990) makes a similar point when he examines the prospects for school employment in the 1990s. Atkinson's model rests on assertions about the need for work-force flexibility in times of economic recession, market uncertainty, and changes in product and production methods. To respond and survive such changes, organisations, including those in education, need firstly, functional flexibility, achievable by employing workers who are willing and able to adapt to new forms of work; secondly, numerical flexibility through the organisation's ability to vary the size of the workforce and the time worked in response to changes in demand; and thirdly, financial flexibility to allow costs to be related to the external labour market. Such flexibility is achieved by the segmentation of the organisation into different sectors, a core and a periphery, the former providing functional flexibility and the latter numerical flexibility. Accordingly:

there [is] already the fairly widespread practice of employing teachers on short-term contracts in accordance with current demand, and the strong tradition for buttressing core staff with supply teachers bears testimony to the presence of...[a]...peripheral group among the teaching force for many years past. (Stenning, 1990, p.175)

The core group of permanent teachers remain core as long as its members accept that their functional flexibility will be subject to ongoing re-assessment and appraisal over a wide 'range of prescribed activities' (Stenning, 1990, p.175). This

might include the provision and organisation of their own professional development as long as other priorities are deemed more pressing. With changing conditions of employment, and prospects for locally and individually negotiated rates of pay, permanent teachers remain a precarious 'core'. Recommendations to reduce supply cover and concentrate on alternative strategies for both cover and in-service training (for example, Brown and Earley, 1990) could increase the demands/pressure on the 'core' for flexibility over an even wider range of teaching and non-teaching duties, especially when financial considerations reinforce a view of supply teaching as the 'last resort' option.

When permanent educational stakeholders at local and school levels choose to ignore the experienced realities of supply teaching other than in a language which emphasises disruption, a vital group of teachers, whose conditions may eventually be shared by many in the existing 'core', remain invisible. Marginality is promoted by a temporal, spatial, and professional distancing of supply teaching issues from the immediate agendas of permanent colleagues. Such distancing may prove to be ultimately more illusory than real. As LEAs struggle to maintain their strategic role in planning teacher supply, it would be ironic if more imaginative strategies for the development and support of supply teachers arose, not from their existing or potential contributions at the chalk-face, but in response to a growing recognition among permanent teachers that the conditions of service for increasing numbers of regular teachers in schools resemble those of their colleagues at the periphery. At LEA levels, even the most realistic implications of previous research stand little chance of being implemented in 1995. Galloway and Morrison (1993) concluded that among the minimum ways forward was the need to include regional

collaboration, reliable data bases, support for supply teacher training, and the coordination of information which, for those working occasionally, remained critical. Each provide potential frameworks for future analysis which move beyond existing vocabularies.

Conclusions

All research is bounded by the temporal span in which it is conducted. This chapter has focused upon the language of supply as it affected, and was reflected in concerns about supply teachers and teaching expressed by LEA representatives during 1991-1992 and in research and teacher association commentaries of the late 1980s and early 1990s. These took place during a period of uncertainty and change at local and institutional levels. Whatever the vagaries of past or intended actions, the discourses outlined have continued to promote a view of substitute teaching as both a temporarily expedient, if problematic response, to teacher absence from the classroom, and yet a vital buttress to core staffing in schools. Here, the language of 'cover' is impersonal, power laden, and commodifiable. Yet, the important issue remains about the ways in which this was being interpreted at the micro-level of the school and in the lives and work of supply teachers. In chapters 4 and 5, analysis moves towards an exploration of the ways in which supply teachers and teaching were being defined and understood by supply teachers and their permanent colleagues at the micro-levels first, of primary, and then of secondary school practice. Here, the interpretative traditions heralded by Mead (1934), are used to focus upon human action as it is implicated in the daily experience of supply work and in relation to understandings about the teacher 'self' and supply teacher identities. In such ways, the multiple times experienced by

supply teachers are partly but not entirely informed by the predominant historical discourses outlined in this chapter. As will be shown, analyses of supply teaching experiences in schools are equally important in developing further understandings about the nature and context of permanent as well as supply teaching.

Chapter 4

Temps in the primary school

Time, identity, and commitment

For supply teachers, supply work is not just a solution to the local and institutional 'problems' highlighted in the previous chapter, but the means of paid employment. Work is much more than this. Not only is it a prime claimant on individuals' lives, it is also one of the ways in which we judge ourselves and are judged by others, and, as such, a vital aspect of 'social identity' and the 'self' (Hughes, 1951). For sociologists interested in work, analysis has often shown 'a compassionate concern for those who are condemned by virtue of their position in the productive process' (Salaman, 1975, p.10) to experience work as 'nothing less than the wasting of life' (Gouldner, 1969). There are, then, important links between temporality and the subjective experience of work: times in career, work, employment, or unemployment; and within each, waste and fulfilment, endurance and transience, continuity and discontinuity.

In recent years, sociologists of education have focused increasingly on teaching as work. Here, the emphasis has been upon permanent rather than temporary or discontinuous teaching work (Hargreaves and Woods, 1984; Ozga, 1988). There are a number of factors which have promoted an interest in teachers' work; the cumulative effects of policy initiatives, including teacher training, have led to increased central government control over the teaching force. This has, in turn, extended the debates about the nature and context of teachers' work particularly as it relates to professionalism, autonomy, and control. Among the approaches taken

have been analyses of the subjective experiences of teaching and teacher careers (Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985; Nias, 1988). Informed by symbolic interactionism, research has explored teacher identities and the development of professional and personal self images. Nias, for example, looks at the ways in which primary teachers' work 'calls for a massive investment of...selves' (Nias, 1989, p.2); Woods' emphasis is upon creative teachers whose activities are 'tempered' by constraints described on a continuum from 'golden opportunity to 'leaden constraint' (Woods, 1990a, p.22). Such studies also suggest that there are those who teach for many years (or, indeed, their working lives) without 'feeling like teachers' (Nias, 1988). For the rest, cognitive acts and affective feelings about teaching may eventually merge as teacher identities, forged mainly through continuous employment as teachers. In such ways, identity is closely linked to commitment. Yet the latter is a slippery concept. As Nias (1989) asserts, complexity is compounded by the ways in which sociological and educational researchers have used it 'to suggest motivation, to indicate outcomes, and to describe career stability' (p.30). Indeed, commitment has been described as a kind of career 'entrenchment' (Woods, 1979, p.144) in which teachers engage in a process akin to 'placing sidebets' (Becker, 1964). Whether or not this is seen as a kind of entrapment in which the consequences of an initial choice of occupation come to dominate teachers' lives and the energies, times, and monies expended, is debatable. But in such ways, 'an individual increases the investment which he [sic] has in a particular career or institution, thus decreasing the likelihood that he will change to another' (Nias, 1989, p.30). In Nias' work with primary teachers, the latter make strong links between teacher identities, commitment, and time spent in

teaching, not only as continuous employment times but also as times spent beyond the minimum or legal requirement. Nias (1989) comments:

Over and over again in their interviews they used the term [commitment] (synonymously with 'involvement', 'dedication' and a number of colloquialisms such as 'the faithful few', 'the stay-behind mob' and the 'out-by-fourers', 'the beer at lunchtime crowd and those of us who take the job seriously', 'the keenies and the not so keenies') to distinguish categories of teacher, to suggest degrees of motivation, to explain polarities. (pp 29-30)

When explorations turn to how and why supply teachers commit themselves to discontinuous work experiences, the terms 'identity' and 'commitment', as previously applied by and to those in continuous employment, are problematised. The latter may have negative connotations. For discontinuous workers have partial 'entrenchment', may have placed 'sidebets' outside teaching, and, particularly in the case of short-term supply workers, are the least likely to be among the 'stay-behind mob'. Being among the in-by-when-ever-telephoned-and-out-by-fourers further decreases the likelihood that discussions of alternative career trajectories, like supply teaching, become part of the mainstream school agenda about appropriate or alternative role models for teachers in schools. Similarly, with the exception of a few specific analyses (Loveys, 1988; Galloway and Morrison, 1994) supply work has also been sidestepped by educational researchers other than in terms of teacher absence from school. As is suggested in chapter 3, substitute teachers are viewed with an ambivalence which occasionally acknowledges the need for them to be 'first rate teachers' (Shilling, 1991b, p.5) yet who 'are not full members of a school organisation and cannot realistically be expected to be treated as such' (p.4). Of specific interest in this chapter is the identification of supply

work as teaching, and of the worker as teacher, by both permanent and supply staff.

Central to research concerns, then, are complex and multiple interpretations about what it means to work in temporally constrained situations. The chapter pursues a 'Hughesian directive' (Salaman, 1975, p.159) to examine work as one of the ways we judge ourselves, and are judged by others in order to investigate the personal and professional images of supply teachers and teaching which have remained largely invisible or assumed. It uses documentary evidence, interviews and observation to explore the ways in which teaching 'to time' is understood and experienced in primary school settings. The exploration begins with an examination of interrelations forged in fleeting and transitory situations.

The self and fleeting relationships

Most commentaries on teacher identities assume a permanent work-force and regular relationships, but few provide useful starting points for exploring understandings about supply teaching experience. Nias (1989) draws on previous work about the 'self' (Mead, 1934; Cooley, 1983 edn) to explore teacher identities. She illustrates ways in which symbolic interactionists argue that 'through interaction with people to whose behaviour we attach symbolic meanings we learn to take other peoples' perspectives and so to see ourselves as we think they see us' (Nias, 1989, p.19). From this perspective, 'significant others' have a powerful effect on identity (Cooley, 1983 edn, p.175) as, through time, individuals internalise the attitudes of organised social groups - 'the generalised other' - (Mead, 1934). Other writers, like Ball (1972), stress the importance of an inner

core - the 'substantial' self - which is resistant to such influences. In relation to primary teaching, Nias argues that whilst the 'substantial' self is not an ephemeral phenomenon, 'the nature of teaching makes it difficult for individuals to remain immune from situational values' (Nias, 1989, p.49). Moreover, because values are integral to the traditions, culture, and contexts of primary teaching, the latter 'makes heavy demands on the self' (pp.25-6).

In 'the presentation of self to others', Goffman (1959) argues that in most interactions the tendency is for actors to move towards a kind of 'interactional modus vivendi...a working ...vencer...of consensus' about 'the division of definitional labour' (pp.330-31). Unlike most permanent colleagues in primary schools, interactions between supply teachers and pupils, and between substitute and permanent teachers, are not infrequently ill-defined, and neither symmetrical nor regular. Instead, relationships are often fleeting and transitory, and enacted in the presence of strangers (discussed also as a methodological issue in chapter 2). In different contexts, Davis (1965) notes that in more binding professional-client relationships, the 'modicum' of visible stability, continuity, and homogeneity, helps to prevent relationships becoming 'reputationless, anonymous, and narrowly calculative' (p.336). Such a 'modicum' of 'constraints' is frequently absent from supply teacher relationships. Isolated from colleagues, and yet frequently exposed to values acquired in earlier teaching careers, supply teachers need to make sense of recurrent work problems over limited time spans and in disparate situations. What were their self-images? What were the perceptions of 'significant others'? To what extent were these affected by and reflected in their experience of work situations? These were key issues for investigation. In important ways they

connect with gendered images of supply teaching as 'women's work', and with parallel issues of commitment and identity.

Gender stereotyping

Goffman's analysis (1959) throws further light on the stereotypes forged from fleeting or temporary interactions. Understandings about temporary colleagues might be based on previous experiences of 'cover', or upon 'untested stereotypes' (p.324). Throughout the study, gender provided a first order construct which, on occasion, crystallised over perceptions about 'women's work' and terms like commitment, involvement, and confidence. Yet links between supply and women's work were frequently blurred and/or implicit, and ignored the contributions of male supply teachers. With discourse referring regularly to female images (the apocryphal image of the supply teacher who 'did her knitting' when 'covering' classes recurred in primary and secondary teacher interviews), gendered references were sometimes used to distinguish, and arguably distance supply teachers from permanent colleagues. In the following interview extract, a supply team manager based at Centrelink Education Centre uses gender balance to contrast the supply team with those on the casual supply register. Referring to the latter she comments:

They tend to be ladies. They've had a career break to have families and so they've used it to come back and test the water. Really, to get their confidence back because, I think a lot of them have said to me that they had lost their confidence whilst being at home. Now some of the people that came back have had a year with us and have gone on. They feel, right, now I know what it's like, they want something to get their teeth into, supply teaching isn't for them all. Some want a permanent placement.

In other contexts, gender characteristics were sometimes used to reflect on possible links between supply teaching and the effects on children's learning. A primary class teacher was asked to recall a specific example:

I remember a man ... who was one of the world's incompetents ... they occur everywhere, nice gentle teachers who can't cope, men, they're often men, nice man he was... As soon as he walked through the door the children ran him ragged. We managed to get him through a couple of days but he found it very hellish but I don't think they [the children] learnt anything... At least he got out of it alive. Well they did learn something, that they can run a teacher ragged.

However, more typical of the views developed in interviews with headteachers, and permanent and temporary teachers, were comments about 'types' felt to be suited to supply work. In the following extract, an interviewee with supply team responsibilities describes:

people who have been on the team for years and years and like it. They came because they wanted experience but the Gipsy gets into them. It suits certain personality types I think. Some people say 'Oh' I couldn't stand supply'. Some people actually like the uncertainty of getting through the morning and not knowing what class they'll have till they get there. I mean, other people, it fills them with horror, but some people actually thrive on that.

These themes are now explored more fully.

'Positioning' supply: teachers' views

The two main reasons given for teacher substitution were to cover teacher absence for illness and for in-service training. During interviews, heads, teachers, and supply teachers drew attention to what they perceived as increases in both kinds of absence. During the late 1980s teacher absence for inservice training had grown often in relation to specific educational initiatives². Not only had legislation required inservice training on a scale and of a kind that did not exist earlier, but interviews also contained references to absence through illness, directly or indirectly linked to stress. Underlying the discussions was a kind of 'positioning' not untypical of the 'discursive production' of selves and others in conversation (Davis and Harré, 1990). As is hinted in the previous extracts, the data were as instructive in illustrating what permanent teachers considered 'real' teaching and teachers (i.e. themselves) to be, as it was in providing explanatory frameworks for supply work.

Supply teachers were seen by the primary school head teachers and permanent primary teachers interviewed as part of the solution to a problem where less desirable alternatives were excessive work loads for permanent staff, split classes, and worst of all, sending children home. The most fulsome praise from head

² From the mid 1980s in-service education and training played an increasingly central role. The White Paper *Better Schools* (DES, 1985) preceded *Circular 6/86 Local Educational Authority Training Grants Scheme: Financial Year 1987-88*. This was intended to promote the professional development of teachers in a more purposeful and systematic way, to encourage the selective management of the teaching force, and to encourage training in areas of national priority. These were modified as distinct acronyms were introduced: *GRIST - Grant Related In-Service Training*; *LEATGS - Local Education Authority Training Grants Scheme*; and *GEST - Grants for Educational Support and Training*. Preparations in this period were also being made to introduce the initial phases of the National Curriculum (Burgess, Connor, Galloway, Morrison and Newton, 1993).

teachers saw them described as 'gold dust' and 'saviours'. Paradoxically, and in keeping with the vocabularies of the previous chapter, they were also seen by head teachers as part of the problem, expressed in terms of availability, quality, administration, and cost. That paradox was expressed in terms of ambivalence and contradictions about supply teaching work. Words like flexible, resourceful, adaptable, and 'in control' were used by heads and teachers to describe essential qualities for supply teachers. They recognised supply work as potentially difficult, isolated, and onerous. At the same time it was viewed by them as the antithesis of what many teachers expected from teaching, expressed particularly in terms of personal and temporal investment. A deputy head considered that a supply teacher should have:

a good sense of discipline in the classroom. Our kids aren't easy. So I think a firm person who is going to stand no nonsense. A sense of humour...a good working knowledge, not just filling in time to pass the day, giving them bits of paper to draw on.

She went on to distance herself from the role:

I wouldn't do it for any money. [For supply teachers] there's a nice freedom. When you've finished in the school for the day, there's nothing else. Some people like that. I wouldn't, not the uncertainty of what I'll be doing tomorrow, not knowing what the children were going to be like, not knowing any of their names.

An experienced class teacher 'positioned' herself in another way:

I would imagine you'd have to be fairly thick-skinned because you're always having to adopt your body language when you go into a school. You would also have to be fairly phlegmatic about

people rushing in and saying 'didn't you know you weren't supposed to be doing that?'

MM: Could you envisage yourself becoming a supply teacher?

Teacher: Sometimes, but only when I'm desperate. I actually like what these people don't like. I actually like being involved with the class and with parents.

As interestingly, respect for the qualities a supply teacher needed to bring to the work were sometimes accompanied by low expectations of what could be achieved in classrooms. Class teacher Dale Green considered that:

They [supply teachers] must be a genius [sentence construction as transcribed]. I couldn't do it.

Later:

I'm a bit annoyed if they don't leave a note. I do expect that, but nothing else really. The odd day or even a week. I don't think it makes much difference.

Campbell et al (1991) have applied the terms 'conscientiousness' and 'over-conscientiousness', i.e. conscientiousness to a fault (p.90), to refer to current primary teaching work-loads. When applied to expectations of supply teachers and the preparations required to cover teacher absence, the term was reflected upon by the primary teachers interviewed in a number of ways. Some teachers considered it their responsibility to leave detailed work plans for supply teachers; others expected supply teachers to come with their own work schedules. Indeed, in the case of short-term absence, several teachers felt that independent approaches brought advantages. This was expressed in terms of 'fresh' or 'different' attitudes to children's learning. Among those who prepared detailed work schedules for

supply teachers, were those who expected them to 'give something of themselves', to be firm disciplinarians, and to 'like kids'. In Centrelink it was accepted practice for work records to be left for returning teachers; a common response to this practice, however, was less discernible and at the discretion of the returning teacher. In the following instance a teacher was asked:

When you come back after an absence would you explain what happens?

Teacher: I ask the children what they did...Generally I'll just carry on as if I hadn't been away. Depends on if they've done work I've set in between, and then we just carry on, it's easy. But if they've done something a bit different it's basically ignore what the supply teacher has been doing. We'll just carry on as if there hadn't been a break.

It would appear that supply teachers were considered effective when they enabled classteachers to return and carry on where they had left off (a primary teacher describes this in terms of 'keeping the class ticking over'). Thus, part of their value might be seen in terms of neutralising adverse effects of permanent teacher absence, in effect rendering invisible supply teachers' contributions. Discarding work done in the teachers' absence is referred to in the previous chapter, and recurs in chapter 7, where the focus is upon pupils' accounts.

Clearly there is a difference in the qualitative effect on a child's education of a teacher's absence of say, two days, known in advance, and an absence of six weeks or more, where the substitute may be one or more teachers unfamiliar with the school (see also Galloway and Morrison, 1993). This was recognised by permanent and substitute teachers in Centrelink LEA. Generally, both welcomed

opportunities to discuss work, either before or after the cover period. Though the nature of supply work made this relatively uncommon, this was occasionally possible when absence was pre-planned, as for example, in relation to absence for in-service training. As expected, comments by senior managers were more closely focused upon organisational issues, and the match between expectation and reality.

Heads and deputies talking

Because educational and financial changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s had increased school management tasks, it would have been surprising not to find heads' perceptions about supply cover linked to organisational issues. An interviewee with supply cover responsibilities based at Centrelink Education Centre commented on headteachers' expectations:

Although there are exceptions, what the headteacher wants [from the supply teacher] is that there's no hassle, he doesn't want parents up complaining, he doesn't want rowdy children, he doesn't want people flying out of the room. He doesn't want you knocking on his door and saying 'I can't control so-and-so'...he or she doesn't really want to know you're there.

With the introduction of the National Curriculum it was recognised that expectations were changing. The interviewee continued:

There are heads who say I don't want you doing your own thing at all...in these days of the National Curriculum, everything will be programmed for them.

Whilst in-service training for supply team members focused increasingly on National Curriculum issues, there was some regret among the Centrelink supply

team that the hallmarks of effective supply teaching - its spontaneity and independent approaches to children's learning - were being gradually eroded. Primary school heads were asked to outline qualities sought in supply teachers. Organisational issues for schools were interwoven with discussion about professional attributes like adaptability, flexibility, and control. John Astley, headteacher of Tower Primary School, responded in the following way:

I haven't any pre-conceived ideas about supply teachers.
I can understand why there are pre-conceived ideas, 'if they are good enough teachers why can't they get a full-time job in school' and things like that.
There is a certain inevitability about the situation, stress, teachers are cracking up more easily now than ever before.
I can't make any pre-judgements in that situation when I know I have the need for [supply teachers] and they are the best solution to the problems I have in school.

What qualities was Frank Sims, head of Longbricks Primary School looking for?:

Where I'm under a reasonable amount of pressure, truthfully I'm looking for someone who can go into a classroom and keep good order in the very old-fashioned sense.
On my better days, when the pressures aren't so evident I'm looking for somebody who's going to come in and become involved with the children because the children in this school come from fairly deprived backgrounds.
I actually want to see supply teachers attempting to teach and not just discipline. So it sounds a little contradictory but do you get my drift?

Linking staffing to curriculum matters, Frank Sims continued:

Theoretically supply teachers are meant to be able to just swan into a school and just pick up the National Curriculum. It can't be done but at least they're doing their best.

With the best will in the world, unless it's a long-term placement, I still see them essentially as a holding exercise.

Unless you get an exceptional person, there's not much enrichment from my pupils' point of view. Unless someone comes in and fills the school with sunshine which does happen occasionally.

For headteacher Janet Dean, headteacher of Clays Croft Primary School, access to an established supply team and LEA supply register had facilitated a process of school merger, and allowed teachers to cope with 'the stress and trauma' (Janet Dean) experienced during an amalgamation. Being a 'heavy user' of supply had been part of a deliberate strategy to encourage cohesion of school policy and practice. This allowed staff release for planning and professional development, and enabled senior managers to focus on key management tasks. Confidence in the ability of supply teachers to develop children's learning was critical:

I certainly think my choices would have been restricted if I didn't know that what I was getting was going to be quality [supply cover].

If I'd had to shop around and look at people willy nilly I don't think I might have gone down that road.

(Subsequent exploration revealed that not all staff at Clays Croft School were committed to the strategy outlined. This was linked to the need for improved staff communications, and concerns about the continuity of children's learning. On occasion, supply teachers became targets for the verbal 'off-loading' of concerns, making visible another largely hidden dimension to supply teachers' work.)

Heads interviewed had opted into supply arrangements whereby they paid an annual charge for access to a centrally maintained system. Relative advantages and disadvantages were discussed. The deputy head of Clays Croft School considered that:

In an ideal world a supply teacher would go into a class and carry on education seamlessly. This is not an ideal world, so basically you operate on the principle that you do your best for the children. The casual list offers a greater opportunity because you can actually pick people who are fairly closely matched to the teacher or have an expertise that you know the [class] teacher does not have. All this will hopefully by the end of their [the children's] career balance out.

With regard to the supply team, the deputy head continued:

You get whoever is supplied so you do not have any control over that. The lack of control is a problem. The down side is that casual supply can say no. If the supply team are told to go somewhere they have to say yes. That is crucial because we have had difficulties with a particular class...which has the reputation of being somewhat undisciplined. The problem is that the rumour gets round. A number of supply teachers, and I know this for a fact, will on principle say 'whose class is it?' and if I say it's a particular class they will say no. Now if that problem became endemic we would have a great problem.

Several important issues are raised here. First, heads of schools who experienced most difficulties in obtaining supply teachers were most dependent on the LEA system. Second, whilst this facilitated availability and quality of cover, it could not guarantee the same person. Continuity of cover, therefore, did not necessarily

mean consistency of approach or of teacher. Third, in the absence of centrally organised schemes, some schools would become doubly disadvantaged, in competition for staff with schools in areas where both regular and supply teachers might prefer to work. Finally, all of the above issues depended upon the availability of a reserve labour pool willing and able to be used at short notice.

So far, much of the discussion by primary school interviewees about supply teaching has referred to understandings among permanent staff. Attention is now drawn to self-images and the views and experiences of supply teachers themselves.

Self-images

Descriptions of the supply teacher from the literature survey suggest a stereotype of the women teacher whose times are primarily occupied in domestic and child-care responsibilities. Whilst the supply workforce is primarily female, my research in Centrelink challenged the stereotype of 'Mrs-so-and-so'. As is shown, this becomes more complex where perceptions about commitment and involvement were used to distinguish supply teachers from their professional colleagues. A wide range of people did supply work, for diverse reasons. During fieldwork in the primary schools, I interviewed eight supply teachers who were working in the schools. Of the five female and three male supply teachers, three worked on the supply team and five were listed on the casual supply register. Two team members worked full-time, and one part-time. The rest worked intermittently on a full or part-time basis. One supply teacher was contracted to work part-time in one school, and on a casual basis in others. Of the eight teachers, two combined teaching with child-care responsibilities; one faced the problem of a child with

recurring health problems. Grace, one of the supply teachers with child-care responsibilities, aimed to return to full-time teaching 'within four to five years' and considered that her current work enabled her 'to keep in touch'. She contrasted her position to those of colleagues who had taken 'complete breaks' and were, for a variety of reasons, 'finding their return difficult'. Doing supply work had made her conscious of the need for specific short term teaching strategies; she had been unaware of these when teaching full-time. Key issues included getting 'an instant measure of the class' as well as gaining respect and control, sometimes 'on a daily basis'.

Dorothy was supply teaching because she 'had been asked'. A retired teacher with previous continuous employment in primary teaching, she found herself in regular demand. She liked 'feeling useful' but considered she had less patience than previously and reflected on the need to continually 'revise [her] discipline standards downwards'. Modest about her overall effect on children's learning, her main aim was 'to foster a love of reading'. Like Dorothy, several supply teachers felt they had specific contributions to make in the classroom.

Russ, in his mid-thirties, was in the middle of what he considered to be a lateral move within education:

We'd got young children - a baby at home - I just wanted a mid-term career break from that so that my wife and I would be able to carry on working.

Previously he had been a deputy head in a primary school:

I wanted a bit of time out to do what I enjoy doing which is teaching children.

He considered supply work to have broadened his experience:

It's given me a lot of opportunity to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the way management works in different schools. Whether I choose to return to educational management or whether I will be looking at some specialist off-shoot, that's really something to be decided over the next couple of years.

For three supply teachers, supply teaching was integral to life schedules which included more than one occupational role. In each case, supply work was subsidiary employment. For a youth worker, Kay, and a children's writer, William, an interest in children's education provided a link between occupational roles. For one of the supply teachers who worked full-time on the supply team, supply work was currently central to her work interests. A move to Centrelink had resulted from the relocation of her husband's business. An experienced teacher, supply teaching was seen initially as a necessity rather than a choice. She now valued the variety and satisfaction in her work, and was not seeking a return to employment in one school.

It might be expected that the reasons which motivated teachers to do supply work would be reflected both in self-images and to experiences of supply teaching. In the following extract, supply teacher Russ uses experience of both permanent and supply teaching to explore the likely impact of short, medium, and long-term placements upon his identity as a teacher and upon children's learning:

Russ: If it were literally a question of a day or so then you're not going to pretend you're going to have a massive impact. If you're given a free rein and free choice you hope you will come up with ideas that you know will spark the children.

In the case of long term absence he explained:

You operate totally as a classteacher.

His interpretation of the class teacher's permanent role was one which included planning, marking and recording children's work, and attending parent and staff meetings. The most challenging placement was felt to be the period between short and long term (between several days and a term or more), where the duration of absence remained uncertain and/or where the class may have already experienced more than one teacher. This was seen by Russ as:

a little bit tricky because I would not wish to try and totally re-organise a classroom situation. So I would feel under a degree of constraint not to necessarily organise things in the way you would wish to.

It's a bit of a balancing act really.

Constraints attendant upon these kinds of 'balancing acts' and a sense of partial belonging, were, on occasion, compounded by attitudes among permanent colleagues. Most supply teachers had worked full-time in the past and may have shared those attitudes. Whilst experience had enabled them to reconsider substitute teachers' skills, it was interesting to note that a minority retained views acquired earlier in their careers:

William: Well, I think it's childminding unfortunately.

I've got a particular interest in [a specific area of the curriculum] and I hope the kids will remember that keenness. On the other hand, I'm quite prepared to think that they don't remember that. As far as the other subjects are concerned, it's just baby-sitting.

Not surprisingly, for this interviewee, a former full-time primary school teacher, self-image was more closely linked to an identity beyond supply teaching as a children's writer. Generally, supply teachers spoke with an enthusiasm which was most marked when opportunities to spark children's interest and learning depended on a skilful blending of expertise, experience, and independence.

Avril: It's a different way of teaching. Yesterday I went into a school, they were doing a topic on farms, and they were talking about battery hens. We used to keep chickens, and I thought, just stop a minute, I can put that in because it's something I've got first-hand experience of.

We had a discussion...and carried on with what the teacher wanted them to do.

In the above example, as in others to follow in this thesis, identities were being sustained in classrooms or as aspects of experience which extended beyond schools rather than through the daily routines of staffroom banter, tensions, and camaraderie experienced by many permanent teachers. Yet supply work was also linked to the situational contexts in which school placements occurred.

Situational issues

So far, discussion has centred on dialogues with actors in school-based settings, and an analytical approach at the micro-level. As importantly, data collection also took account of the wider structural situations experienced by permanent and substitute teachers. Some of these were featured in the previous chapter; as

Shilling (1992) points out, 'social and institutional contexts, patterns of behaviour, and educational outcomes do not exist apart from wider structures which themselves enter into the construction of these phenomena' (p.73).

Earlier it was suggested that because primary school teaching is a highly 'inclusive' activity, it is an occupation with 'a bottomless appetite for 'commitment'" (Nias, 1989, p.18). Not surprisingly then, primary school teachers, whether permanent or temporary, had mixed feelings about teaching work which gave limited temporal commitment to specific classes or groups of children. Complexity was compounded by the fact that both permanent and temporary teachers were usually physically and sometimes socially isolated from one another. Situational influences were, however, more wide-ranging than this. The term supply teacher disguised heterogeneous experiences, pay scales, and conditions of service. Each provided external frameworks for disparate provision and experience. Coupled with a range of factors motivating individuals towards supply work, such issues offered interesting recipes for diversity in the workplace. Cover masked a range of institutional arrangements, from teachers working in one or a small group of schools to those working in different schools. (In chapter 6, models to encapsulate the diversity and fragmentation of supply teaching conditions and work are sketched out.) Cover could be internal and/or external; each had implications for school organisation, teaching approaches, and pupil learning.

When supply teachers arrived in Centrelink schools and classrooms, they entered, albeit partially and temporarily, the micro-political arenas of contestation over power and control (Ball, 1987). Frequently, school entry occurred during periods

when the temporal equilibrium of school organisation was disturbed, sometimes acutely so. On occasions they became focal points of the day's concerns. Observation suggested that they did not remain immune from such tensions. Indeed, they, like the researcher, were exposed to situations in which they became targeted receivers of the educational and political concerns of managers and staff; in one school permanent teachers cast serious aspersions to successive supply teachers, about the activities and competence of the head and deputy, and in another example, a headteacher commented to the supply teacher about the continual absence and alleged incompetence of the absent teacher. As a result, unlike inspectorial or local authority entrants, regular supply teachers gained particular insights into positive and negative, personal and professional, formal and informal aspects of school-based practice. Observation of supply team members at inservice meetings clearly illustrated the ways in which a potent combination of experience, conversation, and gossip gave them a complex knowledge about the schools in which they worked. This might, in turn, influence teaching strategies used in different schools. Moreover, regular meetings for supply team members emphasised the 'team' image. Such formal and informal aspects reinforced identities, not as workers taking time out from teaching, or sidestepping their professional commitments, but as educational fire-fighters equipped to cover emergency staffing situations in any primary school context. As such, they offer interesting counterpoints to relative invisibility at school levels.

In contrast, 'casual' supply teachers in Centrelink confronted situational issues through a series of trial experiences tempered by motivating factors that were linked to work choice and necessity. This led some to favour specific schools and

avoid others. In some cases, supply teachers worked only in one school, and might not necessarily identify themselves as supply teachers even though they worked to cover absent colleagues. A supply teacher commented:

The word supply teacher. I mean I only work in one school, this school. I used to work here full-time. I'm not sure I'm the sort of person you'd like to interview?

In the following account, supply work is contextualised in an observational account of the primary school-based experiences of supply teacher Kay Porter. Making sense of her experience is interwoven with understandings about self-identity and the temporality of her roles within and beyond schools. Her name appeared on Centrelink's casual supply list and I joined Kay as she entered Clays Croft Primary School for one day during July 1991.

A supply teacher's day

Kay had been doing supply teaching for two years. A full-time youth worker, supply teaching provided a supplementary income. Because most youth work took place in the evenings, she was sometimes able to combine both jobs. Qualifying as a teacher in 1970, she taught for two years before leaving to start a family. The route back to a full-time career had been via play group and then part-time youth work.

Kay: My main job is working with young people. Obviously these children in the schools are our clientele of the future so a knowledge of them and what makes them tick is important, but it's a subsidiary part of my life.

In contrast to those in Nias' (1989) sample of primary teachers, where motivation hinged on a delicate balance between 'high levels of fatigue, stress, and self-expenditure on the one hand and substantial ego rewards on the other' (p.212), Kay worked primarily 'for the money'. Work loads varied, although it would be unusual for her to work more than three days in any one week. Six days before her arrival at a Centrelink school, Kay had been contacted by the deputy head. She had agreed to cover a year 1 class in the morning and a year 6 class in the afternoon. Aware of recent curriculum changes, her lack of National Curriculum training had neither deterred schools from requesting her services nor discouraged her from working in schools. Referring to the National Curriculum, she commented:

It's never actually been mentioned as such. No, it's not been a priority. Being a supply teacher you're not in a class long enough to see anything grow from start to finish. I'm almost a free agent. When I come in, I'm often left to my own devices.

The primary school was large; recent organisational changes, increases in staff training, and illness, had combined to make it an extensive user of supply cover. Between April and July 1991, the names of twenty-seven supply teachers appeared on the school's cover list. Kay was not one of their regular supply teachers.

Kay arrived in school at 8.40 a.m. in tracksuit and trainers ('you never know what you'll be asked to do' she explained later) and the deputy outlined the day's schedule. Her Year 1 class was a temporary amalgamation of two classes; half of each class were at residential camp, as was the teacher of one class. The other teacher was at an interview, and had left work for her children. During the short

time before registration and assembly, Kay visited each classroom to get 'a feel' of 'what they [were] doing'. For each working day Kay brought a large document case to school, partitioned to provide resources appropriate for nursery classes through to Year 6. That morning she selected work for half the class which she hoped would correspond closely to the work set for the remainder. She had more resources to hand for after morning break.

Registration was complicated. She had two registers, one for each group. Those away at camp were supposed to be marked as present; she completed the register as best she could. An infants' assembly allowed her to contemplate the morning's activities. After assembly, the combined class sat on the carpet and Kay outlined the morning's work. Tables and chairs were allocated to children unfamiliar with the room. Those children with set work had been asked to select an illustration from their reading books and write a caption. Kay provided the other children with two work sheets; one was a series of pictures and children were asked to write sentences alongside. The other comprised a numbers sheet.

Once the children were on task, Kay moved to each work table. Where children were working in their own books, she was able to look at the covers and identify the children by name. Where this was not possible, she had devised her own strategies, calling the boys 'Charley Farley' and the girls 'Ethel', until the children responded, sometimes giggling, with their own names. It was soon apparent that children had been accustomed to moving to and from the regular teacher's desk. A small queue developed. Kay sat down and dealt with each query. She kept an eye on three children who had disappeared into the book corner. There were three

interruptions before morning break. The secretary collected the registers. Kay outlined her problem; the secretary smiled and said she would 'sort it out'. Two children entered selling yo-yos; children got their monies ready, and a number of children made purchases. A brief discussion about yo-yos allowed further rapport to develop between Kay and the children. With the children back on task, the 'tuck' basket arrived and several children purchased items. Four children who were usually based elsewhere wanted to collect their word books. Kay permitted this, but kept the door open to keep an eye on the children, who entered the classroom across the corridor.

There was consternation as the bell sounded for morning break. Kay was unaware that at this school children finished their tasks five minutes before the bell in order to eat tuck. Eating was not permitted in the playground. Kay promised to allocate five minutes after break for the children to eat. This satisfied most of the children who then left the classroom. Kay found herself surrounded by a group of children unsure of how to use their recent purchases. Half the break period was used to show the children how to operate yo-yos. This gave Kay only a few minutes in the staffroom, enough time to ask whether she could use any cup. Two staff members said hello and asked her what class she was covering. A sign on the wall read WE WELCOME ALL WHO ENTER HERE INCLUDING SUPPLY. I rejoined Kay at lunchtime in the staffroom where she met the teacher whose class she was covering in the afternoon. He was going to a pupil transfer meeting at the local secondary school, and had left instructions and materials for his Year 6 class who would be continuing their topic work about the Victorians. Two children, Paul and Petra, had been given individual work programmes.

Afternoon registration took place. Paul and Petra had been instructed previously to sit alone on opposite sides of the classroom. Petra looked fretful and isolated. Kay's strategy was to move around the room, helping children to locate information, suggesting approaches to layout and design, and occasionally loaning a rubber or a pencil sharpener. She maintained the same friendly interest in Paul and Petra's work. Co-operating with a new teacher appealed to Petra; she approached Kay at regular intervals, seeking reassurance that she was 'doing the work right'. Paul was on task when he thought he was being observed; otherwise he daydreamed. Across the gap between his table and a group work table, his friend Tom tried to disturb him whenever Kay was working with others. They practised rude signs with their fingers when her back was turned. Showing considerable speed and dexterity, the signs disappeared when Kay moved in their direction. Tom listened attentively when Kay offered assistance at his group table.

Mid-afternoon and with a quiet hum of activity in the room, the deputy head entered. Kay confirmed that the children were working well. From her resource bank she had more materials available should the class complete their topic work before the end of the afternoon. At the end of the day she returned briefly to the staffroom to collect her case, and to the office to get her form signed. Notwithstanding my presence as an observer, she considered it had been a fairly typical day.

Managing the supply teacher's role

In retrospect, Kay Porter does not identify herself primarily as a teacher but remains confident in her ability to teach on a supply basis. For supply teachers like Kay, there is recognition of contact time as an organisational, pedagogical, and identity issue, and of time supplied as income. Unlike permanent teachers, it is not just that teacher attention needs to be given to children's time on educational tasks, or upon the quality of the tasks set by the teacher (Bennett, 1976). Rather it is that the temporal implications of supply teaching also permeate relations between teacher and children, and with other teachers. Such implications intersect with perceptions about what 'real' or 'proper' teaching is, or ought to be.

Affirmed as 'gold-dust' (primary school headteacher) at an administrative level, supply teachers like Kay are seen by permanent teacher interviewees as the antithesis of what they consider themselves to be: 'committed' to knowing children, sustaining relationships, and developing continuous opportunities for children's learning over time. Indeed, Kay shares with permanent teachers a realism about what is achievable in terms of children's learning, especially when classes have experienced successive supply teachers:

I've been to schools where classes have had five teachers in a year for various reasons. It's just a mish mash of people coming in and it must be very disruptive for the class and for the school.

Yet, this observation of Kay at work, supported by evidence presented elsewhere in the thesis, does not necessarily run counter to a model of teaching described elsewhere in terms of OTAL 'Opportunities to Teach and Learn', featured in the

work of Woods (1990a), for example. Initial steps towards a sociology of supply teaching, then, point to the relevance of many issues already considered in permanent teaching: concerns about opportunities and constraints, harmony and conflict, order and disorder in teacher-pupil relations. In Kay's example, it is possible to identify a range of skills expected of all teachers, in particular the orchestration and flow of different activities which, for both the school and the children, serve to promote a sense of schooling as a seamless web of activity. Temporal issues both magnify and minimise distinctive and common features of permanent and temporary teaching. Among distinctive features of temporary teaching is the need to manage classroom entry on a continuing basis, and achieve a balance between the work demands of the absent teacher and the relative advantages of independent approaches by the supply teacher.

Kay does not 'know' the children and the children do not 'know' her. On the one hand, this minimises some of the conflicts thought to be inherent in continuous primary teaching, namely the need to simultaneously befriend and control pupils; on the other hand, the absence of friendship and familiarity denies Kay many of the markers which assist other teachers in the matching of pupils to task and vice versa. Yet Kay's approach does not preclude personable relations. These are central to the management of classroom activity and to other coping strategies: using yo-yos as bridging devices, and the naming of 'Charley Farleys' and 'Ethels' are replicated in other classes and at other times. As with permanent teachers, coping strategies are integral to the maintenance of a self-image which can be drawn upon in other situations and times (Pollard, 1985). A problem for supply teachers is that teaching to time may depend much more strongly upon temporary

affirmation in the eyes of pupils; this can be denied, sometimes vigorously (see chapter 7). Meanwhile, whilst there is a scarcity of colleagues to confirm them as 'loved, needed, and successful' (Woods, 1990a, p.54), descriptors as 'saviours' in resolving school management crises of staff absence can and do provide alternative focal points for professional self images.

Such concerns are, however, peripheral to Kay. Devoting other times, energies, and talents to a career outside teaching, Kay draws on elements of each to tap into a subsidiary role which offers supplementary financial and personal rewards. She maintains an insecure teaching existence by juggling it alongside a range of more secure career and personal commitments in other work, within the community, and at home. This minimises her need for collegial approval from permanent teaching colleagues (and in the absence of team membership, from other supply teachers), and she remains confident in her ability to do what many permanent teachers would or could not do. In this sense, her distancing from a permanent teacher identity is more complete than for others encountered in primary schools (see also chapter 6); this is illustrated in an earlier section, for example, by supply teacher William, who regarded supply work as 'just babysitting' in comparison to permanent teaching. At the same time, she shares with supply teacher Russ, the former deputy head, understandings about a 'purer' form of teaching. This sifts out the bureaucratic, organisational constraints of mass schooling systems from teachers' 'real' roles 'to teach children' (Russ).

Insights into supply work

As long as there is teacher absence, daily acts of teacher substitution are likely to remain ongoing features of school organisations. As the interviews with headteachers and teachers highlighted, what was expected of the substitute was frequently a diluted version of activities which might otherwise be expected of the regular teacher. Classroom control was, on occasion, the minimum, even sole criterion for judging supply teaching as successful. If supply work was seen as a reduced form of teaching, what was significant in understandings about its propriety and reality was the association between teaching and 'commitment'. This was frequently expressed in terms of continuous and extended time scales. Images were also circumscribed by perceptions that those who placed 'sidebets' outside teaching exhibited restricted forms of professionalism. Such perceptions were reflected in the nature of tasks assigned to supply teachers, and in their 'positioning' by permanent colleagues. Performance as requested increased rather than decreased invisibility when successful supply teachers kept classes 'ticking over' until the permanent teacher returned.

Observing supply teachers like Kay in action reinforces earlier comments about the need for supply teachers to be adaptable, resourceful, and in control. As importantly, observation of the ramifications of a 'split class' and set work for specific pupils, provides reminders that opportunities to use such qualities depended also on the invisible influence of absent teachers, and the situational and temporal contexts in which supply teachers operated. Access to one school day in the life of Kay Porter allows only a brief glimpse into some of the complexities of

supply teaching. Considered alongside other data, however, it offers several insights into supply work and teacher identities.

First, it suggests that images of supply teachers derive from a complex blend of temporally constrained relations within and beyond schools. Self-images are sustained and adapted as part of a complex mix of motivating factors. In some cases, substitute teaching exposes professionals to potential conflicts between values and identities established in earlier teaching careers and the day-to-day realities of supply work (themes also explored in chapters 5 and 6). Whilst all teachers have survival and coping strategies (Woods, 1984), for supply teachers, these frequently include those which prioritise self-identities outside teaching. Paradoxically, supply work enables some interviewees like Russ, to concentrate on what they consider to be the core of teaching, namely the daily interactions between teacher and pupils in the classroom. Freed from the bureaucratic constraints of school organisation, they are joined by another group whose intermittent teaching experiences allow them to retain a sense of shared identity and competence between personal and professional lives. For those in the latter group, supply teaching is either a staging post for entry or re-entry into permanent teaching or, as in the case of retired teachers like Dorothy, part of a gradual rather than abrupt loss of status and income.

Second, it suggests that supply teaching, like all teaching, is not a monolithic art or set of skills. It is created and adapted to the needs of different children, different schools, different time spans, and a variety of different teaching situations. Supply work takes place in classrooms which have already been disturbed by the absence

of usual teacher(s) and routine(s). Whilst teaching retains a core of common characteristics, the nature of supply work reinforces the need for specific strategies and skills, for example the management of teacher entry into the classroom, and coping with routines that may be more familiar to the pupils than the teacher. In which case, the 'diluted' work schedules, sometimes provided by absent permanent teachers, may not only be inappropriate but also deny the different kinds of teaching strategies required. As long as teacher absence is discussed as aberrant, these kinds of short-term strategies remain hidden, even denied.

Third, in common with other forms of teaching, supply work can be characterised by mediocrity and creativity and by blends of both. Mediocrity can be compounded by low expectations of what is achievable in the classroom; creativity remains partly hidden either because the outcomes of supply work are ignored when the usual teacher returns, or because the distinctive skills of keeping a class 'ticking over' remain under-valued and under-researched.

Fourth, as with all teaching, the personal qualities of teachers are part of the total activity known as supply teaching (see Woods, 1990a, p.13, in relation to permanent teachers). In the observational account, Kay Porter's approaches to supply work are as much extensions of her own qualities as they are features of supply teaching. (Further aspects of Kay's story are recorded and examined in chapter 6.) This is, in turn, affected by issues of time, physical and professional isolation, an absence of specific school-based information, and the expectations of permanent colleagues. As is shown, expectations can be ambiguous and contradictory, and interlaced with understandings about what counts as teaching.

Conclusion

In many primary schools supply teachers are playing an increased role. To date, relatively little is known about these teachers, their approaches, or the contexts in which they work. Nias (1989) considers that, 'what all the characteristics of teaching have in common is their capacity to affect the individual's self-image' (p.105). This chapter explored some of the ways in which temporally constrained forms of teaching were being interpreted by supply teachers and by permanent teachers in primary school settings, and were reflected in understandings about identity and commitment. Until recently, most of the imagery about supply work and supply teachers has been dominated by those who are not supply teachers and do not engage in discontinuous work. Where sociologists have focused upon the classroom and the curriculum, they have, for the most part, excluded studies of substitute teaching and the substitute curriculum. As the daily rigours of school timetables become even more strongly rigidified by subject specialisms, and teaching by subject specialists, it might be expected that the construction and interpretation of supply work would be even more critically focused in secondary schools. Examined in the next chapter is the extent to which the issues of temporality, commitment, and identity applied to secondary supply teachers and their work have distinct as well as common features to those described in this chapter and in relation to primary schools. Here, questions pivot towards the content of supply work, and the implications of a substitute curriculum for secondary school managers, permanent and supply teachers, and pupils, are explored in detail.

Chapter 5

Supply teachers and the substitute curriculum

As well as being a definition of pupils' learning, 'the curriculum' is also a definition of teachers' work. The way it is organised, and the social practices which surround it, have profound consequences for teachers. (Connell, 1985, p.87)

What happens when, as in the primary schools of the previous chapter, strangers are called in to 'cover' the secondary curriculum, sometimes for transient, fleeting hours and at other times for days, weeks, and terms? Most teachers are generally well aware of conditions which are conducive to feeling that they are teaching well or badly (Nias, 1989). For permanent teachers, a central element of teaching strategies is the curriculum plan, and weekly, termly, and yearly schedules; together time plans afford a definition or description of what much of their work is, or at least, ought to be. Since the 1980's, positive responses to pleas for revitalised curriculum studies (Lawn and Barton, 1981, p.245) have included a variety of frameworks for exploring curriculum production, interpretation and delivery. Yet to date, a grey area of the curriculum, namely its implementation in temporary and substitute forms has remained largely unexplored. The invisibility of what happens when regular teachers are absent has been reinforced by legislative and uniform assumptions about the way schools operate. The descriptions of supply cover in primary schools from the previous chapter, particularly of the short term, conjure images of pupils contained in a kind of time capsule in which both they and the curriculum, under the supply teacher's supervision, are expected to 'tick over' (a classteacher's term) until the regular teacher returns. Over longer

periods, such positions are untenable; issues become interwoven with the operationalisation of schooling, in particular 'the dialectical relationship' between recent legislative 'moments' and school-based implementation (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1992). The incidence of absence, illness, and turnover, the balance between internal and external substitution, and the use or avoidance of non-specialist teachers, each combine to affect teaching and learning. In the context of the political, educational and economic strands within the Education Reform Act (1988), recognition of teacher absence and substitution has been blurred, sometimes deliberately. According to recent research, 'concern over external checks, whether via inspections, SATs, or parental and government scrutiny has changed the way in which schools have tried to cope with and disguise teacher shortages, the lack of good supply, and so on' (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1992, pp.98-9). In such ways, the invisibility and marginality of supply teachers and teaching identified in previous chapters are reinforced. Time supplied becomes 'hidden' or is represented in forms which will not detract from the need for schools to become increasingly competitive in the educational market place.

Central to the concerns of this chapter is a removal of the temporal 'disguise' in order to make visible the implementation of a substitute secondary curriculum and interpretations of supply work by permanent and temporary secondary school teachers. Here, data analysis from school observations and interviews will illustrate that teacher substitution occurs where unequal power relations, forged in specific temporal contexts, serve to construct, sustain, and shape supply teaching experiences. Schools continue to depend on staff who substitute for those otherwise engaged in being trained, managed, developed, appraised, or sick.

Lukes' (1974) analysis of power, for example, draws attention to the ways in which teaching and learning in temporary situations may be affected by and reflected in 'the operation of...institutional practices' and 'individuals' decisions' (p.24). For school managers with day-to day responsibilities for covering classes, some discomfort, even wry mirth, might be felt about their 'exercise of power' in situations where the availability of cover is an overriding concern. Yet the approach follows Lukes' argument that the operation of power is sometimes wrongfully 'assumed to be individualistic and intentional' rather than 'by individuals or by groups, institutions etc, and whether consciously or not' (Lukes, 1974, p.39).

In this chapter, the focus is upon supply work in a large English secondary school, to be known as Goldash High School. A series of questions directed to senior and middle managers, and then to permanent and supply teachers, sought to make links with the sensitising concepts identified in chapter 1. Specifically I asked: what organisational frameworks existed to facilitate the use of supply teachers? What curriculum activities were expected of and by them? How was the temporality of supply work construed and in what ways did frameworks of gender, power, and professionalism help to construct what was experienced by teachers and pupils as the curriculum? The chapter, therefore, begins with the perceptions and observations of 'significant others' which are then considered in relation to the views of supply teachers working in the school.

The school

Goldash School is an 11-18 comprehensive with 1600 pupils on roll and a teaching staff of 100. It is situated on the suburban fringe of Centrelink. An indicator of

the school's continuing popularity is its Year 7 intake which, in September 1991, drew pupils from 46 primary schools within and beyond the LEA. School buildings are purpose built and organised in six houses, a sixth form block, and a Year 7 unit to ease the transition from primary to secondary school. There are strong house-based frameworks for assemblies and lunch breaks. Departmental areas are clearly delineated, and also used by many staff as bases during break and class contact times. Such factors, combined on a large site, present challenges for newcomers entering Goldash. This has implications for supply staff who need to locate people and classrooms with minimum knowledge of school layout or routine practices.

The senior management team comprises the head, John Mason, and three deputies. Six boards with representatives from the governing body, departmental and house staff, manage: curriculum and assessment; communications; pastoral care; staff development; information technology; and equal opportunities. Deputy head Colin Carpenter is responsible for INSET coordination and supply cover arrangements. Goldash School began its transition to a fully delegated budget in 1990-1991. From the staff handbook, permanent newcomers learn that the Local Management of Schools (LMS) had placed the school in 'a favourable position'. In brief, with increasing numbers on roll and the gradual relaxation of transitional arrangements, Goldash might be considered one of the early 'winners' in the educational market place. Recent developments have also been accompanied by a shift in approach to supply cover.

Supply cover arrangements

Between 1987 and 1991 the school had participated in Centrelink's supply cover scheme which included access to a secondary supply team and a 'casual' register. By 1990, the scheme became funded by schools on a recharge basis; participating schools like Goldash provided supply team members with an administrative base from which to operate. From April 1991 schools were charged a non-recoverable base rate for use of the team and a daily rate charge. The former was designed to cover costs relating to team illness, leaves of absence, training, and car mileage. In March 1991 school managers declined to 'opt in' to the scheme. In addition to financial delegation, several reasons are identifiable, not all of which were specific to Goldash.

First, for several years Colin Carpenter had been working to establish a 'core' of substitute teachers who worked mainly or only in Goldash. Eight teachers are identified as 'main supply teachers' in the staff handbook. Unlike other teachers on Centrelink's register, they 'rarely' (Colin Carpenter) needed to look for work elsewhere and this was confirmed subsequently in interviews. Though servicing the needs of a large school provided regular work for six women and two men, their terms and conditions of employment were the same as for others employed on a short term basis (DES, 1992, p.23, pp.22, items 1-3). In addition, four members of staff with part-time contracts were also asked to 'supply' extra hours as needed. In Goldash's case, the school-based team were considered competent to cover most of the curriculum.

Second, opting-in to the LEA scheme appeared to lack financial advantages. Approximate costs can be gauged from the Authority's proposed figures for 1992-1993 in which the school would have been charged a non-recouperable base rate of £11500. With the prospect of an additional cost of £105 per day per teacher and a suggested supply budget allocation of £37000, Goldash managers decided to go-it-alone. (With other schools in Centrelink taking a similar line the supply team would be disbanded during 1992, providing further illustration, if it were needed, that during periods of increased competition in the educational market place 'there is little evidence of solidarity or resistance emerging in situations of redeployment or redundancy' (Ball, 1987, p.190)).

Finally, interviews revealed ambiguities in the status given to secondary team members, who were mainly redeployed teachers from within the Authority. As noted in chapter 3, some teachers may have been released with the least reluctance in the first place. Balanced alongside the expertise of teachers 'known' to specific schools, and internal cover arrangements, demand for team members had fluctuated. How did senior managers view the school-based strategies currently in place?

A 'mix and match' curriculum

At Goldash School 'supply' was most frequently used to cover absence through illness, training, and meetings. Less frequent but 'more worrying' (the head) than short term absences were long term unfilled vacancies or illnesses of an indeterminate duration. During 1990-1991 an unfilled language vacancy had been 'covered' (see below), and, in 1991-1992, a music department vacancy. In the

latter, hours were covered by the same supply teacher, offering 'continuity even if it is not specifically musical expertise' (Colin Carpenter). Part of the professional duties of permanent teachers is the 'supervising and so far as practicable teaching any pupil whose teacher is not available to teach them' (DES, 1992, p.34, pp.35(9)). In the head's view, successful cover strategies were underpinned by a balance in the use of internal and external cover. Success was also accredited to the personal qualities of Colin Carpenter in establishing goodwill in 'an area of sensitivity' (the head), namely cover. In practice this meant that when there were 'desperate situations' permanent teachers would be prepared to cover. Teachers were expected to leave work in case of absence. Its coordination was seen as an important part of middle management responsibilities. In practice, there was a recognition among teachers interviewed that this was managed more successfully by some departments than others, and it was one among several constituents of a 'mix and match' process coordinated by Colin Carpenter in a number of ways. Because Colin felt that he knew the core of supply teachers, he attempted to match absences to what he considered to be the expertise of individual teachers:

CC: I try to match them up. I tend to know what they like and can or cannot do...We had a ten day absence for language so I called in a supply teacher to cover. Then the P.E. teacher was ill. So I switched over the supply teacher [with the P.E. background] and used other staff including the language teachers to cover language.

Implicit in the above comment are two further features of the 'mix and match' process, namely the combined use of permanent and temporary staff for cover, and the allocation of classes to specialists and non-specialists. Attempts were also

made to mix 'good' and 'difficult' classes, and this was interwoven with an ongoing, but informal appraisal of the relative capabilities of main supply teachers to manage classroom control and discipline. For example, the most experienced member of the supply 'core', Jane Symes, who had worked at Goldash as a supply teacher for eight years, was given a disproportionate number of 'challenging' classes. However, Colin Carpenter exercised caution over this:

CC: I also try to be careful with supply teachers. It's not an easy job. I think we all have an idea of a good and bad class. I try to be careful with the team [he refers to the school team]. I would hate to give them a string of difficult classes all on the same day, and therefore I sometimes look at the day and if in terms of the timetable it looks difficult I will try to break it up. I hope that's one of the reasons they work here. They know I'm not going to give them lesson after lesson of fifth year lads or something.

Meanwhile, because supply teachers were familiar with codes of practice, including discipline, this provided an important advantage in sustaining a supply core who also knew who to ask if work was not set, and did not face initial problems in locating classrooms on a geographically dispersed site.

In its existing form, the core group lacked coordinated structures for professional development or appraisal, although more flexible budgeting meant that some supply teachers had been included in activities designed for regular staff. Colin Carpenter also noted that:

when we have professional development days we invite them on. A school with a delegated budget can do that. In the past no funds were set aside for that to happen.

Some are involved in these days...some prefer not to be so committed and are committed when they are here.

Here, as in the previous chapter, the term 'commitment' recurs and relates to fixed temporal periods of class contact time rather than an ongoing commitment to whole school activities.

Both the headteacher, John Mason, and Colin Carpenter viewed the future of supply cover arrangements with optimism. In an expanding school, with a favourable budget, the head looked to LMS as an opportunity for more flexible approaches to teacher supply and supply teaching; accordingly, temporary and permanent staff would not be 'the cheapest' but 'the best we can have'. The most difficult problem remained the occasional failure to attract teachers to specific curriculum areas when they were most urgently needed. Comments suggested, therefore, that supply cover arrangements were one among several aspects of 'a balance between the marketing of the school and its income, on the one hand, and making the right choices for students on the other' (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1992, p.159). What were the implications of making 'the right choice' for middle managers with main responsibilities to see that the curriculum was 'covered'? This was among the ongoing concerns faced by Jim Stanton, Head of English.

A task for middle management

Jim Stanton had been head of the English department for two and a half years, and managed a department of nine staff. A mix of creative approaches to expressive language and the individual skills underpinning a coursework-orientated curriculum, had been accompanied by developments in team teaching. The close

proximity of the teaching areas, English classrooms, and head of department's office, had also served to foster a cohesion of method and purpose whose main challenge in 1990-1991 was staff absence. The latter included two long term absences through illness (each lasting a term), a maternity leave, and a pending vacancy, currently filled on a temporary basis. In brief, throughout the previous year, at least 30% of the department's teaching programme had been taught by temporary teachers who were, for the most part, non-specialists. This percentage excluded short term absence for illness, meetings, and training.

For the head of department, the most persistent problem, namely, the unfilled vacancy, was least amenable to internal control, and linked to a number of local factors including a perceived shortage of English specialists, and difficulties in attracting staff to short term contracts. Faced with these kinds of staffing issues, a number of coping strategies were put into place to secure continuity and consistency of teaching and learning. According to Jim Stanton, advantages in using the supply 'core' outweighed the use of internal cover from other departments:

JS: By and large the people coming in from outside will come in and expect to teach, there are those [internal cover] who I know it would be a waste of time to suggest they do anything other than their own marking.

Internal substitution's going to be on a rota basis and I know from my own experience if I get a cover slip it's a nuisance and while more often than not my main aim is to keep the class quiet, I hope that someone will have set them work but I must admit I don't feel a strong sense of ownership of that class because I'm only going to see them once.

So in many ways from a head of department's point of view I'd much rather have someone who's specifically coming in to do that job with the class.

The preference for supply teachers was further supported by the availability of staff who were known to pupils and colleagues. Moreover:

JS: I've got to say that the sort of people I've had by and large have been very good teachers and from my point of view that is the first requisite.

A key feature in efforts to sustain a distinctive subject culture was to prioritise consistency first, in subject pedagogy, namely the procedures for organising classroom learning, and second, in subject paradigm, namely the views of English held by those who taught as Goldash English teachers (see also Ball and Lacey, 1984, p.232). To what extent was this possible and/or realistic, and did it include a construction of supply work as 'English'? Excluding short term cover, supply teachers were paired with permanent departmental colleagues. For the head of department, 'pairing' as an aspect of team teaching was 'not just a strategy for supply' but 'an ethos of how departments should be' (Jim Stanton).

JS: What I've done is for each class that they teach on timetable I have teamed them up with a contact point...so they would be going to talk about what they were doing...making sure they've got someone to talk to about their classes.

Strategies included the preparation of materials for substitute teachers so that even in the absence of subject specialists:

JS: there's enough willingness in the department to support people coming in temporarily. I know it's not ideal but at least we can put some materials in, offer advice and most have been very willing to learn.

Interview data suggested that the human cost in trying to maintain this degree of control over method and content was, on occasion, delicately balanced, particularly if permanent teachers were preparing and marking work for both their own and temporarily managed classes. Referring to permanent staff, Jim Stanton commented:

JS: they [could] turn round and say I'm not prepared to do it anymore. I'll be the first to say, well, you're right it's wrong, you're being asked to do someone else's job as well as your own...I've got a very supportive department, I mean I've taught in schools where I don't think that could happen because people would turn round and say, 'forget it'.

Moreover, among related issues was the extent to which reliance on written work schedules challenged, even contradicted a department's commitment to the creative and expressive use of language by students. Whether written schedules had implications for substitutes' claims to 'teach' was among the questions addressed by supply teachers themselves (see below). Strategies had complex timetabling implications. Coupled with attempts to ensure that students were taught by English specialists for 'at least' part of each week, it meant split timetables for permanent and supply staff. Team teaching helped but did not served all the problems. Jim's worst scenarios were occasions when he was unable to staff the split and 'where a class gets three different teachers'.

Damage limitation

During the previous year decisions taken by the head of department were reflected in choices about classes least likely to 'suffer' from a lack of subject specialist teaching. In the following extract a similar logic is applied to a situation where a member of the department, currently teaching GCSE and 'A' level classes, would be leaving at the end of the term:

JS: It's a very important term for them [the pupils].

I'm going to have to rejig the whole timetable in other words I'm going to have to put people in from the department into those classes.

It's going to mean split timetables and split classes everywhere else...and supply in a way is at the bottom of the heap. I simply put the supply in simply to fill the least important gap and if comes down to priorities at the end of the day, you know the second year class isn't as important as a fifth year class...that's unfortunate but there's nothing I can do about it.

This raises issues about the ranking of supply work in the departmental hierarchy as well as the prioritisation of pupils' educational experiences. The concentration, if and where possible, of supply staff in the lower school was a feature of supply cover in another secondary school visited. In relation to recent National Curriculum requirements at key stages 3 and 4, in particular the increased legislative attention to assessing the progress of the lower secondary aged pupils, the strategy appears outmoded. Elements of that complexity was recognised by Jim Stanton:

JS: I think this is becoming increasingly difficult to manage because of National Curriculum recording.

If you're talking about fairly long term [absence] you can't expect non-specialists to be doing national curriculum assessment... Quite

rightly I think they might say I'm not a specialist, how do I know what level they're doing?

The department was also influenced by outside pressures from parents and pupils. 'Honesty' (JS) with pupils was the preferred approach. In 'difficult' classes, the head of department made sure his 'face [was] there'. He told classes when they were having a non-specialist teacher 'who's very good and experienced, though English is not her first subject. In some cases the supply is quite relieved. They have not got to pretend they know everything'. The extent to which such approaches assisted supply teachers in their work, or served to undermine their status in the eyes of pupils is a matter of debate. It is also central to understandings about supply work as teaching, or not (see below, and chapter 7).

To what extent did supply teachers involve themselves in departmental concerns outside class contact time? According to Jim Stanton, the answer was minimally, though this depended on the duration of cover. Departmental practice was to have a leaving 'do' for permanent and long term staff placements, and supply teachers were invited to social events. Few 'tended to want to' attend meetings or development sessions, although they were 'welcome':

JS: I mean they've been damn good, very professional, but I suspect most of them really at 3.30 or whatever want to go home.

The effect of teacher substitution extended beyond the subject curriculum; at Goldash School, links between supply cover, pastoral and support cover were also explored.

Pastoral systems and supply cover

Large comprehensive schools are often accused of being impersonal institutions, in which the individuality of pupils can be easily swamped. [Goldash] is fortunate in that it is purpose built and incorporates into its design, facilities for a house system. (Goldash School Staff Handbook)

For their first year at Goldash 'the real nest' (handbook) for Year 7 pupils was the first year unit. Year 7 tutor groups were also classes for teaching purposes and the tutor would take his or her class for one or more classes. Each house had a head and assistant head and a team of tutors. Together they were responsible for 'encouraging the academic and social development of pupils...In the event of problems, the head of house or tutor [were] the first ports of call for parents' (school documentation). They were also the referral points for subject heads on matters of individuals' behaviour and social problems. What happened when the tutor was absent? Among issues discussed was the extent to which a supply teacher as substitute tutor would be in a position to do anything more than 'mark the register'. In the case of prolonged absence, or a succession of supply teachers, the chain of communication between, parent, pupil, and tutor became increasingly tenuous. According to a head of house, there was a tendency for the knock-on effects of prolonged tutor absence in Year 7 to reverberate throughout the school as tutor movements caused ripples to pupil and staff timetables. House staff also became aware of cover issues when relayed via pupils and parents. This focused attention on communication networks between subject and pastoral heads to ensure that both parties were aware of expressed concerns. The sensitivity of that relationship was at times compounded by an awareness that there was no

immediate solution to issues of absence. Bill Romans, a head of house, recalled a situation when:

BR: in one term [a class] had four different teachers and there were a number of parents who thought their children were being short-changed. But the problem could not be resolved...We simply had to use teachers as and when available and unfortunately not all the teachers had a [subject] background so in fact on some occasions they [supply teachers] were simply sitting in lessons and the work had been set by the department.

MM: Is there any way do you think the tutor can hold that together?

BR: It's very difficult...I think students are much freer in their conversation, because I mean, let's face it, the tutors have a greater contact with their pupils in their tutor groups.

In his view it was the head of department's task to negotiate difficult situations with substitute teachers:

BR: I would expect heads of department, as they always do, to come back and say what they've done. It's a very good relationship in this school with heads of department and heads of house.

Cover issues also impacted on the learning support curriculum.

Special support: covering whom?

Since 1988 there had been a change in emphasis away from pupil withdrawal and towards in-class curriculum support for children with special needs (see Barton and Oliver, 1992). Currently the school had four full-time support teachers managed by the head of support services, Gemma Raison. The support group had

links throughout the age range but, according to Gemma, had prioritised work with Year 7 pupils. Research interest in the construction of supply work in this area focused on two questions: in what ways were support strategies sustained and 'covered' when the classteacher was absent? And, what happened when support staff were away? In one example, where a department had experienced long term teacher absence, liaison between a head of department and the head of support services had secured an arrangement whereby a support teacher was regularly timetabled alongside the supply teacher:

HOD: We have a good relationship with the head of special needs and quite often when a supply teacher is in if the supply teacher went to a certain lesson and said yes I need to support that class somewhere else because there are some students with learning difficulties in there then she will say yes I will put so and so in when the supply is in. Of course, this raises the question in itself as to what is the role of the support teacher because to be perfectly honest, the role of the support teacher can then be class manager.

MM: Supporting the teacher rather than?

HOD: Supporting the supply teacher rather than supporting students who have special learning needs. Then again that's practical schooling at the end of the day.

In Gemma Raison's view, this meant offering pupils 'someone who shows continuity. To some extent you become the main teacher' and the supply teacher becomes 'the extra body'. Part of the rationale was, according to Gemma, its inevitability; supply teachers were 'not able to access into children's needs that quickly'. When support teachers were absent, 'we get supply cover...but I know it doesn't happen everywhere else in [Centrelink]' (GR). She described situations when the substitute support teacher arrived in the classroom:

GR: In some instances the class teacher sends them away for all sorts of reasons.

They [supply teachers] might be seen as a disruptive influence.

They [regular] teachers might feel that they can't do anything useful or the teacher might come in and say blah, blah, and blah.

Teacher substitution for special support was considered essentially problematic:

GR: The majority of supply teachers with the best will in the world will come in and be supporting, in the widest sense. They won't be able to key into specific children's needs. One of the major problems is that effective supply for us is very difficult, it's the nature of the job. [Colin Carpenter] is very good and will do his utmost to choose the most appropriate people...but with the best will in the world they've got a very difficult job.

Some similarities between supply and support work were discerned, for example, being prepared to work in classrooms where 'you don't have ownership' (GR). Gemma Raison's summary of the substitute's position, whether for support or subject-based work was bleak. Supply teaching was described as 'one of the worst jobs in teaching' lacking status 'in the eyes of the kids' and staff support 'to pick you up off the floor after a terrible lesson. At the end of the day children are receptive to those who they think know what's going on'.

Ambiguities: is this teaching?

As expected, management-focused perspectives prioritised the operationalisation of systems to maximise consistency and continuity in teaching and learning. Attempts to recognise problematic issues and to alleviate what was seen as the worst effects of absence for teachers and pupils - the management of 'difficult' classes, the coordination of placements, the adequate resourcing of teaching areas,

'known' teachers for pupils and vice versa - were indicators of positive action on supply issues.

As in the previous chapter, the data also highlighted ambiguities and tensions that were fuelled by permanent teachers' assumptions about 'real' teaching. In previous sections, these were illustrated in relation to educational support structures and pastoral care as well as distinctions between generalist and specialist subject teaching. Permanent teachers stressed 'ownership' of classes and its relationship to temporal continuity and teacher consistency in approaches to class teaching. Having acquired a peculiar status and scarcity value when unavailable, or most urgently needed, both the status and influence of the supply teacher appeared to decline at the point of school entry. Substitutes were expected to be both active and passive in the classroom: active in maintaining discipline and order; passive in supervising work set by others, and prescribing it to pupils in ways which minimised teacher-led instruction. Whether this was teaching in the Stenhouseian tradition of creative artistry and its 'model of the curious, open-minded enquiring teacher' (Woods, 1990a, p.202) or, with strategies designed to eliminate as much inconsistency and teacher discretion as possible, a technicist model of supervision, was open to multiple interpretations. At one extreme were views of some teachers who saw the role of supply teachers as 'not to teach'. Here is Grant Matthews, a teacher at Goldash School:

As far as I am concerned, the role of the substitute teacher whether it's supply or internal is to sit with the class, make sure they're getting on with the work rather than actually taking the class or teaching the class. That's the role to make sure they get on with the work I've set.

In part, such views were a reflection of negative feelings about internal cover duties which were sometimes seen as irksome. As Grant Matthews noted:

you want the kids to sit reasonably quiet, whether they're working hard or not too hard and you really need the time to get on with what you're doing.

Paradoxically, whilst a substitute might release teachers from cover duties, expectations that first, the substitute would achieve little more than internal cover, and second, that much of the work had been prepared by permanent staff, seemed unlikely to enhance the esteem in which they were held by the latter. Both views, of course, ignore the extent to which class containment, or teaching, might be qualitatively different experiences for external supply teachers.

The model which approximates to some of the ideas expressed is that of the substitute 'caretaker'. According to Fielder (1991):

The role of the substitute teacher has often been likened to that of the baby-sitter. Baby-sitting is the act of maintaining the class at its present position by simply watching over students as they perform tasks not relevant to learning. The role given a substitute is a person who performs the non-teaching duties of a teacher, such as monitoring the test, but does more than baby-sit. The primary task of the caretaker is to move the class forward with appropriately assigned teacher tasks, excluding those that require teacher-directed action. (p.377)

Predictably, the longer and more regularly substitute teachers covered classes for absent colleagues, the greater the expectation among pupils and staff that they

acted less like 'caretakers' and more like permanent colleagues. In interviews at Goldash and elsewhere in Centrelink, supply teachers noted that long term cover with Year 7 groups, who might lack awareness of their incomer roles, facilitated an albeit temporary status passage to 'proper teacher' (see below). In his essay on 'the stranger', Schutz (1971) describes Park's 'marginal man' (sic) as a 'cultural hybrid on the verge of two different patterns of group life' (Schutz, 1971, p.37). Schutz's 'strangers' try to 'interpret the cultural patterns of a social group' into which they move and attempt to be 'accepted' or 'at least tolerated by the group [they] approach' (ibid p.32). Whether supply teachers saw themselves as temporally constrained actors working at the margins of two different teaching and/or work cultures required further exploration.

Supply teachers' perspectives

Whilst it would be a misnomer to describe the eight Goldash supply teachers as a team, they shared a number of experiences; each had worked in the school previously and/or knew someone who had taught there. They had a common reference point in Colin Carpenter with whom they discussed administrative issues, daily timetables, and classroom concerns as they arose. In some ways, then, they did not conform to Schutz's description of 'the stranger' as individuals who are totally excluded from the environment and cultures to which they enter. To the extent that the reserve pool comprised six women and two men, one of whom had taken early retirement, they conformed to the stereotypical image of supply teaching as mainly women's work. This is not to suggest that the teachers were a homogeneous group; there were variations in age, personal circumstances, and teaching experience. But with one exception, all were investing time in supply

teaching as a way of juggling a complex mix of choice and necessity in the times spent in private and professional lives. Supply teaching enabled Mike Bliss to do what he enjoyed doing, freed from the administrative constraints of his previous role as a head of department. For Jane Symes, supply work allowed her to prioritise family over work commitments when she needed to, without feeling 'guilt'. She commented:

JS: I'm not getting paid for something I'm not doing...so in that situation, yes, the personal side and the work side interact because I can put them [the family] first if I need to rather than having to think of ways round it.

'Knowing' the school - classroom locations, personnel, and codes of practice - brought advantages. At its simplest, when given lists of room allocations and year groups, the octet would often be able to identify both the subject and the class they were covering. As importantly, pressures associated with continual re-negotiation of entry into schools were largely absent; they were already known to many pupils, negating some of the issues related to the 'fleeting relationships', as defined in chapters 2 and 3. As the most experienced supply teacher, Jane Symes, indicated:

JS: I would say if you spoke to 95% of the kids here they wouldn't even realise I was a supply teacher.
I've been around that long it does make life easier because you know the system, you know who to go to if there's a problem.

Other supply teachers agreed. However, comments were more guarded about the extent to which familiarity with pupils and staff could be equated with acceptance

as professional partners in curriculum delivery, as the following comments from supply teacher Gina Bates suggest:

GB: If there's a supply teacher coming in regularly to the school you get to know the staff and the children a lot better but you're still not considered as part of the staff which is a bit unsatisfactory as it were... Pupils ask 'Oh are you a proper teacher miss, or are you a stand-in teacher?' Because I'm doing a lot more regular work now in one department they consider me a proper teacher now. I think it's far more satisfying to be in the school regularly and that means people here get to know your face. But I mean there's still lots of people here even though I've been three years or more, they still don't know who I am and if I send a child to somebody, 'Mrs [Bates] wants so-and-so' they don't know who Mrs [Bates] is.

For Gina Bates, regularity of contact with pupils is an important factor in maintaining her status as 'teacher'. In her view the absence of specific subject expertise, however, hinders total acceptance by others of her role as 'proper teacher'.

Knowledge about departmental pedagogies facilitated coping strategies. Familiarity with styles used by some permanent colleagues also served as a kind of advanced warning system, particularly useful when gauging needs for pupil control and discipline. As Jane Symes indicated:

JS: It's extremely obvious, the control they [absent teachers] have over the class, how strict they are, the routine. To be perfectly honest again, it's knowing the staff here, so it's a slightly unreal situation.

Interestingly, the emphasis here is upon 'knowing' teachers rather than 'knowing' pupils, thus reversing the stress given by permanent teachers to knowledge about pupils. Unlike short term supply teachers, whose strategies might be survival to the point of departure from disparate schools, it was in the interest of the regular supply teacher to resolve problems with pupils at source. Again, Jane Symes commented:

JS: If I have problems discipline wise with any specific children I do make time. It's nearly always a group that have had like two or three supply teachers in the same day and they're just fed up with it, but then, it's knowing who to go to. I make time to sort it out...purely for my own peace of mind because I know I might well have that child the next day and if I haven't followed up the incident then they're going to say 'Oh well, she didn't do anything about yesterday's trouble, let's see what can happen'.

Such strategies ('making' time) had temporal implications in which coping in the future was balanced alongside unpaid time to consult with colleagues. Less recognised is the fact that familiarity also highlighted problematic issues, specifically in the secondary sector where respect for 'proper teachers' from pupils and staff was frequently subject related. Jill Prince, a Goldash supply teacher noted that:

JP: I don't think pupils really think of you as a proper teacher because you're seen as teaching lots of different subjects. I think when you're sort of all over the place with lots of different subjects I don't think you've got the status you have when you work full-time.

Moreover, when supply teachers had worked previously in the same school they might still be remembered in their previous subject roles. As Gina Bates reflected:

GB: I still get children coming up and saying 'oh miss, you used to teach us English' and they'll start to think what *is* your subject?

Jill Prince was currently covering an unfilled vacancy in music. Strategies were summarised in the following way:

JP: I've geared what I do to what I'm capable to doing so I can actually give something to the children, so we are doing some work. I've got material from the music department, from the head of department and I'm using that. We're doing work based on the media and we're looking at music on radio, TV, and newspapers. I've done some surveys on which stations they listen to etc and what sort of music people would like to hear that isn't on TV, radio etc so I'm using it in order that children learn something about music. It's not actually practical obviously because I'm not trained in that.

MM: Is there any kind of work you'd turn down on subject grounds?

JP: I wouldn't feel competent in teaching, for example, maths, then I would say no because I don't think I could give anything to the children.

From these brief extracts, it is possible to glimpse at the way in which two of the major contributions of supply teachers' work, namely their skills of adaptability and flexibility are modestly down-graded by the supply teachers themselves. In Jill Prince's case, she reverts to a central tenet of permanent secondary teachers' beliefs - namely, the primacy of subject knowledge and its transmission - over more

generalist assertions about the importance of the pedagogical relationship between teachers and pupils. This was also apparent in the discussion of 'set work'.

Set work

Providing written or verbal work instructions for substitute teachers was an important aspect of Goldash policy and practice and affected the way supply work was understood by supply and permanent staff. As Jill Prince noted:

JP: The policy in this school is that work is set for the children. You know, if someone's ill then the head of department sets the work. So I see my job as coming in, making sure the children have all the materials they require, understand the instructions so in fact the lesson is not wasted.

Whilst it was generally agreed that this kind of 'caretaker' supervision (Fielder, 1991) became more difficult with older pupils, the efficiency of the system was welcomed overall. However, it did not always engender excitement about the work. Supply teacher Linda Sedge declined to describe the work as 'teaching'; another (Jane Symes) made a clear distinction between job satisfaction to be derived from long and short term work:

JS: I still enjoy teaching...on supply, like this term doing the PE I really enjoy it because I have my own groups and I'm actually teaching them something for life. Whereas if you come in on a general supply basis, you know, you've got a Year 10 economics group where really the work is being set and it's a matter of looking after them, I don't enjoy that as much.

Explicit in Jane's comments are echoes of the views expressed by permanent teachers in previous sections. Here, Jane also prioritises the satisfaction in having

her *'own groups'* (my emphasis) over a continuous time span. Implicit in supply teachers' comments about their work was an acknowledgement that, like their full-time colleagues, they were helping to maintain routinised structures. Supply teachers *'who haven't got that extra burden of marking from other classes can devote all their time to actually helping and teaching that class'* (JS). More modest reflections about time supplied related to the importance of *'busyness'* to which Sharp and Green (1975) refer, and which allowed pupils to pass time with supply teachers without being seen to waste it. In supply teacher Linda Sedge's view:

LS: it's better for me to be in there than not...that teacher is getting them down to work that's been set so everything isn't wasted, they are working, they are disciplined to work... It's not just a *'doss'* lesson as they [the pupils] call it. I think it's as simple as that really. It's far better to have someone in front of them making them work than having no-one.

During observations at Goldash School various interpretations of passing pupil and teacher time, and of pupil *'busyness'*, were observed; among these were teachers and pupils answering questions from photocopied sheets, pupils copying questions and instructions from the blackboard before answering them, and drawing pictures and illustrations to accompany answers. There was also the tendency for the teacher substitute to patrol the classroom, answering individual queries and loaning writing materials as required rather than instigating teacher-led activity. One supply teacher, for example, felt reluctant to do anything more than *'issue the work out and help when you can'* rather than *'take too much part in a lesson that's not my subject just in case I'm doing the wrong thing'*.

There is, of course, enough evidence to suggest that the kind of activities described are not uncommon to teachers generally, and experienced as part of the daily rituals of coping and survival in schools (Woods, 1984 and 1990a). Moreover, not all supply teachers at Goldash were as hesitant in describing proactive impacts in lessons as the interviewee quoted above. Nevertheless, in temporarily constrained situations, the issue of keeping pupils occupied, and of supervising schedules devised by others was critically focused.

Curriculum delivery also depended on other aspects of set work. Mike Bliss, whose supply work extended beyond Goldash, linked the potential for success to both the quality of the work set and the resources available to complete the tasks:

MB: Teachers guard their territory...teachers may be very reluctant to open up cupboards or let me get equipment in that classroom or very often he will not have the keys to those cupboards because that's not his domain.

Work set needed to be 'sensible' and at 'the right level'. He continued:

MB: There's an awful lot who just tell them to carry on with what's in the book which is not a bad idea if the teacher's away for a day but if the teacher's away for the week - you might know that, you might not - you go in and quickly find that some children are five pages in front of the others, some are lost, and then you're isolated, on your own.

Whatever the limitations set by permanent teachers upon the availability of teaching aids and resources for pupils, most supply teachers at Goldash school considered that some resources were preferable to none at all. As Jane Symes commented:

There are one or two departments who never set any work and you're kind of left to your own devices.

MM: What do you do then?

JS: Panic! No, I don't panic. I tend to carry a file and paper, so at least when you can't find any paper at all in the room you are in and the kids are like hanging from the ceiling at least you can say 'well, if you'd like to sit down, here's some paper, I'll get work or sort out the work'.

You know, you go home and I think 'oh no'.

Survival and service

The curriculum is what school is for. Whatever other functions and purposes the school may serve, what it sets out to teach and what it does teach is at the heart of its existence. (Golby, 1989, p.29)

Other writers have suggested that teaching is also 'a means of survival (paid employment)' and 'a service' (Lawn and Ozga, 1988, p.96). Supply teaching shares these features and is part of a long-standing tradition in the English education system of supporting the core workforce with a peripheral employment sector. There is sufficient evidence about teachers' work to suggest that an important element in their beliefs about teaching is that 'it is a socially responsible, and therefore dignified job' (Connell, 1985, p.172), though fraught with institutional and professional contradictions. Goldash supply teachers also experienced work as survival and service, and with varying aspirations of worth and usefulness.

Despite this, supply teachers remained part of a casual work force, with restricted opportunities for career advancement and lacking protection or representation. As

chapter 3 indicates, short-lived indications that LEAs were helping to galvanise well-trained pools of supply teachers gradually crumbled as LEA power was eroded. With school based influences growing, this chapter has explored interconnections between the institutional dynamics of a large secondary school and understandings about what constituted supply teachers' work, here described in terms of a temporary or substitute curriculum. What were its constituent features?

Institutional location

For the supply 'core', the advantages of a stable institutional location helped them to keep in step with prevailing pedagogies and their interpretation by Goldash permanent staff, and in touch with permanent colleagues, pupils, and patterns of curriculum organisation. Yet, unlike permanent colleagues, supply teachers were still excluded from many of the advantages of 'belonging', for example parity in pay and conditions. Advantages for supply teachers included the freedom to participate or not in departmental meetings or development activities, described by a head of department in terms of supply teachers' 'commitment while they are here'. Whether the latter is viewed as a dubious advantage depends on perspectives about professional development activities not specifically geared to the needs of substitute teachers. Dubious advantage also links to the extent to which absence from in-service training and related staff meetings served to exacerbate supply teachers' partial exclusion from the category of 'real' teachers, thus re-emphasising their status as 'the out-by fourers' (also described in Nias' work with primary teachers (Nias, 1989, pp.29-30)). This, of course, renders invisible the preparation work done beyond school 'time' and supply teachers' concerns about whether they

have done a good job - 'you know you go home and ... think 'oh no" (Jane Symes, p.151). Half-way belonging was reflected in staff networks. For example, most supply teachers took their breaks in the departments they had previously or most usually worked. Whilst this conformed to customary practice, and reinforced a partial identity with permanent colleagues, the potential for visibility and development as a generic supply team, or of supply work as specialised professional activity, was diminished.

Beliefs about teaching

Interviews suggested a mainstream view shared by permanent and some supply teachers of 'proper teaching' as: first, the ability to teach a subject; second, control and discipline in the classroom, and third, autonomy over the content and pacing of work. Expectations of supply teachers prioritised the second category; this highlights ambiguities. The separation of discipline from teacher-instigated approaches to learning is, arguably, a false dichotomy. Whilst teaching depends on the ability to keep order, it is frequently asserted that most teachers use discipline to enable 'kids to learn' (Connell, 1985) rather than 'tick over' (chapter 4). Moreover, discipline is part of complex classroom interactions in which 'the stranger' is frequently disadvantaged. For supply teachers, disadvantage also related to other aspects of the work: whether they were able to teach subjects in which they lacked expertise; the paucity of professional development opportunities to extend expertise as substitutes; and a lack of power to control work content. Among attempts to promote useful work in the classroom was the practice of setting work.

Temporary curriculum packaging

Setting work is curriculum packaging (Buswell, 1988) in its most basic form; curriculum content, either scripted by teachers working permanently in school, or externally determined, is passed on to substitute teachers, in oral and written forms. At Goldash School, the policy was to leave set work for supply teachers. Variations in practice ranged on a continuum from an absence of work to detailed schedules. Cover for English was explored as an example of the latter. Outcomes for some supply teachers were to minimise teacher-led practice and emphasise individualised curricula for pupils (discussed, for example, by Apple (1981, p.151) as an aspect of the growing tendency towards the proletarianisation of teachers' work). To an important extent this facilitated control strategies; teacher time was focused on classroom control of individual pupils. The advantage of schedules for permanent staff was to maintain an invisible presence in the classroom and curriculum continuity for pupils. More problematic aspects related to whether this attempt to match discontinuous teacher work with continuity for pupils enhanced the status of supply teachers or relegated them to administrative assistants. Moreover, time supplied is here being controlled by permanent teachers as if the time spent by them could in some way be replicated by supply teachers. Not only does this deny the impossibility of replication, but in many respects the futile pursuit of trying to make time 'stand still' ignores the specific circumstances in which substitution occurs - in relation to the management of teacher-pupil relations, the availability of resources and so on.

Classroom activities, in which work sheets or written schedules were central, were not unlike forms of 'packaged' curricula described elsewhere in other secondary settings:

The most striking form of individualised work in the school was not the extent to which it recognised pupil differences...but the extent to which it resembled routine occupational work... Work of this kind minimised social and oral activities which may facilitate control over pupils, but does not aid them in developing these skills. (Buswell, 1988, p.128)

However, the main advantage of prescribed activities was to provide purposeful work as an alternative to activities which were unrelated to the curriculum timetable and out of step with the daily temporal beat of curriculum schedules, or served only to maintain 'busyness' in the classroom. In Goldash school teachers and pupils shared an awareness of what counted as useful knowledge. Disparate work on sheets of paper, departures from routinised schedules, and pupil understandings about destinations of such work in previously covered lessons, tended to reinforce expectations that disparate activities could become what several pupils described as 'binned' work (see also chapter 7).

Cross-curriculum issues

Aspects of supply work were also reflected in activities which extended beyond a subject focus and included regularity, consistency, and continuity in pupil contacts with teachers. Among the examples highlighted was the effect of supply teaching on pastoral systems, tutor support, and communications between permanent members of staff, in this case, house and subject staff. An exploration of special

support structures added another dimension to temporary situations in which curriculum implementation was linked to the prioritisation of relationships between pupils and teachers, and the promotion of specialised rather than general teaching skills.

Conclusions

As pupils arrive at school each day, the general assumption is that most of their curriculum activities will proceed in accordance with the timetables received by them and their parents at the start of each year; the temporal skeleton which underpins daily schooling is assumed to be in working order. In such situations the supply teacher's role lies dormant, almost invisible. Contradictions and ambiguities in supply teachers' work also stem from contexts in which flexibility, knowledge, and expertise are undervalued, and contrasted with expectations about 'typical' forms of knowledge and expertise as practised in continuous work situations within hierarchically maintained schools and classrooms. Sociological discussions of the curriculum, most recently linked to the 1988 Education Reform Act, have tended to focus on implementation issues as understood by permanent staff (Bowe, Ball, with Gold, 1992, p.83), or on temporal concerns as an issue *only* for permanent staff (Campbell et al, 1991). Combined with a historical tendency to view teacher absence as an aberration rather than an ongoing aspect of people-intensive organisations, neither the substitute curriculum nor the work of those who teach it, have featured in analyses of school-based experience. Contradictions, where seen, are more often noted at individual than curriculum or institutional levels, and the result of 'failed teaching', 'lack of confidence', 'difficult classes', and 'lack of commitment' on the part of supply teachers.

What was happening at Goldash school were first steps in recognising substitute teaching as a curriculum, staff, and school development issue, and in this chapter various interpretations of this recognition have been recorded. In centralising the construction and interpretation of the temporary curriculum and of supply work as teaching, other issues, such as the reasons for teacher absence and the complexity of overall 'teacher supply' have remained peripheral to the concerns of this chapter. Teacher (and pupil) absences are ongoing features of schooling in which timetables are increasingly and inexorably driven, and public concerns about teacher stress and pupil truancy widen. Among the difficulties in understanding teaching and learning is a failure to give due emphasis to the temporal constraints underpinning current forms of mass schooling. Such issues are critically focused in substitute teaching and in the curriculum dynamics of temporary *and* permanent experience.

The focus of this and the previous chapter has been both upon the educational settings in which supply teaching takes place, and upon the interpretation of supply work by permanent staff and supply teachers. As for other workers, time in school remains part of the multiple time worlds in which supply teachers operate. This chapter has prioritised school-focused situational issues, the views of permanent teachers, and supply teachers' interpretation and enactment of their roles. But, as noted in chapter 4, work is one of several claimants on individuals' lives and times. Moreover, there are important links between the subjective experiences of work and of non- or other work. In the next chapter, the emphasis is upon this juxtaposition of personal and professional lives, which, for supply teachers in particular, includes a rapid negotiation of times spent in and out of schools.

Chapter 6

Personal and professional worlds. The social construction of supply teachers' times.

What motivates individuals to undertake teaching work which is avoided by most full-time colleagues, and of marginalised status? In transgressing professional norms that include continuous career trajectories and relative stability in work locations, supply teachers, albeit with a variety of pay and conditions, face ongoing needs to negotiate institutional and professional legitimacy. In a profession where the majority of the full-time teaching force are women (81% in primary schools and 48% in secondary schools (DES, 1990)), most supply teachers are also women. Moreover, the higher the status of teaching, the more pronounced does male domination of managerial posts become (Evetts, 1994, p.3). Theoretical starting points might, then, be expected to hinge on the socially imposed mix of choice and necessity for women to unify what Gurvitch (1963) describes as 'conflicting temporalities', namely the management of demands in the domestic sphere *at the same time as* they are attempting to manage the most demanding constraints of the economic sphere. This includes, for example, laying the foundations for a future career in teaching, or consolidating past achievements for future advancement (see also Le Feuvre (1994) for comments on women's professional careers). Interview data already suggests that such starting points are subject to multiple interpretations by them and those with whom they work. In the social constructions of supply work presented so far, time has often been conceptualised as a parameter in which supply teaching is enacted rather than in terms of context, biography and life plans which locate supply teachers *'in time'*

(Adam, 1995, p.75). The main aim of this chapter is to explore the motivation of supply teachers, and in particular, the juxtaposition of professional and personal worlds. Here, supply teachers' location in time (and the juggling of multiple times) is investigated using data from supply teacher diaries and interviews to focus on four specific cases selected to represent some of the diversity within the supply teaching work-force. Thus, whilst three of the four cases are female, their conditions of service and work relations differ markedly. Sally was selected as a full-time supply teacher working under the auspices of an LEA team. Jane conforms more stereotypically to the widespread image of the supply teacher who juggles domestic with work times. Kay works under conditions which differ both from supply team membership and from limited experience in one or several schools. Like Sally, her supply times are experienced in a more nomadic relationship to schools than the times experienced by Jane. And unlike Sally, her conditions of work resemble more closely those expected of casual workers in peripheral employment. Guy is less 'the token male' but more usefully designated as a supply teacher whose intentions are to use supply teaching as an interregnum between permanent posts or as a 'stepping stone' into or out of permanent employment. Figure xvi (shown in Appendix 3) traces the route taken during the fieldwork to tracking these and other supply teachers. The four specific cases were selected from the six (out of twenty interviewed initially) who subsequently agreed to become diarists. In combination, the cases scan the complexity of supply teachers' lives, in and out of primary and secondary schools, as continuous and discontinuous work, and as gendered experience.

My interest in Sally, Guy, Jane, and Kay, therefore, lies not only in an exploration of 'work as a struggle to maintain some control over one's decisions of what work to do, ...the disposition of one's time...and routines of life' (Hughes, 1951, p.216), but also the extent to which their accounts contradict or confirm stereotypes of gendered experience. This posed methodological challenges. There has been a tendency to record time in terms of an either/or choice of activities, for example, work time/leisure time or domestic time/career time. My interest in supply teachers' times included the simultaneity of understandings and actions as well as the sequencing of events in private and public times. Such concerns made temporal assessments complicated. Yet qualitative approaches were sought which would allow short and medium term reflections about both. Chapter 2 rehearses the methodological implications in researching moving targets and these are not repeated here except to note the importance of diaries and interviews in providing exploratory insights into the simultaneity and sequencing of action through time.

Private and public

In all its forms, work has fundamental implications for health, family, life chances, and identity. There is an important bond between work and time, and a growing acknowledgement of work and non-work times as co-existing, overlapping, and mutually implicating. This has been paralleled by developments in understandings about public and private times. Focusing on the early twentieth century, Kern (1984) notes that:

the unity of World Standard Time created a greater unity of shared public time and (simultaneously) triggered theorizing about the multiplicity of private times that can vary from moment to moment

in the individual, from one individual to another...and among different groups as a function of social organisation. (p.33)

He concludes:

The thrust of the age was to affirm the reality of private time against that of a single public time and to define its nature as heterogeneous, fluid, and reversible...the temporal reversals of novelists, psychiatrists, and sociologists further undermine the traditional idea that private time runs obediently alongside the forward path of public time. (p.34)

If recognition of the complex relationship between private and public times is now more commonplace, implications for life careers and life chances have often remained hidden or confined to those in continuous rather than discontinuous employment. At the intersection of private and professional worlds are institutional and contractual demands of time on the one hand, and individuals' construction of time on the other. Whilst most (but not all) workers cross spatial and temporal boundaries when they move between home and paid employment, supply teachers share with other groups of stand-by workers the rapid negotiation of time spent in and out of work, and between different work places. A common thread, therefore, is the juxtaposition of multiple times.

Women's work and supply teachers' identities

Attempts to accommodate and focus fleeting worlds reflects many women's lives at a more general level, especially those with dual responsibilities (discussed for example in relation to regular teachers by Evetts, 1990, p.115). While some writers have focused on problematic aspects of combining dual roles (Yeandle, 1984), and on ideologies which underpin male and female lives (Morgan, 1985),

we should, perhaps be cautious in not over-emphasising the extent to which women perceive the meshing of private and public times as inherently problematic, experienced in similar ways, or as distinctively female. This reflects a blurring between choice and necessity in adult lives made more complex by different adaptations to sexually stratified divisions of labour. Gunnarson and Ressler (1985) have asserted that:

If we look at how women use their time, it is obvious that it is rather a question of collective time which others, for example, their families, have a right to lay claim to... The time she is able to use for paid work is adjusted to other family members' needs of time. (p.110)

Whether the above is applicable to the experiences of supply teachers is here taken as exploratory, given what is already known about variations in the gender norms which govern the type and rate of economic activity across class and ethnic boundaries. As importantly, the negotiation of time between supply teaching and other commitments provides a vehicle to explore the back- as well as the front-stage of 'self'. This is also informed by the local and school-based dialogues (see chapters 3, 4 and 5) which made links between teaching cultures, self-image, and identity. According to Cohen (1976):

our culture provides us with a repertoire of possible selves.. From this...each of us chooses or assembles a package and he [sic] gives people to understand that this is the sort of person he is. [These] constitute in effect, a set of claims we make about ourselves. Having made these claims, our public reputation and our private satisfaction with ourselves depends on our success in fulfilling these claims. (p.49)

For supply teachers, 'public reputations' and 'private satisfaction' is frequently experienced in terms of rapidly negotiated and unpredictable public and private spheres. Previous work (Sikes, Measor, and Woods, 1985; Nias, 1989; Woods, 1990a) suggests that teachers maintain their identities through a series of commitments within and beyond schools. In this sense, the teacher's self depends on the temporal and spatial conjunction of what have been described as 'coordinates' (Woods, 1990a, p.172): those rooted in personal history, subject interests, school factors, family interests and wider issues of class, for example. For many supply teachers, institutional commitment is less tightly bound to specific locations or to institutional momentum. It may be that temporal and spatial instability most strongly affects what Ball (1972) defines as 'situated identities'. Commenting on Ball's work, Woods (1990a) explains that:

Ball (1972) distinguishes between situated and substantial identities. The latter have a stable and more enduring quality. Situated identities are more transient, more dependent on time, place, and situation, though they may interact with substantial identities and may affect them. If there is a wide divergence between the two, a great deal of negotiative work may be required by both the actor and the audience to salvage the substantial identity. (p.138)

Applied to supply teaching, we might expect negotiation to take a number of forms. Schutz (1970) links the notion of self to the concept of 'interests-at-hand' in which individuals use different facets of the self to manage different situations. In the focus upon Sally, Guy, Jane, and Kay which follows, supply teachers' diaries and interview data are used to consider the criss-crossing of teaching and other times in order to explore the relationship between temporal and spatial changes and interests-at-hand as they emerge within and beyond schools. Explorations of

these multiple interpretations of times spent in and out of continuous and discontinuout employment, and between private and public spheres, begin with Sally.

Sally

'This is what I could do with'.

Qualifying as a teacher at the age of 21, Sally had been a full-time primary school teacher for sixteen years, all in continuous employment, and the last two as a supply team teacher. A member of several professional groups within Centrelink, she was widely known among colleagues. My first encounter with Sally was at an in-service meeting for supply teachers. Here, my analogy of the supply teacher as an educational fire-fighter is apt, Sally's contributions to the meeting providing early glimpses of a vivacious, extrovert personality, vocal in the expression of ideas and experiences about teaching and learning, and their positive application to short-term supply teaching situations.

With fourteen years 'regular' teaching experience prior to supply teaching, Sally appeared to be unencumbered either by the need for a trial period as a re-entrant to teaching or, in the absence of children or elderly dependent relatives, by care commitments. Research interest lay in understanding Sally's day-to-day experiences as well as longer term career aims and influences, both of which might be set in the context of the weaving of 'public reputation' and 'private satisfaction'. To this end, agreement was reached to conduct two lengthy interviews and for Sally to complete a five day diary schedule.

Central to Sally's interpretation of supply teaching experiences *and* of teaching in general was acceptance of 'good' days mixed with 'bad', a philosophy she applied to life in general. She sums up her interpretation of supply work in the following way:

When I took on the job as a member of the supply team I took it to mean that I could be teaching with any primary age child in any school in the Authority that I was employed. And that's how I work it and some days I'm going somewhere I would prefer perhaps not to be going . But I'll go because it's part of my job.

With pride in the flexibility which accompanies her professional expertise, and a confidence in her ability to cope in diverse situations, Sally's explanation of how and why she became a supply teacher are, perhaps, best understood in terms of the intersection, collision even, between the 'co-ordinates' of private, family circumstances and the world of teaching.

Quite a few reasons really that it came about. In the school I'd been working for twelve years and had internal promotion and had tried for a couple of promotions in other schools, hadn't got anywhere and presumed it was that I'd worked in one school... It was a very middle class school with every opportunity you could get really, the resources, the building was relatively new really offering no challenge and I hadn't been aware that I had been stagnating particularly but looking back I probably was. But then the situation arose where I went through a divorce... It involved another member of staff and although that person left I was left with a lot of painful memories. I thought it might do me some good to get out.

Through detailed description, Sally outlined and recalled painful memories of marital breakdown, its implications for work, and the aftermath of divorce. Several months after the latter:

I was looking through the bulletin and noticed that there was an advert for supply teachers on a year's secondment and the closing date was the day before I read it.

I thought I ought to do that and the head was outside doing football...and I just went outside with the notice. Because I'd known him for a long time I said 'what do you think? This is what I could with' and he said 'yeah, go for it' and I said 'it's gone past the date' and he said 'well, that's never stopped you before'. So I went and rang the chap at the office.

After a year's secondment as a supply teacher the opportunity arose for Sally to apply for a return to her previous school as infant co-ordinator. She hesitated:

I wondered if it was the right thing to do, was I going back? Would it ever be the same, would people like the idea of me leaving for a year and coming back and being in control of what they'd had to do, that sort of thing. And then I might not necessarily get the job and I think I might have resented that if I were honest.

Subsequently, Sally applied for a permanent post on the supply team for which she was accepted. A medium term objective to sample different schools before making permanent school-based applications, had become longer term as she became more discerning about whether she would want a permanent position in some of the 'difficult' schools she had worked. She recognised, however, that career options were becoming increasingly squeezed, not least by the realities of changing LEA/school relations, in which the supply team might become one of the early casualties. Recently, Sally had moved into a new home, enjoyed a stable relationship with a new partner, and was beginning to recover from a recurring medical problem. As a result, she began to make links between the stabilisation of her private circumstances and the need to secure stability in employment.

In Sally's retrospective assessments of recent career moves, there is little hint of the stereotypical assumptions which are thought to underpin women's moves into supply work. Instead we glimpse a recent temporal span which excludes the temporal contradictions of family formation, has needed to take stock as personal crises have intersected with career progression, and then reassess her personal and professional life. This is seen as a continuation of her work and self-image as a teacher. Unlike many others in supply teaching, and despite uncertainties about the future of the supply team, she did not experience work discontinuously. Instead, unpredictability pervaded work locations and working times in specific schools. These had implications for personal times as the pattern of intersection with work showed different formations. In what ways did Sally juxtapose these elements of unpredictability with times as teacher and times beyond work? Table 1 gives some indication of the rapid temporal and spatial mediations integral to Sally's weekly activities. Of particular interest here is the lack of notice (which varies from an hour to several days) about the location and timing of her work, and the preparedness for sudden changes in location and class groupings.

Table 1 Sally's school base schedule (June 1992)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
am	base school (yr 3)	school B** (yr 1/2)	school B*** not needed. To base school (yr 3 and reception)	school D**** (2 yr 2 classes combined)	school E*** (yr 1)
pm	school A* (reception)	school B (yr 1/2)	school C (yr 2)	school D (yr 2)	school E (yr 1)

* Knew she would be going to this school the previous week.
 ** Found out Monday lunchtime that she would be working at school B.
 *** Thinks she will remain in school B. Not needed. Returns to base school. Informed mid-morning that she would go to school C.
 **** Has known for five days that she will work in schools D and E.
 N.B. The base school refers to Sally's administrative base.

In this example she worked in six schools over five days, and spent time with nine class groups ranging from the reception class to Year 3. Table 1 is also useful in highlighting the adaptability and flexibility required when planned schedules were amended at very short notice. In these kinds of situations, pupils were important reference points. Yet unlike the experience of Kay (chapter 4 and below), Sally's relations with adults in school were also important, and linked to her familiarity with, and knowledge of colleagues and schools in Centrelink, and of them with her. In this sense, familiarity with other adults contributed to her interpretation of a satisfying day. In addition, the significance of the invisible presence of absent teachers, in terms of classroom discipline, tidy or untidy classrooms, resourceful or resource free teaching areas, added a further dimension to supply teacher/class teacher relations.

Short and long term aims for the children were viewed differently by Sally and were linked primarily to duration of placement. Referring to the kind of schedule exemplified in Table 1, Sally comments:

At the end of the day if you're only going in for half a day, particularly if it's infants and particularly more if it's reception or nursery the idea is just to get through the day and the children are as happy as when they are coming and thought they were having their own teacher. If you can keep them happy and still wanting to come the next day, you've achieved an awful lot when you're a strange face in the sight of little ones.

While Sally's diary entries pertain only to the short term, she recalled long term placements the previous year, and the ramifications in terms of leaving 'do's' and presents. This was a 'very different situation' in which:

you're involved in reports, records, planning, forecasting.
I was doing quite a share of the assemblies and always in because I can play the piano, always lumbered to do extra things, although I volunteer to do them because I enjoy being part of something.

With short-term placements, how was it possible to become 'part' of school life? Sally's diary entry for a Monday afternoon in June 1992 records thoughts and actions. She arrived at school A at 13.05 hours and wrote:

FIGURE X: A supply teacher's afternoon

Hrs	Main Activities	Other
13.10	Start at 13.10 so I'm pushing for time but feel relaxed so 'no problem'. Talk to children and introduce myself and do register. Told class the story of how I got my dog and read one called 'yum yum' about a dog. Children didn't know it was my dog till the end.	Nursery nurse present who says children would normally go out for activities. Should she take them out? I hate disturbing routine for reception so thankfully say yes. Nursery nurse very nice-not always the case?
13.30	Children go out to activities. I supervised and heard readers.	
14.00		
14.15	Children line up to go to the dentist. Confusion in message so all classes set off together. Twenty minutes in the queue.	Staff of reception classes (2) rotate when activities out and don't have usual Playtime.
	5 minute break. Cup of tea. Wrap my niece's present.	
15.00		
15.15	Children clear up and we give out birthday cake. A little girl is five. I decline (cake)! A few songs. Hometime. Nursery nurse assists without being asked. Great- because dismissing reception can be a headache.	
	Pop in to see a Year 2 teacher I know. Quick chat as they've got a staff meeting. Go to see the head who's an old friend-give her a couple of photos from years ago!	
15.40-		
16.00	Set off for the EDC [Education Development Centre].	

Two weeks later Sally describes this as 'a doddle of an afternoon' made all the better by meeting known colleagues. Her familiarity with the school, the children, and the staff, including the teacher whose absence she was covering, were integral to her reflections about the day. Emphasising performance in the supply teacher's role, she stressed the importance of wanting to 'make the day work' for children and staff who knew her, and of the supportive role of the nursery nurse. The diary account also provided an illustration of the interweaving of private and professional interests in 'work' time exemplified in the 'chat' with an old friend and the wrapping of her niece's present. How would Sally compare this with a 'difficult' day? Another diary entry (shown as Figure xi) provides a contrasting example.

Figure xl

A SUPPLY TEACHER'S DAY

REF 6.5

SUPPLY TEACHING DIARIES

DAY Friday
DATE 19.6.92

HRS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7.00		
7.45 - 8.00	Day 5 of exercises - feeling weary! Shower - breakfast outside - pack lunch. Bury rabbit. Set off to school. Know the route. Rex has to come today!!	Would have liked to set off earlier but hand't the strength!
8.35 - 9.00	(Told straight away not to do Father's Day cards - so many without). Arrive at school. I know the acting head & some of staff. Given a coffee. Told it's middle infants. Taken to class. Warned of 2 particularly difficult children.	Knew where to park, go etc. So useful. A supply is covering this class at the moment but she's on a training day.
10.00	Comprehensive notes on desk for order of day and a few useful bits of info. No work set. Topic - Pirates. Do register and intro - can tell they are difficult! They go to assembly. 9.45 - Back from Assembly. Intro knots - to pirates and their ships. Demonstrate a reef knot. They start to have a go.	Normally the Deputy's class I know the supply teacher quite well. Staff not req. in Ass. so I think what to do to link with pirates that they haven't done.
11.00	We all read board. Children have a go at copying. Those with difficulty I give a missing word, one I've done and copied, to go over and fill in using workd book. 10.30 - Children go to play. They say I'm on duty.	Come up with KNOTS!! Put some writing on board. Took ages to get lined paper.
12.00	Have a coffee. 11.05 - Collect children - Bedum on playground. Glad I'm not on duty!! Carry on writing do number sheet if finished. A dinner lady came to hear readers in another room.	Copy more missing words & addition sheets. Grateful for help with reading. She also let them have a go at the reef knot. Too much discipline required to have heard
12.10 13.00	Collected by dinner lady. Mark work. Prepare picture of reef knot with border & special scroll title & go to copy. Walk dog. Water etc. Eat lunch - not particularly easy atmosphere.	readers properly myself.
13.15 14.00	Go to class. Register. Talk about Knot sheet. Do sheet when finished & done other work - they could choose. Another dinner lady came in afternoon so I got her. Supervise 'good' group outside with sand etc.	Same dinner lady finished readers and knot practice!
15.00	Worked closely with a group of extremely difficult children. Bell went for play at 14.45. Dinner lady went to make me a drink. I kept working with group till finished whilst two others tidied.	I who wouldn't work. I who kept crying and throwing crayons. I who kept throwing anything. I who sat and sulked.
	Five mins if that in staffroom. Collect children. Tell story about 'Playful Pirates' which I made up! Pirates who came to grief because they were always naughty.	Mainly went over for the loo! Moral somewhere.

Continued from previous page

HRS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
16.00		
- - 17.00	Wrote a note to supply teacher. See acting head as she wanted an oral report on the 2' children. Set off home after letting dog out. Arrive home. Make drink and quick bite to eat. Exercise rabbit.	What can you say?
17.45 - - 18.00	Pack car. Set off to Yorkshire to visit parents.	Mind willing - body weak!
- - 19.00	Journey via A38, M1, M18 and M62 - approx 170 miles.	
- - 20.00	Enjoyed journey. Ate a couple of bits of fruit en route and played a couple of favourite tapes and listened to radio.	
20.45 - - 21.00	Arrive. Unpack, chat, walk dog. Cup of tea and longer chat.	Quite theraputic!! after the day.
21.30- - 22.00	Watch a new series on TV. Occasional chat.	
22.30 - -	Go to bed. Set alarm. Asleep pretty quick.	Intend to get up to walk dog and then go swimming.

Anything before 07.00 hrs? Anything after 22.00 hrs?

6.45 Up a little later. Walk dog and feed. Food fish and rabbit. Pat kettle on.

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments on today's activities? Please continue on the back of this sheet if you wish.

When a child refused point blank to do anything took a lot of gentle persuading and reasoning.

Sally's diary entry describes a situation for which she has been given minimum information beforehand. When she arrives at the school, she finds out that she will be supervising what she is told is an unsettled class with a problem 'core' of children. Their routines have already been disturbed, first by the absence of the regular teacher and then by the further absence of a supply teacher. Sally makes use of whatever resources are at hand to plan the day's work programme. She makes the link between work on pirates and making knots in the brief interlude provided by morning assembly. In the afternoon teaching period and as a result of her morning experiences, she constructs a story with a 'moral' about what happens to 'naughty' children. Utilising available support from voluntary helpers - dinner ladies - she attempts to maximise their supporting roles to partially counteract the difficulties and challenges of the day's schedule.

Two weeks after completing the diary entry, Sally reflected on what she had written. The sociological significance of the diary is one which is also shown here to allow for a description of events, expressions of emotion recorded through different time spans by the diarist, and the facility for post-diary follow up by the researcher. In the post-diary interview, Sally recalled an end-of-the week tiredness mediated by the prospect of a weekend away. Tiredness had been generated not only by a challenging working week but by a multiplicity of interlocked events which included the death of a pet, the onset of menstruation, and initial phases in a diet and exercise plan. Friday's schedule gave me as reader a partial overview of the temporal threads which underpinned Sally's life and located her within multiple time frames. Her negotiation of time-worlds was also mediated by understandings

about 'difficult' days and the therapeutic strategies needed to prepare for the following week.

For Sally, some of the negative implications of transitory and fleeting relations with adults and children were assuaged by contacts retained with a network of teaching colleagues with whom she related socially, and with a friendship network which included 'the church'. In her professional world she welcomed the support of the supply team, whose organisation provided opportunities to meet on a regular basis. This had been especially important during her initiation to supply work:

it's lovely to get there...sitting and drinking coffee or just chatting with the people you don't see very often.

That's one of the extra points, the social side that the supply team can be identified as a group. So often you're just out there by yourself, you're out on your own...it's lovely to get up to date on personal happenings. And there's the extra bonus, you get to know what's happening in schools and that's quite a heavy area to talk about. On the whole we try to be the souls of discretion...we're like magistrates or doctors getting together, you then feel you've got a freedom to mention a certain thing..so you can get rid of those sort of pent up questions.

For Sally, such meetings provided the reassurance that permanent teachers often expect (but might not always receive) in the staffroom. Opportunities were also taken to re-assert her sense of teacher professionalism as it applied to supply work. When other teachers had found the work 'just as difficult' it 'made me realise it wasn't just me, I didn't need to consider my whole future as a teacher again'. Yet that sense of professionalism co-existed with concerns about security of employment. At the time of our interviews, rumours were circulating within

Centrelink about the future of the supply teams and Sally was keeping an eye on advertisements for permanent teaching posts. 'Discreet' inquiries about possible vacancies in the schools she visited would become increasingly necessary. She could not imagine remaining anything other than a teacher.

As is shown, Sally's life contradicts some (but not all) of the assumptions about women in and beyond work; she is not restricted by child-care responsibilities, and, to date, has experienced supply work as continuous employment. Because the complexities underpinning the intersection of life events and routines are difficult to separate, links between gender and work, life crises and subsequent actions, are approached speculatively. In the short term, daily routines had gendered dimensions: links between menstruation, feelings, and actions; the regime of a 'diet plan'. In the longer term, the repercussions of professional adjustments for her and her ex-partner had been markedly different (and speculatively gendered in outcome). At a time when Sally faced private and professional uncertainties, her ex-partner was now an established primary headteacher. Yet whilst a move into supply teaching had required spatial and temporal adjustments, Sally retained her self-image as a career teacher, and incurred no financial loss. She considers that the added value of a highly specialised form of teaching *ought* to add to her market value; realistically, however, she recognises that, in the absence of widespread affirmation within her chosen profession of the supply teacher role, personal contacts may be more important in determining future prospects.

Guy

'Anything but a second rate teacher'

Guy was a full-time member of the secondary supply team in Centrelink. Thirty-three years old, science graduate Guy had experienced a chequered career in teaching so far (see below). Having considered alternative careers only briefly as a student, teaching was the option chosen to provide a career route and 'security'. At our first meeting, Guy was working in a secondary school, covering absence in the science department. He looked back on his career in terms of a challenge to find an accepted teacher identity, and the need 'to prove to one and all that I'm anything but a second-rate teacher, I'm a competent teacher...doing an extremely good job in a very professional way'. At the school, both pupils and the head of department for science readily acknowledged his professional contribution; part of management satisfaction was linked to the recognition that to have secured the services of a science specialist for supply work had been to capture 'a rare breed' (head of department). This had enabled the head of department to consider 'proper' science teaching. Because Guy was familiar with modular science assessments for Years 10 and 11, there was minimal disturbance to continuity, and, as importantly, consistency in approach. As was illustrated in chapter 5, there is the partial affirmation here of his status as teacher (by himself and others) which was based upon the specificity of subject knowledge.

Two years as a supply teacher was the latest phase in a career which had been kickstarted by an extended probationary period, and interrupted by a disciplinary incident several years previously. Among the outcomes had been temporary moves to several schools over a six year period. Supply teaching had not only

provided a period of stability but also, in Guy's terms, enhanced his self-esteem and the respect shown him by temporary and permanent colleagues.

I mean I quite enjoy being on the supply team. I feel that I fulfil a useful role and I feel that since being on the supply team I've been more warmly welcomed and appreciated than ever before because people see me as fulfilling a role that is absolutely vital and that they desperately need help.

Thus, whilst periods spent in school as a supernumerary had allowed him to do what he wanted to do, namely to continue teaching, it had not always improved his standing in the eyes of colleagues. Guy commented:

It might have been because I was a supernumerary. It might have been because of the circumstances I became a supernumerary but people tend to think oh he's not a very good teacher anyway because he hasn't managed to hold down a real job and I think I was viewed in a rather negative kind of way and ever since that, well even before that, I've gone to great lengths to try and demonstrate to people that it's not the case.

In contrast, then, to some of the supply teachers encountered in previous chapters, Guy's professional legitimacy had been enhanced, albeit temporarily, through supply teaching; this was linked as much to his scarcity value as to the low status of supernumeraries known to have been released from other schools with least reluctance (featured in the LEA responses outlined in chapter 3). Guy balanced the precarious realities of his current professional status alongside religious convictions which occupied much of his time beyond school. Using similar terms to discuss both time worlds, Guy describes his professional role in terms of 'rescuing' schools from crises of absence, and of 'resurrecting' useful learning

opportunities for students. These elements of self-identity were also framed in subject specialist terms:

They [the children] are not being left to fend for themselves, they're not being left in the situation where they're not getting the level of teaching and learning they should be getting
They can see that when I come in they are given the subject they are supposed to be doing. So their education hasn't been interrupted.

He provided an example:

In recent weeks here [a secondary school] the groups that I picked up here were one week away from doing their tests. Under normal circumstances those groups were going to do diabolical in their tests but I came along and was able to get ninety-nine per cent of those children through the test...when they see me, not just another cover teacher, and I can announce that I know what I'm doing and that I can cover the subject areas that matter in a competent way they [the pupils] start to change.

Rumours about the possible demise of the secondary supply team had made him aware of the need to consider the next phase of an already challenging career, and make applications for permanent work. At our first meeting he was confident that the depth and breadth of experience in a range of schools would enable him to compete in favourable terms as and when opportunities arose. Several months later, and with Guy's agreement to complete a diary schedule for five days during a summer term (extracts from which were explored in chapter 2), uncertainties had multiplied. With the announcement that the secondary supply team was to be disbanded, his final placement was in a school where a staffroom notice declared: 'We operate an equal opportunities policy here. Everyone has an equal chance of

being unemployed next year', Guy found himself in competition for permanent posts not only with supply team colleagues but also with displaced permanent colleagues. In the context of a school 'running down' and pupils less than committed to their existing school, the atmosphere was tense. In these situations as elsewhere 'there [was] little evidence of solidarity or resistance emerging in response to situations of redeployment or redundancy' (Ball, 1987, p.190).

In the following extract from Guy's diary, some of the tensions of those times are revealed. Specifically, this included the excitement, anticipation and ultimate disappointment in applying and then being rejected for a permanent teaching post. In the diary extract (Figure xii) minimal attention is paid to describing his teaching responsibilities or pedagogies employed. The impression given is one of 'children working well', almost as if he and they were on automatic pilot, whilst Guy later tries to absorb his disappointment by 'killing time'. As confirmed later in interview, delays in passing information to the researcher were also linked to disappointment about interview outcomes.

Figure xii

A SUPPLY TEACHER'S DAY

REF 2.5

DAY Wednesday
DATE

SUPPLY TEACHING DIARIES

HRS 7.00	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
.	Got up and got ready. Read through IT Document again.	
8.00	Breakfast.	
.	Left house. Took wife to W first as usual. Got to [school] and ensured that all was OK for first lesson.	
9.00	Left to drive to S Education Development Centre. Waited for my interview. INTERVIEW for Support Teacher IT curriculum. Total of 11 to be interviewed. Thought I did OK.	
10.00	Went to EMU (Microelectronics Unit) to sort out a query for colleague about Canon Ion Camera. Got a drink and then came back to school.	
11.00	Not teaching - sat in staffroom to unwind. Spoke to colleagues.	
12.00	Got dinner and played backgammon.	
13.00	Got phone call to tell me I hadn't got the job, although got to last 3. Depressing! Did register and taught 7R afterwards. Straightforward lesson - didn't feel particularly enthusiastic. Children worked well.	
14.00	Collected Canon Ion Camera from P F to borrow for weekend. Also returned borrowed IT Curriculum documents. Generally killed time really.	
15.00	Came to collect my wife from W.	

Continued from previous page

IIRS 16.00	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
- - 17.00	Collected wife and drove home. Very subdued. Picked up another computer magazine from newsagent.	
- - 18.00	Set up Ion Camera and tried it out. Excellent results.	
- - 19.00	Did shopping at Supermarket.	
- - 20.00	Wife prepared tea whilst I checked out computer magazine discs.	
- - 21.00	At tea and watched some TV.	
- - 22.00	Watched news and later listened to some music. Watched TV.	
- - -	Used computer to relax and play games. Bed 23.50.	

Anything before 07.00 hrs? Anything after 22.00 hrs?

Most demanding was carrying on teaching as if nothing had happened. Very stressful day - I felt that they had picked the wrong person for the IT job ... Oh well.

Apologies for my delay in completing and returning these. I felt rather demotivated after my interview! Sorry.

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments on today's activities? Please continue on the back of this sheet if you wish.

In the weeks following this entry there would be further interviews and rejections. At my last contact with Guy, he was still applying for teaching posts but also considering support roles in Information Technology. A computer enthusiast and a musician, he spoke more enthusiastically about his wife's current career prospects and the importance of their joint cultural and religious interests beyond work.

Much of Guy's career thus far can be seen in terms of the need to prove himself a capable teacher. As noted earlier, Ball (1972) distinguishes between 'situated' and 'substantial' identities, and points to the transient nature of the former. In Guy's case, quests for teacher identity are seen against a panorama of changing school locations and people, and a critical disciplinary incident, the consequences of which have required much personal effort and negotiation in and beyond school to salvage recognition as a teacher. Paradoxically, the temporal realities of teacher substitution have partially enhanced his self-esteem and the esteem in which he is held by others *as a supply teacher*. However, once the realities of intense local market competition have become apparent, Guy is again disadvantaged; he is now considering relinquishing his class teacher role in favour of a school-based support role in Information Technology. The irony of his current position is that it replicates a view of supply teachers expressed in earlier comments by headteachers: "If they are good enough teachers why can't they get a full-time position in school', and things like that' (chapter 4, p.100). Guy's professional limbo is, in part, a reflection of the solidarity and collective claims of the permanent teaching force. Once breached, prospects for the recovery of identity and status are daunting.

Jane

'It just suits me'

Jane had only ever wanted to be a teacher. Even after the birth of the first of two children, it had been her intention to return as a secondary school 'career teacher' as she describes it. Previously a science teacher for seven years, she did return to a full-time career for one term after the birth of her first child. As the conflicting temporalities of motherhood and career prospects intensified, she found the balancing of domestic and career commitments difficult, to the extent that she left teaching altogether for a period of two years, to return, albeit reluctantly at first, as a supply teacher. In this sense, Jane is not untypical of

those for whom teaching brings a second and sometimes subsidiary income into the home (in western society, normally married women with children) ...[and]...have in some instances managed to turn a single line vertical career structure of teaching to their advantage. Or to put it another way, though disadvantaged by the multiple roles they carried...by the mobility sometimes forced upon them by their husbands' jobs...[have]...managed to make a virtue out of a necessity. (Nias, 1989, p.75)

Jane had been a supply teacher at the same school for nearly eight years. Recognised by senior management as the backbone of the school-based supply team, she had at first been reluctant to extend her teaching beyond her subject specialism:

I think they [the school managers] were desperate for a science teacher so I think I actually had a contract for two mornings a week...really, it was when all the union trouble started up, you know, when children were being sent home because classes weren't being covered...supply really as far as I can remember came in then because before when I was here there was no such thing as supply teachers. You covered however long anyone had been away as far as I can remember.

Initially I said, well, you know, I would only do it in my own area, science, but as other departments had a need so consequently I've been in all the departments in this school at some stage.

Setting her initiation into supply work in the historical contexts of industrial action and the willingness of flexible workers to 'stand in' for the 'core', Jane's work times had become more regular since the mid 1980s, to the extent that she described her current situation more in part-time than supply terms. In this sense, the term part-time offered an enhanced status passage from temporary to permanent within a fixed location. This had specific implications, she felt, for her relations with pupils:

they've seen me you know when they come in at the first year and they're up to the fifth form and sixth form and I've been around so long, so it does make life easier because you know the system, you know who to go to if there's a problem etc.

Jane had no plans to work in any school other than her present one. She liked the familiarity of school, and regularity of contact with staff and pupils. Where possible, she kept in touch with the social aspects of other teachers' lives particularly those in permanent employment at the school. For example, Jane took most of her breaks within the department she had worked most frequently over the past two years (not science). This served to confirm an identity as departmental rather than supply team member, and this distanced her further from 'external' supply teachers who might provide cover on a less regular basis. Furthermore, in discussing her diary entries she commented:

I've been there a long time now, off and on albeit, and when I'm not there regularly I do miss the social side of it.

So say on a Friday lunchtime, I know they always go up to the [pub] so if I'm not at school I'll pop up there at lunchtimes just to keep, I mean up with all the gossip [laughter].

In conversations with Jane, the term 'convenience' recurs. The term is used to refer to convenience for 'others' as well as herself, and is a reminder of women's 'collective' times (Gunnerson and Ressler, 1985). A phone call and a ten minute car journey separated Jane's private and professional worlds. This allowed her to return at break times to perform multiple roles as 'keeper' of a large family home, custodian of the family's pets, children's day time carer, and overseer of elderly parents. In total:

It just suits me. That sounds ever so selfish but it's not meant to be because I really enjoy teaching.

I like the freedom of being able to say no...let's say for instance my daughter will be doing a Christmas production towards the end of term which is an afternoon. Now, if my husband can't come in on that afternoon I might say well do you mind if I don't come in that afternoon, I'd like to go and see [Emily's] play.

And I've got quite a few animals and things like that...you've not got the continuity and the pressure of it so it really suits me at the moment.

An experienced teacher who was not reluctant to take difficult classes, Jane was especially 'convenient' for school managers. She tried to respond to all last minute phone calls and to requests to remain at school if the need for cover persisted. In her diary entries, Jane moved through a kaleidoscope of classes and subjects. The matter-of-factness of the record minimises potential complexities. In the following diary extract, Jane summarises a morning's routine:

Figure xlii	A morning's routine (June)
7.00 hrs	Got up, washed, dressed. Fed dogs and cats. Gave dogs a run. Prepared breakfast. Wake kids. 7.45 - wash and dressed. Make beds.
8.00 hrs	Check kids had everything for school. Washed up. Left house at 8.30. Took kids to school then travelled to (school). Go to Df's office for cover slips. PE all day.
9.00 hrs	PE mixed group. Yr 9. Volleyball. Taken group before teaching game situation. Collect valuables and lock them away.
10.00 hrs	Break. Followed by Yr 8 mixed group for dance. Followed up work from last week done by normal teacher. Warm up routine in groups. Boys in particular needed a lot of guidance.
11.00 hrs	Same group on badminton. Taught serving skills to weaker ones. Game situation. 11.45 - supervised girls in changing rooms. Returned valuables.
12.00 hrs	Returned home. Had drink. Fed cats. Gave dogs a run. 12.45 - returned to school.
13.00 hrs	Supervision of Yr 11 chemistry group...

The extract reveals not only the intermeshing of domestic and school times, but also a matter-of-factness about the temporal engagement and re-engagement with different year groups and subjects. Three weeks later discussion returned to that day. Referring to the 10.00-11.00 hours slot, Jane noted:

We were in the drama studio to start with, the hall was being used so we were in a much smaller room than normal.
They just seemed so unsure of what a warm up was...this particular group of boys were really difficult to get motivated...the lesson was quite a pain.

Such 'pain' was minimised in the diary account but was reflected upon in interview as one of the problematic and energy-sapping aspects of supply work. Despite this, P.E. remained an area in which Jane had developed a growing interest since becoming a supply teacher- 'you're teaching them something for life'. Nias (1989) describes 'redefined' careers for teachers whose subsidiary teaching roles are peripheral to conventional schooling, yet offer satisfaction by focusing on new

interests, as well as giving 'a good deal of freedom' (p.76), albeit mediated through gendered interests and times. Whether or not this constitutes 'a good deal' in another sense depends very much on women's location in given societies. Unlike men, women like Jane may still be seen as able to choose between economic activity and inactivity at strategic points in their lives. For middle class 'Janes', supply teaching can and does offer gendered solutions. Yet, the forms taken vary widely across class and ethnic boundaries. At the time of writing, Jane had not ruled out a return to full-time teaching; she acknowledged, however, that in the absence of economic necessity, this mainly satisfying combination of employment and non-employment commitments was likely to occupy her time and energies for several years to come.

Kay

'Supply teaching on the side'

The extent to which the temporal realities of supply teaching allowed supply teachers to find self-expression within the work was among the issues addressed in chapter 4, when part of Kay's story unfolded. She was observed working for one day in a primary school. Here, some of the skills and strategies implicit in the term 'casual' cover were made visible. Several months later, Kay agreed to complete a five day diary, expressing surprise that I had found our earlier encounter anything other than 'ordinary' and 'routine'. Because much of her full-time work in the Youth Service took place during the evening, this allowed time to do supply teaching during the day. At our second meeting, research interest centred on the extent to which Kay was able to sustain dual interests and energies in different

professional worlds which spanned day and evening times. Kay commented on the brief temporal interlude which separated professional worlds:

When I go home I sort of switch off for a while and then my daughter comes home so we sort of chat about the day's events and we scoot off out again [daughter has also embarked on a career in youth work]. You don't have a lot of time to actually think. You plan what you have to do in the evening or where you're going to visit or what else you've got to do, and it's just a case of going out and doing it...especially when I was doing the teaching, you actually go out and do what you have to do.

Doing 'what you have to do' involved work which was also what she wanted to do. In such ways, changes in pace, timing, and professional issues, were integral to the juggling of work times which offered a sense of excitement as well as fulfilment. Compared to youth work, supply teaching was seen as more routinised, and an important source of supplementary income. Her 'run of the mill' (Kay) approach to this combination of working worlds depended upon her availability, and upon prior schedules:

Like this morning a school rang me and said 'could you come in' 'sorry, no' 'can you come in Friday' 'sorry, no, going [abroad, taking a youth group away], but had I had the morning free, I would just have rung [Jack] my boss and said 'is it alright if I'm not in today, I've got nothing specifically planned today'. 'Yes, OK'.

An extract from one day in Kay's five day schedule (figure xiv), typifies working times which extended to 22.00 hours and beyond. Part of her motivation is illustrated in the extent to which there was a merging and blurring of the social and the professional, especially in youth work. In the extract there are valuable

insights into the issues of adaptability and flexibility required of the supply teacher. Having previously spent part of 'other times' preparing for the day's work, she is confronted by a situation where she is required to make virtually instantaneous modifications, not only in relation to prepared resource materials but also to the pedagogical approaches needed for very young (ie: nursery-aged) children. New to the school, she is also required for playground duty. (This poses interesting questions about the appropriateness of strategies used by school-based managers in allowing an 'unknown' teacher to supervise the health and safety aspects of children's well-being in a situation where Kay lacks information about children's specific needs.) Also evident in the day's schedule is the intermittent meshing of teaching activity with her other main work role, that of youth work. This occurs within 'school time' as well as between 19.00 and 22.00 hours. Domestic or non-work issues are discussed briefly between 17.00 and 18.00 hours and after 22.00 hours, and the day is summarised as 'not demanding'. Later she describes this term in relation to the manageability of her relations with the school children and their learning activities, rather than in terms of physical energy expounded. Moreover, in combining this work schedule with a personal life which included a grown-up daughter at home, Kay's philosophy was summarised by her as follows:

I don't let anything get on top of me. I just don't, and if there's a problem I sort it out and then have a good laugh about it later. I don't bottle it up and I don't think 'what am I going to do now, how will I cope?' If I need to talk about it I will do and there are people I know I can talk to about anything so I don't let it get on top of me.

Figure xiv

A SUPPLY TEACHER'S DAY

REF 1.5

SUPPLY TEACHING DIARIES

DAY Thursday
DATE 26.3.92

HRS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7.00		
-	Get up - wash, dress, feed dogs.	
-	Up for tea.	
8.00		
-	Leave home -	
-	Arrive at school 8.45.	
-	Show class teacher work prepared -	
9.00		
-	Yes, very good but a change of plan. Various staff are out on courses or are ill, so can I cover in the nursery - yes of course I can.	
-		
10.00		
-	Work with class teacher, writing exercises, general activities.	
-	My playground duty!	
11.00		
-	Now a quick coffee before out door activities for the Nursery.	
-	Read story and prepared children for dinner.	
-	told }	
12.00		
-	Dinner with the children and more coffee. Discussion with teachers - can I take photos of them for a "stereotyping" quiz I intend to put on for the residential weekend - yes of course I can - so long as they can have a go once it's complete.	
13.00		
-	Back to the class I should have had on Wednesday morning.	
-		
14.00		
-	Pre-printed information about tigers - missing words have to be inserted (Topic on animals).	
-		
15.00		
-	Continue topic work.	
-	Finish at 3.30 and see teacher of class I will be with tomorrow.	
-		

Continued from previous page

IIRS 16.00	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
- - 17.00	Call in at B C House for messages. Photocopying - Home.	
- - 18.00	Tea, see daughter. Feed dogs etc. I have 5 minutes sit down!	
- - 19.00	Leave home 6.30 - take daughter to D - (training course). Arrive at L. Road in preparation for training course.	
- - 20.00	Feedback and evaluation of the course, content and delivery over last 5 weeks.	
- - 21.00	Recap on info needed for the Residential weekend - relevant forms to be filled in before going etc if taking young people away.	
- - 22.00	Distribution of information on the exercise to be done on the Residential. As much or as little preparation can be done by the participants before the event.	
- -	Adjourn to the pub with J, and 2 members from the course.	

Anything before 07.00 hrs? Anything after 22.00 hrs?

Continue discussion in the pub about the course and the Residential weekend (it should be fun!)

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments on today's activities? Please continue on the back of this sheet if you wish.

Not demanding, but this is where adaptability and a sense of humour counts - change of plan at school - preparations for work to be done were not received today.

Sometimes there was an overlapping of professional worlds. Taking photographs in school to support project work at youth centres was one among several recorded examples of the criss-crossing of temporal work boundaries. Living with unpredictability and a succession of fleeting worlds was integral to her self-image as youth worker and supply teacher, and, in the latter role, to what Woods (1990a) describes as the 'dialectical interplay' (p.145) between the curriculum and self. Applied also to youth work she explains:

You see the job I'm doing you never know what's going to happen. You know, you go into a youth club in the evening to see how things are, to talk to the staff, and you never know what's going on in that half of them might have gone out on a trip, the people you want to see might have gone or whatever. You take advantage of whatever there is to use.

With a continuing demand for her teaching services she saw no reason why such combinations should not continue.

MM: Where do you see yourself in five years time?

Kay: Still being a full-time youth and community worker with perhaps some supply teaching on the side.

Conclusion

No claims are made that a full account has been given of the thoughts and actions of Sally, Guy, Jane and Kay. This would, in any event, require more material. Moreover, in striking 'research bargains' both the researcher and the researched have needed to withhold data for reasons which include anonymity, confidentiality, privacy, and practicality (Measor and Sikes, 1991). Neither is it claimed that the

accounts given are typical of all supply teachers. Indeed, diversity in experiences, pay, and conditions discussed in this and previous chapters continues to confound any one stereotypical image of the supply teacher, or uniform representation of 'conflicting temporalities' (Gurvitch, 1963). As with most paid workers, teachers combine a range of temporal commitments within and beyond the work place. If the teacher's self depends on the conjunction of 'co-ordinates' (Woods, 1990a, p.172), the evidence presented suggests that this is as true for supply teachers as it is for permanent teachers. Indeed, time spent as a supply teacher might be the direct result of the intersection of co-ordinates at a specific time and location. Would Sally have become a supply teacher had not marital breakdown occurred at a particular time in her teaching career and in a specific Centrelink school location? Yet, what was distinctive about supply teaching was the temporal instability of at least two of those co-ordinates, namely institutional and subject commitments. In combination with the rapid mediation of time as paid, non-paid, or non-work, supply teachers' lives had more in common with other stand-by workers than with permanent colleagues. Extracts from the diaries of Jane and Sally, for example, illustrated that ongoing mediation, and the complexities in describing supply teaching as an occupation by choice. In Kay's case, mediation merged into a blurring of professional and private times, and the personal 'buzz' derived from juggling a private world with two professional ones.

Confronted by relative invisibility and anonymity at institutional levels, considerable negotiation between actors and audience was, on occasion, necessary for supply teachers to 'feel like teachers' (Nias, 1988). Sally achieved this partly through self-definition as an educational 'fire-fighter' and partly through continuing

contacts with permanent colleagues. Sally's membership of the Centrelink supply team provided a level of sub-cultural emotional support and a discursive arena for strategies to combat amorphousness or drift. In Jane's case, locational stability facilitated social as well as school-based visibility; Jane identified herself more in terms of the permanent teaching force in school rather than with 'external' supply teachers. With other interests of more central importance, Kay, on the other hand, did not need to feel like a teacher in order to manage the supply teaching role. Paradoxically, Guy's route into supply teaching, and his ability to step into the temporal breach caused by teacher absence in science departments, had provided an opportunity to prove a level of competence that had been more problematic in his earlier career.

In common with many permanent colleagues, the evidence also demonstrates that supply teachers thought of themselves as caring, and concerned to achieve high levels of professional competence. This included a resilience and independence to apply flexible talents in unpredictable situations. Linked to previous evidence that teaching work requires practitioners to be self-conscious (Nias, 1989), there were important reasons for supply teachers to be as, if not more self-conscious than many permanent teachers. More isolated, more individualised, and more dependent on classroom activity and pupils to affirm 'situated identities', self-awareness of the spatial and temporal balancing of their lives mattered more to them partly because it mattered less to others. Self-consciousness was expressed in a number of ways. In Sally's case, it was affirmed as part of a group identity as supply teacher *and* as career teacher. Her overt enthusiasm about supply teaching

contrasts with Jane's matter-of-factness, Kay's professional juggling act, and Guy's concern to confirm a teaching identity.

For these supply teachers, fleeting relationships with pupils and teachers secured a sense of personal freedom, which was frequently unhindered by the day-to-day organisational and bureaucratic concerns of permanent teachers. This allowed a partial mediation of personal and professional interests, evident in Jane's situation, for example. Here, the advantages of work flexibility unavailable to men or women assigned roles as main breadwinners, were made visible. (This does not deny the importance of supply teachers' organisational skills. Consider Sally's school base schedule shown as Table 1 (p.171).) Yet, aspects of that freedom were illusory. Overall, my evidence suggested that supply teachers were reluctant to decline work, and defined professionalism as a duty to pupils in need even when they did not wish to work. Moreover, some of that 'freedom' resided with partners who pursued careers judged to be successful in continuous, hierarchical terms. Others interpreted professionalism as the decision to make short term yet concentrated commitments to teaching, unimpeded by other interests, whether domestic or other work. Such arrangements frequently assumed that supply teachers, rather than members of the households to which they belonged, were flexible in their interpretation and use of time. Jane's account and interview data from supply teachers in previous chapters illustrate this. It was also freedom bought at a price. It was agreed by all the interviewees that supply teaching was held generally to be of low status. The contribution of diaries and interviews were to make visible the daily ramifications of teaching work which draws on flexibility

and personal resources, frequently in the absence of colleagues with whom identities might be nurtured.

The cases presented in this chapter in combination with the data analysed in earlier chapters - notably chapters 3, 4, and 5 - allow me, in conclusion, to sketch out a model of supply teachers, albeit one framed within diversity and fragmentation, and in relation to an almost inevitable blurring of the distinctions between each category. Figure xv offers such a model.

Figure XV SUPPLY TEACHERS: MODELS OF DIVERSITY AND FRAGMENTATION

CATEGORY	A	B	C	D	E	F
DESIGNATION	INTERNAL COVER	FULL-TIME SUPPLY TEACHERS (1)	FULL-TIME SUPPLY TEACHERS (2)	FULL-TIME SUPPLY TEACHERS (3)	PART-TIME TEACHERS	PART-TIME SUPPLY TEACHERS
EMPLOYED BY	school and/or LEA (linked to schools status: GMS, LMS, private etc)	(1) LEAs as team members or from 'casual' list (2) schools (3) private teacher agencies	as 'B'	as 'B'	as 'A'	as 'B'
CONTRACTS	as for permanent staff	diverse: fixed term, hourly paid	as 'B'	as 'B'	as 'B'	as 'B'
SUPPLY TEACHER AIMS	part of contracted duties	to work continuously	as 'B', but not permanently	to work discontinuously	to work discontinuously	to work continuously and discontinuously
MOTIVATION	prescribed as overall 'supervision' duties. Minimalist interpretation of 'cover' as teaching.	viewed supply teaching as permanent career.	viewed as an alternative to unemployment or early retirement. Viewed as a 'stop-gap' or 'stepping-stone' into and out of employment.	to supplement income from other work/non-work interests: travel, writing ...	to supplement income from pt teaching employment, and/or as a 'stepping-stone' into and out of full employment.	as means of combining non-work and other work times with teaching.
SUPPLY TEACHING VIEWED BY INCUMBENTS AS	STATUTORY DUTY / NECESSITY.	CHOICE is: selected as a positive alternative to 'A'.	NECESSITY is: an alternative to unemployment in the absence of 'A'.	CHOICE is: teaching not seen as central to permanent career interests.	CHOICE/NECESSITY: interpretation dependent upon gendered, familial and socio-economic obligations. Predominantly female.	CHOICE/NECESSITY as 'E'
SCHOOL LOCATIONS	cover duties within own school.	diverse: Can work for one or more schools within or across LEA boundaries. Occasionally cross-phase.	as 'B'.	as 'B'.	as 'B' except work less likely to be cross-phase and more likely to work in one school.	as 'B' except work less likely to be cross-phase.

Category A provides a useful reminder that all permanent teachers have a statutory duty to supervise classes when teachers are absent. As previous chapters have indicated, this is operationalised in ways which were generally recognised by supply co-ordinators as 'sensitive' and by permanent teachers as onerous. Categories B to F indicate the diversity of supply teaching conditions, locations of service and motivations for work. The concepts of choice and necessity in terms of supply work are understood in multiple and complex ways, but in the model I have attempted to distinguish, for example, between those supply teachers who would choose to teach on a supply basis rather than on a permanent basis from those who would choose to teach on a supply basis rather than be unemployed from teaching. The categories E and F are, in at least two ways, the most difficult to separate, not only in terms of gendered, familial and socio-economic obligations and dependencies, but also in terms of distinguishing between the contracts of part-time teachers (ostensibly 'belonging' to specific schools) and part-time supply teachers, whose work patterns were not infrequently interchangeable. Category D encompasses a myriad of individuals and groups - researchers, actors, musicians, teacher travellers, children's writers - where supply teaching fits in with chosen life styles. In this regard, Kay and Jane may be seen as variants of category F, although Jane aligns herself close to the boundary with category E. Kay's work shares some of the features of category D, in particular its supplementary contribution to career times. It is also important to note that, through time, supply teachers move between categories. At the start of Sally's supply teaching career, for example, she defined her role in terms of category B. By the time of our last meeting, definitions had moved to category C where Guy's definition of his role may also be located.

Overall the findings in this chapter affirm that the social construction of supply teachers' lives and work can be understood by locating their understandings and experiences *in* time as aspects of individual biographies and life plans, and in a diversity of contexts and conditions. The processes described by these supply teachers are not just about acquiring the temporal skills of 'fitting in' supply teaching with other aspects of lives (or vice-versa) but are also about the formation and maintenance of identities which are a composite of experiences in private and public times. The sociological meanings of supply teaching can vary according to the sociographic characteristics of the actors themselves and the meanings applied by them and those with whom they relate; these are crosscut by the temporal realities of continuous and discontinuous work and structural constraints. Gendered experience of supply work, moreover, was not uniform. The experience of employment, employment locations, marriage, parenthood, interests and beliefs, shape identities, and these, in turn, shape the experience of employment, employment locations, marriage, and so on. The relationship is complex, ongoing, and dialectical. Involved in all this is the struggle to unify the various connections in time spent in and out of economic and non-economic activities.

All of this may or may not be paramount in the concerns of pupils and/or parents about the quality and regularity of teaching and learning. One can only speculate, for example, at the views of some parents who might discover that their children were being taught by erstwhile youth workers and writers. In the penultimate chapter, attention turns to those who are on the receiving end of teacher substitution. Here, pupils' voices are added to those already heard in order to

explore pupil constructions of teaching 'to time' and their relationship to those of others.

Chapter 7

On the receiving end: pupils' accounts

Dorothy is covering Year 4 this morning, with me as observer. She gathers the children on the carpet and starts to call the register. As names are called and acknowledged, each pupil runs to the classroom door to form a line ready for assembly. 'Did I invite you to move?' says Dorothy. A boy on the carpet informs her that 'we always do that with [Miss A]'. Dorothy tells them that for today she will tell them when to move to the door. Three children at the door walk back reluctantly. Two roll their eyes to the ceiling, one 'tuts'. Several children on the carpet put their heads together, whisper, pull faces. Dorothy whispers across to me. She doesn't think it will be plain sailing today. I wonder what the pupils think.

(Fieldnotes, July 1991 : A primary school in Centrelink LEA)

Most of what supply teachers do in schools takes place in classrooms and with pupils. For teachers involved in daily acts of substitution, pupils have vital, and in the frequent absence of relations with other teachers, almost exclusive roles to play in defining the context and some of the meanings of supply teaching activity. This is recognised both by supply teachers and some of the permanent teachers who have been the dominant voices of previous chapters. Reflections by permanent and temporary teachers have shown a marked resistance to celebrate supply teachers' contributions to classroom learning. Whilst the diary accounts of chapter 6 offer evidence of multiple skills, notably those of resourcefulness, adaptability and flexibility in the encouragement of pupils' learning, school managers have preferred to discuss supply teachers' contributions in terms of the maintenance of the daily routines of schooling (as in chapter 4). Moreover, some supply teachers have themselves offered very modest reflections upon teaching times supplied, as in a comment from supply teacher Linda Sedge (reviewed in chapter 5):

LS: It's better for me to be in there than not ... that teacher is getting them down to work, they are disciplined to work ... It's not just a 'doss' lesson as they [the pupils] call it. I think it's as simple as that really. It's far better having someone in front of them making them work than no-one.

Until recently, most of the issues pertaining to teacher-pupil relations in the supply context remained invisible or largely ignored. Then, in the context of accelerated INSET and permanent teacher absences from the classroom in the mid to late 1980s, some of the discontinuities in teacher-pupil interactions became more apparent and provoked critical comment (Brown and Earley, 1990), especially when the advantages of in-service training for future pupils were balanced against the losses for existing pupils when permanent teachers were absent. Whether caused through training initiatives, legislated requirements, teacher shortages or other reasons, there was growing concern among educational practitioners about the effect of such absences on pupils, particularly when concentrated in specific geographical locations or in curriculum areas where negative effects were considered disproportionately negative (discussed for example by Connor (1993) in relation to disruption). Alongside such concerns, this thesis illustrates that there were also expectations that pupils could be contained in a kind of time capsule in which both they and the curriculum might be expected to 'tick over' until the regular teacher returned. Again, the emphasis was not upon a consideration of supply teachers' roles in the classroom but rather upon a counter balancing of the negative effects for pupils of absence by permanent teachers.

Pupils' voices

Prior to my research, pupils' views on teacher substitution had remained undocumented. The dominant voices in this chapter are of pupils. Whilst their accounts are often surprisingly absent from sociological and educational research reports, they *have* featured more strongly in ethnographic accounts of schooling, and in analyses of the sociology of teachers and teaching (Burgess, 1983; Hargreaves and Woods, 1984; Woods, 1990a). Here, pupils' capacities to control, and even to define what happens in classrooms, is shown to foster a complex mix of 'pleasure and pain' (Woods, 1990b) for teachers and pupils, especially when the rules which constitute teachers' and pupils' common sense knowledge of classrooms are transgressed by pupils or by teachers (Hargreaves, Hestor, and Mellor, 1975). In this regard, school sites are:

places of struggle, where teachers and pupils do their best to cope with the problems set up when social constraint collides with personal intention. The results of this struggle can lead to happiness and misery, or a combination of the two. (Woods, 1990b, vii)

In this chapter, the research focus is upon pupil accounts recorded during fieldwork in two secondary schools (shown as case study schools 4 and 5 in Figure xvi - Appendix 3). Requests to school managers for permission to interview up to 20 pupils was accepted, and letters from the researcher to parents and pupils followed. Interviews were formally scheduled and took place, in the absence of school staff, in the library and in an empty classroom. Paired interviews were suggested by me as a mechanism to cause minimal disturbance to study routines and also to provide a source of mutual pupil support and encouragement (see

Burgess, 1984). My research concerns were introduced to the pupils in terms of a general interest in the ways pupils experienced learning and were linked to a specific interest in pupils' learning experiences which might be irregular, different, or unusual in relation to their regular timetables with designated teachers (the interview schedule is shown in Appendix 1(e)). Interviews took place with sixteen pupils. No claims are made that this group of pupils was representative; in particular the views expressed are those of older rather than younger pupils. Yet the reaction among some younger pupils to the entry of a 'stranger' (Dorothy) in the opening extract, confirms the importance of teacher-pupil relations in primary as well as secondary school supply settings. Questions were, however, framed to provide an overview of issues which made connections with the accounts given by headteachers, permanent and supply teachers. Interestingly, permission from school managers for pupils to discuss teacher substitution issues was readily given. (Whether permission to speak with pupils about permanent teachers would have been given by headteachers on their behalf is a matter of speculation. Among pertinent issues is the relative powerlessness of supply teachers vis à vis both their temporary charges and permanent colleagues.) The starting point for each interview was a discussion of issues which arose when, for whatever reason, regular timetabled teachers were absent from the classroom. This set the context for discussing pupils' awareness of changes in routine, their interpretation of supply teachers' classroom strategies, and pupils' expectations of continuity and follow up. The following questions were critical: how was teacher absence and teacher substitution perceived by pupils? In temporally constrained situations, what pupil work took place? What understandings existed about supply teachers? And to

what extent did *distinctive* teacher and pupil strategies evolve in response to teacher absence and substitution?

Temporality and School Rules

School ethnographies of the 1980s (some of which are reviewed in Woods, 1990b) suggest that a central issue in discussing teacher-pupil relations is the negotiation of classroom rules to underpin teacher-pupil interactions. Temporality is seen as central to the negotiation of rules involved in developing relations between teachers and pupils, much of which occurs and extends over considerable time spans, even years. Unlike the rules in the criminological model, however, most school rules are not written down in 'carefully coded form' (Hargreaves, Hestor, and Mellor, 1975, p.33) and are, therefore, mostly learned as aspects of evolving teacher-pupil relations. Hargreaves et al (1975, p.35) discuss three sets of rules: *institutional*, *situational* and *personal*. *Institutional* rules are more likely to be written down. At the school managers' discretion, they may or may not be available to supply teachers when they enter schools. In three of the schools where fieldwork was conducted, written school rules were given to supply teachers upon their arrival at school. In others, the practice was absent. In the case of the former, opportunities for supply teachers to read the rules prior to classroom entry were rare. Numerous *situational* rules apply in different subject-based and classroom contexts. Again, these may or may not be available to supply teachers either before or during supply work. Where available during the fieldwork, these took the form of notes left by the absent teacher, or verbal information given by a supply coordinator or head of department. Finally, there are sets of *personal* rules which are idiosyncratic to specific teachers. Unless known to supply teachers

beforehand these are likely to be almost entirely unknown. For supply teachers, *situational* and *personal* rules are likely to be invisible. Indeed, in relation to *personal* rules, these may also be invisible to other permanent colleagues even within the same school. I was interested in finding out from pupils whether the mediation of such rules was central or peripheral to their discussion of what occurred in 'covered' lessons'. Of equal interest was their interpretation of the negotiation of teacher-pupil action as it occurred in the supply situation.

Negotiating Action

For pupils and supply teachers, the supply situation provides an alternative, even novel dimension to teacher-pupil struggles over classroom control. If schools are 'places of struggle' (Woods, 1990b), then for some pupils the struggle is the 'essence' of their school careers. Other pupils 'engage in less extreme ... coping strategies' which are more or less 'accommodating' or 'confrontational' (vii). Negotiation between pupils and permanent teachers takes time; it includes the management of formal and informal rules to underpin action. Woods (1990b) summarises pupils' accounts of 'ideal teachers' distilled from his own and earlier work. Here, teachers (and pupils) are tried and tested through a series of initial encounters (p.14). Being seen to be 'human', 'able to teach' and 'make you work' (p.17) arguably requires consistency and continuity in teacher/pupil actions over time. This might include knowing pupils' names and foibles, and not being inconsistently 'soft' or 'hard' on pupils. This does not imply uniformity of action. For teachers and for pupils, the rules of classroom order and control are not universally the same. They vary between teachers and, indeed, between different parts of the lesson (Hargreaves, Hestor, and Mellor, 1975). The important point,

however, is that both teachers and pupils within the institution are aware of such differences.

All this constitutes part of teachers' and pupils' common sense knowledge of classrooms, and it is on this basis that members can make some deviance imputations which invoke unstated rules which are known to be in place at particular points in time in a lesson. (Hargreaves, Hestor, and Mellor, 1975, p.35)

Most supply teachers lack the temporal advantages afforded their permanent colleagues. For them there is no 'honeymoon period' (Measor and Woods, 1984) save for the first few minutes of the lesson. Unlike regular teachers, they may not be in positions to forge corporate or generic identities in classrooms or staffrooms. For supply teachers there are restricted opportunities for 'sussing strategies' (Beynon, 1985), namely, 'empirical evidence' for pupils not only of teachers' classroom management skills but also a 'clear demonstration' of their 'parameters of control' (p.37). Thus, as described in chapter 3, the interactive framework between supply teacher and pupil is not dissimilar to that described by Davis (1965) albeit in very different contexts, as one of the transient and 'fleeting relationships'. In this sense, supply teachers and pupils may engage in

a long series of brief contacts with unrelated persons of whom he [sic] [in this case the supply teacher] has no foreknowledge, just as they [the pupils] have none of him and whom he is not likely to encounter again... as a result the tendency of the relationship is to gravitate sharply and in relatively overt fashion towards a few issues to do with the basic instrumental terms of that exchange. (Davis, 1965, p.337)

Instrumentalism in supply teaching situations was frequently perceived by teachers, in particular by permanent teachers, as the maintenance of discipline and control. Teacher accounts also suggested that there were institutional mechanisms which gravitated towards discipline and control in exchange for the maintenance of pupil 'busyness' (described previously by Sharp and Green, 1975). Others have described this as a 'workish climate' (Woods, 1990b). Yet, this semblance of order and busyness to resemble a 'normal' or routine school day is not without contentious issues. In regular teaching situations, it has been argued that 'general exhortations and the cultivation of a workish climate are limp forces besides the quality of the work and the quality of the teacher *as perceived by the pupil*' (Woods, 1990b, p.160, my emphasis). In what ways did pupils view the time spent with them by supply teachers, and how did they compare this to teacher-pupil relations in permanent settings? As the following sections indicate, perceptions about the 'quality' of pupils' work and of supply teachers' work emerged as critical themes in the pupil data.

What counts as 'cover'?

Pupil interviews confirmed that what constituted a 'covered' lesson showed considerable variation. Descriptions gave common and distinct features. These depended on whether 'cover' was short, medium or long term, for fixed or indeterminate periods, whether covered by known or unknown teachers, and whether supplied internally or externally. The most usual format was for work to have been set by the absent teacher or his/her supervisor and the class taken by a substitute teacher. Less usual but as vividly reported were substitute teachers who 'did their own thing' (Louise, Year 11). On occasion, a teacher (for example, a

head of department) might start a lesson, and a substitute teacher finish it. Other scenarios were recounted: being split into groups to join other classes, being left in the classroom with a neighbouring teacher 'popping his head round the door', and being 'sent on errands round the school' (Surinder, Year 11). According to pupils, those who administered set work might know 'something or nothing' about the work. Games or puzzles to pass the time were recalled - 'at least that's honest' thought Louise, 'they're not pretending they know'. For a minority of pupils, teacher absence was accompanied by their own. 'Wagging it' by pupils was the ultimate supply teacher avoidance strategy. Through the pupil grapevine, pupils learnt which teachers were away for the day. Surinder and Louise told me: 'it's quite easy'. Pupils gave wrong names, some pupils answered twice, other pupils told the supply teacher the pupil was away. Registers were not always taken and 'the supply teacher doesn't know you anyway'. However, most pupils attended covered lessons.

Time for Work

Unless...[pupil] work counts nothing can redeem it. If it does count the teacher can transform it into either something felt to be enjoyable, constructive, and rewarding on the one hand, or something painful, inhibiting, or onerous on the other. (Woods, 1990b, p,158)

An important theme to emerge from the data was the extent to which pupils perceived work done in covered lessons as 'real' work. With exceptions, such work was felt to have few redeeming features, and pupil assessments about the quality of set work informed pupil decisions about whether or not to complete

work tasks. Pupils interviewed in Years 10 and 11 considered that their judgements had matured as a consequence of past experience; whilst Year 7 pupils might initially be 'fooled' by the apparent regularity in appearance of temporary teachers, such illusions had evaporated by Year 10. As outlined in chapter 5, implicit misunderstandings were not infrequently considered by supply teachers and school managers to make their work easier, and school managers would also allocate supply teachers disproportionately to Years 7 and 8. Here, the rationale was linked not only to issues of controlling younger pupils but also to the status of examinable subject knowledge in later years. In the following extract Eilis (Year 11) recalled her most recent experiences of teacher absence and substitution, and described the situation.

Eilis On Wednesday our French teacher was off. She's been off a lot recently cos she's been really ill. She's had a lost of time off but it's difficult for them to get a qualified teacher, cos we're taking GCSE level and we've only got three French teachers in the school. We haven't had a teacher from out of school. We've always had teachers inside the school, like who teach other subjects. It's really difficult sometimes... and sometimes we have one or other of the French teachers for one lesson but we don't have them for two lessons and its really not any good to us. And we got a bit worried cos mainly we've got our mocks soon. Me and my friend we went to see the head to see what could be done about it and he says, like she's been away and he's trying to fix up another qualified teacher to teach us, or we're going to get the other teachers turned round, so at least we're getting French teachers for both lessons.

MM When you have a teacher in, say for a French lesson, who you know isn't a specialist teacher, what sorts of things do you do?

Eilis It depends on the teacher. The other week we had a teacher... he makes the lessons a lot of fun... he'd been to France for his holidays and he was telling us what it was like over there, so in a way we're still doing French but it wasn't the stuff that we were supposed to be doing. We had work set which was supposed to be for two lessons but we finished it in one. It's annoying sometimes because you think you might as well be talking to my friends.

MM Are you always set work?

Eilis A couple of French lessons ago we didn't have any books, we were given French magazines to read which aren't a lot of good... School's fun and everything but you need to work in the end.

Several of the issues outlined in the above extract recur in other pupil data. First, what counted as 'enjoyable' or as 'fun' needed to be seen as meaningful in relation to work outcomes. Such needs intensified as the secondary curriculum became more uniform and assessment outcomes specified for pupils, and increasingly for parents, as measures of progress. Second, pupils were acutely aware of being kept 'busy'; when the ends did not justify the means, this was easily translated into 'wasted' time, as in the example of the teacher recalling his holiday adventures in France. Third, extracts indicated the importance attached by pupils to teachers 'knowing' the work and being 'known' as subject specialists (see below). Fourth, it was apparent that work set rarely filled the time allocated for it. For supply teachers, this persistent under-estimation of work content by permanent teachers impinged upon pacing and control issues; for pupils it negated any sense of urgency in completing work and left temporal gaps, control over which needed to be negotiated between supply teacher and pupils, as in a religious education lesson for Year 7 pupils when, observed by the researcher, work left by the absent teacher

was completed in the first twenty-five minutes of the lesson, and pupils were encouraged by the supply teacher to draw illustrations to fill the remaining thirty-five minutes. In the observed lesson, such negotiations presented an additional arena for contestation over control and order, as some pupils resisted the instructions to draw illustrations, chatted quietly together, opened conversations with me, or doodled. Moreover, during the following week's lesson, also observed, the same work was repeated by the permanent teacher, despite protestations from several class members that they had already 'done the work'. After the lesson, this was explained to me by the permanent teacher in terms of her need to make sure that the pupils had properly understood the work before moving on to the next phase of the teaching programme.

Lost time

Pupils' concerns about whether completed work 'counted' were not infrequently reinforced by the attitudes and actions of regular teachers. Internal cover duties were frequently seen as onerous (see chapter 5), and there were assumptions among some permanent staff that external supply teachers would replicate their own minimalist construction of supply work as teaching. Pupil discussion centred on 'binned' work namely, work that was not seen or referred to again after the 'cover' lesson, work on 'bits of paper', and homework not returned. Moreover, lack of recognition by permanent teachers about the temporal gap which had been filled was sometimes followed by what some pupils regarded as unfair pressure put upon them by returning teachers to make up for time 'lost', and by accelerated or repeated work.

- MM Do you get feedback on the work you've done? Do you get the work back?
- Surinder No, well sometimes you get it back. Sometimes it goes in the bin.
- MM Do you see it go in the bin?
- Surinder No, but you never see it again.
- MM How do you feel about that?
- Surinder It's a waste of time.

Such comments were re-echoed in other pupil accounts. Eilis, for example, noted that 'the teacher comes back and you say 'did you mark it' [work done in a supply lesson] and they say 'what work?'... It's a waste of time'.

For some pupils this engendered feelings of being let down, not so much by the supply teacher but by their regular teachers:

- Paul The science teacher was away. My friend didn't have enough work to do the higher level. So he went back to his usual teacher and said he'd skanked.
- MM What's that word?
- Paul Skanked. Let you down in other words. 'I wanted to take that level and because you wasn't here I couldn't do that'.

Paradoxically, feelings of being 'let down' continue to emphasise the importance of the permanent teacher/pupil relationship at the expense of marginalising even further the contributions of supply teachers and teaching.

'Knowing' the teacher

Not surprisingly, pupils expressed a preference to be taught by teachers they 'knew'. 'Knowing where you stand' (Rob year 11) echoed concerns expressed by other pupils about the implicit as well as explicit rules which governed teacher-pupil relations with 'real' i.e. subject specialist teachers. This also provided the basis for diverse understandings about their experience of externally and internally provided substitute teachers. For Rob (Year 11), the substitution of his regular science teacher by a temporary science specialist had produced positive outcomes; these were linked to Rob's receptivity to an external supply teacher's alternative pedagogic and disciplinary approaches to science lessons. I asked Rob to describe the last time he had been taught by someone who was not his regular teacher.

Rob The first two lessons this morning. I've had him for the last three weeks because the science teacher we normally have is off sick. He knows his subject... But like [Mr A] our science teacher is strict. This teacher isn't as strict.

MM Has that been a problem, having a teacher who's not so strict?

Rob Not really, it's an advantage cos you can talk to your group and find out how to do it.

Rob explained that when the substitute teacher had first arrived he and his friends had thought it was going to be 'a real doss... cos he let us talk an' that' but when they realised the teacher 'knew the work' and that it was possible to talk and *still* do the work, they 'quite liked him'. Interviewees were consistent about the ramifications of internal and external cover. In relation to the latter, the expectation, whether realistic or not, was that the teacher would 'know something

about the subject'. Where expectations of the external, unknown teacher were higher, the potential for mismatch between expectations and reality was also greater, and therefore more challenging for the external supply teacher who was also frequently expected to be a subject specialist. In some cases this was magnified when pupils made a close association between the absent subject teacher and the subject matter, particularly the former's 'way of doing it'.

Frances (yr.10) We had a maths teacher. She was off quite a lot cos she was on maternity leave and [when the supply teacher left] we picked up where we left off but there were... gaps because they [supply teachers] teach things differently so [they have] one way of teaching it and another teacher had another way. So when we went back for revision, a test, she had to do it again because she didn't know which way we'd done it... and we'd done the method differently.

It was also apparent to pupils that permanent full-time teachers who covered internally found cover onerous and had few inclinations to teach.

Andy (yr.10) We ask questions and they say they don't know the answer or they're sitting there, and they've probably got, some teachers especially if they teach, they already teach in the school and already take other lessons. They get a bit annoyed when they have to cover. If you're making a noise they say 'I've got work of my own' ... You know what other teachers teach.

Surinder (yr.11) Like a cover teacher would say it's your work, it's your education... If you want to do your work do it, if you don't want to do it leave it cos at the end of the day it's your life not mine.

If considered less than useful in work terms, pupils considered internally covered lessons to be 'quieter'. 'Insiders know you', said Paul. In such ways, what counted as a 'workish climate' depended on a complex interplay of factors, which included the cover teacher's abilities and capacity to teach, pupils' understandings about 'known' teachers, and pupils' inclinations to accede to demands for discipline and control. Permanent teachers were, for the most part, tried and tested. Pupils balanced what they regarded as the inferior quality of internal cover alongside the potential power of the same to affect other aspects of school life. For external supply teachers, the challenge, and arguably, the skills necessary were different and multiple. Subject knowledge had to be combined with the ability to control. Each, in turn, depended upon its proximity to teaching methods and approaches to discipline with which pupils had become accustomed. For supply teachers in Goldash school (described in chapter 5) there was at least an overall knowledge of the general issues of discipline and control, and of the 'personal' rules invoked by specific teachers. In other situations, where supply teachers entered unfamiliar schools, they brought with them 'external' rules. It was the match between these rules and those recognised by pupils that were critical in teacher-pupil relations.

Discipline and Control

Over time teachers and pupils in regular contact get to know who conform to rules about discipline and order in classrooms and who do not. This is, of course, not to argue that pupils behave uniformly with all teachers and in all subject areas. As Woods (1990b) points out, schools are 'trading places' where pupils may trade off one kind of behaviour in one lesson with alternative kinds of behaviour in others. Despite this, both teachers and pupils get to know who 'usually' conforms and who

does not. The pupil data suggested that, from their perspective, the usual pattern of who obeyed and who did not broke down in covered lessons, specifically when work set was considered 'unreal' or one-off. This was frequently more apparent to both supply teachers *and* pupils than to permanent teachers. Anecdotal information given to supply teachers about well-behaved, generally 'good' classes by supply coordinators was, therefore, treated with some caution by supply teachers. Who broke the rules was less predictable for the supply teacher *and* for pupils, and struggles over control could dominate the lesson. More regularised, however, was the pattern of rule transgression. Here, there was widespread acceptance of the norm of 'mucking about'. 'Honeymoon periods' (Measor and Woods, 1984), in which pupils (and teachers) present conformist 'fronts' (Goffman, 1971) to one another, were brief or non-existent:

Sandra (yr.11) When someone comes in you don't know, you're quiet when they come in and then you start talking louder and louder.

Sandra was one of several pupils to feel ambivalent towards supply teachers and teaching. On the one hand, she expressed frustration at being on the receiving end of 'wasted' time, and on the other hand showed concern about the 'cruel' way in which supply teachers were sometimes treated by her friends. 'It must really bring them [supply teachers] down' she felt. Frank and Michael (Year 11) showed few such qualms. They described the testing-out process:

Michael We have to test them.

MM That's an interesting word 'test'. What do you mean?

Michael Well misbehaving and then you see

- Frank Where you stand.
- Michael Most supply teachers can't take control of the class.
- MM What happens if they pass the test?
- Michael Then you behave or you don't.
- Frank It depends on how long your usual teacher's away for.

Passing the 'test', then, did not guarantee an 'orderly' lesson from the pupils' point of view. Unlike relations between permanent teachers and pupils, there was little need to forge or stabilize pupil identities upon which future relations might depend or develop. Moreover, those interviewed felt that for a variety of reasons, including supply teachers' needs to sustain acceptable identities among permanent colleagues, most substitute teachers, especially 'unknowns', were reluctant to leave the classroom to seek help, and that most would hang on to the point of departure. Frank described 'an easy atmosphere':

- Frank cos they don't know you and you don't know them. And it's an easy atmosphere and you feel like you can talk... being as we don't know them and we're used to another teacher's way... they don't usually know us so they can't discipline us by name, so they can't discipline us. They speak to the whole class, say if one person's speaking they speak to the whole class.
- MM Does that work?
- Michael
& Frank No.
- MM Why not?

Frank Well because they don't know us so they've got no authority.

What Frank described as 'no authority' was pupil awareness not only of the power which accompanied pupil anonymity but also of the relative powerlessness of the teacher substitute, which was enjoyed while it lasted. However, the longer term implications of covered lessons for pupils were considered much more onerous and problematic particularly in relation to course work assessments, making up for lost time, and repeated work.

Conclusion

Ethnographic studies of the eighties (Beynon, 1985; Burgess, 1983) and more recent analyses of pupils' experiences (Woods, 1990b) have illustrated that pupils' approaches to, and understandings about pupil work take a variety of forms on a continuum from hard work to work avoidance. Data from this group of pupils suggests that, regardless of where pupils were usually situated along this continuum, work done in covered lessons was more likely to be viewed as 'going through the motions' (Woods, 1990b) to pass the time. Such a view was reinforced by teachers, in particular by permanent teachers and those engaged in internal cover duties, who, like pupils, also resented 'going through the motions', and made that view known to pupils. In such ways, temporality pervaded the understandings, the social relations, and interactions for pupils *and* teachers in cover lessons.

For these pupils in Years 10 and 11, work was both exam. and assessment orientated, and if occasionally tortuous, was the price to be paid for gaining employment prospects (see also Woods, 1990b). In the 1990s school work has become increasingly defined in terms of pupil outputs and outcomes, test scores and examination results. In such ways, school work resembles what Bernstein (1973) and Young (1975) described as a 'quantifiable commodity'. From this perspective, the role of the supply teacher is to supply that 'commodity'. Rob, who had complained about irregular home economics lessons, had wanted to be a fire-fighter, but feeling that his exam results would not be good enough, intended to apply for a catering course at the local college 'because I like home economics'. When pupils like Rob experienced supply cover, they considered their share of that commodity to be in deficit; this was reinforced by permanent teacher vocabularies which urged pupils 'to catch up' or 'make up for lost time', and by a lack of reference to work done by and with supply teachers in the ensuing lessons. Rob's sense of injustice was further inflamed in home economics lessons when, for example, food materials were brought from home and then 'wasted' if a proper lesson, i.e. cooking, did not take place. For pupils then, the central paradox of covered lessons was a continued emphasis on 'hard work' and 'a workish climate' by supply teachers alongside evidence to negate its value; binned work, activities which bore little relation to assignments set previously, and attitudes among returning permanent teachers compounded this sense of loss. Not surprisingly, pupils like Frank and Michael attempted to transform lessons into games or contests over control; these at least offered tangible short term rewards, with minimum prospects of negative sanctions.

What pupils described as cover lessons resemble, in important respects, descriptions in previous research of 'occupational therapy' for pupils and teachers. This 'passes the time... The principle is bodily involvement accompanied by the dulling of the senses' (Woods, 1984, p.59). In the retrospective accounts of this chapter this is later transformed by pupils into resentment about what they have or may have missed. Whilst some pupils may try to take the edge off boredom by engaging in counter-official activities, the physical presence of supply teachers, however temporally constrained, ensures that education is 'seen to be going on' (Woods, 1984, p.59). However, unlike permanent teachers who may have the resources to make the therapy rewarding, external supply teachers have few school-based resources at their disposal. Despite, and perhaps because of the 'curriculum packaging' described in chapter 5, difficulties might be exacerbated by a mismatch of work set with time to be filled. As observed by pupils, supply work offered specific forms of therapy for pupils and teacher; some elements are also recognisable in permanent teaching. Giving individual guidance rather than whole class instruction, whilst paradoxically reprimanding the whole class rather than individuals, are among several teacher strategies for passing time, to the extent that teachers and pupils can become 'almost oblivious to one another' (Woods, 1984, p.60). In supply work this was exacerbated and partially constructed by permanent teachers; engaged in internal cover duties, they often provided negative role models for external supply teacher-pupil relations.

The potential for temporal wastage throughout pupils' school careers, for reasons other than teacher absence, is documented elsewhere (Knight, 1989, p.135). Its scale tends to become a matter of concern only when dramatic or obvious: for

example, during teacher disputes or following major damage to school buildings. Yet the daily implications of teacher absence tend to go unnoticed until widespread ill-preparedness for examinations or assessments, for example, becomes apparent and/or parental concern is expressed. As long as schools operate as if teacher substitution is aberrant, then teacher-pupil relations of the kind described remain invisible. A major step forward would be to recognise rather than ignore or deny daily disparities between intention and practice in relation to the school timetable. A major report (Galloway and Morrison, 1993) confirms that many schools still do not monitor the total extent of cover, its recurrence, or form taken.

Pupils' understandings about times spent in supply situations also allow me to confirm earlier connections made with the temporal themes that underpin this thesis. For these year 10 and 11 pupils have learned that there is a dominant quantitative view of school time which has to be used effectively and budgeted with care. Paradoxically, they have also learned that not all school times are of equal worth. Times passed with regular teachers are more valuable than times passed with supply teachers. Time-wasting which would otherwise be acceptable (or legitimate) only during 'official' break times is permissible in 'cover' lessons which do not really 'count'. For Rob and his friends school is the place where a utilitarian approach to time is being absorbed and internalised.

Devising strategies to ensure that the times spent in 'cover' lessons for both teaching and learning are meaningful for pupils *and* substitute teachers means that pupil accounts need to be considered alongside the teacher accounts of earlier chapters. Among implications for action would be to give less attention to

equating busyness with work, and to take more account of well-considered strategies for teaching and learning in temporally constrained situations. Importantly, this means making visible the skills required of teacher substitutes and apportioning appropriate support and development. In this sense, both teacher *and* pupil accounts provide a medium and offer complex messages about the current organisation of teaching and learning in schools. The latter may be threatening to those who consider timetables to be inviolable and its routines indicative of stable structures for maintaining control (see also Woods, 1984). Yet without this awareness, pupils and teachers will continue to 'bargain' over compliance about pupil and teacher work which is generally held in low esteem. Where pupils' views have rarely been articulated, let alone included in the dissemination of supply teacher issues, this chapter takes initial steps in redressing the balance. In the longer term, costs are borne by pupils and teachers; in the short term, most critically in the lives and work of supply teachers themselves. It is to this balancing of the costs and benefits of supply work that I return in the final chapter.

Chapter 8

Prospects for change

Assessments

The central focus of this research has been a sociological exploration of the lives and work of teachers who fill the temporal gaps which arise whenever permanent teachers are absent from school. Whilst sociologists may be primarily interested in explanations, educationalists like teachers, managers, and teacher trainers, might prioritise solutions. In this concluding chapter some of the implications arising from the study, in particular the prospects for change, are explored. These have sociological and educational dimensions. Each can be further sub-divided: for sociologists with interests in time, in school organisations, in teaching, and in gendered occupations; for educationalists with interests in the management of school systems, professional development and training, and for supply teachers themselves. Each interest group will have different priorities as they link to theory, to the research, to policy issues, and to practical applications. A major issue is in describing what supply teachers, and some permanent teachers, may already 'know'. Here, the aim is to make visible by making the implicit explicit, and to provide an alternative focus for personal and professional experience and reflection.

Time has been used as a driving force to explore supply teachers' lives and work at three levels of analysis: the substantive, the methodological, and the theoretical. The study has been grounded in the data but neither free-floating nor concept free. Categories and concepts like gender, commitment, identity, and professionalism

were linked to initial discussions of temporality; issues relating to teachers' and pupils' understandings about work, and about temporary and substitute curricula, emerged from the data. These were absorbed into and used to organise the process of data collection and literature search. The temptation, hopefully resisted, is to present findings which are not 'messy' and show a hindsight not available during the course of the research. As Hammersley (1990, p.130) indicates, this is rarely the case in ethnographic research which employs descriptive and developmental approaches, and makes methodological trade-offs as the research evolves. Neither is the study disconnected from personal values. Involvement in discontinuous work over a number of years reinforced dual convictions that the study was worthwhile personally and sociologically.

Background reading for the research highlighted ambiguities and paradox. Because the term supply teacher was ambiguous, a definition was essential, and once applied still included a range of individuals with a multiplicity of conditions, pay and experiences. The term referred to professionals who worked part-time or temporarily full- or part-time on diverse supply contracts. The challenge in researching diverse temporal spans of economic and non-economic activities was matched by the challenge in researching individuals with whom research relations were often necessarily brief and opportunistic (see chapter 2). Making visible the work of 'external' supply teachers also helped to make visible the many daily acts of substitution occurring internally in schools. As Lindley (1994) also notes, teacher substitution issues relate not only to the external labour market but also to the daily connections between internal and external cover. This partially restructures the work of permanent teachers. As my research shows, the activities

of internal 'cover' teachers also helped to reconstruct and redefine supply teachers and teaching for external supply teachers and for pupils.

Supply teachers work within and outside school systems. Part of the paradox of teacher substitution lay in the seemingly powerful and powerless position of supply teachers, set against the wider context of a marginalised work force, and where they underpinned an educational system which failed to recognise their contribution. Here, my interest extended beyond teacher substitution issues as they related to school systems to constructions of supply teaching as work. The latter included explorations of the ways in which individuals derived overlapping and mutually dependent meanings from time spent in and out of schools. The thesis highlights what was distinctive about supply teaching: the speed of temporal and spatial negotiations between home and work; the changing relationship between employment and non-employment times; and variations in work locations. Neither were features in common with permanent teaching neglected, especially where they were linked with strategies for coping and survival in classrooms. Moreover, it was important to move beyond a discussion of what O'Malley (1992, p.199) describes as 'time-editing' in relation to supply teachers' lives and work. 'Time-editing' refers to the process of 'cutting up' work times and re-assembling them in 'creative' ways in order to achieve 'the greatest possible efficiency' (Adam, 1995, p.104). In reality, such time-editing processes are very complex. As Adam (1995) points out, 'the more flexible or unpredictable the work pattern, the more time has to be spent by those and their families on the task of synchronization' (p.104). The research aim, then, was to make problematic the times of supply teachers whether experienced as teaching or as other times; in doing so 'the

hegemony of clock time crumbles as we begin to realise its constructed character' (Adam, 1995, p.105).

Temporality and supply work

Working lives link the past, present and future and offer vehicles to 'become' as well as to 'be'. In societies where paid employment is important, career advancement through work can provide key contributions to the development of 'the self'. This has other important temporal aspects. In modern societies the time dimension of individuals' lives and work has been, for the most part, measured against the standard biographies of men, whose professional lives span continuous work, and where temporally appropriate achievements are demarcated on career time charts. Most supply teachers are women. Many women and men are known to engage in economic activity on different temporal terms, with women's careers more likely to follow cyclical rather than linear patterns (McRae, 1989; Hantrais, 1993). Whilst teaching is a gendered occupation, and the women within it follow more continuous and full-time employment patterns than women in other white-collar work, teachers in England are distinguishable from their European colleagues by interruptions to their working patterns, when they have children and in their subsequent return to work part-time (Glover, 1992; Hantrais, 1993). Focal points of research interest were, therefore, two-fold: first, to consider the extent to which supply teachers' careers represented a partial solution to the problem of managing the 'conflicting temporalities' (Gurvitch, 1963) of non-economic and family formation times with those of career establishment and advancement times; and second, to consider whether the distinctive temporal features of supply work were reflected in specific kinds of accommodation and negotiation at the

home/work interface. Evidence from the research showed that whilst supply teaching was a gendered activity within a gendered profession, accommodation between work and non-work times was more complex than explanations in terms of a balancing between cyclical and linear times might at first suggest. If, for many teachers, the notion of continuous work progression offered at least a mechanism for the instrumental management of the self (Grey, 1994), in supply teaching, work instrumentality was re-defined in multiple ways. Overall, the social and sociological meanings of supply teaching applied by supply teachers, and those with whom they came into contact, varied according to the sociographic characteristics of the actors involved. Each were cross-cut by complex interpretations of choice and necessity in relation to supply work and by diverse situational contexts. This did not make the ethnographics of supply teaching any less gender specific but much less uniform or stereotypical. For example, the balancing of private and public times by some supply teachers like Jane (see chapter 6) was viewed by other supply teachers, like the now partially retired Dorothy as an envied choice. In her earlier full-time career as a lone parent with three boys Dorothy would 'love to have worked part-time' had economic circumstances been favourable. The multiple experiences of supply teaching, permanent teaching, work locations, marriage, divorce, parenthood, interests and beliefs shaped supply teachers' lives and work. These, in turn, shaped the experiences of supply teaching, of school-based work, marriage, interests and so on. The relationship was ongoing and dialectical. Yet because the normative model of life-long relationships was no longer as applicable and was being reflected through changes in social time patterns, these issues were also reflected in supply teachers' life and work schedules. Thus supply teachers like Sally, in

contrast to the stereotype of married woman with child-care responsibilities, were living alone at a time when traditionally women were thought to be in critical phases of family formation, and were choosing not to have children (chapter 6). This is not to deny that the effects of recent transformations are still gender-laden. Few men were engaged in supply work as a mechanism for balancing domestic and non-domestic interests. Where this occurred, as in the example of Russ (chapter 4), this was seen more in terms of taking stock of career choices rather than as a long-term substitution of career for domestic priorities.

Other supply teachers were in pre-retirement phases and were experiencing a gradual decline in status and income. Among supply teachers were those defining supply work as a transitional phase between a career break and a return to full-time teaching. Here, interpretations of supply work as distinct from 'real' teaching were most apparent among those who saw the work as part of a status passage, or temporal re-initiation, between being unemployed or fully-fledged teachers. The data also provides examples of supply teachers striving to achieve some disposable time, albeit available mainly to those coupled with partners whose incomes purchased disposable time on their behalf, arguably to meet partners' and family needs for time as well as those of supply teachers. Pasero (1994) argues that recent changes in women's careers does not necessarily mean that 'time collisions' between men and women have subsided (p.189). Even in supply teaching, then, while the conventional model of gender roles appeared to be losing some of its traditional force, one individual's 'freedom' to choose discontinuous work over continuous teacher careers was set alongside the necessity of others to substitute domestic, caring time for teaching time. Overall my findings indicate that unlike

male teachers, female teachers were still seen as being able to 'choose' between economic and non-economic activity at strategic points in their lives. But the gender norms which governed the rate and type of discontinuous work varied across class and socio-economic boundaries within given locations and at particular points in time. The research offers, therefore, further evidence to support a view of gendered occupational experience as a continuing source of inequality in the exchange between time and work; in this case, experiences of supply teaching were shaping and being shaped by the same complex and dialectical forces which shaped experiences of non-economic activities.

Multiple times and status

Through research interests in the simultaneity and sequencing of supply teaching and non-teaching times it was possible to explore the minutiae of daily overlapping experience unencumbered by longer-term, 'ironed-out' versions of teachers' lives and work sometimes evoked in life history approaches. Whilst my research interests, in turn, could be applied equally to those in permanent teaching posts, for supply teachers its specific characteristics included an intermeshing of time worlds with those of partners and siblings; and with teachers, parents, and pupils. Among the latter were relations likely to be fleeting and transitory as supply teachers enacted the role of strangers. This did not take the research away from issues central to supply work, namely the experiences of teaching and learning; on the contrary, it re-focused attention upon the temporal constraints of modern mass schooling where routinised timetables are part of the temporal strait-jacket which defines or divides all teaching on a continuum between 'lead-in constraint' and 'golden opportunity' (Woods, 1990a).

Teaching to time had distinctive status implications. Supply teaching was held unanimously by those researched to be of low status. What was thought to give little cause for pedagogic celebration remained hidden, even denied. At the same time, the teaching profession as a whole benefited from having a pool of readily disposable labour to perform duties which others preferred to avoid (Trotter and Wragg, 1990; Lindley, 1994). Having acquired a peculiar status and security value for schools when they were unavailable or most urgently needed, both the status and influence of supply teachers were shown to decline at the point of school entry. Ambivalence was also apparent in classrooms where substitute teachers were expected to be active and passive in their approach. One reason for low status would be that traditional views about female roles served to legitimate inferior working conditions and limited career opportunities as they were reflected in supply teaching (Loveys, 1988). From this perspective, casual work is 'the price one has to pay' (p.178), but one not generally paid by male supply teachers, other than those approaching retirement, those who have experienced difficulties in retaining permanent jobs, or those pursuing short term career 'losses' in favour of long term gains (and therefore both acceptable and commendable). Guy (chapters 2 and 6) provides an example of the former; Russ (chapter 4) and Loveys (1988) are illustrative of the latter. Other categories which might be subsumed as model D in Figure xv (page 201), namely full-time supply teachers *by choice*, include those of actors, musicians, researchers and teacher travellers for whom supply teaching fits in with their life styles. Children's writer William encountered briefly in a primary school would also come under this category (chapter 4). Even here the notion of *choice* is complex: what encourages teachers to take up a nomadic

teaching lifestyle may itself be the result of complex work/non-work time 'collisions' in previously linear career patterns. Findings from my research suggest a more complex relationship between supply teaching and professional status, which includes, but is not subsumed by male and female experience. Here, low status is linked to permanent teachers' (and some supply teachers') definitions of 'real' teaching as class-time exceeding commitments to the profession and to schools, what Campbell et al (1991) describe as 'over-conscientiousness'. Temporal interests then, allowed me to unpack relationships between teacher professionalism, identity, and commitment which retained gender as a first-order construct without explanations being totally absorbed by it.

Professionalism, commitment, and identity

Temporality pervaded definitions of permanent as well as supply teaching work. If 'professionalism is, in part, an attempt to construct [teaching] skill' (Lawn and Ozga, 1988, p.96), and is part of the construction of teacher identity, then temporal issues were integral to those constructions. Interviews with permanent teachers (and some part-time and supply teachers) in this and previous work (Morrison, 1990) were peppered with references to time given to teaching over and above legal requirements. Such data were also reflected in staffroom talk; 'real' teachers were those who were not first to leave the car park, and were distinguished from names recurrently on staff absence lists. For many permanent teachers, then, and for a variety of reasons, supply teaching was the antithesis, or at least a serious dilution of, what teachers considered teaching to be. Despite the fact that supply teachers might have been full-time professionals in the past, paradoxically this marginalisation of supply teachers as professionals was further

compounded by both a lack of autonomy to construct the content of time supplied, *and* by a stress on the need for flexibility and independence in approaches to teaching. In this thesis, examples of work set by absent teachers were shown to deny supply teachers what Lawn and Ozga (1988) describe as 'the defensive space' (p.196) around teaching available, if decreasingly, to regular teachers. Such 'defensive spaces' were formerly thought to link to the 'relative autonomy' understood as teachers' involvement in the whole process of teaching from conception to evaluation. Most recently 'work is now reduced from being an understanding of the whole process and becomes more and more the steady, unvarying part of the whole' (Lawn and Ozga, 1988, p.90). Moreover, 'independent' approaches were not infrequently the result of an absence of set work or unforeseen changes to class allocations, rather than deliberate strategies by schools to encourage flexibility in teaching and learning. In supply work there is the partial manifestation, resisted and exemplified by Sally (chapter 6), of a process of proletarianization, increasingly referred to in connection with teaching generally. This may be linked to Braverman's work where Zimbalist has argued:

there is a long term tendency through fragmentation, rationalization and mechanization for workers and their jobs to become deskilled, both in the absolute sense (they lose craft and traditional abilities) and in a relative one (scientific knowledge progressively accumulates in the production process) ...thus the worker, regardless of his or her personal talents *may be more easily or cheaply substituted for in the production process.* (Zimbalist, 1979, pp. xv-xvi-my emphasis)

Accounts of internal substitution by permanent teachers and by secondary pupils, suggested that there was widespread reluctance among permanent teachers to

enact substitution 'easily'. Such reluctance was sometimes translated into a form of resistance which, in denying the usual frameworks for teaching, suspended, temporarily, the professionalism which defined other aspects of regular teaching. Alongside notions of class caretaking, external supply teachers attempted to define and redefine 'teaching to time' by giving prominence to teaching skills like independence, flexibility, experience, and control. In weaker statused positions, the tendency was for these aspects of teacher professionalism to be marginalised in situations where supply teachers were largely unsupported or unprotected by others. Yet in common with their permanent colleagues, they continued to see 'the licensed autonomy' (Lawn and Ozga, 1988, p.88) in their use of time slowly diminish, usually in the absence of professional support or training to underpin demands for curriculum specificity.

In a more positive vein, the thesis also illustrates ways in which supply teaching, in common with other forms of teaching, foreclosed some opportunities for teaching and learning, whilst it opened up others. There is no reason, then, why the model of the open-minded, enquiring teacher (Stenhouse, 1985 edn) could not be applied to the professional, personal and social skills observed among supply teachers. Previously, these have been largely buried within the daily rituals of teacher substitution, and barely noticed by permanent colleagues other than when 'pupils come flying out the door' (interviewee, chapter 4, p.100). Many of the voices in this thesis, then, challenge the view of supply teaching as 'just baby-sitting' (William, supply teacher, chapter 4); the latter implies a lack of contact with pupils and a situation where no learning occurs. Such occasions happened, both with internal cover and with external supply staff (and on occasion with permanent

teachers) but the evidence presented does not identify a marked tendency overall to avoid taking an active role.

Pupils were critical actors in affecting supply teaching experiences; as such, they give a further twist to the complexities and contradictions of teaching 'to time'. Combined with the invisible influence of permanent teachers in constructing the substitute curriculum, pupils redefined supply work as passing, wasting, and filling time in classroom settings. The pupil language of 'baby-sitting', 'doss lessons' and 'binned work' (replicated in other ways by the 'official' discourses of availability, cost, and quality outlined in chapter 3) served to undermine the status of supply teacher and teaching. Moreover, when regular teachers returned after absence, confirmation of the need to make up for lost time, coupled with an acceleration in the pacing of educational tasks, affirmed for pupils that supply teaching did not produce valued or valuable work outcomes. In such ways, links were made between what supply teachers did and what they and others considered them to be.

Aspects of the data support existing analyses of gendered employment experience which manages 'to make a virtue out of a necessity' (Nias, 1989, p.75), but not all. Diaries gave prominence to aspects of synchrony as well as overlap in lives within and beyond work. This made it possible to investigate the front and back stage of teachers' selves, explored in relation to the temporal and spatial conjunction of 'coordinates' (Woods, 1990a): like those rooted in personal history, subject interests, institutional factors, and family life (p.172). Involved in all this were perceptions of choice and necessity in making temporal connections between multiple time-worlds. Discontinuous work did not foreclose commitment to pupils' learning or

to teaching over specified time spans. Teacher commitment distinguished those who saw themselves as 'real' teachers from those who saw their main interests lying beyond supply work. In earlier research, such interpretations have also been applied to permanent teachers (Woods, 1990a). Despite previous research evidence of 'survivors' and 'copers' among the latter, the urge to equate teacher identity with 'full-time' commitment remained strong among permanent teachers but also among some supply teachers, who had themselves been full-time teachers in the past and would be again in the future. Others, like Kay (chapters 4 and 6), who had placed 'side bets' outside teaching, no longer saw it essential to have a teacher identity which corresponded closely to regular teacher practice in order to feel able 'to teach'.

In this kind of professional limbo, evidence showed that supply teaching called for many professional skills and strategies, and that whilst this expertise was extended in different schools and different situations, it continued to offer few career prospects and few opportunities for training. Given the evidence presented, what prospects are there for change and what suggestions can be made for ways forward?

Ways forward

National strategies

At national level, the educational history of the past twenty-five years includes major governmental attempts to restructure the education system. These have been applied as much to definitions of school knowledge as to the reinterpretation, exercise, and control of teachers' work. Some describe such changes as the break-

up of a national state system (Ball, 1990, p.214). Supply teachers and teacher substitution issues have been largely excluded from analyses. Despite some concerns and anxieties expressed in successive government reports (Gt. Britain House of Commons I.A.C., 1990, 1991) generally about teacher supply overall and specifically about the need for statistical data on full-time, part-time and supply teachers, there has been an overall lack of concern about training or managing a substitute labour force. Galloway and Morrison (1993) indicate minimum ways forward: first, that at national level, recognition is needed that substitute teachers are qualified professionals; second, that better quantitative information is required nationally about the numbers of supply teachers; third, that encouragement could be given to exploring flexible forms of work in teaching; and fourth, that central funding is required to support training that directly tackles the particular needs of supply teachers.

Local interests

Significant in recent educational change are shifts in the balance of power and authority away from LEAs and towards schools. At local levels, the curtailed role of LEAs like Centrelink means that most aspects of supply provision are now devolved to schools. In current circumstances, where LEAs can only justify expenditure on priorities, there are least grounds for optimism. Among the minimum requirements is regional collaboration; a reliable data base held centrally by LEAs; and improvements in training opportunities (see chapter 3). For those working occasionally, local contact points and information networks are also critical.

School systems

In the absence of national or local impetus, there is potential for greatest diversity among schools, despite attempts to subsume differences within a government discourse about self-governing schools driven by the market. Here, contingencies like teacher absence and issues of teacher substitution remain largely hidden, underplayed, even denied in educational settings where each pupil carries a price tag. Where school needs are seen in terms of an appropriate balance between marketing the school and making appropriate educational choices for pupils, the role of the supply teacher is marginalised and minimised, at least until, as shown in chapter 5, substitution becomes an issue of concern for school managers, parents, and pupils. Education, in this sense, is both a moral and technical discourse. Yet, evidence from this thesis and from a recent report (Galloway and Morrison, 1993) ought to sound warnings about cost-cutting measures in schools which exclude supply provision. The development of private agencies, or new variants on LEA supply agencies, introduces other possibilities for supply teachers, and for their training and professional development. As yet, none of the supply teachers encountered in my research had contacted the private agencies which had recently opened in their locality, although in an increasingly heterogeneous educational market, research is overdue as to what precisely their role is or is likely to become (see postscript).

The work of 'the effective schools movement' (Reid, Hopkins, and Holly, 1987; Hopkins, 1989) when linked to notions of accountability, school review, and school improvement has yet to tackle seriously supply teacher issues. According to Hopkins (1989), 'irrespective of external factors, the staff of a school can by

their own efforts make the place a more productive and effective teaching environment for the students within it' (pp.194-95). And for supply teachers, and those for whom they are responsible? In relation to supply teachers and teaching, grasping the management mettle also needs to include whole school assessments about professionalism and professionalization. Berg (1989, p.58) notes that 'the basic condition of professionalization is that it must be sanctioned by the environment in which it is carried on'. In order to be sanctioned, supply teachers and teaching need to be made visible. As Ball (1990, p.89) outlines, new discourses of professionalization include commitment to teacher appraisal, school improvement, and school development. With the demise of supply teams as local educational 'fire-fighters' (chapter 4), it remains to be seen whether new approaches will incorporate strategies to include supply 'strangers' within this new matrix of appraisal and accountability. Teacher absence and teacher substitution, then, are two faces of the certainty/uncertainty inherent in school managers' attempts to control 'the unpredictable' (Bowe, Ball with Gold, 1992, p.157). The tendency has been for both absence and substitution to be seen as the supply coordinator's headache rather than daily aspects of schooling experienced as teaching and learning. Yet, planning and unpredictability are not necessarily incompatible. In this thesis, examples of positive action were recorded, and they affected and were reflected in the subjective accounts of individual experiences. Notably, at Goldash School the management of absence and substitution was beginning to be addressed as a school-focused and educational issue, albeit from the perspective of school managers rather than the construction of supply work for and by supply teachers and pupils. Among the implications of developing such an approach to teacher substitution would be to recognise the time spent on managing supply

teaching situations; here, an allocation of non-contact time for teachers organising supply is essential (Galloway, 1993b). Whole school awareness of the need for training and professional development for supply teachers as well as permanent staff would be a positive move; as yet there is little evidence of this, although schools like Goldash are making initial moves in that direction.

Supply teachers' voices

Most important is the need to listen to those who provided the framework for this thesis. This is, in part, a question of 'equity in the treatment of women members of the profession' (Lindley, 1994, p.177), a recognition and celebration of the value of career breaks (Green, 1994) and of 'unpaid' child care, and of commitment among supply teachers to pupils' success and learning. Among the difficulties in understanding teaching in all its forms is a failure to give due emphasis to the temporal opportunities and constraints which underpin current forms of mass schooling. Such issues are critically focused in substitute teaching, where the work was interpreted by supply teachers as a keeping in touch programme, as 'permanent' employment, as a step towards returning to teaching, or as a post-retirement link with the profession. Interpretations were cross-cut by socio-economic issues; for some it was a supplementary financial safety net, for others essential income. Illustrated in this thesis were the ways in which supply teaching called for many professional skills, and that this expertise was extended in different schools and situations, but offered few prospects for training. Whilst teacher substitutes are a heterogeneous group in terms of background and training, research outcomes have made it possible to develop illustrative models of supply teachers and teaching which allow exploration of the diversity and fragmentation in

the construction of and motivations toward supply work (summarised in Figure xv on page 201). A common thread has been the gendered juxtaposition of personal and professional times and commitment, so strongly featured in supply teacher diaries and interviews. In exploring the temporal realities which pervade their and our existence, this thesis takes initial steps in making the interconnections between lives and work visible. It also pursues Adam's (1992) directive to 'taking time in education seriously' (p.32):

For our purposes therefore it is essential that we grasp... time as constituted in our consciousness and through our interactions... This entails that we extend the established concerns of the sociology of education, that we focus on the multiple times inherent in our subject matter and the complexity of times which pervade our praxis as social scientists. (p.33)

In what ways might we then extend the sociological concerns introduced in this research?

Significance

Future significance for sociologists attaches to key aspects of supply teachers' lives and work identified in the thesis, which provides one of the few contributions to the sociology of teaching in atypical forms. In adapting and extending qualitative approaches to research in education, it has explored 'teaching to time' as work and makes connections with the sociology of occupations; these follow a number of directions. First, temporality has provided conceptual frames to extend understandings about teacher work which includes analysis of the mutual dependence of work and non-work activities in personal and public times. This

has not excluded analyses of schools as workplaces or as social systems but rather emphasises that what is defined *as* work and occurs *at* work is interconnected with times and events *beyond* work. In supply teaching, the temporal negotiations and accommodations which comprise teachers' lives, and arguably the lives of other professionals, have been critically focused and examined in distinctive and specific forms.

Second, the study has pursued the development of further understandings about the relationship between teacher identity, self, and work. Work provides a basis for reflection, a means to become, as well as to be. The thesis is not primarily a contribution to the literature on career advancement; rather, its focus on supply work directs our attention towards work and careers as organising principles, underpinned by a temporality which allows or restricts individuals in planning and managing the development of selves. Seen in relation to Evett's (1994) work on gender and careers, the long-term objective is the construction and development of theoretical concepts about teaching which enables teachers' work (as permanent and as supply teaching) in different temporal orderings to be understood without any implicit assumptions that certain temporal patterns of teaching are deficient. It may also be necessary to alter the imagery and culture associated with a successful teaching career. In teaching, as in other kinds of hierarchical work structures, 'those on the fast track ... have ... been required to act as if they had no other loyalties and certainly no family life' (Evetts, 1994, p.226). As she argues in relation to more general concerns about women's careers, is it not also time, therefore, for a redefinition of teaching? This would be away from successful teaching careers achieved in 'mono-dimensional' ways and at 'tremendous costs' to

individuals who 'succeed' *and* simultaneously to those, like discontinuous workers, who are seen to 'fail' (ibid, pp.230-232).

Third, explorations of 'multiple times' provide an alternative focus for studying lives and work, in this case, of supply teachers. It seems logical that studies of work experience should be located in the workplace(s). But among the ramifications of the latter has been an over-emphasis upon continuous work and of full-time or male activities at work, and upon part-time or female activity at home. Once interconnections are seen in both locations, and as multiple times, it becomes possible, even necessary, that work experiences continue to be researched from the starting points of family and personal as well as institutional lives.

Fourth, explorations have hopefully alerted the reader to stereotypical assumptions about supply teaching as a gendered balancing of teaching time with child-care. Here, the relationship between gendered experience and supply teaching has been shown as complex, ongoing, and dialectical. Interest in temporal connections did not, however, foreclose alternative yet related approaches. These included explorations of professionalism, professionalization, and commitment. In part, the low status of supply teaching has been interpreted not only in relation to supply teachers' location in a gendered enclave within a gendered profession, but also to the social construction of teaching skills by regular teachers, in which full-time temporal commitment effectively masks, and on occasions, overwhelms its gendered dimensions. In such ways the status of supply teachers and interpretations of their work by themselves and others represents a form of

contestation over recurring and increasing attempts to define teachers' work overall.

With these themes in mind, future studies of supply teaching might include different ethnographic starting points, for example within home or other work rather than school environments, and could usefully incorporate data from significant others beyond the school workplace(s), like partners, siblings and so on. Where little is recorded nationally, quantitative studies could also be combined with a comparative focus on temporary work in other professions. Shilling (1990 and 1991a) has already alerted us to such connections in relation to agency nursing. But these could also be pursued through studies of other kinds of white- and pink-collar work, or include contexts where temporary male rather than female employment is the dominant pattern.

The research also takes us to the heart of the sociology of teaching and learning. The ethnographic context has focused on the lived experiences of supply teachers involved daily in the schooling process. Explorations of the temporary and the irregular re-focus attention on the constituent features of 'ordinary' teaching as it is manifested in regular and permanent forms. Among outcomes has been an exploration of the 'secret garden' of the curriculum, in this case its substitute form(s), and relationships to established school programmes. Comparisons have been made between set work and curriculum packaging (Buswell, 1988), and with the critical contribution of pupils in negotiating and defining temporary as well as permanent teaching experience. A focus on temporality leads us again to consider the relationship between knowing about teaching and knowing who teachers are.

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As Woods (1990a) suggests, 'there always seems to have been an element of alienation, a subjugation of the self, a suppression of individual initiative in what teaching does to teachers' (p.192). Attention given to the opportunities and constraints facing those who, through choice or necessity, make alternative connections between personal lives and teaching work, not only makes visible a form of teaching as yet unrecognised, but also reveals fundamental flaws in treating teacher substitution as an aberration rather than an endemic feature of English education.

Finally, an emphasis on teaching to time pushes us towards new assessments of one of the few remaining 'dinosaurs' of educational experience yet to enter the sociology of contemporary schooling, namely that of school time. The routines of school timetables have imposed and continue to impose powerful and conservative structures upon schools, which pupils, managers, teachers, and parents have come to accept; these serve as the basis for overall control, and of teaching and learning schedules. In a post-industrial society characterised by a growing multiplicity in orientations to time, study, and work, temporal mechanisms of schooling appear outmoded, even quaint. The rhetoric which has accompanied recent developments in outcomes-based and experiential learning has, for example, emphasised the flexibility rather than rigidity of learning experiences. Yet, once pupils are inside school, existing timetables have tended to raise few critical debates. If, as Knight (1989, p.20) suggests, inertia has remained a key factor, then the rhetoric and practice of individualised learning, self-supported study, information technology, and modular approaches, sit uncomfortably alongside existing temporal routines of hourly time slots. These are described by Knight (1983) as seat-time:

Seat-time is a basic feature of our school economy... Seat-time decrees that all students of the same age shall sit in their place for the same amount of time, whether they need it or not, whether they benefit or not, whether they progress or not. A student may be doing no more than keeping his/her seat warm. He or she still has to be provided with his or her daily dose of seat-time. (p.101)

Studies of time spent in classrooms with supply and regular teachers direct me increasingly towards the implications and constraints of teacher choices and strategies as they administer daily 'doses'. First, just emphasising the cultural significance attached to having a substitute teacher in the classroom is useful. In this country, the importance of the physical presence of a teacher in front of a class is pervasive. This is far from being a global feature of education systems. In other developed societies, like Japan, for example, there is no professional equivalent to the supply teacher other than for long term absence like maternity leave. Instead, students remain in classrooms, and are expected to continue their studies in the teacher's absence. In less developed societies, teacher substitution would be an unaffordable luxury, or a waste of scarce resources. Second, studies of temporally constrained teaching illustrate the multiple influences upon potential and actual times for learning by pupils in school which include its definition and interpretation. If 'locking the learner in a fixed-time classroom is such a primitive way of freeing the vast potential which lies in every human being' (Knight, 1989, p.144) then this study of supply teachers' lives and work hopefully has implications not only for the construction of teachers' work and lives but also for pupils' learning. In other contexts Ball (1987) asks: 'Is the form of organisational life presented here the only possible form for running schools?' (p.280). Several years

ago, my daughter and I were perusing her GCSE Science file during the revision period before exams. I noted a number of blank pages linked by a series of notes in red ink. The empty pages denoted the times her class had been taken by a 'cover' teacher; notes written in red were a personal reminder to ignore them when she came to revise. Perhaps the ultimate justification for this thesis is to begin to fill in the 'blanks' not only by making visible the lives and work of those teaching at education's periphery, but also as a reminder of the need to enhance more positively the role of schooling in the construction of child- as well as adulthood.

Post-script

The fieldwork for this thesis was completed in 1993. At that time private teacher employment agencies were beginning to be set up and advertisements appeared in the national press and in teacher journals. Those practices continue. As they were a new phenomenon, it was beyond the remit of the research to consider the impact of such agencies on the lives and work of supply teachers. Such research is now overdue. (A recent grant from the University of Warwick will allow me to pursue this further in 1995-96.) Early indications (Knight, 1994) were that agencies have tried to be 'responsive to [school managers'] needs. Often on call for long periods of the day and at weekends, they are rarely unable to provide cover, even on an emergency basis' (p.115). More recent concerns, however, highlight the ongoing marginalisation of supply teachers who work, albeit more regularly, under the new regime of agencies (*Education Guardian*, June 20 1995). Anecdotal reporting of school-based practices in which supply teachers are dismissed by schools/LEAs and then re-engaged at lower rates of pay by agencies is hardly head-line news. It does, however, suggest disturbing indications that new forms of peripheral teaching work are emerging. As a recent correspondent (a supply teacher) to a national newspaper points out:

Whether or not this cranky and time-wasting process [of dismissing and then re-engaging supply teachers] saves money for schools in the long run is uncertain. What is certain is that [supply] teachers are paid a lot less ... and teaching is trivialised. Schools have a festering administrative problem, teachers lose free periods, paper work piles up, and children are neglected. (*Guardian Letters*, *Education Guardian*, June 28 1995, p.10)

All this suggests that future research interest in supply teachers and teaching far from being peripheral is central to our understanding not only of the pervasive privatisation of the English education system but also of the many ways in which teachers' lives and work are being re-constructed in the 1990s.

APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

a) *Interview with head/Supply co-ordinator*

Preliminary

When was the last time you had to organise a substitute teacher for one of your staff?

Setting up cover

1. Would you first describe in general terms the supply situation here in your school?
2. What is commonly the reason why you need to call on supply cover?
(i.e. illness/INSET/other)
(N.B. is there documentation e.g. cover list, time sheets, school's own monitoring)
3. How, typically, are you first made aware of the need for supply cover?
4. What action do you then take?
(e.g. LEA pool, LEA list, cluster list, school list, school part-time staff, contacts via colleagues, parents) (Also - Whose responsibility to arrange cover?)
5. How many supply teachers do you have access to?
6. (i) What priorities do you have in mind at this stage?
(ii) Are there supply teachers that you would not approach?
(If so, why would you exclude them?)
7. Can you describe the last phone call (or other approach) to a supply teacher that was unsuccessful in booking supply?
8. Would you describe the last time you successfully arranged cover?
(What information is exchanged?
e.g. about school itself
duration of employment
pay
feature of class
work currently in progress)

In school

9. How is the class normally made aware of the regular teacher's absence?
(Check - does classteacher 'prepare the way'? is work set or not?)

10. What happens when a supply teacher arrives to cover a session?
11.
 - i) When a supply teacher is working in school, are you yourself conscious of this?
 - ii) Do you make any special arrangements?
 - iii) Do you assume all will be as usual?
12. At the end of a session involving supply cover, does anything specific happen?
13. Moving on to the class teacher's return to school following a period of supply cover, would you talk about how you see that?
14. Do you see supply teachers other than when they are working in your school?
(e.g. are they parents
are they invited to INSET
are they present at other school events/activities?)
15.
 - i) What qualities does a good supply teacher need to have?
 - ii) How do you assess whether someone is or is not a good supply teacher?
16. Taken overall, what do you consider as the effects of supply teaching on children's learning?
17. Are there particular features of this school that affect the supply situation here?
(Follows up Q1 but may specify more clearly e.g.
- geography/location - language/other problems
- size - other aspects of image of school
- rural/urban intake)
18. How much do you have 'internal supply cover'?
(Is this from choice, in preference to 'external' cover? Or is it because supply is not available?)
19. Do you use any measures other than 'internal cover'?
(e.g. teaching,
splitting classes,
self-supported learning)
20. Is LMS affecting the supply situation?
21.
 - i) The supply situation is often presented as a problem. Do you see it as such - or not?
 - ii) If so, where does the problem lie?
 - iii) How can it be tackled?
22.
 - i) Have you ever done supply work yourself?

- ii) Do you know whether any of your staff have done?
- iii) Have you a partner or relative who has worked as a supply teacher?
- iv) Do you suppose there are circumstances under which you would yourself do supply teaching?

b) *Interview with classteacher*

Preliminary: When was the last time that your class had a substitute teacher?

1. Would you first describe in general terms the supply situation here in your school?
2. What is commonly the reason why you need to call on supply cover? (i.e. illness/INSET/other)
3. Do you make the class aware that you will be out of school? How?
4. When your absence is scheduled, how far do you plan for what happens in the classroom during your absence? (e.g. specific examples)
5.
 - i) Let's move on to your return to school: would you talk about how you see that?
 - ii) Do you get feedback from children?
6.
 - i) What qualities does a good supply teacher need to have?
 - ii) How do you assess whether someone is or is not a good supply teacher?
7. What happens when a supply teacher arrives to cover a session? (Check - does secretary deal with it?
 - is a member of staff detailed to meet, explain?
 - is there a supply teachers' booklet or resource box?
 - access to resources?
 - is information given in the class?)
8. Can you think of a specific example of children's learning being in some way affected by a supply teacher being in school rather than the regular class teacher?
9. Are there circumstances under which you would not undertake in-service training because of the supply situation? (If so - can you given an example of this?)
10. At the end of a session involving supply cover, does anything specific happen?
(e.g.
 - does someone talk to the ST before s/he leaves?
 - does s/he leave a note at the office for the class teacher?)
11. Do you see supply teachers other than when they are working in your school?

(e.g. are they parents
are they invited to INSET
are they present at other school events/activities?)

12.
 - i) Have you ever done supply work yourself?
 - ii) Do you have a partner or relative who has worked as a supply teacher?
 - iii) Could you envisage doing supply work at some time in the future?
(Are there particular circumstances that might make this a possibility?)
13.
 - i) On what occasions would you take a colleague's class?
 - ii) To what extent does this happen?

c) *Interview with supply teacher*

Four areas of interest:

- A. Context: regularity, availability, procedures. Use as basis for introduction.
- B. Motivation: reasons for working as supply teacher, linked to professional experience and personal circumstances. Future plans/prospects.
- C. Schools and classroom experience: entry, introduction. Classroom activity, exits.
- D. Summary: contribution of supply work to
 - own career
 - children's learning

Supply as a problem? For whom? Solutions?

- A.
 - 1. When did you last work as a s/teacher?
 - 2. Could you describe in general terms the regularity of requests to do supply work?
Probe : once a week, month, longer gaps...
 - 3. Could you describe the most usual source of that request?
Probe: from one authority
from others
from a school/s
from s/team leader
from other(s)
 - 4. Could you describe in general terms the duration of your work?
Probe: most usually -
daily, ½ daily, weekly, monthly, longer.
 - 5. How do schools/LEAs know of your potential availability?
Probe: Permanent team member, pool list, casual list, one or more lists.
 - 6. Could you briefly describe the last time you declined a request to provide supply cover?
Probe: information exchanged, preliminary visit?....
 - 7. Could you briefly describe the last time you declined a request to provide supply cover?
Probe: reasons, criteria for acceptance/rejection

- B.**
8. Why are you working as a supply teacher?
 9. How long have you worked as a supply teacher?
 10. When were you last in permanent employment?
Probe: as teacher/non-teacher.
 11. How many year's teaching experience do you have?
 12. When did you qualify?
 13. Could you describe the ways in which your work experience and/or personal circumstances have affected your approach to doing supply work?
 14. Do you see your work as supply teacher as long/short term?
 15. If short-term only, what career (if any) do you intend to pursue after supply work?
- C.**
16. When you have advance notice of a supply session, what kind(s) of preparation would you normally make?
 17. In the absence of advance notice, what approach would you normally take?
Probe: takes in prepared work always/sometimes/depends:
prefers to follow work 'set' by teacher/h/teacher/answer....
 18. What happens when you arrive at school?
Suggest: focus on specific example, then relate to others
Probe: access to and availability of resources and info.
Relationship with regular teachers.
 19. What are the critical points in a supply session on those occasions when pupils are new to you?
 20. What are the critical points in a supply session on those occasions when pupils are known to you?
 21. What happens at the end of a session?
- D.**
22. Overall, what do you see as the contribution of supply work to your working career?
 23. Overall, what do you see as the contribution of supply work to your personal life?
Probe: family circumstances

24. Overall, what do you see as the contribution of supply work to children's learning?
25. Finally, supply cover is sometimes presented as a problem. Do you see it as such?
Probe: why/why not. Solutions?

d) *Post-diary interview with supply teacher*

Interview in 3 parts

1. General issues
2. Specific issues pertaining to the diary entries
3. Additional points raised

1. *General Issues*

(a) *Methodology*

- interviewees' views about doing the diary:
- ease/difficulty
- how long it took
- how were decisions reached about what to include/omit
- how were decisions reached about most significant incidents..

(b) *Overview of the diary period*

- general perceptions about the period recorded
- in the period which had elapsed since recordings were made
- had perceptions of events altered ... if yes, in what ways ...
- typical/unusual (why/why not)
- one school/more than one school
- one class/more than one class (implications)
- typical domestic circumstances/unusual circumstances (implications)

(c) *Events immediately preceding recorded period*

- e.g.
- how much notice of supply cover
 - details given
 - other events, factors ...

(d) *Events immediately following recorded period*

what happened next
more supply work ... or ...?

2. *Specific Issues*

- questions arising from each day's schedules
- points for clarification ... explanation ...
- discussion of critical points in the day

3. *Additional points raised*

Interviewee - any info. to add

Interviewer - recap on relevant issues from original interview ...
future intentions: short, medium term

Useful- photocopy of diary schedules, so interviewer and
interviewee have copies in front of them during interview

e) *Interview with pupils (in pairs)*

Background information for pupils

Summary: General research interest in the ways pupils and teachers experience learning in schools. Specific interest in pupils' learning experiences which might be irregular, different, or unusual in relation to their regular timetables with designated teachers.

Areas of interest

1. Context

Focus on most recent occasions during the last week when learning situation was irregular, different, unusual ...

2. Pupil awareness

Changes in routine
Advance notice

3. Classroom strategies

Work set: continuity, new work
support from other teaching staff

Pupil expectations
Follow-up by

pupil(s)
teacher(s)

4. General comments

APPENDIX 2

DIARIES

A) Diary Schedule

REF _____

DAY _____

SUPPLY TEACHING DIARIES		
HRS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
7.00		
-		
8.00		
-		
-		
9.00		
-		
-		
10.00		
-		
-		
11.00		
-		
-		
12.00		
-		
-		
13.00		
-		
-		
14.00		
-		
-		
15.00		
-		
-		

Continued from previous page

HRS 16.00	MAIN ACTIVITIES	OTHER
- - 17.00		
- - 18.00		
- - 19.00		
- - 20.00		
- - 21.00		
- - 22.00		
- -		

Anything before 07.00 hrs? Anything after 22.00 hrs?

What was the most demanding task or situation with which you had to deal today? Any additional comments on today's activities? Please continue on the back of this sheet if you wish.

b) Accompanying Notes to Diarists

**SCHOOL-RELATED
ACTIVITIES**

**NON SCHOOL-RELATED
ACTIVITIES**

Direct contact with the children

e.g.

- supervising lesson (please identify yr. group and subject/ curriculum area where appropriate)
- registration
- teaching new skills

All other school-related activities

e.g.

- travel to and from school
- administration
- supervising children breaks/lunch
- lesson preparation
- sorting and clearing resources

e.g.

- domestic/household
- child-care
- other paid work
- non paid/voluntary work
- career devt./courses training
- private study
- leisure/social
- other travel

Questions to consider

On the dates you have chosen to record:

What were your main activities?

What else was of interest during those times?

Were main activities planned beforehand?

Was this done by you?

When you were not in school(s) doing supply teaching were there activities which were linked to your work as a supply teacher?

When you were in school(s) doing supply teaching were there activities which were not linked to your work as a supply teacher?

APPENDIX 3

A Methodological Note: tracing and tracking supply teachers

As detailed in chapter 2, it was foreseen that an ethnographic study of supply teachers' lives and work would be methodologically demanding since its core was the study of individuals whose paid work was discontinuous, unpredictable, and diversely located, and the literature available provided only a patchy framework. Integral to these challenges was the need to capitalise on encounters which were often necessarily fleeting and opportunistic and to solve the logistical problems of research observation at multiple sites over relatively short time spans.

Figure xvi traces the routes to contacting and tracking supply teachers over a period of eighteen months. This was preceded by a literature review and letters to English LEAs requesting information on supply teaching issues. In total, interviews took place with twenty supply teachers. Of these, eight agreed to second indepth interviews, and six became diarists. Observation in schools took place at short notice, and diarists agreed to further observation taking place. Centrelink LEA, schools, and individuals were informed that data recorded would be treated confidentially and that all written materials would adopt pseudonyms.

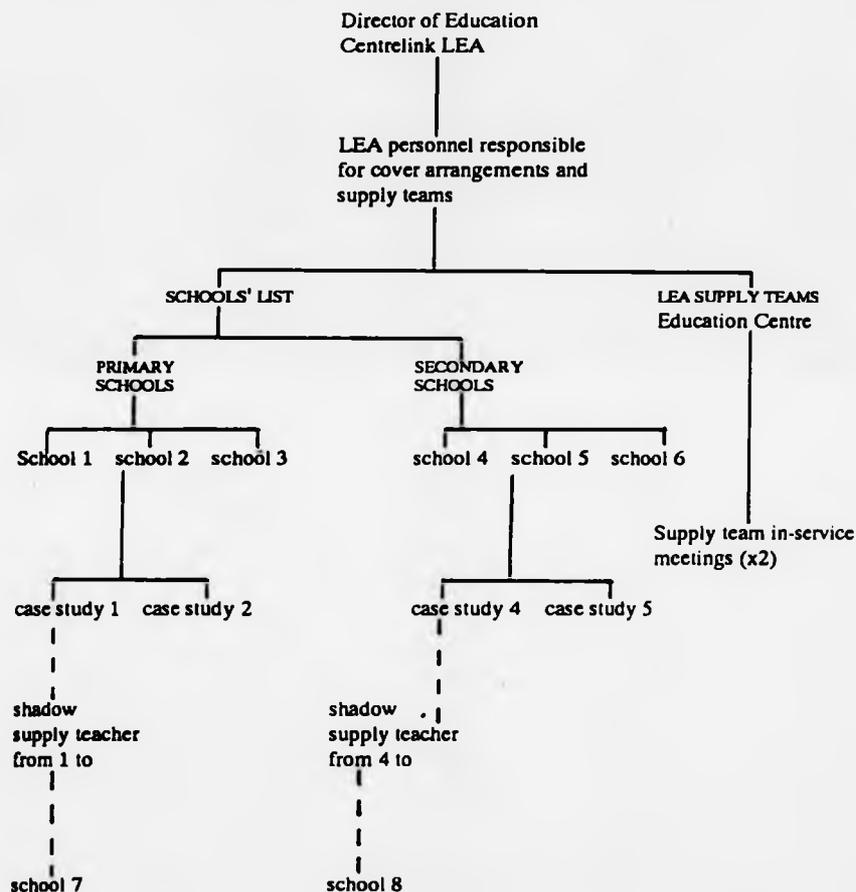
Why was Centrelink LEA selected? The LEA offered inner city, multi-ethnic, urban/suburban situations where, according to previous reports and surveys (for example, HMI, 1989), the availability and work required of supply teachers was likely to be challenging and/or problematic. At LEA level in Centrelink there was recognition of some of those challenges: at the commencement of the research, two supply teams were in operation, in addition to a central 'casual' cover list. In-

service meetings were provided for the teams and, at the commencement of the research, draft guidance to schools was in preparation. LEA officials gave me access to a lengthy schools' list (with several deletions) from which I was able to select school sites. The LEA was not told which schools were involved. I was not given access to the central cover list, so my gateway to contacting supply teachers was almost entirely through the schools. Headteachers could, at their discretion, check with the Authority representatives. Contacts were made with six schools, three in each of the primary and secondary sectors, and located in the inner and outer periphery of the Authority. These involved interviews with the heads and/or deputies/ supply co-ordinators. From the six schools, four were selected for case study work which comprised eight days in each school, and where documentary evidence was also provided. (In the secondary sector, one school declined to take further part in the research, and in the primary sector I undertook work in schools where the use of supply cover was most in evidence. This, in itself, did not resolve the logistical problem of whether supply teachers would *still* be in schools during the periods in which access had been agreed.)

In schools, opportunities were taken to interview class teachers and supply teachers whenever and wherever possible. Pupil interviews were formally scheduled. Teacher interviews were frequently opportunistic and negotiated at short notice; that supply teachers' time is predominantly class contact time made this especially complex. Whilst senior managers and regular teachers allowed interviews and observations on school premises, there were supply teachers who could or would only accept interviews off-site. Interviews, therefore, took place in empty classrooms, staffrooms, at the beginning and end of classroom activities

with pupils, on car journeys, at Macdonalds, in pubs, and in interviewees' homes.
In total, forty-five interviews took place with permanent and temporary staff.

Figure xvi TRACING AND TRACKING SUPPLY TEACHERS



SUPPLY TEACHERS INTERVIEWED	20
From these:	
SECOND INTERVIEWS	8
From these:	
DIARIES	6
INTERVIEW LOCATIONS: VARIED including domestic settings	
OBSERVATION LOCATIONS: Schools 1,2,4,5,7 and 8, and at SUPPLY TEAM meetings.	

Observation in classrooms was also achieved at short notice, on occasions with strangers and often in circumstances which were not necessarily easy to arrange for schools or for supply teachers. As figure xvi also indicates, opportunities to 'shadow' supply teachers beyond the schools in which contacts had been made originally, were also taken. This required further negotiation of access into two additional schools, in both instances at short notice.

Complementing the school-based research, were contacts made with Centrelink supply team managers. They allowed access to team meetings; this resulted in informal conversations with team members, renewed contact with several teachers encountered briefly in schools, and led to indepth interviews with one team member, who became a diarist.

Three of the post-diary interviews took place in diarists' homes, one in a restaurant, another at a place of work (not a school), and the last in a school. Two post-diary interviews took me more than twenty miles beyond Centrelink. In total, diaries provided data on thirty days' supply work.

Throughout the research, I was appreciative of the willingness shown by individuals in local, institutional, and domestic settings to give time to the research, and chapter 2 charts some of the ethical implications. Verbal feedback was given in each of the four schools, and, as requested, this reflected the practical concerns of school managers. It was also part of the research 'bargain' for gaining entry to staffrooms and classrooms.

Overall, supply teachers welcomed the attempt to document work and lives which had hitherto received little formal recognition. Mechanisms for further contact remained beyond the remit of the exploration, and whether renewed contact and more time for discussion would be welcomed are matters for future consideration. What the research achieves, are first steps in making supply teachers' times visible; this note highlights not only the mechanics of the research task but also the challenges presented for the researcher and the researched.

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