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**Men in Primary Teaching:
A study of a cohort
at Dunedin College of Education**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of**

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Abstract

This study examines factors contributing to decisions of men to withdraw from teacher education or from primary teaching within seven years of graduating and factors contributing to men remaining in the primary teaching service. It focuses on the cohort of 42 male students who embarked on primary teacher education at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. In 2000, a sample of 20 was surveyed with a postal questionnaire asking them to reflect on their experiences at Dunedin College of Education and subsequently in primary schools. Six men of this cohort were interviewed for in-depth information. These six men were representative of: those who had failed to complete their teacher education programme; those who had graduated but decided not to go teaching; those who had given up teaching within the first seven years; 4) those who were still primary teaching in 2000.

The research revealed a range of factors influencing men's decisions to withdraw from teaching or to remain in the primary teaching service. These factors were linked to the men's age at enrolment, and men were classified into three age bands - *school leavers*, *samplers* or *retrainers*. It was found that men within each group shared some factors contributing to their decisions to leave or remain in primary teaching. In general the most common reasons given by men in this sample for failing to complete the teacher education programme was their inability to adjust to the culture of teacher education or to primary schools in the early 1990s. The most common reason for men in this sample deciding not to teach, or to withdraw from the service, was lack of commitment and the confusion they experienced in their roles as male teachers in primary schools. Those men surveyed who were still teaching in 2000, were more likely to be teaching older children and to have clearer ideas about their roles as male primary teachers, and specifically their relationships with boys in their care.

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INTRODUCTION

This study starts from the premise that the primary teaching service in New Zealand should be more representative of both genders. It argues that the value of men teachers lies not in the claim that they make better teachers than women, but that schools need men, so that teaching is not seen as women's work and schooling as a feminine activity. The value of men in primary schools lies in the social and psychological effect they have on children, rather than in academic advancement of their pupils. However, more representation in primary schools may result in increased motivation and application of boys and therefore indirectly it may ameliorate some current academic concerns about boys.

In recent years, attempts to recruit and retain men in the primary teaching service have been disappointing. While teacher education providers target men in recruitment programmes, (television, radio and newspaper advertising 2000-2001) men remain under-represented in primary classrooms. There are three points at which males leave the primary teaching service. Proportionately more men than women fail to complete teacher preparation courses; not all men who graduate from teacher education choose to go teaching; and men appear more likely to drop out of teaching in their first few years in the primary profession. This research focuses on the poor rate of retention of men and probes factors that might impact on men's decisions to leave or remain in the profession at each of these points.

Chapter one begins with a discussion of the current literature as it relates to men entering the teaching profession. Firstly it considers the research relating to teacher education courses and the ability of men to adjust to them. Factors relating to this are the entry characteristics of men selected into teacher education, their subject strengths and preferences and their concerns about teaching.

Secondly it considers research into "preparedness to teach" at the completion of teacher preparation courses. By this time men will have experienced teaching children

and will have some idea whether they are equipped or suited to the classroom and to teaching as a career.

Thirdly, it considers research into aspects specific to primary teaching in New Zealand over the last decade, to ascertain factors which might have impacted on men's decision to remain in or leave teaching.

Since not all researchers are convinced that we need more men in primary teaching, the final section of the literature review addresses research into the value of men in primary schools. It looks at current concerns about boys' academic and social development and focuses on research that suggests that men in primary schools might have some effect on boys' attitudes to school.

The literature review highlights some aspects worthy of further study. Chapter two focuses on the research questions for this study and describes the research design. The study targets a group of men who began their teacher training in 1990 and asks them in 2000 to reflect on their experiences of training and teaching, in order to explore those issues which impacted on their teaching careers during the preceding ten years. The reflections of these reveal some of the concerns and rewards of teaching as a career for men.

The pool from which subjects for this research were drawn was the full male complement of forty-two men out of a total of 267 students enrolled as first year primary trainees at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. Dunedin College records were accessed to identify individuals in the cohort and each was surveyed by way of a postal questionnaire. After the respondents were classified into three groups based on their entry characteristics, two men from each group were interviewed. In the six interviews, the focus was on these men's perceptions of their preparation for, and experiences in teaching.

Chapters three and four report the findings drawn from three sources: Data from Dunedin College of Education records relating to the first year intake of 1990 and the completed questionnaires from those men in the 1990 cohort who responded to a sample

survey are reported in chapter 3. Chapter 4 gives an analysis of each of the interviews with six individual men from that sample.

The discussion section examines how the literature study informed the work. It deals with the information gleaned about men in the primary teaching profession, from a representative sample of a cohort at a College of Education to find out what factors impacted on their decisions to continue in or leave teaching.

The conclusion highlights some key points of interest, makes specific recommendations and signals directions for future research in this area.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Why is it so difficult to get men into primary school classrooms and why can't we keep them there?

In spite of advertising campaigns (on television, radio, magazines and newspapers 2000-2001) in New Zealand, targeting men in an effort to entice them into primary teaching, they remain under-represented. Men must firstly be prepared to consider teaching as a career. This is the domain of recruiters and vocational guidance officers in schools. Secondly, having applied to go to a teacher education provider, the male student must be accepted. This is the domain of enrolment policies and selectors. Teacher education lacks a diverse pool of applicants and fewer men than women apply. The yearly intake of primary teacher education recruits in most New Zealand institutions is disproportionately female.

After recruitment, acceptance and enrolment, male trainees drop out of teacher preparation programmes at a higher rate than female trainees. They also appear to be more likely to leave primary teaching within a few years after training than do female graduate teachers. This research examines the reasons why.

The literature review examines research in New Zealand and elsewhere which deals with the retention of men in primary teaching. Because there are three points at which men appear to be "at risk of dropping out", the material has accordingly been organised into three sections:

1. Men in pre-service teacher education : Research which investigates factors that contribute to men completing or not completing their teacher education course.
2. Men's transition to primary teaching: Research which investigates factors contributing to men's decisions whether to teach after graduating from teacher education
3. Men in primary teaching: Research which investigates factors which contribute to men giving up teaching within seven years, or remaining in the profession.

The further fourth section moves away from issues of retention to examine literature which underpins or questions the value of men in teaching.

4. The importance of men in primary teaching: Research which looks at the issue of whether we need men in primary teaching, and why.

Section 1: Men in Pre-service Teacher Education

Introduction

The ratio of males to females in the primary division of teacher education in 1995 was one male to 5.3 females. In 1997 it was one male to five females and the 1998 primary intake constituted one male to 3.4 females.

Table 1: A Comparison of males and females graduating from teacher training establishments to become primary or secondary teachers.

Year	Males graduating as teachers in 1997*	Females graduating as teachers in 1997
Primary	291	1412
Secondary	451	647

* in established training establishments not private ones. (TEACHNZ figures)

In 1999 it was one male to 2.6 females and in 2000 it was one male to 2.4 women. (Tertiary Education Statistics) So the ratio of men to women is improving.

In New Zealand, recruitment programmes attempt to address teacher shortages and to increase diversity. Currently many teacher education providers have deliberate recruitment policies to entice men, and Maori and Samoan men in particular, into teaching.

The aim is to recruit a fuller representation from society. The 1999 Education Review Office report on teacher education quotes "A Large Provider", on p.33 as saying:

...[we] try to select from a broad spectrum of the community including those from different backgrounds - socio-economically, culturally, politically and from different gender, disabled and religious backgrounds. The College believes every citizen has the right to the chance to be considered for teaching.

This section considers research which has some bearing on why men fail to complete teacher education courses. Three categories are addresses:

- 1) Research into **entry characteristics** of recruits, including academic ability, subject strengths and age.
- 2) Research focusing on **students' concerns** about teaching as an occupation.
- 3) Research into problems students have adjusting to the culture of teacher education.

1. Entry Characteristics

Henrietta Schwartz (1996) of California State University surveys developments in teacher education over the twentieth century. In an overview of the changing nature of teacher education in the United States, she identifies four dilemmas inherent in current reforms. Each of these has implications for recruiting and selecting trainees into teacher education in New Zealand.

The first is the **equity versus excellence** dilemma. If teacher education gives priority to recruiting a diverse teaching force, providers will recruit widely from the under-represented groups and may be forced to compromise academic excellence. Some of the more academically able students may be forced to make way for less able students in the name of equity.

Secondly, Schwartz introduces the **egalitarian versus differentiation** dilemma which questions the desire to award different status or salary incentives to high achieving teachers. The differentiation gate is opening in New Zealand to provide incentives for secondary teachers in hard-to-staff curriculum areas.

The third of Schwartz's dilemmas is the **nature versus nurture** debate. If teacher educators believe that basically a teacher is 'born', then they need to be vigilant about the entry characteristics of prospective students in teacher education courses. If teacher educators believe that teachers are 'made', then there is foundation for the following criticism:

From a policy perspective, entry requirements would be less important if exit requirements were expressed clearly as standards against which trainees were rigorously assessed. However there are no such explicit system-wide exit standards. (Education Review Office Report, p.30)

Finally Schwartz (1996) suggests that a dilemma arises out of the demand for more standardisation of curricular content and delivery. Teachers have a long-standing tradition of academic and pedagogical freedom so how can teacher educators accommodate **standardisation and individualisation** simultaneously?

These dilemmas or debates are as relevant for New Zealand teacher educators as for those in the United States.

Entry requirements for admission into teacher education courses are generally consistent from one provider to another. They are also the same for male and female applicants. The 1999 Education Review Office report on Pre-employment Training for School Teachers, stated that all the providers interviewed take into account some of the Teacher Registration Board criteria for registration as a teacher when selecting trainees. Many, they added, also apply some of their own criteria. While there may be consistency, there appears little national debate about the philosophies underpinning recruitment policies in New Zealand.

1.1 Academic Ability

Students may struggle with the academic requirements of teacher education. They may fail to complete their courses because the standards are beyond them or the breadth of expertise required too demanding.

Research into the academic calibre of teacher trainees demonstrates international concerns. In **A Critical Look at Texas Colleges of Education**, Dr Joseph S Horn measured the academic performances of teacher trainees and drew some conclusions about their intellectual abilities. He quotes Weaver (1983) who reported that: *teaching is most attractive to the lowest ability high school students and education colleges do little to improve these abilities or select out the poorer students.* (p.14)

Horn (2000) makes the following points:

- Across Texas and the U.S scholastic achievement tests for education majors and education graduates are consistently the lowest of all college majors
- Institutions of teacher education show evidence of preferring poor students over able ones and stressing social/emotional development over academic. These future teachers give little indication that they understand the important role that individual differences in ability play in educational outcomes.
- Because Texas colleges of education have low standards for admission to undergraduate teacher training... the result is a steady stream of marginal teachers entering the teacher corps each year
- Colleges of education and teacher training are part of the problem as they do not contribute much to the generation of accurate information. Horn suggests that: *an independent body of scientists and citizens be appointed in Texas to review and disseminate scientifically valid research findings.* (Horn, 2000, P3)

Horn points out that it is those *-students with the lowest academic ability who are the most likely to choose a long career in teaching.* He claims that the academically weaker student may be more likely to survive teacher training than the more academically able.

The research of Linda Darling-Hammond and Eileen Sclan (1996), suggests that in the 1970s and 1980s few of the most academically well-prepared college students were attracted to teaching in the United States, and that they were more likely to leave teaching if they entered. Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) contend that many of these

indicators had changed substantially by the 1990s because many teacher education institutions began to require higher grade point averages and test scores for admission.

Consequently, the academic qualifications of prospective teachers are now stronger than they were during the 1980s and stronger than those of the average college graduate. For example, the grade point averages of newly qualified teachers in 1990 were noticeably higher than those of other bachelor's degree recipients, with 50% of newly qualified teachers earning an average of 3.25 or better, as compared to 40% of all graduates. (Gray et al., 1993)

While it seems clear that primary teaching in New Zealand does not attract top stream students of either gender, directly from school, there is no authoritative evidence to substantiate this.

The researcher interviewed two recruitment officers at Dunedin College College of Education to investigate the relevance of Horn's findings for New Zealand teacher education providers. Liz South (2000) revealed statistical data showing that teaching is considered by many prospective students to be the career choice if one "does poorly" in bursary examinations. After offers of acceptance were made by Dunedin College of Education to 270 prospective full-time primary trainees at the end of 1999 and the beginning of the academic year in 2000, 48 people withdrew. All but two of these were school leavers who had decided to go to university instead of to the College of Education. According to reports from those school leavers, it was not to obtain a teaching degree but to pursue another university degree. *This suggests that school leavers keep their options open by applying for Teachers' College, but that if their bursary results are better than anticipated, they choose university programmes other than the Bachelor of Education (Teaching).* (Interview with Liz South, recruitment officer 6/12/00)

Brookhart and Loadman (1996) studied over 2000 pre-service and in-service male elementary teachers in the United States. They found that males who enter teacher training in the United States, show a different pattern of qualifications and attitudes from their female counterparts. Male trainees were found to be less academically oriented and less well qualified upon entry to teacher education

programmes, and less committed to school than female teachers. (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000)

Penni Cushman at Christchurch College of Education conducted a survey in 1997 of the 53 male and female students who withdrew during their first year of primary teacher training. A disproportionate number were male: 23% of the total male intake of 81 that year, compared with 9% of the female intake. She found that males tended to withdraw early in the first year, and were less affected by the timing of teaching practice. There exists the strong likelihood that the male students were less able and therefore struggled with tertiary study as Brookhart and Loadman (1996) found in the United States.

The records of teacher education providers provide useful comparative data. For example, 25% of the 270 students offered places at the Dunedin College of Education for 2000 were “automatic entry”. This is based on students’ seventh form grades and on references from school principals regarding academic potential for tertiary study. None of the students offered automatic entry for the year 2000, were men. (Dunedin College of Education Student Records 2000)

The top academic grades and scholarships (approximately 4 a year) for the primary division, at Dunedin College of Education went to women in 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000. (Dunedin College of Education Annual Reports 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000).

1.2 Student teachers' subject preferences and strengths

Primary teachers must teach confidently in every curriculum strand. The teacher’s expertise in subject knowledge and pedagogy across the curriculum is critical (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, Darling-Hammond, 1996, and Elley, 1992.)

According to the 1999 Education Review Office Report on pre-service teacher education, The Third International Mathematics and Science Study found that teachers’ lack of knowledge in mathematics and science contributed to the relatively poor performance of New Zealand pupils in the study. This caused the Education Review

Office to state that: *Many current teacher education programmes require or provide very little study of these subjects beyond familiarity with the curriculum documents.* (E.R.O. Report, 1999, p.30)

When New Zealand commentators criticise the knowledge or understandings of beginning teachers, they seldom distinguish whether it is due to inadequate pre-service teacher education or the intellectual abilities and/or the subject knowledge of the trainees.

By the time student teachers begin training for teaching, their subject preferences and strengths are already in place. The numbers of students enrolling in optional subject studies courses at teacher education institutions, reveal the subjects most students favour. For example, most teacher trainees at Dunedin College of Education have subject preferences and presumably strengths, in the areas of English and physical education, while science and mathematics appear to be their least “favourite” subjects. (Optional subject studies course numbers – Dunedin College of Education 1990-2000)

The Education Review Office criticises teacher education providers for not identifying subject knowledge gaps when selecting students for teacher preparation courses. For instance, they say, applicants for primary teacher training may not have studied art or music since year 9, or mathematics and science since year 10.

In New Zealand primary schools, teaching and learning is integrated, and there is little differentiation by subject. Children are in one classroom with one teacher and the curriculum is generally delivered through topics. In secondary schools, the curriculum is separated into subjects and boundaries between each discipline are evident. Students often choose subjects they feel ‘at home’ in. They may choose subjects according to who they think will teach them, so feelings about teachers can be transferred onto the subjects. Thus, the subjects acquire a culture or character, which exists in the mind of an individual. *A subject is a social institution that consists of people as well as rhetoric, models, tools and techniques.* (Shaw, 1995, p.106)

The culture of school subjects is frequently gendered. This appears to be an international phenomenon. *Ability is not a complete explanation of gender differences in school subject bias.* (The World Education Report, p.67, quoted in E.R.O. Report, 1999)

Jenny Shaw (1995, p.107) draws on the theories of Hammersley (1985) and Shilling (1991 and 1992) to describe the concept of subject differentiation as 'polarization theory'. They claim that polarization has replaced the idea of stereotyping. Polarization is progressive and systematic, and is a feature of educational organisations. Shaw suggests that feelings about parents, teachers and relationships are embodied in a subject, as much as rational future-oriented factors, and that these "*established cultures of subjects embody forms of defence against the predominant anxiety or anxieties that are inherent in their main tasks.*" Shaw (1995) claims that when stress-levels rise – as they inevitably do at puberty, and when the student has to make a **choice**, students often revert to tradition and choose stereotypical 'life-scripts' within which they feel comfortable and secure. When students choose subjects, Shaw claims, they redefine themselves and make a public statement about what sort of person they are, or hope to be. Choosing a subject can therefore be a statement about one's gender identification as much as anything else.

Psychologists, Hudson and Jacot (1991) claim that girls' subject choice can be explained in terms of a *protracted symbiosis* or identification with mothers. Their *difficulty with separation* inclines them towards subjects that elevate and celebrate a capacity for empathy, sympathy or intuition – that is, the arts, languages, humanities (the *soft social sciences*'). Boys, on the other hand are required to separate more fundamentally from their mothers than are girls and *dis-identify*. They are set the essentially abstract task of identifying with often absent fathers or with some aspect of their father's role. Scientific or fact-based pursuits (like science and mathematics) are associated with individuals who feel detached from the world.

The school a student attends can make a difference to subject choices. Shaw quotes a 1975 report on **The Curriculum in Secondary Schools in Great Britain** which found that sex-stereotyping of subjects and polarization of choice was greater in coeducational schools than in the single-sex schools. More girls took science subjects for example in single-sex schools than they did in the better-equipped and better-staffed coeducational

schools. (Shaw,1995, p.112) This suggests that there is something other than facilities and staff which makes the difference.

Subjects choice of girls and boys at single-sex and co-educational secondary schools show similar findings for New Zealand. (E.R.O. 1999 Report on Career Information and Guidance). This research suggests that the gender of student teachers has influenced their subject preferences and strengths at school and that these preferences will prevail.

1.3 What are the Concerns of Male Students in Teacher Education?

Studies have been conducted on the attitudes and values of those who choose teaching as a career. Brophy and Good, (1997, p.103) found that incoming teacher education students were *essentially co-operative, restrained, lacking in social boldness, friendly and anxious to please*. More recent studies have looked at beliefs and behaviours rather than attitudes and personality.

Recruitment officers for Dunedin College of Education, report that boys enquiring about teaching have different concerns from girls. When interviewed, Glen Denham, recruitment officer, stated that the questions most frequently asked by boys before applying for teacher education are:

- How much money do teachers get paid?
- How hard is the work?
- How long are the holidays?
- How many girls go there?

On the other hand **girls** ask him:

- What qualifications will I need to get in?
- How difficult is the course?
- How long will it take me?
- Will I be able to teach overseas?

(Interview with Glen Denham 2000)

In 1998, Penni Cushman at Christchurch College of Education surveyed first year male student teachers to ascertain what had been their concerns when considering primary school teaching as a career. A total of 83 out of a possible 99 responded. Three areas were identified by researchers, and participants were asked to rank whether each issue was one of no concern, slight concern, moderate concern or extreme concern. 56% had concerns ranging from slight to extreme, about the perceived status of teaching. 78% had concerns ranging from slight to extreme, about the salary. (Pay parity for primary with secondary teachers was introduced in 1998 *after this survey*) 89% had concerns about physical contact with children and its possible ramifications. Cushman's outcomes suggest that this cohort at Christchurch College of Education "*have serious misgivings about taking [teaching] up*" (Cushman, 1999, p.56)

On May 23, 2000, male staff at Dunedin College of Education surveyed male first year students to gauge support for a ***Men's Support Network***. 63 men responded (from a total 72 men in the first year intake) to a questionnaire during an Intake meeting. There was strong support for the establishment of a Men's Support Network.

Table 2: Male students' attitudes regarding the establishment of a men's support network at Dunedin College of Education 2000.

<i>Question</i>	<i>Strongly in favour of the idea</i>	<i>In favour of the idea</i>	<i>Not at all in favour of the idea</i>
Are you in favour of the idea of a "Men's Support Network" for male students at DCE?	50	7	6

The questionnaire then asked first year male trainees to:

List those issues or concerns that you feel might best be addressed by such a group. The men made their own suggestions on the questionnaire. The table below indicates students' wording of each issue and the number of times each issue was cited.

Table 3: Suggestions by first year male students at D.C.E. in 2001 of issues that might be addressed by a men's support network.

<i>Issue or concern</i>	<i>Number of respondents who cited this issue</i>
Appropriate touching	27
Keeping myself safe	14
Sexual harassment	6
Behavioural management	6
Cultural appropriateness	6
Discipline	5
Physical/sexual abuse	5
Stress	5
Organisation	4
Time management	4
Legal issues	4
Contact sports	4
Dealing with complaints	4
Dress code	4
Understanding course requirements	3
Help with subjects	3
Playground talk	3
One to one teaching	3

Code of ethics	3
Peer support	3
Coping with the ratio of women to men in College and schools	2
Campus rights	1

NB: All the issues cited by respondents have been recorded even though responses may overlap and refer to the same things.

Male student teachers do not fear that they might molest a child, but they fear that they could be *falsely accused* of molesting a child. A number of well-publicised cases of sexual abuse by early childhood, primary and secondary male teachers over the last decade have had a serious impact on the service.

Sarah-Eve Farquhar interviewed male early childhood teachers in 1997 who claimed that they were more frequently looked on with suspicion than they were in the 1980s. 55% of her interviewees reported personal experiences of being treated as a child abuser or feeling that they were regarded as one. Sarah-Eve Farquhar postulates four inter-related reasons why men are less likely to choose the teaching of young children as an occupation and why male teachers are difficult to retain:

Two contemporary reasons are the fear that male teachers might molest children, and support for women's employment opportunities. Two traditional reasons are cultural beliefs about the roles of men and women, and the status and conditions of teaching (including pay). (Farquhar, 2000)

Farquhar (1997) identified instances in which two major sex abuse cases in Christchurch and Wellington childcare centres have been used as an argument against employing men in early childhood services. Similarly, Marilyn Glover, secretary of the Auckland School Trustees Association, says that male teachers are "at risk with young children". She reports some parents saying that they *are not comfortable having men around young children*. (1996, p.44)

Naish's 1995 interviews led him to the conclusion that men are not *trusted* as teachers of young children. (Naish, 1995 in Farquhar, 1997) *Frequently*, Farquhar claims, *male primary teachers prefer to teach further up the school believing that they are at less risk than if they teach junior classes.*

James King, Professor in Childhood Education at the University of South Florida, Tampa states in the introduction to his 1998 study:

A public perception is that men who teach primary grades are often homosexuals, paedophiles or principals- in- training. These commonly held, but seldom voiced, presuppositions have had a strong impact on men's decisions about whether to teach young children. Furthermore, such perceptions ensure that men who do choose to be primary teachers are frequently seen as "suspect". (King, 1998, p.3)

King interviewed eight male primary grade teachers to elicit in-depth descriptions of what it meant for them to teach young children. His purpose was to examine *Why so few?* King questions the ideology of caring and discusses the stories of those men who choose to nurture in a 'women's profession'. He draws a parallel with the work of Hesselbart (1977) who analysed the role of men who choose to enter the field of nursing. Both men in the field of nursing and men in elementary education compete on a level with women, hence *imitating a group with less ascribed status and [who] therefore appear deviant.* They argue that it is less respectable to a man and hence damaging to his prestige and self-esteem, to be a member of an occupation of which the majority of members are women.

1.4 Ability to adjust to the Culture of College

From a survey conducted in 1997, Penni Cushman collated statistics regarding the withdrawal of 83 male and female students during their first year of primary teacher training. She interviewed men and women who failed to complete teacher education programmes at Christchurch College of Education and identified the three main reasons as: "Wrong career choice"; "Stress outside college"; and "Stress at college". Cushman

(1999) identified possible causes of "stress": The college workload; lack of support, (particularly for mature students coping with tertiary assignments for the first time); and students' inability to adjust to the social fabric of campus life.

She quotes the researcher Krotseng (1992) who found that *students commonly overestimate their ability to adjust academically and socially, and underestimate their ability to make a personal /emotional commitment.* (Cushman, 1999, p.55)

Research into teacher education is often concerned with issues that are largely 'invisible' to the student population. What that population experiences in the three or four years that they are enrolled in a teacher education programme is the "culture" of the institution. It is this "culture" that either accommodates or alienates the diverse range of students learning to be teachers.

To adjust to "the social fabric of campus life", students are required to adapt to the culture of teacher training institutions where there is often an imbalance of male and female staff. Nationally, 33% of lecturers at New Zealand Colleges of Education are male and 64% female (E.R.O. Report into pre-service teacher education, 1999). This replicates the primary school, (frequently with a male principal) as does the timetable and the style of teaching. Student teachers are expected to attend college for long days with extensive time spent in college classrooms.

Renwick (1990) undertook a longitudinal study of graduate student teachers preparing to teach in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools between 1988 and 1992. She considered the attitudes and perceptions of students from these institutions when they were selected for teacher education and in each subsequent year of their study programme. Data were gained from postal questionnaires and from interviews and student records. The research concluded that colleges need to recognise prior experiences and to emphasise the practical components of teacher education.

Gerdes and Mallinckrodt (1994) in their longitudinal study of student retention found that students who were struggling academically benefited from academic support and counselling. They advocate more informal contact with lecturers, an emphasis on

confidence-building early experiences, career planning assistance, time management and study and library skills tuition. They recommend the strategy suggested by Gerdes in 1992, to increase retention: grouping students in **Freshman Interest Groups** based on common age, gender or academic interest. These groups would foster social and academic integration while providing a support system. (Cushman, 1998, p.6)

American researchers, Boyer and Baptiste (1996) are concerned with issues of recruitment and retention of culturally diverse teachers in the United States. They studied demographics and statistics from the US census relating to teacher education. They concluded that while the pupil profile is quite diverse, the teaching population is becoming increasingly mono-racial, mono-cultural, and monolingual, comprising predominantly Caucasians coming from middle, to upper-middle, income backgrounds.

Boyer and Baptiste make links with Boyer's earlier theory (1986, in Sikula et al. 1996 p.782-783) about the value of "authentic research" in studying the recruitment of culturally different teachers. They refer to Kevin Simms (1990) who studied African-American males in colleges using only the authentic voices. One of his findings was that many of those surveyed felt that they could not be mentored by faculty persons who were not also African-American males. Boyer and Baptiste state: *If this is a reality-based perception of these students, then it must be considered in both recruitment into teacher preparation programs, and in priorities for practice within the teaching profession.* (Boyer & Baptiste, in Sikula et.al. 1996, p.783.) This also has implications for male students in predominantly female-staffed teacher preparation programmes in New Zealand.

Boyer and Baptiste (1996) make the broad assumption that the major crisis is in teacher education rather than in recruitment. They claim that teacher educators in the United States are not upgrading their practices at the same pace as student populations are changing. They suggest that schools and probably also teacher training institutions, may be guilty of academic and institutional sexism. This occurs when instruction, curriculum, policies, programs and practices assume that boys and girls will behave and respond in exactly the same way. When this does

not happen, one or the other is quietly but consistently penalised in the academic arena.

Boyer and Baptiste (1996) contend that males are significantly short-changed in the American classroom and that the absence of male teachers throughout the primary grades is a major barrier to the elimination of academic sexism. They claim that research must be undertaken on the impact of such realities and then teacher preparation and instruction must be upgraded based on the findings of such research. Teacher education providers must reflect on the delivery methods of their own establishments to ensure that they are not guilty of failing to address the different needs of students in their tertiary classrooms. Retention of any diverse or under-represented group depends on the psychological accommodation of the workplace and the school place. (Boyer & Baptiste, in Sikula et.al. 1996, p.793)

Boyer and Baptiste's work has implications for the New Zealand experience of producing teachers. Minority groups such as Maori and Pacific Islanders are under-represented in the teaching service. So are men. According to Boyer and Baptiste: *The absence of males in elementary classrooms is equivalent to the devaluing of the academic experience for all males. (ibid. p.787)*

Those offering professional instruction to primary schools in New Zealand represent one profile of a New Zealander: Caucasian, female, English-speaking, and from rural or suburban backgrounds. Teacher preparation institutions tend to have a lecturing staff with a similar profile and to cater predominantly for students who share it. These students have (like those in Boyer and Baptiste's American experience) *been socialised to perform well on "paper-and-pencil" tests assumed to denote competency. (ibid p.781)* Students from different backgrounds may not find such programmes particularly attractive and they may have difficulty adjusting to the expectations of "the profile of the teacher".

Teacher educators, like teachers, need an understanding of how an individual processes his or her total identity as part of the learning setting - with due regard to race, gender, first language, and economic status. One of the recommendations

which springs from Boyer and Baptiste's (1996) work is the need to *embrace options and alternatives for all people in academic pursuits. A mentality that says that "one size fits all" is not an appropriate framework within which to recruit, teach, learn or evaluate* (ibid. p.785).

Boyer and Baptiste (1996) suggest that we need new channels of assessing the psychological accommodation felt by the learner, and these include how the instructors *feel* about those being instructed. Are they worthy of being taught? How important does this set of learners appear to be to the future? These are questions that we might ask teacher educators in New Zealand since there is ambivalence about the need for more male primary teachers. This issue will be addressed in section 4 of this literature review.

Colleges of Education try to model, as well as teach "best practice". This being the case, classroom teaching will accommodate the specific learning needs of individual learners in the classroom in the same way that lecturers expect teacher trainees to do.

Teacher education is only occasionally delivered in the form of 'direct teaching' or mass lectures. Usually the two-hour sessions resemble interactive student-centred workshops similar to the pedagogy of a primary classroom. As most teacher educators are female primary teachers this is not surprising. It is assumed that the principles and techniques used in the education of children are equally effective in educating adults.

According to Cushman's study (1999), the largest group of those who left Christchurch College of Education without completing their course, was aged between 20-25 years. These were the more mature students who had had other life experiences since leaving school. This raises an important issue for Cushman (1999): *Colleges need to examine the content of courses which historically were designed with school leavers in mind. Does the adult status and life experience of many student teachers demand a redefinition of some college practices? Until then, the practice of recruiting lecturers from junior classes and expecting them to*

make the instant transition to teaching 25-40 year olds may justifiably lead to the indignation of some students. (Cushman, 1999, p.55)

There is much literature which focuses on different cognitive styles, conceptual styles and thinking styles, and many studies have made generalisations on the basis of gender. While most of the gender-based research examines students in schools, some findings are translatable to tertiary contexts. John Head (1996) summarises some of those studies: On field dependence (Kogan 1976); analytic versus holistic thinking patterns (Riding and Cheema 1991) spatial tests and pace of response (Maccoby and Jacklin 1974) moral development Gilligan 1982) and locus of control (Dweck, Davidson, Nelson and Enna 1978) and competition versus co-operation (Askew and Ross 1988) There is no room here to elaborate on each study and the concept of gender-based learning styles is contestable. However studies of generalised gender differences in learning style attempt to identify underlying features which may signal the inability of one gender to adjust to a climate based predominantly on the cognitive or conceptual style of the other.

It has been suggested that school tasks such as reading, writing, number work, computing, language learning and so on, produce gender differentiated responses. This is used for example, as an explanation for girls tending to perform better than boys in reading. A study of reading literacy conducted by Warwick Elley in 1990 and 1991 revealed that this disparity was evident in 32 countries. (Elley, 1992).

While these beliefs about gender differences in verbal and spatial abilities and different learning styles for girls and boys are popular at the moment, those who hold these beliefs run the risk of justifying old stereotypical views of difference. This can constrain the possibilities for males and females just as previous 'biological' theories did. For example, The World Education report states that it is believed generally that girls cannot be taught technical subjects or science or mathematics as successfully as boys, because they are thought to be less able and/or less motivated than boys to learn these subjects. This view exists in spite of the statement from the International Commission on Mathematical Instruction Study Conference on Gender and Mathematics (1992) that: *There is no physical or intellectual barrier to the participation of women in mathematics.* (Murphy & Gipps, 1996, p.53)

Pedagogical challenges and questions concerning girls' and boys' abilities and motivations are recognised as central to the management of opportunities for the two sexes in the types of education they receive: *Either the humanities, law and social sciences are more welcoming to females or females tend to prefer these fields* (Murphy and Gipps, 1996, p.56). Essentialist theories are often used to explain the different rates or styles of learning among boys and girls in schools. Proponents of an essentialist view believe that male and female are essentially and immutably different because of biological, genetic or hormonal differences, and that these differences produce essential differences in their behaviours. Essentialists maintain that the education of boys and girls needs to respond to their inherent differences. (Alton-Lee & Praat 2000, p.41)

There is little research that focuses on gender disparities in learning in tertiary education. However, if we take the essentialist view, we may be concerned that a learning environment dominated by one gender may present cognitive problems for students of the other gender.

At the UNESCO Institute of Education International Colloquium (January 1995) on the topic: **“Is there a pedagogy for girls?”** the suggested elements of “a multi-dimensional gender-sensitive pedagogical strategy for co-education” included the following:

- Using more co-operative and interactive modes of learning
- Linking mathematical and scientific content to societal issues
- Emphasising discussion and collaboration as well as competition
- Allowing class discussion **and** quiet reflection
- “Private’ as well as public questioning and probing of the pupil by the teacher
- Slowing the pace of a lesson and encouraging pupils to use the time to compose responses
- Giving feedback that balances criticism with precise guidance and praise, not the bland praise for ‘dutiful hard work’ which girls currently tend to receive.

- Balancing the presentation of male and female historical figures, scientists etc in teaching materials and computer software
- Using assessment that supports learning and reflection, rather than relying just upon competition with others. (Murphy & Gipps, 1996, p.75)

On the other hand, if we believe that the differences between boys' and girls' learning styles and cognition are not essentially different, but that years of different expectation and practices have exacerbated them, then we must look at different strategies:

1. Reducing the emphasis on gendered binaries
2. Improving teacher understandings of “gendered processes” and how they might be eliminated

According to this perspective, any strategy that encourages and enables teachers to provide more effective opportunities for students to learn is useful, but strategies that separate girls and boys or argue for different pedagogy for boys and girls, reinforce the idea of the genders being opposite or “different”. Current theorists such as Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) urge us to *deconstruct the gendered binaries*. We can do this by viewing children's and adults' diversity as a function of a range of influences – personal and social – of which gender is only one. Learning styles are as likely to be personal as gender-specific.

Some critics of teacher education institutions suggest that they remain too tradition-bound. They are loath to change and to investigate alternative models for preparing teachers. For example, Boyer and Baptiste (1996) believe that if a community is serious about recruiting more diversely representative teachers, it must be committed to restructuring teacher preparation programmes qualitatively and quantitatively for cultural diversity. *The internalisation of previously suggested competencies in teacher education will require radical restructuring of teacher education if we are serious about recruitment and retention of men.*” (Boyer and Baptiste, 1996, p.788)

Many women training to be teachers have an aversion to mathematics and science, while many men are weak in literacy skills. For teacher education providers, 'fear reduction therapy' or strategies to counter prejudice have become a prime focus to counter students' anxieties. The consequence of this may be to make mathematics and science more language-based. Mathematics in colleges of education has a co-operative problem-solving focus and science is interactive and holistic, rather than 'purely scientific'. Given that more male school-leavers than females in the early 90s claimed mathematics and science as their strongest subjects at secondary schools, it is possible that they may struggle with the focus of these subjects at college.

Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) make the point that our schools are complicit in the gendered structure of our curriculum, and they suggest an emphasis on cross curricular and integrated curricular strategies, such as mathematics-language initiatives *to confound traditional gendered associations, and to enhance the learning of girls and boys across the curriculum*. (Alton-Lee and Praat, p.314) They believe that their review signals the need for an *explicit focus [to be] placed upon issues of gender, social class, ethnicity and information skills across the curriculum*.

Others, like Prain and Hand, (1996, in Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000) advocate the use of journaling in mathematics, writing in science, training in collaborative group processes and exploratory talk in science. While Alton-Lee and Praat reinforce these as *enabling deep cognitive processing of curriculum content* (ibid. p.307) detractors might suggest that these strategies are an attempt to translate science into a more "girl-friendly" curriculum that may incidentally disadvantage students of other ethnic groups as well as boys. Harding (1986) for example, claims that a more student-centred collaborative pedagogy favours girls and that the traditional "didactic" teaching style which still exists in many Asian countries, favours boys. (Martin, 1996))

Summary

Proportionately more men than women fail to complete teacher training. Various theories are offered for why this might be so. The popular perception is that male recruits may be generally less academically able than their female peers, but Dr Joseph Horn suggests that even if this is so, it may not be the main reason why they drop out of their teacher training. Penni Cushman's research at Christchurch College of Education reveals stress as a determining factor in students' decisions to leave teacher training. This stress includes the inability to adjust to the culture of the institution. Trainees have to adjust to the culture of a female dominated organisation, being taught in a tertiary institution by primary teachers, and possibly within a predominantly "girl-friendly" curriculum and pedagogy.

Section 2: Men's Transition to Primary Teaching

Introduction

When men graduate from teacher education, there are generally teaching opportunities for them in New Zealand providing they are mobile. Though men are perhaps not preferred for promotion quite as explicitly as they once were, they are still more likely to be appointed into initial teaching positions more quickly than women graduates. The prevailing perception of staff and students in teacher education is that the men will be the first to gain employment after graduation, regardless of their strengths or grades. Yet some choose not to go teaching. This section looks at research into men's transition to teaching and reasons why men choose to take up a teaching position - or not.

Teaching is a dynamic profession and our notions of what it means to be a teacher change with societal trends and patterns of thinking. In the past ten years New Zealand schools have seen changes in administration, curriculum, assessment and extra-curricular expectations, so it seems likely that the role of the teacher has changed also. If male teachers are expected to embody a specific type of role model who sends clear messages to boys about 'positive masculinity', what does this model look like? The implications of conflicting expectations of men in primary teaching must impact on men entering the profession.

2.1 Preparedness for Teaching

Canadian researcher, Housego (1992, in West, Jarchow & Quisenberry 1996) studied elementary teacher education students' feelings of preparedness to teach and beliefs about their effectiveness as teachers. The results revealed that students' feelings of preparedness to teach significantly increased in the first three terms but did not increase in the fourth and final terms. Female students felt significantly more prepared to teach than male students. Scores on an attitudinal scale measuring the students'

confidence in their own effectiveness as teachers did not increase significantly in any term, although female students significantly show higher scores on personal and teacher efficacy than males. (West, Jarchow and Quisenberry, 1996, p1055)

A Ministry of Education- funded, four-year longitudinal study of student progress through three Colleges of Education (Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch) revealed that at the end of their training 97% of those surveyed described themselves as “confident” or “very confident” about teaching. (Renwick, 1993, p.55)

The four most important factors influencing appointment to a teaching position, according to a study of the “success of graduate students in finding jobs” conducted by Auckland College of Education in 1993 are:

- Commitment to teaching
- Quality of spoken English
- Overall appearance
- Personality.

(In Renwick, 1993)

Male students are disproportionately likely to gain permanent positions and the Auckland researchers suggest that there may also be a trend to appoint younger teachers rather than mature graduates. The Auckland writers stated that it is hard to have accurate knowledge of graduates’ placements and even more difficult to monitor competence in the classroom. They believe that the lack of a systematic system for the accurate collection of employment figures is concerning. Since there is no centralised system it is not possible to know enough about who is being employed, who misses out and what they are doing when they miss out.

Linda Darling-Hammond and Eileen Mary Sclan (1996) in a paper on American beginning teachers, looked at who teaches and why. The demand for teachers is increasing in that country and there is an emphasis on the recruitment and retention of minority candidates, but not on men. Because of the heavy use of the reserve pool of teachers (those re-entering the profession) some prospective teachers in the United States are not getting jobs. Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) looked at the attrition rates of

particular types of teachers. They found that many who did not go teaching after graduation, had no intention of remaining in the teaching service. They drew on the data of Bobbitt, Faupel and Burns (1991) which showed that 30% of those teachers with three or fewer years of experience left the teaching service between 1987 and 1988 and between 1988 and 1989. Prior to the 90s, the most likely to leave the teaching service were young women, but in the United States in 1996, the overall attrition rate for men and women was equivalent. (ibid, p.79) However, their findings and the findings of a survey by Gray et.al (1993) revealed that the academically talented or those with a disciplinary speciality in addition to an education degree, tend to leave teaching first. Attrition was higher among those with attractive non-teaching alternatives.

2.2 Concerns of Male Beginning Teachers

Concerns expressed by male student teachers about sexual abuse accusations may have an effect on feelings of preparedness. Some research suggests that it does have an impact on male students' behaviours with children. The atmosphere of mistrust uncovered by Farquhar (1997) in her studies of male early childhood teachers caused some men to report that they avoid quiet times or sitting down interacting individually with children. They also discourage the showing of affection. Reading stories is often a time to cuddle children and it was suggested that male teachers are more likely to avoid this situation. (Farquhar, 1997).

Johnson uses the term "touch hysteria" (1995, in King, 1998, p.26) to refer to the current obsession with the no-touch policy of men in American schools. King's mentoring of pre-service elementary teachers led him to believe that while this issue is rarely discussed, male teachers tacitly conform to 'touch hysteria' and King believes this to be inappropriate. It was this issue and others, which led him to question the experiences of the male elementary teachers he interviewed. The 'touch hysteria' issue surfaces at least once in every interview. *Some behaviour women exhibit, such as hugging is acceptable for just women.* (Interviews 3/7 and 4/13 in King, 1998)

Many schools have put policies and protocols in place to protect teachers as well as children. *While it is important that teachers are protected from false accusations, every male trainee is aware from publicity surrounding teachers that allegations once made, can destroy a career and a reputation.* (Farquhar, 2000, p.46)

While the New Zealand Educational Institute does not accept that sexual abuse fears are a key reason why men are turning away from teaching (Tocker, 1997) maintaining that men have always had to be more careful than women, men's current and obvious concerns suggest otherwise.

International comparisons show that countries with the lowest teacher salaries have the lowest national proportions of male teachers. The New Zealand primary service has particularly low levels of male teachers (21%) consistent with historically relatively low salary levels by international standards. Contributing to the low proportion of male teachers in primary schools may be the low status of the teaching profession in this country signalled by such low salaries. Few theorists in New Zealand suggest that low pay dissuades a teacher graduate from taking up a teaching position. Most were aware of salary scales before embarking on their teacher preparation course and three or four years with no income tends to make any salary attractive.

When Penni Cushman surveyed male first year teacher trainees at Christchurch College of Education in 1998, she asked them whether the three issues - teacher status, teacher salaries and physical contact with children were of concern. Twenty-two percent said salary was of no concern, 37% said it was a moderate concern and 4% said it was an extreme concern. (Cushman, 1999, p.56) Pay parity with secondary teachers since 1998 has possibly meant that more potential teachers will be attracted to primary teaching, yet salaries for beginning teachers are still low compared with that of other professions (ibid. p.56).

2.3 Adjusting to the role of "teacher".

By the completion of their teacher education course, every student has had at least ten weeks of teaching practice. Most are aware of their ability to cope with the expectations of a teacher, and of their comfort in the role. Few New Zealand studies deal with the student teacher's adjustment to the role, though those studies that report students' desire for more practical components may have indirectly been alluding to this. (Renwick, 1993)

Jenny Shaw (1995) deals with this from the perspective of a teacher needing to be "in loco parentis". One aspect of the teacher's role is the concept of responsibility or "taking charge" and Shaw claims that teachers are not only legally, but also emotionally "in loco parentis". Though teaching is not the same as parenting, it depends upon it in a wide variety of ways, both practically and emotionally. The changing nature of what it means to be "a parent", is important in Shaw's view, because what "in loco parentis" actually means to this generation of teachers and parents, can be problematic. Shaw (1995) suggests that *though teaching is obviously grafted onto some notion of parenting, the 'parent' was not originally the mother, but the father* (ibid. p.53).

In the past, according to Shaw's premise, the teacher represented a father figure, concerned with what fathers did for their children. The teacher was authoritarian, relatively distant or formal, and a disciplinarian: *the harsh but 'good' father*. Schooling was, she claims, militaristic and consisted of drills, rote learning and discipline.

Some theorists such as Spender (1981) and Blackmore (1993) (in Shaw 1995, p.55) believe that a general patriarchal principle underpins schooling and that this can most clearly be seen in patterns of headships. There is, they claim, a prevailing idea of the headmaster as a sort of father and a belief that the ultimate authority should lie with a man.

New Zealand men teaching in the 70s and 80s remember performing different roles in the primary school from their female counterparts: *I would organise assemblies or large groups of children where a loud voice was necessary*. (Dunbar interview, 1998)

Men were always in charge of the sports gear and usually the sporting events as well. The women teachers would send their naughty boys to me – to strap them or more recently, to strop them up. (Dunbar interview, 1998)

For many other cultures, this is still the primary ethos in schooling. In the western world teaching has only relatively recently become a "caring or nurturing" profession and one which equates, in Shaw's view with the idea of the "good mother". Not only does this mean that there are more women in education but it also, she suggests, means that the "style" of primary teaching has changed.

Nurturing has taken over from discipline, at home and at school. The gap or boundary between home and school has been reduced socially, psychologically and pedagogically. (Shaw, 1995, p.242) The criteria for judging teachers has in general got closer to being based on what 'mothers' do or have traditionally done. This can present problems for male teachers.

Nancy Chodorow (1994) draws on the psychoanalytic account of female and male personality development to demonstrate that women's mothering reproduces itself. It is, she says, neither a product of biology nor intentional role training. Women, as mothers, produce daughters with mothering capacities and the desire to mother. These capacities and needs grow out of the mother-daughter relationship itself. By contrast, women as mothers (and men as not-mothers) produce sons whose nurturing capacities and needs have been systematically curtailed and repressed. *This prepares men for their less affective later family role, and for primary participation in the impersonal extra-familial world of work and public life.* While there was a time when this socialisation equipped men to be teachers in a primary classroom, those days are over. (Shaw, 1995, p.243)

King (1998) claims that teaching in the primary grades equates with caring but that "teaching equals care" is a complex issue. Since it is based on women's style of interacting with and caring *for* children as well as *about* children it often involves men learning to behave like women: *If care is a domain of relationships that is ascribed to women, then men's enactment of care behaviour will be marginalized and, as shown in*

this study, viewed with suspicion. Specifically men's use of touch as care was seen by all of us...as risky behaviour (King, 1998, p.83).

Behaviours that are seen as "care" as well as the intention to perform them are associated with women. Men's performance of these behaviours involves crossing the gender borders. And not every male teacher wants to do this. The following are some quotes from King's interviews with male elementary teachers in 1998:

Females are too attached to kids. They want to know their kids inside and out. I don't see it that way. I want to teach the curriculum. It's a whole different way of thinking.... It's a motherly instinct of wanting close attention and attachments with kids (Interview 6/5 in King, 1998)

Women are attracted to little kids. Men don't want to play with little kids. They want to teach somebody who is ready to learn. Men are expected to teach high school and grown-up kids because it's more important. (Interview 4/1, ibid.)

Young children need structure and discipline, not coddling...one person taking responsibility. (Interview 6/5, ibid.)

These views have implications for the socialisation of men in primary teacher training in New Zealand. How can men be prepared for primary teaching when the ideal is one of the caring, nurturing "mother"? Such studies suggest that only certain 'types' of men can succeed in and fill this role in primary schools. Males may have graduated from their teacher preparation courses, yet experience ambivalence regarding their role as teachers. Nias (1989) describes teachers' views of their profession as full of *paradox, ambiguity and contradiction*. (p.182)

That the pedagogy of teaching has evolved over the last two or three decades is evident in the Australian text: **Looking in Classrooms** (Good and Brophy, 1997) The writers point out that what was once "classroom instruction" is now called "active teaching" and "helping students to construct useable knowledge" as well as "students' interactions with one another". Good and Brophy (1997) surveyed educators, parents and students, asking them to identify "What makes a good teacher?". Participants

ranked the qualities. The consensus was, according to Good and Brophy (1997) that a good teacher enthuses students; treats them as individuals; knows the subject; is loving and warm; teaches to learn; empathises with students; relates to others; is fair, firm and flexible; is organised; prepares students for life; manages the classroom; has high self esteem; has a sense of humour; is a complete person and takes risks.(in Barry and King, 1998)

A teacher who is respected and appreciated by students will be able to achieve a great deal more, in a much more harmonious climate than the teacher who is less respected or appreciated. Barry and King (1998) examined students' perceptions of the kind of authority that a respected teacher possesses. They found that a teacher who is respected largely because of expertise and/or closeness will command a different kind of respect from one whose authority is based on power and/or the distribution of rewards and punishments. As Barry and King (1998) argue, *The more the teacher's authority is founded on that of a more experienced, more knowledgeable, older and hopefully wiser person, the more likely the students will respect and appreciate the teacher's leadership.* (p.110)

The resurgence of classroom management as a topic of profound interest stems from a growing concern among educators, parents and the public that "control" and "discipline" are worsening. This is however, not a new phenomenon as there has always been a prevailing mythology that "schools were tougher in the past".

In the 1990s and especially over the last five years, researchers and educational writers are noting a definite consolidation of views around either the "controlling" position or the "caring" position. (Weinstein, 1998; Freiberg, 1998; in Barry & King 1998). Barry and King (1998), suggest that controlling approaches characterised classroom management in the last 20-30 years, educators are now considering classroom practices that reflect a caring approach. They suggest that there is a paradox in schools because contemporary curriculum directions emphasise problem-solving, critical thinking, student-centred learning and self-regulated learning. How can these be implemented, they ask, in classrooms where the management system is characterised by compliance, obedience and student discipline that involves rewards and consequences to

students? This is likely to cause confusion and tension for teachers and students alike. They describe this situation as: *a misalliance between instructional expectations and requirements for teachers and the ongoing management practices in many classrooms.* (McCaslin and Good, (1992) in Barry and King, p.568).

King and his interviewees alert us to the dichotomy of teachers being - *expected to live a life in response to and guided by their perception of others' needs. Yet these same caregivers are expected to control* (King, 1998, p.143).

Keeping control is widely taken as a sign of a good teacher. Control of a class is far from easy and by the time they graduate, most student teachers will be aware of the importance of this as well as their own ability to maintain that control.

In the 1999 E.R.O. report on teacher training, beginning teachers were quoted as frequently stating that they did not get enough teaching in *"how to manage and run a classroom"*. Employers also cite at the top of the weaknesses identified in beginning teachers, *"Lack of skills in behaviour and classroom management."* (Education Review Office Report on pre-service teacher education, 1999)

2.4 Is there a special role for the male teacher?

The call for a reinstated 'masculine' presence in education is fraught with contradictions. What is it about masculinity that we claim to want for our children? Even defining masculinity appears problematic. Researchers working within essentialist theories of gender see masculinity as the inherited, unalterable, often spiritual, essence of what it is to be a man. In the opinion of Alton-Lee and Praat (2000, p.265), the popular author Steve Biddulph, fits this category. Others rely on biological, hormonal or psychological differences to get an idea of "masculinity".

A lecturer in media criticism at Pennsylvania State University, Crispin Sartwell puts an interesting case that *Mass androgyny and gender-free socialisation of children has failed and difference has returned.* Rather than perceiving gender as *a patriarchal*

plot, we should, he claims, be starting to suspect that hormones may determine differences. *Girls now have a wider selection of personae – they can be sporty, computer freaks or they can kick butt*. Femininity is in flux, he claims and girls can do anything. Boys on the other hand seem to be stuck in the same old categories of *jocks and geeks – with jocks at the top of the masculine hierarchy*.

Sartwell (2000) suggests that attitudes towards masculinity have become more hostile yet boys are not offered any other options. *Aggressiveness is frowned on and pathologised, to the undoubted delight of the makers of ritalin*, he says. He suggests that masculinity in boys seems to be something to be treated rather than something to be celebrated. *If we don't rethink boyhood – and manhood – we risk creating a seriously asymmetrical generation of young people in which the females have changed but the males haven't; in which femininity is cool and masculinity is medicated*. (Sartwell, 2000)

Critics cited by Alton-Lee & Praat, (2000, p.265-272) object to theories which entrench differences in gender or "gender absolutism" as coined by Jackson, (1998) Most critics are critical of popular discourses framing the debate about "failing boys", which, *...do not critically examine masculinity but instead call for a reinstatement of masculine regimes*. (Epstein et.al., in Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.267).

Most educationalists reject the culturally dominant and visible form of masculinity to which some attach the label "hegemonic masculinity", (Town, 1999 in Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p.273). In New Zealand, this is perceived as "macho" and by most teachers as undesirable, since it smacks of toughness, intolerance, inarticulateness and even violence. On the other hand, few educators specify what "a good male" is like, in spite of insisting that "boys need good male role models".

Most studies examining masculinity and femininity focus on small scale qualitative research and usually on students in secondary schools. Connell's (1993) analysis of the life-stories of two groups of young Australian men in the 1980s demonstrated how school and peer group relationships were active in the structuring of the masculinities of two groups of men. He identified ways that some forms of masculinity are sources of power

for some boys. He noted also that schools may show ambivalence towards these masculinities. (Connell, 1993, in Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.270)

Skelton (1996, in Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.273) examined how a masculinity based on aggression and intimidation permeated the culture of an English primary school. While teachers attempted to establish behavioural expectations within the school that were different to the dominant masculinity within the community, they were unsuccessful.

Jordon (1995, in Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000) observed young boys in junior classes and found that only a small group were disruptive but that they were also dominant - appropriating super-hero positions in schools. Conforming boys became the subordinate group defining themselves simply in terms of "not being girls". Jordon (1995) suggests that redefining positions of masculinity and femininity so that the super-hero or warrior discourses equate with working for community or social justice. This, she claims, might broaden options for all and make school *more tolerable for girls*. (Jordon in Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.274).

What does "masculinity" imply in an early childhood centre? Sarah-Eve Farquhar surveyed early childhood teachers to identify factors which made a male teacher in an Early Childhood Centre particularly valued. The male teacher could, it was claimed, perform nine important functions:

- Challenge sexism by noticing sexist behaviour in women and children
- Provide a gentle caring role model
- Help boys express negative feelings with their voices rather than their fists
- Perform the stereotypical sex role functions like lifting heavy things, climbing ladders, fixing fuses
- Exert a positive influence on women teachers
- Make fathers feel welcome

- Challenge parents' biases
- Show boys that they can do anything
- Give children greater latitude for active and boisterous behaviour.

This is a blend of traditional masculine and feminine traits and behaviour. (Cook, 1988, in Farquhar, 1997). David Adams-Jones (1995) advocates for: *more good men ... who are empathetic and strong, autonomous and connected and responsible to self and family, friends and society.* (p14)

The perfect teacher has a lot in common with the perfect parent and this is the source of some anxiety for trainee teachers. It is noticeable that research into gender in schools frequently mentions the need for "good male role models" in schools, yet few studies mention the need for "good female role models". Why do we need more of one than the other? What makes a "good role model"?

If the prototype of "good role model" in New Zealand primary classrooms is a gender-free 'nurturer', this may present problems to male teachers. Most writers on the subject of gender in teaching agree that the role of nurturer comes more easily to young women than it does to young men. The role of "mother" is familiar to both genders since most children come from families constituting a mother, and from classrooms in their primary years dominated by female role models. It is easier for young people - especially young women - to know how a mother as well as a woman teacher *should* behave.

However this androgynous role can cause some ambivalence in young men. Many young male school leavers training to be teachers are comfortable in the role of the "big brother" – one who teases, encourages and cajoles; who relies on humour to appeal to students, and often on strongly masculine qualities to urge them on. When teachers are younger they more closely identify with their pupils and feel happier (Petersen, 1984, in Shaw, 1995, p.43). As they age they lose this affinity and according to Petersen and Shaw *need to develop other bases for teaching, or other defences.*

According to Steve Biddulph, middle class fathers are ambivalent about their roles. The work of Steve Biddulph and others highlight the need for a father/mentor who is

warm, articulate and nurturing. Yet Biddulph (1997) claims, many men have only a memory of an impersonal, authoritative father of the 70s. Young male teachers may well identify with the liberal ideal of perfect father or mentor, for in spite of not having had m/any role models in the mould, they perceive that the role can be filled by *any* man with an emotional investment in the socialisation of children.

But this nurturing role may be daunting for the male teacher if they believe that - *the sensitive nurturing man could be perceived by others, most notably parents, as providing a role model that is inappropriate for young boys. Some parents may not want their children exposed to nurturing, caring, or what the parents may construe as "soft" males.* (King, 1998, p.5)

The tendency for male teachers to be complicit in redefining their own "rules for touching" is significant. If every interaction with a child is "potentially sexual" male primary teachers will always be marginalised in the "nurturer" role.

Summary

Many New Zealanders believe our schools should be staffed by individuals reflecting the diverse nature of our society, and at its most basic level this means more men in our schools. But we are ambivalent about what this entails. The dominant culture of the New Zealand primary classroom is a child-centred one in which the teacher is as much a nurturer as a controller. Theorists like Shaw, Petersen and King, claim that this role sits more easily with women teachers than it does with male teachers who have had little training or modelling in this "caring" role. If caring is socially constructed as female, some adjustment may be needed for men to perform this role. This ambivalence about the role of male primary teachers may cause some anxiety for men embarking on a teaching career. While there is so much ambiguity about what it means to be a male primary teacher, young men particularly, may struggle in the role.

Section 3: Men in Primary Teaching

Introduction

Some men graduate from teacher training but do not go teaching. Others teach for a few years and resign. This section considers findings relative to issues and stresses in teaching over the last decade, (1990-2000). These have been years of upheaval in education in New Zealand. Studies of teachers' reactions to the educational climate in New Zealand after the 1989 reforms, identify issues which may have impacted on decisions of teachers in general, and men in particular, to remain in or leave teaching.

3.1 Retention of males in the primary teaching service

The trends for fewer males in both primary and secondary sectors seem to be continuing nation-wide. In 1995 males made up 4,576 or 26% of the nation's primary teachers. In 1999, just under 21% of primary teachers were male. In that same year primary recruits into teacher education were 20% male and 80% female. (E.R.O. report, 1999.) In 1997, 50% of secondary recruits were men, yet in 1999 only 47% of the nation's secondary teachers were men. (Ministry of Education statistics 1996 and 1999)

3.2 Teacher Stresses

Though attention has turned in recent years to "stress" as a significant feature of teaching, the popular image of teachers having a fairly "cushy" life with short hours and long holidays persists. This is frequently felt as an unfair attack on teachers. As a working environment, teaching in a primary school has some serious disadvantages:

- It's a noisy environment
- There is little downtime in a day

- Exposure to infections is high
- Every absence must be planned for
- There are few opportunities in a working day to meet new adults
- Familiarity with students is discouraged
- It involves continual high concentration
- One must make rapid decisive decisions
- There is a lot of bureaucratic paper work
- Extra-curricula expectations cut into lunch, after school and weekends
- One has a high level of responsibility for well being and safety

(Cole and Walker, 1989, in Shaw 1995, p. 43)

Most teachers claim teaching to be stressful and draining albeit rewarding.

Euphoria gives way to depletion and worry about how good or bad a job one is doing and, either in relation to actual children or work that symbolises the desire to be creative, there is an in-built and ever-present threat of depression and despair. (Shaw, 1995, p.56)

This is the occupational hazard of teaching and is what teaching does to many teachers. According to Penni Cushman (in Roger, 2000) anxieties peculiar to the teaching profession are:

- Feeling stuck in a rut
- Being only semi-professional and under-valued
- Unable to keep up-to-date or professionally developed. Isolation leads to teachers thinking everyone else is doing it better.
- Taking all criticism personally
- Anxieties about the quasi-parenting role. One can only ever *really* parent one's own children
- Overwork. Much of the excess load is a consequence of curriculum changes; ERO demands; the need to monitor and assess achievement regularly; keep up-to-date records evaluation and evidence.

Teaching is notoriously isolated and isolating work experience that leads teachers to have a poor perception of themselves and their abilities. (Cushman, in Roger, 2000, p. 42)

Teaching has a bottomless appetite for the investment of scarce personal resources. (Nias, in Shaw, 1995, p.42).

Many teachers also experience a feeling of 'stuckness' feeling that they can do nothing else and that their skills are non-transferable. (Buchan & Weyman, in Shaw, 1995, p.40)

Male teachers are in the minority in primary schools. It is still not unusual to find schools with a staff of more than fifteen of whom only two are men – one more often than not the Principal. Jenny Shaw (1995) tells us that men teachers in the primary sector in Britain have a one-in-two chance of being a Deputy or a Head. (Shaw, 1995, p.2)

Male teachers can feel isolated and it is not unusual for a principal to mentor or groom a young male teacher. Male teachers still quit the classroom to take on administrative roles more than female teachers do; probably because the salary is better. Some believe that men are promoted for reasons other than as a reward for being good teaching practitioners. *Being a poor classroom teacher is often not an obstacle to men's progress,* Moira Bryant claimed in Broadsheet in 1981. She suggested that - *Women might be more enthusiastic about getting more men into teaching if they thought the new recruits would be keener to stay in the classroom, especially the junior school, than male teachers have been so far. (Ibid.)*

Media reports reinforce a conviction that there are "good" and "bad" teachers. (The New Zealand Herald 31/5/00) But there is much confusion about what constitutes good and bad teaching. Good teachers, like good parents, are hard to judge, and both are subject to the highest ideals. Many confuse bad teaching with bad teachers. The rooting out of "bad teachers" is part of the justification for appraisal. Performance-related pay depends on a contrast with the myth of the "good teacher". These "bad eggs" it is claimed, will be ousted by setting minimum performance requirements for teachers and by a new Education Council taking responsibility for requiring police and character

checks on all people who work with children. (Ibid.) This sort of media commentary can make teachers feel uncomfortable and insecure. One is good or bad, not simply "good enough" and which side of the line one falls on can be a matter of chance – or locale. For male teachers this can be exacerbated by the call for *not more male teachers - only good ones*, from female colleagues and educationalists who suspect that male recruitment policies may compromise quality. (eg Bryant, 1981)

Nias (1989) claims that in order to cope, primary teachers need reference groups. She studied these relationships extensively among British teachers. Adult reference groups can be inside or outside the school. Teachers' values are sustained by connections with these groups and discussions helped them define themselves and their realities. For example, she found that inside adult reference groups *confirmed goals and aspirations, kept them from leaving the school, supported them in innovation and retrenchment, deepened their satisfaction and fuelled their discontents*. (Nias, 1989, p.112) In contrast, outside reference groups such as churches and sports clubs, allowed teachers to *maintain their substantial selves*, but did not foster greater integration into the school social culture or identification with other teachers on site. She also found that teachers who tended to identify exclusively with their students as reference groups were essentially isolated from professional relationships with colleagues. These teachers were prone to leave the teaching profession. *Those who had no reference groups, that is, who had no one to whom they felt they could talk, came to deny their adult lives and often left teaching*. (Nias 1989, p.21) Teachers experience anxiety if criticism of their delivery is perceived or interpreted as criticism of them as a person. *What's happening to you as a person can't be separated from what happens to you as a teacher*. (Nias, 1989, p.182)

Some researchers highlight the difficulty teachers have in finding daily rewards in teaching. As a Jungian analyst, Daniel Lindley (1993) reminds us that when teaching is done well, it is hard to disentangle the contribution of the teacher from the contribution of the pupil. The pupil (and its parents) will experience as their own achievement some of the effort of the teacher. This is why teaching can be so depressing: *The better teaching is done, the harder it is to see one's product, and, he says, it takes a fair degree of emotional maturity to be able to bear this for years on end*. (Lindley, 1993)

The research of Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1993) found that the relative attractions of teaching as an occupation in the United States, are both monetary and non-monetary. Salary, working conditions, intrinsic factors, work satisfaction and opportunities for professional growth are all factors that affect the retention of American teachers. When considering a change of occupation, individuals weigh these factors as well as *the human capital investments already made, the costs of retraining and the likelihood of ensuring another job with the preferred attributes*. (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996, p.84)

Of all college graduates in the United States, those with education majors received the lowest average starting salary in 1987 (Choy, Bobbitt, et al, in Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996). There is a large range in teachers' salaries across districts and states, but studies (Choy, Bobbitt et al., 1992) revealed that only 8% of teachers surveyed, strongly agreed that they were satisfied with their salaries in 1987, and 32% somewhat agreed. The influence of salary on early career retention appears to continue in the United States. (Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996)

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development statistics of 1998 reveals a discouraging picture of the teaching profession in New Zealand. Firstly, New Zealand teacher salaries are well below the OECD mean. Secondly, teacher student ratios are higher in both primary and secondary schools than the OECD means. Thirdly, primary teachers themselves are reported as perceiving teaching to be a low-status occupation. (Education Review Office Report, 1999) One of the reasons for this attitude may be that caring and nurturing characterise the culture of primary education. This equates with unpaid domestic labour. While women "do it better", or more naturally - it guarantees that it will never be paid highly.

Carol Gilligan (1982) maintains that caring and nurturing characterise the culture of primary education and as a consequence teachers are expected to *live a life in response and guided by the perception of others' needs*. (In Good & Brophy, p.82) This selflessness can be draining on the teacher and her/his family. Gilligan suggests that women are more masochistic than men. She claims that women often subscribe to "superwoman" or "the perfect girl" syndrome, and therefore sacrifice themselves.

Women, Gilligan believes, are more likely to see teaching as about "relationships" – remaining in the profession because they "like children" rather than because they "like the idea of teaching as a career". If men find primary teaching less attractive as a career, simply "liking children" may not be enough to keep them in the profession.

3.3 Coping with a decade of change

Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) found that in the United States, teachers who have felt the impact of reform were more likely to report that schools had become much better and that conditions had improved for teachers. They quote a survey (L.H. Research 1993) that revealed teachers who reported site-based management had been introduced to their schools were more optimistic about curriculum delivery, relationships, conditions of work, status of teachers and performance of students. They were much more likely to report themselves very satisfied with their career as a teacher, and to see themselves as *agents of reform rather than the targets of reform*. (Darling-Hammond & Sclan 1996, p.90).

Over the last decade New Zealand has *embraced a market model of education with emphasis on parental choice of schools, marketing, and a pragmatic policy of schools serving the workforce and training young people for future employment. This philosophy does not appeal to those who rail against the client mentality*. (Livingstone, in Wylie, 1999, p.2)

Writing in the early nineties, Gordon, of the University of Canterbury identified the effects the reforms were having on teachers: *At present teachers are really feeling the pressure of the educational reforms. They are excluded from central policy processes, derided by some state agencies, fractions of capital and various cabinet ministers, and yet report having to work longer hours in increasingly difficult conditions*. (Gordon, 1993, p.26) She points out that the process of educational reform in New Zealand continues to be one of marked contestation with teachers *repositioned from professional to proletarian*.

Livingstone's research (1994) revealed that teachers' workloads were in the vicinity of 54 to 60 hours per week with more than half of this work being over and above face-to face teaching hours – including weekend work. Teachers surveyed in Livingstone's study perceived that the impact of curriculum changes and subsequent increase in workload negatively affected their quality of work. By 1999, Wylie reported that Principals worked 60 hours a week and teachers 51.5 hours.

Teachers might feel disgruntled with aspects of the teaching profession because of changes brought about by the 1989 reforms. The most vital issue for most teachers is workload - the hours one puts into face-to-face teaching, extra-curricular activities and paper work. Teaching is draining, enervating, self-exploiting and it encroaches on home-life. There is little evidence to show that teachers in New Zealand see themselves *as agents of reform rather than the targets of reform*. (Darling-Hammond & Sclan 1996 p.90)

The New Zealand Council for Educational Research has been monitoring the impact of the 1989 reforms on schools over the last ten years. As principal researcher, Cathy Wylie (1999) reports on the impact of these on a base sample of 239 schools, surveying the views of principals, trustees, teachers and parents annually since 1990. Her research revealed that those areas that specifically affect teachers are the higher workloads, inadequate staffing, limited government funding per student and lack of resourcing for curriculum change.

It was not the teachers surveyed in the NZCER research, who were the most concerned about inadequate staffing in schools, but the principals and trustees. Perhaps this was because class sizes had reduced by 1999 and 21% of teachers were able to claim fewer than 20 children in their primary class. Only 13% of classes had 30 children or more compared with 33% between 1989 and 1993.

Lack of funding per student, impacts on teachers, as this usually means that more time is spent on school fund-raising, making one's own resources, giving one's time voluntarily and generally feeling ill-prepared for innovation. Those schools in low socio-

economic areas and with high Maori enrolment were ...*likely to have gained least from the reforms and may even have gone backwards.* (Wylie, 1999, p.5)

According to Wylie's findings, people in schools appeared to need more non-teaching time; access to external support to help their own school development efforts; and local, regional and national avenues for sharing approaches to common problems. They wanted the government to focus more on resourcing, workload and school support issues and they wanted the education sector to be included in shaping government education policy. (Wylie, 1999, p.6)

Keith Sullivan of Victoria University believes that New Zealand's educational reforms of the last ten years have not been teacher-friendly. He argues that since the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, a market ethos has developed in education and teachers have been *reframed as inefficient, overly influential, lacking accountability, and working against the best interests of learners and the national good.* He identifies anti-teacher legislation and regulations which inherently deny teachers their status as professionals. He is critical of government initiatives to introduce performance-related pay for teachers. This entails linking teachers' salaries to proposed professional standards. Sullivan (1999) quotes from an New Zealand Educational Institute report (1998) which expresses concern at this policy which tends to erode teacher professionalism and co-operation, and which in effect links the two issues of salary and professional issues.

Summary

There are many reasons why men have left the primary teaching profession over the last ten years. It could have been coping with the ambivalence surrounding the role of the male teacher or coping over time with the culture of female dominated schools. On the other hand it could be the physical and emotional stresses of the job that drive men away. The changes brought about by the 1989 education reforms in New Zealand may have impacted negatively on primary teachers. These stresses are manifest in the quantity of face-to-face teaching time, and paper work and extra-curricular expectations. Some researchers suggest that women are 'better equipped' or more prepared to cope with these

pressures. Sullivan (1999) claims that these reforms have contributed to the erosion of teaching as a profession and this may have impacted on teacher morale.

Section 4: The Importance of Men in Primary Teaching

Introduction

This section considers research that focuses on the need for more men in primary schools. There are four reasons advanced: Firstly, to promote diversity and to make school staffs more representative of society; secondly, to address perceived learning deficits of boys; thirdly, to address perceived social needs of boys; fourthly, to transform the primary school environment by repositioning it away from the "feminised" nurturing and caring ethos.

Almost four-fifths (79%) of New Zealand primary teachers are women and 55% of New Zealand secondary teachers are women. (Teacher Registration Board, 2000) These proportions are four to five percent higher than the OECD norms for proportions of female teachers. There is concern nationally and internationally about the proportions of male teachers in schools. *These concerns, say Alton-Lee and Praat (2000), are justified within a perspective where diversity, representation and positive interactions between children and both genders are valued in the way a society socialises its young.* (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.59).

Researchers and theorists, Shaw, (1995), Rutledge (1997) and Farquhar (1997) claim that the value of having teachers of both genders is primarily social and psychological, but that this in turn has academic and educational benefits. If the teaching profession is representative of the community as a whole, the message to children is that education is for everyone. It also gives children the opportunity to interact with diverse adults. Representation of both genders within society's schools is therefore important.

Many researchers suggest that New Zealand children have too little contact with men, and that primary schools staffed in the main by women, exacerbates this. There are two strands to this area of research. One is that more men in schools will contribute to the social, emotional and psychological development of boys (and girls). The second is

that male teachers are important in classrooms as models of educational passion and success for boys. Recently theorists have concluded that the academic achievement of boys is the result of, or a by-product of their psychological and social well being, and that increasing the number of men teaching in primary schools may ameliorate some of the "problems" being experienced by New Zealand boys. But it is unclear whether this implies a need for more men in primary school settings, or whether it is seen as important to have men in actual classrooms. As there are two distinct perspectives on this issue, it is necessary to group studies under the two headings: 1) Men in primary school settings and 2) Men in primary classrooms.

4.1 Men in Primary School Settings

In the last decade there has been concern about what is perceived to be a disparity of educational achievement between boys and girls in New Zealand schools. Several government initiatives have been launched to assess and monitor this.

Ministry of Education concern sparked an initial review of gender patterns in student performance in 1999. This 1999 report led to the Ministry of Education commissioning a review of literature on the range of factors contributing to gender differences in education in the compulsory school sector. The impetus for this report stemmed from a rising concern among policy makers and practitioners that the education of boys in New Zealand was at risk.

In their literature review **Explaining and Addressing Gender Differences in the New Zealand Compulsory School Sector**, Adrienne Alton-Lee and Angelique Praat analysed achievement data from 1989 to 1999 and material from over 450 studies. They focused on three specific areas:

- 1 The key factors contributing to gender differences in learning, participation and social outcomes
- 2 The strategies or policies used to address gender differences in learning, student participation and social outcomes.

3 The effectiveness of these strategies/policies.

The writers examined the gender differences in achievement scores. Like Praat's previous study this one revealed that even when there are statistically significant gender differences between groups of girls and boys on some measures, the range of performance within gender groups generally reveals far more variability within each gender group than variability between the groups. (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.21)

There are an increasing number of children being brought up in families where there is no father figure. The World Education Report of 1995 reveals that the vast majority of single-parent families are headed by women. In Europe, one in every eight families is a single-parent household. Nearly 1.2 million adults lived with 2 million children under 25 in 1995, and this has been steadily increasing. In the 20 years prior to 1995 the number of single-parent families increased by 63%. (World Education Report, 1995). In New Zealand, some 60,000 boys are growing up in households without a father. (Education Review Office, 1999)

The men's movement in New Zealand emphasises how boys in our society are "under-fathered". They use the phrase coined by popular Australian commentator, Steve Biddulph, (1997) to refer to children being brought up by single parents. These single parents are invariably women. "Under-fathered" also applies to those children who are brought up in families where the father is often absent – usually because the demands of his job encroach on evenings and weekends. Boys who are "fatherless" may be without a male in the home. The absence of a man to exemplify masculinity may hinder healthy gender identification in a boy. (Biddulph, 1997)

If gender is constructed by family, media and schools, it is important that boys have male role models so that they can learn what it is to be male and how "real men" behave. When children of both sexes are reared, in the main, by women, boys are more likely to struggle with gender identification. They are progressively expected to acquire the values and behaviour of men. This is not easy if there are few men to identify with, so learning male gender identity in western society is more difficult than in other societies where boys are more likely to be brought up with fathers. (Biddulph, 1997; Browne &

Fletcher, 1995) For many boys, behaving like "a man" becomes simply a process of "not behaving like a girl". (Sanderson, in Browne & Fletcher, 1995) That is, masculinity is defined by what it is not.

Concerns about the absence of male teachers in primary education are not confined to the New Zealand system. Boyer and Baptiste (1996) state that in the United States, sixteen million children do not live with their fathers, so the presence of adult males in classrooms may be one of the most empowering policies that could be initiated. They believe that there is some level of instructional distortion under way in elementary classrooms that results in males being punished more or reprimanded more than girls. *Messages of psychological exclusion are delivered in the classroom by the only adult in such environments: usually a female educator.* (ibid, p.787)

The push for more men in primary schools comes from the perception that young boys need more choices of behaviour, interests and attitudes. It is expected that more men numerically can provide "real" men for children to interact with, so that their perception of men is not limited to the few they see in their homes and the preponderance of national heroes served up by the media. *Exposure of girls and, particularly boys, to positive male role models during their early years can ameliorate the disadvantage children experience from the lack of a stable father figure.* (Biddulph, 1997)

Not everyone however believes that it is the school's role to provide substitute fathers. Fay Mason, Principal of Murrays Bay Intermediate in Auckland, for example says that while it is important to have a gender balance in a school, the *best person for the job is not always the male*. But then she adds - *in most young men's eyes this traditionally female profession doesn't carry the image of a successful male.* (Mason, in Moses, 1999)

While theorists may argue that a drive for more male teachers is justifiable on the basis of fair representation, few if any, studies suggest that women are less effective teachers of boys than men. Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) point out that the relative achievement of girls and boys varies by curriculum area and school level, rather than by teacher gender. Higher proportions of women teachers teach both primary school literacy

where girls achieve significantly better than boys and primary school social studies and science where boys achieve more highly than girls. (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000 p.302)

Similarly, Farquhar (1997) points out that the evidence does not suggest that the work performance of male teachers is better than that of female teachers. Rather, the presence of male teachers breaks down gender stereotypes, provides a male identification figure for children and demonstrates how men can care and be responsible for children.

Farquhar (1997) makes a convincing case for the need to show men in nurturing roles as role models for children. The decreasing numbers of men in teacher training, affects women as well as men. The absence of a policy to redress the balance sends the message, she claims, that society is satisfied with the stereotyped view that women are the educators/ nurturers of children and that men are the providers. These messages taught to children at an early age suggest to girls that women's destiny is motherhood and work involving caring, and communicates to boys and girls alike, that education is women's work. (Farquhar, 1997).

Increasing the number of male teachers in primary schools, is seen by some educators as a positive step in countering the social and academic problems associated with boys' lower achievement, bullying, truancy and suicides. (Martin, cited in Murphy & Gipps, 1996). This is not because male teachers prevent these problems but because they can serve as effective role models who demonstrate for boys more positive ways of interacting. It is important, the researchers claim, for children to see male and female teachers working co-operatively together. This provides positive role modelling for children who often self-segregate into traditional "boys" and "girls" play areas and use gender as the criterion for selecting play partners. (Holmes cited in Farquhar, 1997)

According to research reported in *The Economist* (1996) boys and men continue to hold very traditional views of themselves. It is suggested that not only do boys and men see social roles as more sex-typed than girls and women, but they are also less likely to enter areas of women's work. Schools, by not challenging students' attitudes, choices and behaviours are complicit in this.

From the evidence available, educators could argue for more men in primary schools not because they believe these individual men will improve the academic achievement of boys in their classrooms, but because more men in school settings will provide social and psychological benefits for children. Such benefits will impact positively on the attitudes of children in their care. These "attitudes" constitute the gender identity of boys, and the attitudes of girls and boys towards educational achievement, as well as towards other "gender prescribed" behaviours. On this basis, they might suggest to the parents of primary school children, that it is important to have a balance of male and female teachers in their children's school – but not necessarily in their child's classroom!

4.2 Men in primary school classrooms

Having men on a primary school staff is not the same as having a male teacher in the classroom, according to Bill Barker, Principal of Grey Lynn Primary School. Boys, he believes, need male role models in the classroom. *Too many primary schools have a predominantly female staff with the caretaker and principal – the only males. It's important that [boys] see men doing things like reading, discussing and critically analysing literature.* (Barker cited in Moses, 1999)

The Fergusson, and Horwood study (1997) of a birth cohort of 1000 Christchurch children from school entry to age eighteen showed that males achieved less well than females and that the differences were not related to IQ, but could be explained in terms of classroom behaviour. The researchers found that boys were more disruptive and inattentive and these factors inhibit their progress. This contention is open to question though since "disruptive" can mean many things. For example Alton-Lee and Praat revealed that boys dominate teacher time and classroom talk in one curriculum area more than any other – social studies. (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.7) They also achieve better grades relative to girls in this subject. Hence "disruptive" or "vocally dominant" or "controlling of teacher time" can in some instances promote rather than inhibit learning for those children whose "learning styles" require it.

Fergusson, and Horwood (1997) concluded *that the traditional educational disadvantage shown by females has largely disappeared and has been replaced by an emerging male disadvantage*. This is contradicted by Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) who suggest that from the 450 studies they reviewed there is every indication that the gender gaps in performance; in reading, literacy and English have been evident in New Zealand assessment data for over a hundred years and that boys still perform more highly on secondary school level science assessments. (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, p.295)

Alton-Lee and Praat are careful to make the point that the gendered construction of the social world is, and has been, so culturally pervasive, that our gender influences the way we experience, negotiate and participate in life: *Variations in patterns of relatively higher male or female achievement relate to the gendered nature of the curriculum itself*. (ibid. Abstract)

New Zealand boys continue to do more poorly than girls in literacy. Girls tend to perform better than boys in reading in 32 countries (Elley, 1992). Girls on average read faster, sooner and more fluently than boys. Girls seem to enjoy it more and boys struggle or resist. A study by Elaine Millard at Sheffield University in 1996, (cited by Elley & Smith, 1998), found that three times more girls than boys see themselves as readers. This has shown up in research since the early 1960s and in the United Kingdom, United States, Australia and NZ. Gender differences were accepted as developmental and boys were often up to two years behind girls in reading. (Douglas et al., Goldstein, Osmont cited in Gipps and Murphy, 1994).

Researchers such as Vivian, Gussin and Paley, (cited in Shaw, 1995, p.76) suggest that a "girl-friendly environment" in the classroom promotes superior verbal and reasoning skills among girls and they suggest that this environment is instigated and perpetuated by women teachers.

Boys' lack of motivation to read is usually explained in terms of their psychology or social development. For example most researchers claim that girls as well as boys perceive reading and writing as feminine and passive. (Sanderson cited in Browne & Fletcher, 1995) It fits in well with the feminine identity but is at odds with the active, practical focus of some masculine identities. For most children, reading is associated

with the mother because it was she who generally read to them – and she generally reads fiction, whereas males in the household more generally read the newspaper. Several theorists such as Winnicott, Lindley, Chodorow, Ainsworth and Atwood (cited in Shaw, 1995) suggest that reading (and even writing) may equate with ways of relating to the mother's body just as "being at the breast" does.

Gwenda Sanderson (in Browne and Fletcher, 1995) maintains that boys' concept of masculinity is easily disturbed by "doing literacy" and being "like a female". Writer James Maloney (1999), agrees, claiming that the mode of masculinity prevalent in Australia and New Zealand, influences attitudes towards literacy, and that boys reject books and reading as feminine behaviours to be avoided. *To see the cause of boys' resistance [to reading] as inadequate or different cognitive processing of linguistic information, ie. pathological, or to blame current reading material as not meeting boys' needs, is to obscure the social reality of their lives and the set of values these boys hold about maintaining their maleness.* (Sanderson, in Browne and Fletcher, 1995, p.159) Sanderson adds that this idea of it "not being 'cool' for boys to read", is often shared by girls and by boys' fathers.

The American National Reading Association Task Force Report (2000, NEA website) concluded that it is the teacher and not the method, that makes the real difference in reading success, and one of the three key points in its recommendations was that teachers acknowledge their own power to inspire and motivate. It is important for children to see that reading is loved by men, as well as by women.

Alton-Lee and Praat, (2000) warn against placing too much importance on academic achievement disparities based on gender. When statistics for "academic achievement" are based on external examination results as well as internal assessment, the variables can cloud the comparisons. The relative academic success of girls and boys varies by curriculum area and school level. It is also common for patterns of classroom interaction or domination to take precedence over what is perceived to be achievement in the classroom.

On the other hand, boys are over-represented in negative statistics such as suspensions and overt forms of bullying and violence at school. Boys are more likely to be the subject of disciplinary practices at school, and the rates of suicide, drug dependency, alcohol abuse, crime and violence for adolescent boys are exceptionally high by international standards. When boys are perceived as dysfunctional in society, the link is often made with their schooling and some sociologists suggest that the negative social outcomes are linked causally with boys' lack of achievement in schools. Others argue that a relative lack of educational achievement is only another symptom of boys' dysfunction.

The key question, then, is whether there is anything to be gained by having more men in primary classrooms.

Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) examine the claim that boys' achievement or lack of it, stems from the way boys are taught. Do those who call for more men in primary schools believe that men make better teachers? In their review Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) remind readers: *It is not just a case of bringing 'men' into schools, but quality teachers'*. (p.268) And later: *the research... suggests that there is no determinate relationship between the gender of the teacher, their teaching style or the likelihood of being a role model for students. It also suggests caution in accepting solutions that view the gender of a teacher as more important than the quality.* (p.269) This philosophy appears to be shared by Judith Aiken of the Education Review Office: *The only thing that's good for a young learner is a good teacher, and there isn't any evidence that can conclusively say that a male teacher would be better than a woman.* (Aitken, in Roger, 2000, p.24)

Early childhood researchers view the development of children as socially, psychologically and intellectually integrated. They have regularly studied the different ways that men and women interact with children. For example, Farquhar (1997) reports studies which identify different preferences for "play" among male and female teachers. Researchers found from their observations in Early Childhood Centres that women prefer to be involved in collage and dramatic play rather than climbing, ball games or construction. They maintain that simply making activities available is not enough because children need teachers to participate, engage and challenge them. Green and

Schaefer (cited in Farquhar, 1997), noted that male teachers prefer physically oriented equipment and activities, more than female teachers did. A decade later, researchers repeated the claim that male teachers are more likely to respect and cater for boys' interests and needs, such as for boisterous play, construction and movement than are women (Jensen, cited in Farquhar, 1997)

Some researchers claim that their studies reveal that boys are more likely to admire and copy the behaviour of male teachers than are their female counterparts (Huttunen, 1992; Gold and Reis, 1982 cited in Farquhar 1997). Gold and Reis go on to say that boys are more likely to imitate academically oriented behaviour in male teachers than in women teachers and that they will learn that such behaviour is appropriate for their gender. These researchers also found that boys who had had male pre-school teachers were likely to do better academically at school, than boys who had female pre-school teachers. (Gold & Reis, 1982) Their research leads them to suggest that: *very young boys taught by male teachers may have somewhat greater masculine sex identification, better maths and spatial aptitude scores and better school attitudes and behaviour.* (Gold & Reis, 1982 p.507.)

Research into gender-related issues in teaching and learning outcomes (in Cushman, 1999) conclude that male and female teachers have different ways of implementing the curriculum, and that their teaching styles may suit boys' and girls' different ways of learning. (Gabriel and Smithson, cited in Cushman, 1999) There is no solid evidence however, for the claim that women have a shared teaching style which is more appropriate for girls, or that men share a teaching style more likely to suit boys' ways of learning. However when researchers speak of the "feminisation" of the curriculum or gendered pedagogy in the primary classroom, this is one aspect that they refer to.

Researchers who perceive that a call for more male teachers represents an attack on feminism - or worse misogyny - do nothing to raise the level of debate. Some ironically see the issue as a backlash against feminism. Detractors might suggest that this tends to compromise their opposition to essentialism. If diversity eschews the idea of an

"essential" male, (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p.267) then calls for diversity need not be threatening to feminists.

Delamont (1999) attacks what she calls the "discourse of denigration" in Britain and the United States for blaming the teaching profession for boys' failure. Delamont (cited in Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p.268) identified five problems commonly blamed on the "feminisation of teaching" and critically examined the underlying assumptions based on available research. They are assumptions that:

- 1 There is a lack of scholarly/academic role models for boys.
- 2 There is a bias in favour of feminism in the curricula.
- 3 There is a lack of toughness in discipline
- 4 There has been a rejection of competition in academic and sporting matters
- 5 School and classroom regimes favour females.

These contentions are, Delamont points out, reliant on six shaky assumptions. The first is that boys need toughness and more harsh discipline to succeed, yet research suggests that there is a range of ways of "being a boy" and in some cases harsh discipline is counter-productive. What she does not point out is that there is also a range of ways of being a male teacher and many neither want, nor are able, to be disciplinarians. King, (1998) describes the resentment and frustration of a male first-grade teacher who was given all the children with behaviour problems because he was "a man and could handle it". (Interview 4/13, p.103).

The other assumptions identified by Delamont, rely on stereotyping women teachers as nurturing, anti-competitive, sports-phobic people, who value girls' achievement above boys', while male teachers are stereotyped as sports-loving, tough and better at motivating and civilising the 'macho' lad. (ibid p.268). What evidence there is, of men and women teachers in primary schools does not, in Delamont's view substantiate these assertions.

Interpreted another way, Delamont's "problems" can sound less threatening to women teachers. Firstly, few will contest that male teachers are under-represented in relation to female teachers so there **is** a lack of men involved in education. Since most schools have a male caretaker, the wording "academic or scholarly" simply precludes **any** men from filling the position. Secondly, the **feminisation** of schooling should not be confused with **feminist** bias. They are not the same. Feminisation refers to an environment in which women's teaching practices, strengths, perceptions and life-views prevail. Since women are the dominant group in teaching, it cannot be otherwise. This is neither deliberate nor the "fault" of women. It is simply the dominant culture of primary schools, and possibly one that inadvertently suits girls best. Just as this culture may not suit all *children*, it may also not suit all *teachers*. One in King's (1998) study put it this way: *The men who do a really good job in primary teaching identify with women and perhaps spent their time as kids hanging out with women. They relate to women and they relate to women's tasks. Whereas the men who are lone wolves are trapped between two worlds. They are uncomfortable in a social system that is nurturing, but their economic situation is dependent on their being there.* (Interview 4/5 in King 1998)

There is a danger in polarising men and women teachers and in assuming that difference is threatening. Most teachers acknowledge the range of teaching styles in New Zealand's primary schools. A more diverse teaching force will make that range of teaching styles more diverse.

Summary

Rival interpretations and misleading statistics notwithstanding, many researchers are interested in the academic under-achievement of boys in schools. What is becoming clear is that academic under-achievement is only one symptom of social and psychological concerns about boys' development. Boys' gender identification can effect their behaviours, aspirations and attitudes. These in turn impact on boys' academic performance exacerbating their "problem" status within society.

One of the suggested remedies for this is to increase the number of male teachers in New Zealand's primary schools. The impetus for such a recruitment drive comes from ideas based on the four premises mentioned in my introduction to this section on **The Importance of Men in teaching**. The research reviewed, revolves around these "reasons", and relies on the logic inherent in the following:

- 1) Adults involved in education should be more representative of the communities they serve, so that the message goes to children that *learning and academic achievement is for everyone*.
- 2) Men in school environments will provide reference points or models (though not necessarily exemplary ones) for boys and broaden their behavioural and attitudinal options.
- 3) Seeing more men involved in education should enhance boys' motivation to achieve academically
- 4) More men in primary schools will counter a prevailing feminisation of the learning environment for children and broaden the range of teaching styles in primary classrooms. This will subsequently make the atmosphere in schools comfortable for a wider range of men and boys.

Literature Review Summary

The literature discussed in the last section of this literature review underpins the perceived need for more men in the primary teaching profession. Recruitment drives for men can be rationalised most persuasively on the basis of increasing the diversity of the teaching profession and broadening the range of teaching styles and role models. It is generally argued that a teaching force more representative of New Zealand society is beneficial to children in general and that more male teachers will benefit primary-school aged boys in particular.

The focus of this literature review has been on factors which may determine whether men choose to complete teacher education courses, to take up teaching after graduation, and to remain in the primary teaching service beyond the initial years. The studies reviewed have identified a range of issues with the potential to impact on men's career decisions.

The prevailing culture of teacher education institutions and the nature of preparation courses may unsettle men and cause them to drop out before completing their training. The programme may be too difficult for men whose entry characteristics may not have adequately equipped them for tertiary study. However some researchers have suggested that lack of intellectual ability may not be an obstacle in teacher education. Teacher educators are recruited in the main from female primary teachers. It may be the feminine environment and world view of teacher education and primary schools that makes men uncomfortable. Alternatively, it may be the prospect of three or four years with no income.

A proportion of men who graduate from teacher education choose not to go teaching. By the time they make this decision they have experienced teaching practice and the culture of working in a school. Most of the research into this stage of teacher production focuses on the ambiguous role for men as primary teachers. If teaching is synonymous with "caring" and caring is socially constructed as "female", this can cause some anxiety for men going into the primary teaching profession.

Some men graduate from teacher education but choose not to go teaching. Studies into why men might leave the primary teaching service within the first seven years of teaching reveal different determining factors from country to country. Recent New Zealand studies concentrate on the stress brought about by the 1989 educational reforms. Changes resulted in more face to face teaching time, more paperwork and extra-curricular expectations. Women may be better able to cope with these pressures. Primary schools are predominantly female-dominated and male teachers may have difficulty adapting to this environment or to what they perceive to be different ways of working.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN

1. The Research Problem

This study examined the motivation of men teaching, or preparing to teach in New Zealand primary schools. If there is a need for more male teachers in New Zealand primary schools, as has been suggested, issues of retention are important. The problem is that we don't know enough about the factors which might entice men into or alienate them from the primary profession. This research centred on the following questions: Why some men do not complete their teacher education courses; Why some might choose not to take up teaching after graduating; Why some, having embarked on teaching, leave the profession within the first few years of teaching.

This researcher is interested in identifying factors that might contribute to men either leaving or remaining in the primary teaching service. The literature review throws up many suggestions. Men may leave primary teacher training because of their immaturity; inappropriate subject strengths; their failure to cope with the academic demands of tertiary education; their inability to adjust to the culture of a teacher education institution; or to the expense of unpaid tertiary study. They may choose not to go teaching because of their perceptions of teaching as a career. This may be due to issues pertaining to social status or finance.

This study focused on a small sample of men who embarked on teacher education in 1990. It attempted to elicit data relating to their specific characteristics and their perceptions and experiences of preparation for, and involvement in, teaching. The following research questions were addressed:

1. What factors contributed to some men in this sample failing to complete their teacher education course?
2. What factors contributed to some men not taking up teaching at the completion of their training?

3. What factors contributed to some men deciding to give up teaching within seven years?
4. What factors kept other men in the primary teaching service for ten years?

2. A Case Study

This study was concerned with a specific cohort of men who enrolled in the primary pre-service or the shortened primary graduate programme at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. The aim of a case study is to find out what is going on or 'what went on here?' (Bouma, 1996, p.89). The key element in a case study is that one group is focused on and that no comparison with another group is made.

My case study was an exploratory one in which no hypothesis was tested. I was interested in how members of this specific group coped with the demands of teacher training and with teaching as a career. I gathered data to answer research questions and to build up a picture of the following:

1. those who dropped out of Dunedin College of Education before completing their training
2. those who completed their training but did not go teaching
3. those who taught but had since given it up
4. those who were still teaching in the year 2000.

By interviewing representatives of each group, I elicited some answers to why individual men made the decision to leave or remain in the teaching service. Reference was made to the broader literature and this could help formulate hypotheses for future study.

3. The Sample

I focused on the year 1990 as this was the year I began lecturing at Dunedin College of Education, and because this allowed a space of ten years for the respondents to reflect

on. This study dealt with the teacher-education experiences of these men, and also with their experiences of work beyond the Dunedin College of Education.

The sample was drawn from all three primary teaching programmes offered in 1990: the pre-service undergraduate programme of three years for a Teaching Diploma; the four year Bachelor of Education Degree programme completed in conjunction with the University of Otago; and the compressed two year course for university graduates training to be primary teachers. For the purpose of this research all the categories were collected since I was interested in the attitude and relationship of each person to the teaching profession. This pool constituted 45 men. From Dunedin College of Education records I was able to classify men in this pool on the basis of those who graduated from their teacher education course, and those who did not.

It was impossible to trace more than a small proportion of the pool. Surveys were sent to 42 men. Twenty responded. This group of twenty respondents constituted my survey sample. The sample was then categorised in terms of the following criteria:

- * Those who failed to complete the teacher education programme
- * Those who graduated from their teacher education programme but did not go teaching.
- * Those who graduated and taught but have since given up teaching
- * Those who were still primary teaching in 2000.

Six of the sample were chosen to be interviewed. Two had failed to complete their teacher education course; one had graduated but did not go teaching; one had given up teaching after five years; and the other two were still primary teaching ten years after embarking on teacher training at Dunedin College of Education.

4. The Researcher

Boyer and Baptiste (1996) make a distinction between authentic research and basic research. A "basic research" team does not include a person about whom the research is being conducted. "Authentic research" occurs when the research team or

principal investigator represents the profile of those being used as subjects in the research design. Boyer and Baptiste (1996) argue that an authentic perspective is essential. By Boyer and Baptiste's definition, this study qualifies as basic research since the only researcher was female. Perhaps the fact that the researcher was also a primary teacher added authenticity to her profile, but as a staff member of the institution under investigation it was hard to discern whether this "contaminated" objectivity or added authenticity.

Since the researcher is an employee of the College of Education at the centre of this study, two additional problems could have arisen. Firstly, subjects might have revealed practices that were harmful or damaging to them as individuals or groups, as students at the Dunedin College of Education. If the researcher considered these to be potentially harmful to current students, she might have been tempted to alert other people to information gathered through this research. Secondly, the researcher might have uncovered attitudes or practices which impact negatively on the reputation of the Dunedin College of Education. As an employee of that institution the researcher is expected to protect its reputation. These points are worth considering and a researcher must always maintain an ethical stance and behave with integrity in the interests of subjects who have agreed to participate in good faith.

From a cultural perspective, the fact that the researcher is a New Zealand Pakeha is probably not relevant. Maori members of the sample were identified as "Maori" and participants who had had experience in a career or other tertiary education were labelled "mature". The identity of each participant in this study was protected. They were fully informed of the purposes of the study, guaranteed their privacy and advised that they may withdraw at any time. Potential risks to participants were properly and ethically managed. The researcher respected their time as well as their privacy, and adhered to rules and ethical procedures to fulfil the ethical requirements of Massey University and Dunedin College of Education. After all: *The researcher is the main determinant of ethical standards. As well, both in their professional practice and as potential subjects for research, educators have a responsibility to know ethical principles and help ensure that they are followed in their schools and with their students.* (Anderson, 1990, p.26)

5. Data Gathering

Data was gathered from three sources: Dunedin College of Education records; a survey of a particular cohort of men; and interviews with a small but representative group of that cohort. The former gave a broad picture of the whole intake of primary trainees beginning at Dunedin College of Education in 1990; the second gave more specific information about the men I was able to contact; and the third method yielded more in-depth material on the small representative group of men interviewed.

This chapter is divided into three sections: The first section deals with data from historical documents; the second with data from a survey; and the third with data from interviews. In each of the three sections I give my rationale for choosing the specific method and some issues to consider when implementing it. I shall also explain how data was gathered at each stage of this study.

5.1 Gathering data from historical documents

To locate a specific group of past students one must firstly identify them by name. To do this I needed access to Dunedin College of Education records or data base for the year 1990. *It is important to gain access to archival sites by seeking the approval of "gatekeepers"* (Marshall & Rossman, cited in Creswell, 1994, p.148)

This raised important ethical issues about whether I should be permitted access and under what conditions. I had submitted a proposal for my course of study to Massey University and also to the Research and Ethics Committee of the Dunedin College of Education. It was also necessary to seek further permission from the Ethics Committee before accessing Dunedin College of Education records. I needed to search College archival material for the following data, and I had to ascertain whether this information was protected. The data I needed were:

1. The roll of first year enrolments in the primary division 1990
2. The roll of study leave and second year students in the primary division 1991
3. The roll of study leave and third year students in 1992
4. The roll of third year students in 1993
5. The home addresses of the men in these groups.

The letter seeking permission from the Dunedin College of Education Ethics Committee for access to this material is in Appendix A.

The records of individuals are confidential. I did not attempt to access any of these. However, the Dunedin College of Education Research and Ethics Committee informed me that the names of students in each annual intake are in the public domain. This meant that I was able to peruse student rolls for each year from 1990 till 1995 in order to plot the progress of individuals through Dunedin College of Education. The Bachelor of Education qualification was, at this time, taught jointly by the Dunedin College of Education and the University of Otago. Students traditionally took a "Study Leave" year after their first or second year at College to complete university papers, freeing themselves up for serious teaching practice focus in their final ("third") year. Thus I had to look at intakes over a period of up to six years. This did not jeopardise students' privacy, providing I did not reveal their names in my study.

From the study of Dunedin College of Education records of intakes from 1990 - 1995 inclusively, I was able to ascertain the following:

1. Those who failed to complete their first year
2. Those who dropped out in year 2
3. Those who dropped out during or after study leave
4. Those who spent more than 1 year on study leave
5. Those who repeated a year
6. Those who dropped out but returned after an interval
7. Those who dropped out in their third year

8. Those who completed a straightforward diploma in 3 years
9. Those who graduated with a Bachelor of Education after 4 years

A disadvantage of using quantitative records such as class lists, is that while such data can give useful information about participation in a teacher-training programme, they are historical documents and cannot be changed. They may also be incomplete. "*The researcher must work with what already exists*". (Anderson, 1990, p.116). Such primary data sources depend on the reliability of the record keepers at the time and on the storers of such information over the years. Recent Dunedin College of Education rolls are computerised but those prior to 1995 were available only in hard copy. While I was able to access this material when it was convenient for me, it was a time-consuming process.

To survey this pool I needed addresses. Dunedin College of Education makes no deliberate attempts to obtain up-to-date addresses of graduate students so I had to rely on addresses which students gave when they started at Dunedin College of Education in 1990.

Since College records did not classify students on the basis of ethnicity it was necessary to use other means to identify Maori/Non-Maori, if this aspect was relevant to the research. On the basis of Maori department staff recalling those students who "identified as Maori" - the researcher was able to categorise five men in the pool of 45, as "Maori". These men all responded to the survey so they constitute a fifth of the sample of 20 respondents. They were counted among the pool and the sample, and categorised by age in the same way as other members of the sample. However I did look at the five Maori men with regard to factors they may have had in common on the basis of ethnicity. There was one Maori among the six men interviewed.

5.2 The Survey

5.2.1 Identifying and contacting the sample

With the data gathered from Dunedin College of Education Records I had a list of the men enrolled in primary programmes (graduate and under-graduate), at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. I prepared two distinct surveys: one to send to those men who failed to complete their teacher education course, and one to send to those men who graduated as teachers. (See *appendix C and appendix D*).

To maximise chances of contacting my target group, I advertised in the Education Gazette asking anyone from this group to contact me via e-mail, telephone, or post. I contacted every academic staff member briefly explaining my purpose and listing the names of the students I wished to contact, requesting anyone who knew their current whereabouts to let me know. I used the white pages on the internet to locate men still in New Zealand.

5.2.2 Conducting a survey

While choosing a suitable sample can be a problem (Anderson, 1990, p.195), this is not the case when that sample selects itself simply by being the group for whom current mail addresses are available. On the other hand, this "selection" raises issues to do with the representative nature of the "sample". It generally excludes those who are no longer in the country and those who have travelled within New Zealand and severed old ties. It favours those who still live locally.

A survey enables a researcher to gather data without being face-to-face. Since my sample was a fairly large group scattered all over New Zealand, it was not possible to interview all of them. A postal survey enabled me to ask those questions from a distance. A sample survey is convenient in terms of the time it takes the researcher to administer, and the turn-around time for responses. It is also cost-efficient.

Respondents needed to be informed of the purpose of the survey and assured that their responses would be used only for that stated purpose. They needed to know that their responses would be confidential to the researcher and their anonymity maintained. (Merriam, cited in Bouma, 1996, p.148) They will be distinguished only as a number in

my study. I included a question asking whether they had any objections to other men in their cohort knowing where they are. While I did not proffer this information to others, it helped me when a member specifically requested information about one of his peers.

The survey mail-out consisted of the following:

- ✱ a letter explaining my research, requesting students to fill in the enclosed survey and my assurances of the confidentiality of their responses (*appendix B*)
- ✱ a survey questionnaire – one of two depending on whether the subject had completed teacher training (*appendix C*) or dropped out before graduating (*appendix D*)
- ✱ a list of the names of all the men in the 1990 cohort (to elicit more addresses from respondents)
- ✱ a greeting card asking parents to forward my survey to their son if he had moved from his original home address
- ✱ a stamped, self-addressed envelope

The survey was cross-sectional (with information collected at a single point in time), rather than longitudinal. I relied on the respondents to inform me of their career progress from the time they left Dunedin College of Education until the year 2000. I noted the reservations of Gary Anderson regarding sample surveys: *Many researchers forget what they are dealing with and consequently begin to assume that the data they have is actual data pertaining to the target population rather than a pale reflection of it. Use sample surveys, but treat your results with appropriate scepticism.* (Anderson, 1990, p.206)

5.2.3 Preparing the questionnaire

To develop a valid questionnaire a researcher must use his/her research questions as a frame for the survey. My research questions in relation to the various categories of subjects, were:

- 1 What factors contributed to these men failing to complete their teacher education course?
- 2 What factors contributed to these men not taking up teaching at the completion of their training?
- 3 What factors contributed to these men giving up teaching within the first seven years?
- 4 What factors have kept these men in the primary teaching service for ten years?

Research questions specifying "what factors contributed to..." made designing a questionnaire difficult. There are some basic introductory questions asked in most research. Gary Bouma (1996, p.67) calls these 'face-sheet' questions because they appear on the front pages of questionnaires. These request information about the respondent's age, sex, marital status, etc. Not all of these questions are relevant to this study, so I had to decide which if any could constitute factors that might contribute to a man's decision to pursue or abandon a career.

One of the dilemmas for researchers designing a questionnaire for qualitative research is how much guidance to give. By simply asking open-ended "Why..." or "What..." questions, the researcher offers no guidance and the respondent may not consider those factors which the researcher might already have formed a hypothesis about. On the other hand if the researcher *suggests* a possible reason, this may compromise the objectivity of the survey. If one is gathering data on "possible factors contributing to ...[a certain chain of events]", one needs to keep options open. I needed to balance the need for specific information with allowing the respondents the opportunity to make idiosyncratic comment. For this reason I asked mostly open-ended questions and provided space for answers.

From this sample survey I hoped to be able to identify some patterns. I expected to see some common features emerging for those men who have made a successful career of teaching or those who never went teaching. Do members of each group have some factors in common? The data I gathered from this survey provided information on the following:

- * The range of ages of these men at admission
- * Whether respondents came from single-sex, co-educational schools or the workforce
- * Who or what was influential in these men's decisions to embark on teacher training
- * The range of favourite school subjects of the respondents
- * Whether there was a pattern of home, hostel or flat dwelling
- * Respondents' views of the primary programme at Dunedin College of Education while they were there in the early 90s
- * Respondents' retrospective opinions of that programme
- * Respondents' subsequent career paths with rationales where appropriate
- * Current positions or jobs
- * Respondents' views of primary teaching as a career for men
- * Respondents' career plans for next ten years

Every survey question had to be related to a research question. The shorter the questionnaire, the more likely a respondent is to complete it, so while some questions might have been potentially useful and interesting it would have compromised the length and focus of the questionnaire to have included them. Bouma (1996) puts it this way: *A survey or questionnaire is not "a fishing expedition, in which all sorts of questions are asked....pure curiosity is not an adequate motivation for putting a question on a questionnaire.* (Bouma, 1996, p.64).

Other factors are also important when devising a survey. Questions should not be offensive or personal, or ask respondents to provide unpleasant or unfortunate information about themselves. This was particularly important for my study since most of the men surveyed knew me as a staff member of the institution I was asking them to report on.

There were eight standard items in the survey. They were designed to elicit information on those factors not apparent from College records.

1. How old were you when you began College?

2. What school or job had you come from?
3. Why did you choose to go to Teachers' College?
4. Who influenced you in this decision?
5. What were your best subjects at school?
6. Where did you live? Home, hostel or flat?
7. What did you think of the primary programme at the time?
8. What do you think of that programme 10 years on?

The second section of the survey contained variations depending on whether the respondent graduated from Dunedin College of Education or not.

Part 2 - Questionnaire for students who failed to complete the course

9. Why did you drop out/repeat a year?
10. Who/what influenced that decision?
11. Any regrets?
12. What career path did you take?
13. What plans do you have for the next 10 years?

Part 2 - Questionnaire for students who graduated from Dunedin College of Education.

9. What did you do the year after graduation?
10. Are you still teaching?
11. Have you had a break in service?
12. What do you think of teaching as a career for men?
13. What plans do you have for the next 10 years?

(Appendix C and D)

It is always difficult to criticise one's own written work, and I needed to identify any ambiguities in my instructions. Once the draft questionnaire had been prepared, I asked three colleagues at the Dunedin College of Education to consider the questions and

to critique the layout and length of the questionnaire. After this, the whole questionnaire was re-edited.

5.3 The Interviews

The interviews in this study were designed to elicit in-depth information and affective responses from a small sample of the men who responded to my questionnaire.

5.3.1 Criteria for selection of Interviewees

The intention of the researcher was to interview two representatives from each of the following groups:

- * Those who had failed to complete the teacher education course
- * Those who had graduated but never gone teaching
- * Those who had gone teaching but subsequently left the profession
- * Those who were still primary teaching in 2000.

The eight were chosen on the basis of their being prepared to be interviewed, (see survey question 14), their availability and whether they fitted the required categories. Rather than interview only those men close at hand, I wanted to include men from further afield, so decided to interview them over the telephone. Unfortunately, one anticipated subject from the second group had become a marine biologist and was sent offshore just prior to our arranged interview. Another subject teaching in a secondary school agreed to be interviewed but did not respond to messages attempting to co-ordinate a time. So the eight proposed interviews were reduced to six. Fortunately the six interviewees came from all four groups: Two had not completed teacher education, one had graduated but never taught in a primary school, one had taught for only five years and two were still primary teaching.

5.3.2. The Interview Questions

These were the general questions I proposed asking:

1. *What have you been doing since leaving College?*
2. *Why did you choose to give up College/ to go teaching/ to not go teaching?*
3. *Do you remember who or what influenced you at the time?*
4. *Did you go to Teacher's College straight from school or did you do something else first?*
5. *How did you find College?*
6. *What do you like most/least about teaching?*
7. *Where do you see yourself in ten years time?*
8. *What do you think of teaching as a career?*
9. *Would you recommend teaching as a career to young men today?*
10. *What advice would you give young men thinking about going teaching?*

5.3.3 Rationale for the Questions

Although the first question could have been number 2, I chose to ask each subject about their work record for two reasons. Firstly, I wanted a “grand tour” question (Spradley and McCurdy, in Bouma, 1996) to allow each respondent to focus on the topic, yet allowing them to proceed in a variety of directions. Secondly, it had been my experience when interviewing two experienced male teachers for a narrative research paper, that they orient themselves initially by listing the schools they have taught in – chronologically. It is the nature of narrative research that the respondent needs to “put the listener in the picture”, and also provide some scaffold to their own story. (It also

possibly says something about men whose identity is indistinguishable from their work.) So respondents needed the opportunity to narrate their "history" over the last ten years in the most "comfortable" way.

The following two questions were intended to elicit whether the respondent was more susceptible to the influence of home or school.

The fourth question would identify those interviewees who were classified at the time as "mature" students or "school leavers". [For the purposes of this research I defined "mature" as having spent two or more years between school and entering teacher education]

The fifth question was open enough to give the subject the opportunity to evaluate time at College from a personal perspective. By not specifying "usefulness" I hoped to elicit the lasting impression the subject held of his training, ten years on. This was just as likely to be a social or psychological commentary, as an academic or vocational one.

The sixth question asked the respondent to recall and recount high and low points in his teaching career. The response to this would take the form of a narrative of a specific event or a general commentary on "a time within N.Z. education within the last ten years." It was important not to lead the respondent in either direction but merely to note what "counted" as something he liked or disliked about teaching.

Asking the subject to speculate on where he saw himself in ten years' time would hopefully reveal his opinion of teaching - as a job with a career path - or one which affords him a satisfactory lifestyle and enables him to pursue hobbies he enjoys.

The eighth question sought the subject's comments on teaching as a career. The ninth question made this more specific by asking whether he would recommend it to *young men*. However, by referring to young men *today*, I intentionally left it open to the subject to compare teaching today, with ten years ago.

The final question gave the subject licence to advise young men in any way he saw fit. I expected that some would take the opportunity to suggest to young men that they do something prior to training as a teacher. (When I interviewed two male teachers

previously, I found that although both men had been teaching for 25+ years and one was a secondary and one a primary teacher, both made this recommendation).

5.3.4 Setting up the interviews

A successful interview is largely dependent on planning and developing an interview protocol. Times and venues for interviews were arranged over the phone or by e-mail and these were subject to interviewees' convenience. This meant that the interviewee was prepared for a 40 minute interview and they had some idea of what they would be asked.

Effective communication requires a degree of trust between interviewer and interviewee. Interviewees were told of the purpose of the interview and assured that their responses would be used for this purpose alone. They were advised that the interview would take approximately 40 minutes and that it would be recorded on tape. Their names would not be used, but they would be identified as Subject A, B, C etc. The interviewer gave a brief overview of the questions which would be used as prompts, but advised each subject to simply talk about anything they thought relevant. In this way subjects were reassured about the direction the interview would take and allowed time to consider how they might respond.

I referred to the seven steps in developing interview protocol suggested by Gary Anderson (1990) when setting up my interviews. Firstly I determined what information was essential to elicit from the interview, and what I intended finding out in order to answer my specific research questions.

Secondly, using a similar process to that involved in designing the questionnaire, I drafted the interview questions. Since interviewees had already responded to the questionnaire, it was not necessary to elicit the same information so the interview questions needed to be slightly different for each interviewee. It was also important that interviewees felt free to simply respond in narrative, anecdotal or any other form, so it was necessary to design interview questions that served mainly as open-ended prompts.

Thirdly, questions were arranged in sequence. I needed to engage in some general small talk at the outset to relax the interviewee and establish some rapport before turning on the tape recorder. Planning the sequence of questions was necessary for maintaining control of the flow of the interview and to avoid changing the subject, or losing direction. In contrast to Anderson's advice, (p.236), my initial questions were closed questions as these would be easy for the interviewee to answer without much thought and this would accustom him to the recording and interviewing process. Instead of the mix recommended by Anderson, I preferred to keep the open-ended questions until the interviewee had relaxed a little more. Anderson refers to this as an 'inverted funnelling sequence', since it begins with specific questions and moves to more general ones. This is most commonly used with shy subjects. Open questions make it difficult to control the direction and pace of an interview so I wanted to be comfortable in the interviewing role before venturing into that territory.

I neglected the fourth step of the interview protocol which involved planning transitions between questions. I believed that the transitions between questions, or blocks of questions, were easy for someone used to conversation. Besides, a spontaneous approach to this, rather than an obviously contrived paraphrasing or similar, would convey the idea that this was an authentic conversation in which the interviewer was genuinely interested. An interviewee is more likely then to lose his inhibitions and talk more readily. Fifthly, I prepared a brief introduction to begin each tape transcript, and planned a conclusion to effectively and politely terminate the interview. Finally I prepared my tape recorder and tested volume and cassette.

A good interview protocol does not guarantee a good interview as other factors intrude. Because one only has a single opportunity to conduct each interview, the interviewer can develop a sense of urgency or drive to gather as much data as possible. This has an adverse effect on the interviewer as well as on the interviewee. The interview protocol is only as good as the interviewer's ability and desire to sustain it.

Suitable times were negotiated and interviewees were asked to suggest a preferred venue:

- * Subject A chose the quiet lounge bar of a local pub
- * Subject B invited the interviewer to his home as he was babysitting
- * Subject C would visit the interviewer in her office
- * Subject D would visit the interviewer in her home
- * Subject E arranged an audio-conference with the interviewer in an interview room while he was at work after hours
- * Subject F arranged an audio-conference with the interviewer in an interview room while he was at work after hours

5.3.5 Conducting the interviews

The interview is *"a highly purposeful task which goes beyond mere conversation"* (Anderson, 1990, p.222) There are many advantages to the interview as a method of data collection. People are more easily engaged in an interview than in completing a questionnaire and usually respond more readily. The interviewer can clarify a question or extend an answer from a respondent and non-verbal cues can also be useful.

But there are some disadvantages. Recording answers can be difficult. Using a tape recorder is easier than transcribing answers in written form and leaves the interviewer free to contribute and respond to non-verbal cues, but it can be inhibiting for the interviewee. Depending on the context, the interview can also be subject to interruptions or distraction. The interview is subject to variance on the basis of the interviewer's **skill** in eliciting responses, **relationship** with the interviewee, level of distraction or particular **focus**. *Both interviewer and respondent act as senders and receivers. It is the passing of messages from one part to the other which offers the greatest challenge of reliability and validity.* (Anderson, 1990, p.227)

The interviewer must be aware of the many ways that attitudes related to her work, such as appearance, past relationship (if any) with the respondent, can influence an

interview. Since the interviewer in this case had had several of the interviewees in courses she taught nine or ten years ago, it was important that she dispel any lingering status discrepancy. She needed to be conscious that her role was that of an interviewer and researcher and not that of ex-teacher. It was important also for the interviewer to be comfortable, confident and at ease in order to listen actively and to facilitate honest and frank replies from the interviewees.

It was necessary to control the interview by being prepared to curtail a long answer without interrupting or dismissing it simply to keep to a timeframe, but it was also sometimes necessary to probe or engage the interviewee in conversation in order to elicit a response. While empathy is a useful tool to reinforce communication, it should be used sparingly if the interviewer is to maintain the value-free stance necessary for a good interview.

The researcher needs to be aware of and in control of his/her own pre-conceptions. Rather than imposing a structured interview which *assumes* answers to specific questions, the narrative researcher lets subjects tell their own stories. This allows subjects to raise issues, which the researcher may not have considered, and to disregard aspects that the researcher believed to be relevant or important. Permitting subjects to tell their own narrative gives them the confidence of knowing that their opinions and experiences are valued. They should feel less inhibited if they are encouraged to communicate in their own way: *The practitioner who has long been silenced in the research relationship is given the time and space to tell [her or] his story so that it gains the authority and validity that the research story has long had.* (Coles, quoted in Connolly & Clandinin, 1990, p.345)

The findings are compromised if the interviewee is influenced by what s/he assumes the researcher believes, wants or expects to hear. For this reason, the researcher must refrain from agreeing, affirming or disagreeing with the interviewee's responses. She must simply listen attentively and urge the speaker on, with value-free, open-ended prompts. Narrative research can lend itself to this, but it can also be the most difficult aspect to control if the interviewer wants to elicit a specific response.

The sociologist Elliot Mishler, (quoted in Bruner, 1996, p.196) reminds us that in interviews not only do we anticipate the answers, but we also expect our respondents to answer our questions in the categorical form required in formal exchanges, rather than in the narrative of natural conversation. We even interrupt our respondents when they break into stories which do not fit our conventional categories. The narrative researcher on the other hand values stories and anecdotes because these reveal so much more about the respondents: *These characters are represented in situations which change...[and] to which they react. These changes, in turn, reveal hidden aspects of the situations and the characters, giving rise to a new predicament which calls for thought or action or both...* (Ricoeur in Bruner, 1996, p.44) If my field of inquiry was a male teacher's perception of teaching as a profession, I needed to have some insight into his perceptions *of himself*. The way an interviewee describes events or actions, reveals as much about *the way he sees himself* as about the actual events that took place.

Both social constructionists and social constructivists agree that research participants come to the situation with expectations about the setting and the task that must be acknowledged by the researcher. The researcher must clarify situations so that both interviewer and interviewee share a mutual understanding. To this end the interviewer must make the interviewee feel comfortable and this may mean responding, affirming, encouraging and even offering some sort of self-disclosure. Without this the flow of conversation may dry up because it feels unnatural and one-sided.

It is also necessary to keep the dialogue "on track" and prevent the interviewee from going off on a tangent. This is only possible if one throws in some prompt questions. While this strategy may be effective in directing an interview, it can inhibit the "telling of stories". For this reason the interviewer needs to keep questions open-ended and probing to extend a trite answer by eliciting a reason, an example or a justification.

6. Generalising

The extent to which "generalisability" is possible relates to the extent to which a case study is typical or it involves typical phenomena. Multiple case studies can provide a base from which to generalise, but a single case study may only provide insights about the specific target population. The target population for this research was the male primary division intake at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. The sample was self-selected for the survey because it comprised all those men who responded to the postal questionnaire. However the sample of six interviewees were selected to be representative of three groups of men - those who failed to complete teacher education or graduated but did not go teaching; those who dropped out of teaching within a few years; and those who were still teaching - ten years on.

To generalise is to attempt to discover whether similar things will happen in new situations. However this research can make no predictions about the future. Factors that influenced these men may not influence men in the future because New Zealand society and New Zealand men are different and the conditions in teacher education and in teaching are not the same. We can push the explanation to see how far the results can be generalised but - *a fundamental principle in sampling is that one cannot generalise from the sample to anything other than the population from which the sample was drawn* (Anderson, 1990, p.197). So no generalisations can be drawn about women; or about students from other teacher providers in New Zealand in 1990; or about male students coming from Dunedin College of Education in other years. This research offers a case study of a sample of men enrolled in the primary division at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. The findings can be generalised only to that target population.

However, it is possible to draw some analogies with similar studies. The personal experiences of the men responding both to my survey and orally in extended interviews may provide specific examples to substantiate the findings of other researchers. For example the reported experiences of the men in the pre-

service programme at Dunedin College of Education in the early 1990s may reinforce the concerns of Boyer and Baptiste (1996) that teacher education tends to marginalise men. Researchers such as Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) and Horn (2000) who investigated academic disparities between students enrolling in teacher education and those involved in other tertiary programmes in the United States may detect a parallel with teacher trainees in New Zealand who often enter teacher education after performing poorly in other university disciplines. My study reports on concerns of men entering teacher education and the teaching service. These concerns are much the same as those identified in interviews by Farquhar (1997) among male early childhood teachers, King (1998) in the United States and Cushman (1998) at Christchurch College of Education. In fact, reasons given for the attrition of men from teacher education at Christchurch College of Education in 1997 (Cushman, 1998) and from primary teaching in the United Kingdom (Shaw, 1995) and the United States (King, 1998) are suggested by some of the participants in my study. Men teaching in New Zealand during a time of national educational reform may have attitudes paralleling those studied by Darling Hammond and Sclan (1996) in the United States, or their responses may be more negative, as reported by Sullivan (1999) and Wylie (1999).

In conclusion, while my case study will not permit generalisation or prediction, it will provide examples of specific narratives of men sharing similar experiences with those in other studies.

CHAPTER 3: RECORDS AND SURVEY RESULTS

Introduction

The results from this research have been reported in two chapters. The data for the study were gathered from three different sites. Firstly from Dunedin College of Education historical records for 1990 - in order to identify students in the various primary programmes in the 1990 intake. Secondly, from a sample survey administered to 40 of the 42 men in the primary intake. Thirdly, from information provided by six 40 - 80 minute interviews. Chapter 3 sets out the findings from the historical records and from the postal questionnaire. Chapter 4 will describe the results from the interviews.

1. Historical Records

From the Dunedin College of Education class rolls from 1990, I discovered that forty two men were enrolled as first year students in primary pre-service courses that year. Thirty seven of these men were enrolled in the Division A course comprising some enrolled in the three-year Diploma, and the bulk enrolled in the four year Bachelor of Education Course taught jointly by Dunedin College of Education and the University of Otago. The remaining five men were already university graduates. They were enrolled in the initial year of the two-year 'A2S' Primary Diploma course. Five of the forty-two men in that year were Maori.

From tracking individuals through the rolls of 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993, those who completed the Diploma course or the Bachelor of Education Degree, or who dropped out at some time prior to completion were identified. This information is recorded on the following table.

Table 4: The 1990 cohort of first year male students in primary programmes at Dunedin College of Education

STUDENTS <i>Identified as numbers</i>	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
901	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
902	A1	A2	A3	A3 Grad.	
903	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
904	A1				
905	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
906	A1	A2	SL	SL2	
907	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		
908	A1	A2		A3 Grad.	
909	A1	A2	SL		A3 Grad.
910	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
911	A1	A2	SL	SL2	
912	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		
913	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		
914	A1	A2	A2		A3
915	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
916	A1	A2	SL	SL2	
917	A1	A2			

918	A1	A2	A3 Grad		
919	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad	
920	A1				
921	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		
922	A1	A2	SL	A3	
923	A1	A2	SL	A3	A3
924	A1	A2	A3	A3 Grad.	
925	A1				
926	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		
927	A1		A2		
928	A1				
929	A1				
930	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
931	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
932	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		
933	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
934	A1				
935	A1	A2	SL	A3 Grad.	
936	A1	A2	A3 Grad.		

937	?	A2	A3	A3 Grad	
	Two year	Graduate	Programme		
938	A2S				
939	A2S				
940	A2S				
941	A2S				
942	A2S				

Key: A1, A2, A3 = Division A course years 1,2 or 3. SL=Study Leave for University

The following list summarises the information from the previous table, and explains which subjects were interviewed from each category.

- In their initial year (1990) seven men dropped out. One did return after a year's interval but subsequently dropped out again. There are no records of exit interviews with these men so it is not obvious why they left. I interviewed two of them (Subjects B and E)
- One man dropped out in his second year. Three others were listed as "Study Leave" for two or more years and though intending to return, never did.
- Twelve men graduated with a Diploma in Primary teaching. Four of these were from the graduate course so they graduated at the end of their second year while the remainder took three years. I interviewed one of these students (Subject A).
- Two male students graduated with a Diploma after five years as one took time out in the middle; while the second was involved in a serious car accident that left a lasting disability. Another young man took six years to graduate with a Diploma because he repeated his third year three times.
- Thirteen male students took a study leave year to complete university papers after their first two years at College and they graduated in 1993 with a Bachelor of Education. I interviewed three of these men (Subjects C, D and F)
- One man completed his first year, took a year off, then transferred mid-way through his second year after a dispute with the Maori department. He wanted to submit all his

assignments in all curriculum areas in the Maori language but the Maori department refused to translate for other departments and insisted he submit translations. The student refused and transferred to another College of Education to complete his training.

It would have been useful to have had students' admission forms. Unfortunately the Dunedin College of Education kept only annual rolls. Ages of students at entry; the school or work they had come from; some indication of their academic qualifications; or even simply their favourite subject, would have been useful information. Without this data, it was difficult to draw appropriate statistical conclusions about the 1990 intake. While these questions could be asked in the survey, this data would apply only to those men in the sample.

2. The Sample Survey

The population for this research was the list of forty-two men enrolled as first-year students in primary programmes at Dunedin College of Education. Many of the addresses given by students as first years in 1990 were their families'. I sent mail-outs to those whose addresses were known or readily obtainable. Information came from academic staff members who had maintained contact, or the White Pages of the New Zealand Telephone Directory. Eventually I sent mail-outs, with questionnaires, to 40 of the 42 men in the 1990 intake. No contact addresses were accessible for the other two.

Eight of the forty letters came back: *"return to sender/no longer at this address"* and I could not pursue these further. Of the thirty-two remaining, twenty replied - a response rate of 50% of the total group sent questionnaires. All five Maori men responded.

I understand, from unconfirmed anecdotal evidence, that those who did not return my questionnaire comprise: a fireman in the South Island; a policeman "somewhere"; one who "works in a supermarket"; one who went to Japan to teach English and gain his pilot's licence and is now a pilot in the South Island. Two more are overseas (not teaching) according to their mothers, and at least three that are "known of" are "primary teaching somewhere up north".

2.1 Findings from the Sample Survey based on respondents' answers

The questions were open-ended. Because of this, respondents tended to make idiosyncratic responses, which do not lend themselves to statistical reporting. In this section I report the findings in a variety of ways.

The first table identifies the sample respondents by number. The second, large table displays respondents' answers to questions: 1,2,3,4 and 5. There is a further breakdown of question 5 - since I found this interesting. I have summarised answers to question 6, but because answers were varied for 7 and 8 every response is reported. Only those men who repeated a year or failed to complete the course had answers for 9,10 and 11. Because they all related to the respondent's present work, they are reported together.

Generally, respondents' answers should be reported verbatim. The way they answer the question is often as important as the actual content of that answer. For that reason, spelling or grammatical mistakes have not been corrected. The survey respondents were numbered from 1-20.

Table 5: Numbered respondents and their progress through Dunedin College of Education.

Respondents	
1	Graduated with Diploma after 4 years (with one year out)
2	Graduated with Diploma - 3 years
3	A2S in shortened graduate course. Graduated with Diploma in 2 years
4	Took time out second year, enrolled in following year, dropped out, transferred to another college of education.
5	Graduated with Diploma - 3 years
6	Graduated with B.Ed – 4 years
7	Completed 4 years – did not graduate
8	Graduated with Diploma - 3 years
9	A2S in shortened graduate course. Dropped out in first year
10	Graduated with B.Ed – 4 years
11	Graduated with B.Ed – 4 years
12	Graduated with Diploma – 3 years

13	Dropped out in first year
14	Graduated with incomplete B.Ed (Diploma) – 4 years
15	Graduated B.Ed – 5 years (with one year out)
16	Graduated B.Ed – 4 years
17	Graduated B.Ed – 4 years
18	Graduated B.Ed – 4 years
19	Graduated B.Ed – 4 years
20	Graduated Diploma - 3 years

Table 6: Numbered respondents and their answers to questions 1-5 relating to age, background, motivation, influence and favourite subjects:

Subject	Age	Came from	Reason	Influence	Favourite subjects
1	36	Builder	"Retraining due to back injury. Seeking lifestyle change and 2 nd chance ed."	Self	English, Art. Tech drawing & design
2	19	1 year Ed at OU	"Good career path and may open doors to other professions"	High school teachers	Geography Economics PE
3	32	Gardening	"To become a teacher!"	Teacher friends	English
4	32	Youth worker teaching te reo	"Had a good role model"		Maths, PE, te reo Maori, biology
5	36	Free-lance photographer in Australia	"Retraining as too many photographers in Dunedin"	Wife is a teacher	Science & PE
6	21	Unskilled farm/forestry	"Early interest and opportunity for fresh start in Dunedin"	Teacher friends in Auckland	English, maths, Science, sport, PE
7	19	1 year at OU	"An occupation I thought I would enjoy"	Parents	Science, maths
8	39	System electrical operator (shift)	"Had been sports coach and parent helper for some years, enjoyed working with children and felt had skills and attributes required"	Some teachers I knew	Language

9	23	1 year at OU	"Wanted to be in position to influence young minds. Felt I had something worthwhile to contribute to society."	No one	Maths & Chemistry
10	18	Form 7 at local co-ed school	"Wanted to stay in Dunedin and hadn't received any sound advice to follow other career options"	Parents and siblings and teachers	Practical art, art history, graphics
11	19	1 year at OU	"Just completed bad year at uni and was probably going to miss out on PE school again. Realised I could complete similar training at Teachers' College"	Parents	PE & Maths
12	24	Psychiatric nurse training in Australia	"I enjoy teaching anybody anything, also wanted to get job security, and teaching was good occupation for this."	No one	Music, Classical studies
13	18	Boys' school	"Seemed like a good option for the future."	No one	Mathematics English
14	19	Boys' School	"Wanted to make a difference in people's lives and thought teaching children would be the most effective way to do that."	"A special class I worked with."	Mathematics Geography
15	18	Boys' school	"Didn't know what I was going to do in 1990 so decided to apply to College, see if I could get in."	Mum and Dad	Art and English
16	18	Rural Co-ed	"Interest in becoming a teacher . wanted to persue (sic) study. Liked thought of scarfie life"	Teachers Parents Family	History Social Studies
17	20	1 year at Otago University	"Felt I had necessary qualities to make a good teacher"	Spent lots of time in schools helping teachers	Maths Science Biology Chemistry

18	18	Boys' School	"Keen on sport, liked kids and thought I'd make a good teacher"	Parents	PE Biology Maths
19	19	1 year business studies at a Polytechnic.	"Didn't like business studies. Wanted a "people" job."	No one	Maths Science History
20	33	Market organiser and part-time secondary student	"Looking for a new career and thought teaching would offer job security."	Teachers and High School Principal	English History Maths

2.1.1 Favourite subjects (Question 5)

When the men were asked their favourite subjects at school, most of them cited two or more. This is a record of the number of times each subject was identified.

Mathematics	10
Sciences	7
English	7
Physical Education	6
Art	3
History	3
Geography	2
Tech. Drawing/design	1
Music	1
Maori	1
Economics	1

2.1.2 Living arrangements (Question 6)

Five of the sample lived at home during their time at Dunedin College of Education. Two lived at home for the first year - then went flatting. Four lived in hostels for the first

year/s. Subject 20 lived in a van in the College car park for 18 months. Seventeen of this sample of twenty spent at least two years flatting with friends.

2.1.3 Opinions regarding the teacher education programme:

(i) At the time...(Question 7)

Asked what they thought of the primary programme at Dunedin College of Education when they were there, they made the following comments:

[Respondents are numbered 1-20]

1. *I felt the subject studies were too drawn out and we were involved in 'busy work' ourselves as students. The planning seemed to have us peaking and lulling.*
2. *I thought the lecturers were all (most) supportive. I learn't the most on practice.*
3. *Not challenging enough (too theoretical). Some teaching was good (ie the teachers). Fun group (A2S).*
4. *Didn't seem to have any relation to experience I had had [working] in the classroom.*
5. *Slightly out of touch with the real world. Too many changes for no real reasons. Programmes taught seemed slightly unrealistic and complicated. Once out in the field I was totally disillusioned.*
6. *At the time I felt it met my needs as a teacher trainee – variety of courses, in-depth curriculum support, latest resources etc.*
7. *Good well-rounded programme.*
8. *I thought it was OK. I enjoyed it but still had problems in the classroom. I felt time was wasted doing stuff I already could do and missed things I couldn't do.*
9. *Absolute crap! Hated it. I thought you would be given theory of teaching etc not taught like a 5 year old.*
10. *I enjoyed it mostly. I loathed EDUC papers and did not enjoy essay writing. The practical stuff was excellent.*
11. *Generally very good. There were classes that I thought were pretty pointless eg AV and drama classes.*
12. *I thought the course could be shorter because a lot of the course wasn't relevant to practical teaching.*
13. *It certainly didn't improve me much. I thought we were all treated to much like children ourselves.*

14. *Lots of curriculum work – little on "real teaching".*
15. *I thought it was great.*
16. *Great, varied and interesting.*
17. *Fun but a little trivial at times*
18. *Got sick of being treated like a kid. Lots of PC stuff and not enough real content.*
19. *omitted these questions*
20. *I found some of the papers really frustrating. I wanted more help in classroom management and teaching strategies.*

2.1.3 Opinions regarding the teacher education programme:

(ii) Ten years on... (Question 8)

When asked what they *now* thought of the programme, some seemed bewildered. I should perhaps have explained that I was seeking a retrospective response. Some thought I meant the 2000 programme at Dunedin College of Education.

1. *Except for my comments at 7 [Q7] I felt some growth and development happened on a personal level, however the structure was at fault not staff.*
2. *I was pleased with the variety of papers DCE offered. It opened my eyes up to other avenues, (not only in Education). It helped me become more professional.*
3. *Not practical (reality based) or broad enough.*
4. *Should contain more practical work-based training.*
5. *Still complicated?? I think some programmes now instituted are uncompromising and some schools unable to accept new teachers with those programmes used as new foundations.*
6. *Ten years on I know that DCE provided me with all it could at the time when the Education sector was going through immense change. Workloads and expectations increased, class sizes, political situation and so on.*
7. *I have nothing to do with it therefore cannot comment.*
8. *I think that it wasn't practical enough. A bit airy-fairy. I think the courses should be more proscribed so that graduates are certain. They can find their own way of doing things when they have got the basics under control. Perhaps more of a mentoring*

apprenticeship? I was shocked at children's negative response to me personally. (Not always) but very strong positive or negative.

9. *I quit but I still think it was crap.*

10. *I enjoyed my time at college. Made some lasting friendships and found some talents.*

11. *OK. I wonder if the training really prepares you for classroom teaching. We spent a lot of time on curriculum documents, but I don't think we spent enough time looking at different ways to plan. Eg Guided silent reading etc. I felt I learnt so much in my first year teaching that I wondered at the end of that year how I managed.*

12. *As above [Q7].*

13. *It seems to be a great deal better now.*

14. *Does not really prepare you for the pressures of teaching.*

15. *Still think it was great.*

16. *???*

17. *Fun.*

18. *Fun.*

Subject 19 did not respond.

20 *The training has actually served me very well. I find students trained at DCE. Very able in terms of adapting resources and planning integrated units. They appear to be better trained than other students I work with from other colleges. As a sometimes associate teacher, I find D.C.E students on average much more able than others.*

2.1.4 Explanations for failures (Questions 9 and 10) and any regrets (Question 11) (Questionnaire Appendix C)

Only those six who repeated a year or failed to complete the course responded to these questions. Their comments follow:

1. *I quit. I did not enjoy T.Col at all. I felt frustrated and for me it was not stimulating.*
[Regrets?] *Yes. I always wanted to be a teacher and still do.*

4. *I did not complete the course because I submitted all my work in Maori before a policy was developed. My work was not accepted at the time without an English translation. I chose not to provide one. I moved to **** and completed my training.*

7. [Repeated a year] *needed time out.* [Did not complete the course because...] *Stress/harassment policy's. Neillian theory in a Skinnerian box – willing to discuss further if you like* [Regrets?] *Yes – should have stuck it out just to complete the qualification.*

13. [Did not complete the course because...] *I did not like the way the course was set out. Some things were totally irrelevant to teaching.*

14. *I graduated without completing Teaching Practice B because of lack of direction/guidance/pressure.* [Regrets?] *I completed TPB in 1999. I regret not doing this earlier because it was not difficult with the right guidance and a degree increases my career opportunities.*

15. *I repeated a teaching block. I was too immature to handle the situations I was presented with. I did graduate.*

2.1.5 Work experience since leaving Dunedin College of Education and future plans; Questions 9,10 and 11. (Questionnaire Appendix D) and Questions 12 and 13 (Questionnaire Appendix C)

1. *Adult education and administration. Tutor Maori Art & Design*

Future Plans: *Teach art and design, develop my own work & be self employed as working artist. Win Lotto.*

2. *Primary teaching South Island Catholic School. Assistant Principal 1996-1998*

Japan teaching English 1998-2000.

Future Plans: *Next two years to stay teaching in NZ (returning Nov 2000). But look towards different side of Education than classroom teaching*

3. *Teaching in Primary schools (full and part-time) and relieving*

Future Plans: *Possibly move into teaching-related work (ie away from classroom , & away from full-time)*

4. *Part time jobs. Taught as teacher aid at **** School, (Rumaki); taught at **** Primary School, 2 years at *****Primary School (Rumaki); ***** Primary School (Rumaki) till present. [****are all rural schools]*

Future Plans: *Go back to university and do Masters Degree in Maori Education*

5. *Taught off and on for first 3 years then went back to my original trade [photographer]*

Future Plans: *I am now programme manager and tutor for the arts at a Polytechnic and plan to be here for a little while.*

6. *Teaching in **** and loving it. Although the first 3 or 4 years of teaching were CRAP! No money, no idea of what I was doing then I started to get the hang of things. Then it begins again.*

Future Plans: *I have been acting DP at my school [Intermediate] this year and part of 99. This has brought new challenges as has being a Dad for the first time! I hope to find a nice little country school that can put up with me to teach in – except [**] – It's too close to home.*

7. *Working, having fun.*

Future plans: *Working, having fun.*

8. *Taught for 3 and half years. Took stress leave and an extended holiday. Tried a sales career – lasted 2 and half years. Now teacher –aide at [a local primary school].*

Future plans: *Beyond survival I have no plan.*

9. *Civil engineering – solid waste management project management, Asset manager*

Future plans: *To continue with my line of work, possibly go back to varsity and complete a B.Com on a part-time basis.*

10. *Involved in theatre from 1993-1996, then from 1997-1999 served a full-time mission for [a religious order]*

Future Plans: *To complete PGDipCAppSc – Design and take my teaching, dramatic and artistic skills into the area of advertising.*

11. *Teaching – 4 years Intermediate in ****; 1 year local intermediate, now at F1-7 Boys School in South Island.*

Future Plans: *Will probably continue to teach. Have just accepted a PR at an Intermediate in ****.*

12. *1993-1996 Teaching primary in South Island. 1997 Dip TESOL at Victoria University; 1998 Teaching primary/ teaching ESL Victoria Uni.; 1999-2000- teaching special needs at *** College in Auckland- completing Diploma of Media Design at night school.*

Future Plans: *Interested in TESOL and technology. Will look at this further.*

13. *Living in the UK Fully trained tractor and agricultural machinery mechanic*

Future Plans: *To come back and live in NZ with my wife and carry on mechanicing.*

14. *1994 Polytech carpentry course; 1995 Working as carpenter/teaching; 1996-2000 Junior School teaching and reading recovery teaching*

Future Plans: *Uncertain. However I want to get out of the classroom. I have no desire to move into management positions. Computer consultancy or professional training would be where I am looking.*

15. *Playing in cover bands. Interest papers at university (Otago); travelling around NZ; working part-time jobs (non-teaching).*

Future plans: *Record music in studios, go overseas, get work in the computer area.*

16. *Scale A teaching at Catholic Primary School for 2 years; Assistant Principal – Catholic Primary; Deputy Principal – Catholic Primary in South Island currently.*

Future Plans: *Travel in next 2 years.*

17. *Finished a B.Sc (Zoology) and a M.Sc (Marine Science) and am working for DOC on the *** Project*

Future Plans: *Marriage, children, buy a boat, new house, travel.*

18. *Travelled to Australia then US. Worked in ski-fields and ski resorts. Now teaching part-time outdoor education at a secondary school in ****.*

Future Plans: *I'd like a permanent full-time job here teaching outdoor ed. or I wouldn't mind getting into adventure tourism in Queenstown or somewhere.*

19. *Taught 2 years at Intermediate school in ****; 2 years at a Private Boys Primary School, then 3 years teaching in London (currently). Doing QTS for registration in UK*

Future Plans: *Masters in Education (UK)*

20. *Teaching at a Primary school in *** for 3 years, an Intermediate for 6 months then a different **** primary school for 4 years 6 months.*

Future Plans: *I am involved in Environmental Education and will be doing in-services on the new document in 2001-2002 in the **** Area. I hope the path will lead me into working with teachers developing democratic school policy and procedures.*

2.2. Problems with the questionnaire.

Too few lines were allowed for some answers (an attempt to make the questionnaire less daunting). But it meant that most responses were cursory. Blank space rather than lines may have been more appropriate. The most frustrating aspect of a survey is not being able to make sense of some responses. There was, for example, no way to ask what one respondent meant when he answered question 9 of the questionnaire (appendix D) If you repeated a year - why was that? *I didn't thank (someone)*

Questions 7 and 8 proved confusing. They were intended to allow for a change of heart or some regrets. Two respondents misunderstood the question and assumed that I was asking them what they thought of "today's" teacher education programmes. Their responses implied that, since they had no knowledge of them they were unable to answer.

The final question, enquiring whether they would be happy for other men in their year to know where they are, yielded a positive response from all respondents but I feel no obligation to provide this information now - unless it is specifically requested .

Summary

Chapter 3 presented the data gathered on the progress of the forty two males in the 1990 primary teaching cohort at Dunedin College of Education. Individuals were tracked

through class rolls of the years 1990-1995 . This chapter also presented a summary of data gathered on a sample of twenty subjects from that first year intake of male primary trainees in 1990. The sample consisted of 20 men who responded to the questionnaire sent to 40 of the cohort. The sample survey yielded information relating to age and motivation for embarking on teacher training in 1990. It revealed respondents' opinions of the teacher education programme at Dunedin College of Education in 1990, and reasons they had for not remaining in the teaching service. It also revealed information on the subsequent work history and future plans of each subject.

CHAPTER 4: INTERVIEW RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the results from the interviews. The interviews were recorded by tape recorder on six separate tapes. A member of the reprographics staff at Dunedin College of Education typed up the transcripts of subjects A, B, C, D, E and F. These are appended separately. The transcript for Subject A is Appendix E; Subject B is Appendix F; Subject C is Appendix G; Subject D is Appendix H; Subject E is Appendix I, and the transcript for Subject F is Appendix J.

This section consists of an analysis of each of the six interviews. Each analysis summarises the interviewee's work history to date and reports and interprets their comments. This was the most time consuming aspect of the study but it made it possible to answer my research questions. The interviews and analyses are focused usually on **one** of the following questions.

Research Questions

1. What factors contributed to this man failing to complete his teacher education course? OR
2. What factors contributed to this man not taking up teaching at the completion of his training? OR
3. What factors contributed to this man giving up teaching within seven years ? OR
4. What factors kept this man in the primary teaching service for ten years?

The interview analyses occasionally include a list - not because the subject presented information in this way, but because it makes the analysis clearer.

4.1 Results and Analysis : Interview Subject A (Survey respondent number 8)

Transcript of this interview is Appendix E

What factors contributed to this subject giving up teaching within seven years?

Subject A was married with 2 sons at school when he decided that the job he had “fallen into” after leaving school was boring him. While working for years as an electrical contractor he had been taking extra-mural papers at Massey University with the view to going teaching. By the time he applied for College he had successfully completed five papers.

Initially his application was rejected on the basis that he had not had enough time working with children in schools. This was surprising for Subject A as he was a father, a sports coach and referee as well as working 50 hours a week. He was successful on his second attempt. He was pleased he had not gone straight to Teachers’ College from school as he believed he had been *a horrible teenager*.

Subject A was influenced by his wife’s sister who was *a really good teacher* and also by a male teacher who taught his son. This male teacher was very nervous and would allow only Subject A (and no other adult) in his classroom. *His classes were really good*. It was not clear what Subject A meant by this.

Subject A loved College though he admitted that there were *a few things that didn’t work for me*, such as *a lot of time and energy put into self-development*. He would have preferred more time on practical things like what to read to students and more practice in actually teaching maths to children.

He claims to have encountered three problems related to being a male at College:

1. Students were told that boys talk too much and get paid more attention than girls yet *we [men] knew that the lecturers required us to ask questions and talk because otherwise no one said anything and everyone sat there like a bunch of puddings*.

This was a dilemma for him in College classes.

2. As mature men they believed that when they went on section they were given *the basket cases* – children who could not read or could not behave. The mature students did not complain about this as they *could understand why it happens, but...*
3. He relates an experience when posters displayed by a woman lecturer upset him. He felt uneasy being “marked” by women who held negative views of men.

This subject believed he brought many of strengths to teaching – sport, music and literacy. He found that it was a lot harder to use these skills in the classroom. His refereeing

meant that he was not happy playing sport with children during lunchtimes - *I can't abide cheats*. He did not use his music much in the classroom, nor his storytelling. So that while he went in with what he perceived to be "the right skills" he claims *in actual fact it didn't really come off*.

Subject A's first teaching job after graduation was a created position using the Principal's teaching times and reading recovery times. This meant that *I didn't get the sort of help that I probably should have*. This wouldn't have mattered he admits, if he had stayed at the school for another year. He found that *being cast out on my own straight after that, was really tough for me*. He believes that everyone thinks that an older male can cope so they don't help you. However he did not struggle much at this first school because *everything was very systematic and it seemed to work well. [It was] very strictly run, but very supportive*. But when he got to other schools *where they didn't have the gear*, it frustrated him having to spend *so much time and effort trying to get things set up*.

The following year, Subject A took a position in a two-teacher school replacing the Principal as well as taking the senior class. It was here that everything went awry. As a second year teacher this man was ill-equipped to cope with a class of *some awful kids*, and lacked the experience and confidence to deal with parents, bureaucracy and an expulsion.

Subject A's next move was to a rural Area School in a conservative district where he found the staff largely unhelpful and unfriendly. While there were men on the staff, they were all in the secondary area and *the women all worked together* [in the junior syndicate] *and you just don't fit in*.

Several things disturbed Subject A about teaching and he is still struggling with them. He thinks his failure to cope is a specifically male thing. He believes that males have a particular set of problems with children who feel it necessary to challenge, because they don't know how else to handle men. He believes it is very difficult for male teachers because children look at men differently. *You see, if you look at the average teacher, they're nothing like the kid's parents. Now that's either really good or really bad. You're either not like their Dad, or you're too much like their Dad – and it's a real problem*.

Subject A said that at every school he had taught at, children had asked him whether he was gay. He thought it was because he wore coloured shirts. [He is not gay]. The children's reaction obviously distressed him.

When asked about the sort of teacher he was, Subject A claimed he was *noisy and untidy*. I assumed the "noisy" was due to poor control of classroom noise, since he is very quietly spoken. He also claimed that he tried to keep activities *child-led* because he liked the work *to look like it was done by kids* but he cited disagreement he had with children over not photocopying or cutting out for them. He believes that children *get far too much help*.

Subject A had some trouble with a few girls at his first school who *did not like me*. He claims that was *a shock* and in the written questionnaire he also says – *I was shocked at children's negative response to me personally. (Not always) but very strong positive or negative*. Subject A appears to believe that teaching is about one's "self". He regularly mentioned children "not liking him" and spoke after the interview about feeling that since he was a failure as a teacher, he felt like a failure as a person.

Subject A found it difficult and *perplexing*, to identify what makes a good teacher. *Some of the things I see that work, I couldn't do... I'm not that tough*. Again he seemed to think it might be a gender thing.

Women are far more – well to be horrible about it – far more vicious than men, and consequently most of the kids have worked that out too. And it works. I don't think men hold grudges as long as women do, and kids know that. So they know it will blow over. Whereas with some women teachers that I know, it doesn't blow over, you make a mistake on day one, it's still with you on the 20th December. And I think that's one thing that does work.

There is an element of bitterness here. Subject A believes he probably always needed guidance from male teachers. His only role models in the first three years' teaching, were women. He is uncertain how a man "should" behave in a classroom. The advice he received from one of the women he worked with in his first year was: *They like you, and that's fine, but there's gotta be some fear there you know. There's gotta be a bit of fear there and you don't have it*. Subject A thought this was true.

When asked whether he was the same sort of teacher as he is a father, Subject A was not sure. His sons are in their 20s - academic, living at home and presumably happy. He said: *My wife says I'm quite tough on the boys. I can't imagine how it can be. She thinks that I am, but I'm not really.*

Subject A wasn't certain whether men **should** have a different role than women in schools though he was aware that in some schools they were used that way. *The kind of*

people I see that are men teachers .. I don't think there is that much difference ...I think most of them are fairly soft anyway and there's not really a lot of difference in the way they do things. Androgynous? Well he didn't know about that, though he admitted that a lot of male teachers he knows who are still surviving tend to be on the softer side of masculine.

But that will cause more and more children to challenge them because that's not conforming to their stereotype of what a male should do. And that's one of the problems you have, you know.

When asked whether it mattered whether schools are staffed only by women, Subject A stated emphatically that it **does**. Even though men are not used for different purposes in schools *they are different...they have different ways of looking at things*. And he went on to say that he gets frustrated working in a school where most adults can't work a tape recorder but are teaching science. *You see year after year teachers teaching science who have no idea how anything works. I'm not saying that every man does, but a lot spend more time fixing the car door and stuff like that. That may sound old-fashioned but a lot of teachers I see just don't have the skills that I think are needed. So you can get kids who go through right to form one or two and haven't ever come across anyone who has done anything but teach.*

He urges young men before they go teaching to look at their own (secondary) school and ask themselves whether any of the teachers that they really liked, are still there. He doesn't think it likely. The ones that they really liked have all *shipped out*. He admits that they may not have all left teaching but they have all left **here**. *You get left with the dregs.*

While Subject A has been rather damaged by his experience as a "failed teacher" – mostly because he sees this as synonymous with being an unlikeable person – he does believe he is in good company: *The "best" teachers (most likeable) get out!*

Subject A currently works as a Teacher Aide to a disabled child at a primary school where he is the third male on the staff, after the Principal and the caretaker.

4.2 Results and Analysis: Interview Subject B

(Survey respondent number 9)

Transcript of this interview is Appendix F.

What factors contributed to this subject failing to complete his teacher education course?

Subject B chose to go to Teachers' College after doing poorly in geography at university. Though his parents wanted him to do a degree, he is by his own admission *not a brilliant academic*. He had chosen geography because he struggled with university maths and chemistry, which he named as his "best subjects" on my questionnaire. He claims he had a major problem with literacy and focused on rectifying this when he went to Teachers' College. He was admitted into the shortened course on the strength of *half a degree somewhere along the line*.

His main focus at that time was sport in general and *** in particular. He was coaching sport when he decided he *wanted to influence young minds*. He enjoyed coaching, believed he was good at it and that he could *portray information very well...and do it in a way that was fun and entertaining and they enjoyed themselves ...and I wanted to refine those skills*.

Subject B hated the College of Education. He found it *belittling and demeaning*. He recalls the maths classes playing with blocks and found this boring. He hated *the Maori stuff* and felt that it wasn't relevant to Dunedin. He believed *it was thrust down your throat at T.Coll and the relevance in society and Dunedin is pretty small*. Apparently these views got him into trouble. Subject B remembers it like this:

I was talking to this woman....[intake supervisor] and I remember expressing an opinion about Maori and stuff like that at the start of the year when she was trying to promote the case, and I thought ..what I was saying was perhaps not PC enough for her. He claims he was expressing a viewpoint which was not respected *and really got her back up* and that he was simply trying to promote discussion. *I remember being quite hammered about equity and Treaty of Waitangi issues and stuff like that. ..I don't think she realised where I was coming from*. Apparently the Lecturer became defensive and the relationship consequently deteriorated until Subject B decided to leave teacher education.

Subject B claims that while at College the postings at schools were very good because they constituted the practical aspect of the training. However he goes on to describe what

appears to have been a fairly traumatic experience for him: *They posted me to new entrants which was horrific. I couldn't even speak in normal conversation language with them because some of the words you were using were too complex for their intellectual ability at that particular time.* He claims he never wanted to teach new entrants and that he had *absolutely no idea how.* His second posting was for some reason again with 5-7 year olds. Subject B found it puzzling that he had been asked which age he wanted to teach and had then been thrust into the opposite. As he says – *that's a totally different style of teaching from teaching forms one and two. I mean - my experience with five year olds was nothing. I had a lifetime of nothing at that particular point. And here we were trying to teach that group which I found difficult, a very hard group to teach. I didn't know how to even relate to their behaviour – like telling them off is even a very difficult thing to do...because they're so sort of - small!*

When I pursued the point about the level Subject B wanted to teach, he admitted that he had really wanted to get into secondary teaching. He saw the A2S course as *being a back door route into secondary teaching.* His apprehension of junior class teaching was based on his perception of the wide range of ability in the classroom: *There was this huge gap between the new kids on the block, so to speak, and the ones who had been there for most of the year. And yeah I found it really hard going.*

Subject B sees a clear distinction between male and female teachers. He thinks it is harder for men to teach small children because *they don't have the nurturing skills that women have, that seem to be natural for them.* He did elaborate on the skills required to teach small children however, and these did appear gender free: *I think you need specialist skills at that level. Young children have a short attention span, and you really need to keep on your toes for that particular age group. It's a very difficult age group to teach I think.*

Subject B believes that men and women have unique styles of teaching. *My best teachers were men teachers – for me – at school, because they had a way of teaching I suppose...more focused...you know ... “this is the way we do it and this is how it's to be done, and go for it Fellas.” And my most influential teachers were very authoritarian, almost to the point where you were sort of saluting them as they walked into the classroom. But they were effective teachers ...for guys anyway.* I found this view somewhat contradictory as Subject B went on to say that he hated that secondary school and also that he believes single sex schools to be “wrong”.

Subject B came back several times to the idea of *wanting to influence young minds*. He explained that he wanted to show them a way of life and he believes that teaching is not just about teaching subjects, but about teaching about life as well. When he reflects on his secondary years – *the most memorable teachers that stand out for me are the ones that not only taught subjects but taught me life skills: How to behave, values, ideals, thoughts, processes, valued thinking...were positive role models*. When I questioned whether this might be the role of parents, Subject B stressed that it was the role of both, as teachers have a huge part to play in a person's life.

Most of Subject B's responses drew on his own secondary school experience. Perhaps this was because he was only in primary teacher education for seven months. I refocused him on primary schools and enquired whether he thought it was important to have male teachers. He thinks it is: *Particularly for boys actually. That's probably why there's ... the problem in society in regards to boys and the lack of the male identity. Where is it? There's debate now. The kiwi bloke is sort of accused of what is wrong with society. And maybe that's due to the lack of male role models at an early age, and not just parental models but in society – other males apart from family that they can learn off and have some contribution from*.

When asked what sort of male role model is a good one, Subject B admitted that he was showing "a touch of arrogance", by saying - *you want guys like myself really*. He was probably referring to himself when he described what men bring to teaching that women do not: *I think generally speaking there's a little more creativity, practical creativity with men than there is with women. And I don't mean that to be derogatory or anything. It's natural for men to fix things and prepare things and create things and think of ideas. Not to say that in a primary sense women aren't superb at that role, because they are, it's just that we do it differently than women*.

Subject B believes that Colleges of Education need to recognise that men do things differently. He is certain there was no such recognition in 1990 and is unsure whether it is there today. If there is a recognition that men have a contribution to make to primary teaching it does not appear to Subject B that it is well promoted, nor that there are attempts being made to attract males into primary teaching.

Subject B still harbours some bitterness towards Dunedin College of Education. Yet, *I was only there for six or seven months or something like that, because I got selected to [compete] for New Zealand*. When I suggested this was his real reason for leaving, he

denied it. He insists that he was sick of teacher training, that he hated it and that he *was so pleased to be out of the joint* that he didn't even check to see what grades he had gained. *Which is terrible really, because I did really want to be a teacher ...and I was so pleased to get out of the place that....Oh thank God that part is over with, I wanted to move on with my life.*

Subject B has moved on with his life. He appeared proud of the pioneering resource management project he is involved in, and of his wife and son. He has meticulously renovated and landscaped an old villa. Yet he insisted he still wants to be a teacher. *I would give up all I have got at the moment and do it again. But I earn more money now than I'd ever do teaching.* He admitted that any sort of teaching would be great, since he enjoys putting his ideas across in a way that can be understood. *You know it's pretty exciting stuff when you put an idea - or three or four ideas - in front of somebody and they pick up on it and you think...they recognise how it's put together. I find that extremely stimulating.*

Would this subject after his unhappy seven months at Teachers' College recommend teaching as a profession for a young man leaving school? *You'd have to be a special bloke I think. I would say almost feminine in approach. But not so feminine in terms of being gay or anything like that. But feminine in the approach that it's not the more kiwi sort of bloke. It's not for guys. If a typical bloke was thinking of doing it. I would say you're best not to do it. Do engineering ...or acupuncture or something like that if you feel you need to get people interaction...because the teaching experience is a belittling affair and you have to be a pretty good person to stomach it. That's probably why there's no male teachers left.*

This didn't sound like the same person who would give up everything to go back and be a teacher. In this interview Subject B was critical of his old school, of mathematics teaching at College, of Boys' schools, of Teachers College generally, of the way they taught maths and chemistry at university, of two specific lecturers at Dunedin College of Education, of infant teaching, of the Maori curriculum, of English teachers and of the boring job he is doing at present. He was positive about three things – the buzz of expository teaching; his landfill achievements and my creative writing class!

4.3 Results and Analysis: Interview Subject C

(Survey respondent number 10)

(Transcript of this interview is Appendix G)

What factors contributed to this subject failing to go teaching after graduating from teacher education?

This subject went to Dunedin College of Education directly from a local co-educational secondary school. He claims that his chief motivation was that both his brothers had applied for Teachers College earlier and missed out. He claims he was competitive so thought he would give it a try. By his own admission, the challenge for Subject C was not so much to be a teacher as to “get into Teachers' College”. For this reason he turned down Polytechnic where he would have taken graphic design or architecture because *it was too easy... I felt like they accepted me without interviewing me. But [at DCE] the interviewing process is more thorough and it's actually quite prestigious to get into Teachers' College.*

He has a wide range of talents and he was aware that with strengths across the curriculum at high school, he had skills that would be useful for teaching. He threw himself enthusiastically into College life. There were other young men from his school to mix with initially. He relished the performance and art papers because these gave him the opportunity to pursue his talents in those areas. He did not like the compulsory Education papers though: *I just felt like it [Social Foundations of Learning] was a lot of theories...I struggled to see how it fitted in with the classroom.* He admits that he got behind in this paper because he *liked doing everything else so much that I put that always at the bottom of the list.*

In his third year Subject C had an important role in the College's dramatic production. He realised that he had over-committed himself because the postings in the third year were particularly important, so he planned to withdraw from the Production. He was persuaded to remain in the play and probably the College made some concessions for him in terms of other requirements. However it did mean that he focused on the play more than on the [major] posting and wasn't as well prepared for the latter as he should have been. This strained his relationship with his associate and as a consequence he felt uncomfortable in her classroom. This must have been obvious to others, as the school apparently offered to move him to another class. *But I thought- "no, these are the kids that I want to work with" and so I stayed the course – and made it – but I didn't, you know – it could've been a lot better.*

Subject C wonders now whether the decision to “stay the course” was a mistake since his College report would be written on the basis of this final posting. This did occur to him later after he was turned down for jobs but it also puzzled him as he believed at the time that he had virtually written his own report with his tutor.

When I asked Subject C what sort of a teacher he is, he said: *[Behaviour]*
management is the hardest thing for me. Like just telling people off. I'm a bit soft...I think I'm positive. I'm pretty passionate about the things I teach. If it's something that I really believe, it's so much easier to teach it. I love kids, I really do.

Subject C believes that it is very important to have male teachers in the primary school because *some children nowadays don't have strong male role models as so many families are falling to pieces. They really need male role models in the classroom.*

He believes however that there are some things that males can't do that women can do... *Like more openly love children. That's one thing that I noticed in my third year associate teacherI'm sure it was her personality, but she would give the kids hugs and stuff. They would line up and she would give them hugs. And then I came into that class and the kids wanted to give me a hug and I felt really uncomfortable about that just because of the issues that we were taught in College. And it's sad you know ...there's an issue there ...I think you can be the father figure in a way, but a father would hug his kids you know, and you can't – and that's a kind of contradiction isn't it?*

This experience had quite an impact on Subject C. He called it *a turning point*. He described the feeling when the children lined up for a hug from him on the second day of his posting, while his associate was out of the room. *It was the horrible thing - of feeling unsafe, you know.* When I asked him how he could have handled it differently, he thought he would explain to the children why he didn't want to do it. But he was still experiencing some confusion about this – *It's a Kiwi thing too – not to show affection... but hey, kids need it – they really do. Another time when I was on my first year, this little kid said “Mr B** can you be my Dad?” And it just cut me to the heart ay. I just [said] - “Oh I can't”. But it's just stuff like that that makes me believe that there needs to be male teachers in the primary school. But how do you get the safety at the same time? I don't know.* He admitted that now he feels more comfortable about it than he had at 18.

Subject C felt that this personal safety issue was an important consideration for young men going into teacher education directly from school as they are dealing with issues to do with their own sexuality at that age. He feels more comfortable about this now, being older and married. While he doesn't have children of his own, Subject C believes that *once you have your own kids I think things come into perspective a bit more.*

Apart from the issue of closeness, Subject C believes that the recipe for a good male teacher is the same as for a good female teacher – how you teach, what you teach and creating a nice learning environment.

Subject C graduated with a Bachelor of Education but never taught. I asked whether it was his last posting which had soured his view of teaching but he told me that while this had been a big part of it, he had actually applied for jobs and received a lot of rejection letters. *And that's tough.* He took this as a sign that - *that's just not what I'm supposed to do at this time* and he went back to university taking a couple of courses in community theatre. I'm not convinced that it was a satisfying year for Subject C though because of the way he said: *I enjoyed that, I really did. I learnt some valuable things there. But you know, yeah, I guess the combination of the rejection letters and the bad last [teaching] experience*

In hindsight Subject C isn't sure whether he might have been better waiting till he was older before going to College. He believes he learned some important personal things while there, and that he was forced to mature quite quickly. He also found that he loved *being creative* and suspected that he might have had to suppress this as a classroom teacher *because it's about helping others find that, rather than expressing yourself.* However, he thought that had he gone to College as an older student, he might have been more focused and more committed to becoming a teacher. Subject C claimed that he had lacked any alternative career advice.

Subject C appears to have a positive outlook on life. When asked if he would recommend teaching to one of today's male school leavers. He said *-I would tell him the pros.* He lists the holidays – *which you deserve when you're a teacher* - the lifestyle – *if you can manage your classroom and not get stressed out* - no late nights. He believes teaching to be *an honourable profession because its about giving and about learning,* admitting that *you won't get rich doing it.*

While studying at university, Subject C became a Christian. He was invited to serve a mission a religious order in the United States. He believed this to be *inspired* and he spent two very rewarding years *teaching people in their own homes*. This involved teaching adults, children, at times large groups and at times other missionaries. He is still very active in the church and has a significant teaching role within it.

Subject C continued to take papers at Otago university and to use his teaching skills on a part time basis, tutoring after-school art lessons for children and some drama curriculum to tertiary students. He has turned down more tutoring work for next year so that he can embark on a full time post-graduate diploma. Does he have a long term plan? *What I'm interested in is actually - just teaching - but I want to be able to present things visually. I guess it's in the marketing advertising area - and in what context I'm not sure. It might be within education. But these skills are basically multimedia skills and once you team it up with my theatre and teaching background. I could go to places and not necessarily sell things, but be able to present them really effectively.*

Despite never gaining a primary teaching job, Subject C has been using his teaching skills in a range of different contexts. His goal is not to abandon teaching but to focus on presenting – information or material in a context divorced from the pastoral care aspect of teaching that gave him so much anxiety as a young man.

4.4 Results and analysis: Interview Subject D

(Survey respondent number 11)

Transcript of this interview is Appendix H

What factors contributed to this subject remaining in the primary teaching service ?

Subject D never actually chose to go teaching. He had a year at university taking science with the hope of getting into the university school of physical education. He didn't have any particular career path in mind though, so when success at university eluded him his mother urged him to apply for Teachers College. He had come from a co-educational

secondary school in a South Island city and many of his form class were already at Teachers' College. At school his strong subjects had been mathematics and science.

Subject D enjoyed College life apart from the audio-visual course which he found *irrelevant and mostly common sense*. He thought *things like working through the [curriculum] documents and things like that were really useful, but I think I did most of my reading in my first year of teaching. You learn ...or you heard about all these different things but having the chance to put them into practice made all the difference.*

Subject D believes that student teachers need more time in schools rather than in College classrooms. He graduated with a Bachelor of Education after four years. He did not get a teaching job immediately, because he claims he was only looking selectively. So he relieved for the mathematics department at his old secondary school. He found it very tough – especially the content, and admits that as a teacher in those beginning stages he was *just sort of surviving from day to day*. The aspects he liked about secondary teaching were the release time and the interactions with the older students.

As he was also relieving at the same time in an Intermediate school, Subject D eventually secured a permanent job at that school. He stayed there for four years before moving to another South Island Intermediate. When that school had to lose a staff member, it was "supposed" to be a manual teacher but the manual teachers petitioned, so as the last to be employed, Subject D was first to be put off. This was after his first year. While this was fairly disheartening at the time, Subject D now thinks it was for the best. He spent two years teaching Form 1 at a F1-7 Boys School in a South Island city and is now moving back to the original Intermediate as a senior teacher.

Subject D claims he is a different teacher now. He is, he says *a little bit more organised... [with] a better understanding of different kids and perhaps different teaching styles and things like that.*

He believes that the role of a male teacher is changing. As there are a lot of families with only one parent and that parent is more than likely the mother, he thinks that sometimes male teachers end up taking the role of the father in some ways. When I enquired how he coped with that role in his early 20s, Subject D was unsure ... *I suppose you just took the time out, sort of...know the kids who probably needed that and probably took a little more time. Just saying "Giddy" to them more often or have a bit of a talk with them...informally.*

Subject D is a quiet man who doesn't have a lot to say. He appears to have transferred this "style" to his interactions with boys. Anecdotally I have heard that he is very successful at establishing effective relationships with boys. If there is a "conventional" male style of interacting with boys, then perhaps this is it.

Subject D believes that a male's role in a primary school is different from school to school. While he appreciates that he may have to deal with discipline more than a female teacher might, he is confident that he can do this. But he doesn't like to do it all the time.

Subject D's wife has just graduated from primary teacher education and has a job for next year. Subject D believes that one of the best things about teaching is *when the students, or not all the students I suppose .. but when someone you see finally grasps a concept – I think that's pretty cool*. He also thinks the holidays help a bit, but he admits that the longer he has been a teacher the more time he spends doing work in the holidays. I thought this meant secondary work to supplement the salary, but he meant *trying to get all the paperwork done*.

One of the disadvantages of being a teacher, according to Subject D, is thinking about school at the weirdest times: *You might be driving somewhere and you have this idea about what you could do in class*. Subject D also suspects it could be boring being married to a teacher and talking about schools interminably. Another disadvantage to teaching according to Subject D, is the weight of expectations placed on teachers. They not only have workloads which are getting heavier with paper work, but teachers, he claims are also expected to be involved in appropriate co-curricular activities as well. Some schools, he adds, advertise for that as well as the teaching job. His reservations about "the paper-trail" are *sometimes I don't know if it's beneficial for the students later on. You could be spending that time with the kids, or preparing something for the kids that they'd find more interesting*.

Subject D believes that the key factor in being a good teacher is that one should have a life outside of teaching. This explains why he considers thinking about school at unusual times, to be a drawback. He thinks that teachers need to be *down to earth*, and while they have authority in the classroom, still have rapport with the students. They need to be able to recognise students' individual needs.

Asked if he would recommend primary teaching as a profession to a young school leaver, Subject D admitted that the prospective teacher needed to be *an all-round sort of*

character who really wanted to teach. And teaching he believes, can open doors to other things – like travel. This is somewhat ironic since Subject D was not particularly well rounded since he only wanted to go to Teachers College to do physical education., and he was not really committed to becoming a teacher. Nor has he travelled.

Subject D admits that he always thought he would be doing something different after ten years, but now he doesn't know if he will. As he has recently gained a position of responsibility Subject D won't be doing anything different for a while.

Subject D stated that *I will have to make a move further up into the management side of things or just be happy being a teacher. If I don't, [make a move] I'd probably sort of wonder what I might have done.* He is aware that financially this is the only way that teachers gain promotion. *If teaching was more financial, people would stay in the classroom [since] the job is probably much easier in the classroom than being an administrator or Principal.* Subject D believes that money is the prime motivation for wanting a management position.

4.5 Results and Analysis: Interview Subject E

(Survey respondent number 7)

Transcript of this interview is Appendix I

What factors contributed to this subject failing to complete his teacher education course?

Subject E applied to go to Dunedin College of Education directly from school but was rejected. He believes this was because he was *unsettled* at the selection interview – having driven from a rural area on his own for the first time. When he was called into the interview *before I had had time to settle my nerves*, he was disconcerted. He rationalised his rejection on the basis of a [mistaken] rumour that every second year the Dunedin College of Education took a larger or smaller intake from Southland.

He went to Otago University instead that year, and took mathematics, chemistry and biology. Mathematics had been his strength at school. Subject E stayed in a university hostel. He was unusual in that he stayed in the hostel for three years. *I felt it was easier, had a preference for it. I enjoyed the people there ...I was in an actual group that stayed there for three years.*

He was successful in his second application to Teachers' College. Initially he found the College *A big scary place ...not always-user friendly for first year students.* He found himself in a rather unusual tutor group for that time. Half of the group were men and several of them had had up to 15 years' work experience. Because Subject E had been at university for a year, he considered himself one of them, but did admit that most in the group were more mature than he.

This proved to be something of an eye-opener for Subject E who found himself caught up in a tutor group which refused to *line up like sheep* for TB shots without an information pamphlet first. He admitted that **he** would have taken the shot, but that when members of the group refused, *the rest of us said "we'll go with you on that"*. When asked how this made him feel, he said: *Very wary of things. Just very aware of what was happening and trying to look at the bigger picture. One of those living experiences, I suppose. I was just willing to accept the line up and get a jab in the arm but I wasn't sure what it was about.*

Subject E was, by his own admission, *naïve - with a red-neck Southland attitude.*

This did not present any problems for him though because he claims the introduction at the beginning of the year was really good and prepared him for the culture of the institution. He had *a lot of misconceptions due to coming from Southland* but these were cleared up in the first couple of weeks.

Subject E had always wanted to be a teacher. He was strongly influenced by two teachers. *I had one guy who was really good at teaching maths and I really clicked into that.* The other, a young woman, had married his cousin and Subject E fondly remembers talking with her about primary teaching when he was a secondary student. He was also a coach of [a very specialised sport] and has continued his involvement.

Subject E was quite critical of College lecturers. He assessed them on the basis of their pastoral care or "feeling" for students. *A couple of the lecturers were brilliant. You*

could sit down and talk with them. Two or three lecturers that really stuck out. If there was a problem you could sit there for ten minutes, quarter of an hour, nut it out, talk it through and come out feeling like you'd achieved something. A male lecturer who sent him a condolence card when his mother died particularly impressed him. On the other hand, he maintained that some tutors gave him the impression they were only interested in research and teaching theories, and saw dealing with students as *icky*. He believes that many students noticed this about lecturers and claims there was a common perception that *certain lecturers were icky to deal with*. He did not get this impression from university because *you weren't as involved with lecturers as much*.

His major criticism of the teacher education programme was focused on *the amount of time spent on sexual harassment procedures, policies and things like that*. He could see the logic in the policies but claims that when he tried to put the principles into practice with female associates, they *didn't appreciate where I was coming from as a male*, and they *weren't prepared to follow the rules that students had been told to follow*. This appears to have been significant for Subject E, as he described two separate incidents when he attempted to *cover himself* by requesting two students be sent to give him a message rather than a single one; and when he asked for supervision while helping children change for swimming. Subject E was very conscious of the contradictions and appears to have made an issue of it with his associate teachers on several occasions. He was aware that they thought he *was being weird*.

But this was not the only thing that turned Subject E off teaching. He rather clumsily referred to his situation at College as *Neillinian in a Skinnerian box – or the other way round*. Someone had suggested this idea to him, and Subject E explained the theories of A.S. Neill's and Skinner before putting his own perspective: *You were shown ten or fifteen different ways...styles of teaching...different approaches, theologies and what have, but when it comes down to actually being in the classroom on section and with writing out lesson plans for associates and tutors, their way was the only way*. He found there was no room for movement within an existing class and that he was prevented on several occasions from trying something new because it might unsettle the class.

As a consequence Subject E felt he had no "teaching style" of his own and was therefore poorly equipped to begin teaching. *Being a first year teacher without any style would have been suicidal*. He praised the few associates who had allowed him to make a

mistake, and while he still believed he would make mistakes in his first year teaching, he maintained that his lack of a personalised style, would have made that year scarier.

Subject E thinks that we need male role models in primary schools *especially in today's society as there are a lot of single parent families. I think they talk about first tier education, the men that are seen doing things, the caretaker, principal - and teaching the older children – the more technical stuff. I think we've got to break that stereotype and have ...the odd teacher...teaching the juniors as well.* He doesn't necessarily think they have a different role to play at primary level though. *At secondary level where sometimes you might have children you need to look eye-to-eye with, it may have an effect where you have someone bigger who can look at you and say "no you can't do that" ...not as a physical threat but just one who has that stature.* Then he described seeing his woman role model effectively reprimand students *a foot and a half taller than her.*

Subject E was shocked to encounter in his first male associate, the attitude that though the school was laying off a staff member it would not be him since he was male. *He was adamant that he was quite happy not to do anything extra.* Subject E seemed to think it appropriate that this man did lose his job because the two women *did a few extras and showed they were prepared to work for the school and to keep their jobs.*

Subject E **almost** completed the teacher education course. He had qualms about coming back for his third year of the Diploma, so took 18 months off to look at other options. But he had *just had enough of Teachers' College and being a student.* Trying to ascertain what specific factors caused Subject E to drop out of teacher education before graduating, I elicited the following two reasons: 1) The sexual harassment policy procedures and 2) The pastoral care at College.

At times Subject E regrets not graduating as he could have used the Bachelor of Education Degree elsewhere, but he believes he achieved *personal growth* - non-academic attributes and experience from aspects of College life like his involvement in a massive drama production.

On resigning from Dunedin College of Education, Subject E was offered permanent employment with a company he had worked for part time, and he is now the warehouse supervisor. He believes he is using skills gained at the Dunedin College of Education for the office work. He has plans - *to up-skill, as I have been in this position for three years on a*

lowish wage. He is interested in the police force and has heard that they look favourably on those who have teacher training qualifications.

Subject E would still recommend teacher training to young men who are interested in it, as he believes New Zealand teachers are treated very well. It just isn't his *cup of tea*.

It appears that Subject E was a receptive student. He took all lessons on board unquestioningly and felt the need to try out every theory. This meant he got off-side with associates who may have found his obsession with physical "safety" tiresome, or would not allow him to test every technique or management style with their class. As a consequence Subject E felt unable to establish guidelines or "style" for himself. He turned to College lecturers for answers or to facilitate his own thinking, but found them unhelpful. Perhaps a lack of personal initiative prevented Subject E from feeling comfortable in a teaching role, but he did have the initiative to realise that teaching was not for him.

4.6 Results and Analysis: Interview Subject F

(Survey respondent number 6)

Transcript of this interview is Appendix J

What factors contributed to this subject remaining in the primary teaching service?

Subject F was from the North. He left school early to work in what is now Income Support. He had *wanted to get as far away from education as possible*. He lasted six months, before sampling an assortment of unskilled jobs in forestry and in Auckland as a security guard. In Auckland he lived with a friend embarking on teacher education and he began to think that he too might be interested in teaching. He moved to Dunedin with the idea of *starting afresh* at the Dunedin College of Education.

He believes that having those years in the workforce made it easier to be at College, and while he remembers *lots of sitting and listening* he admits that – *knowing there are worse things than sitting in a lecture for two hours or having some snotty nosed kids upsetting you, means that you can get things in perspective. You think - well, you know, there are worse things than this.*

He remembers *a lot of the younger guys – and I was only a few years older than them – the guys who'd come straight out of school - noticed that there was a strong female bias, but I don't know if there really was a bias, or if it was just them feeling that way.* Subject F did not find this a problem as he adapted to the culture as he would to any other work environment.

In retrospect there are some classes in which Subject F regrets not paying more attention, and he cites an educational psychology course as one. He doesn't think one should expect too much from Colleges of Education because they can't prepare students for the range of different schools with different policies or routines. He wonders whether people could have done most of their training in school classrooms, and only gone into College for short bursts of time. He thinks that a teacher trainee would learn a lot about the bureaucratic running of a school on a one-to-one basis, in a school. However he believes that as a beginning teacher, he was more knowledgeable about curriculum documents than most of the older staff he has since worked with.

It wasn't the money that lured Subject F into teaching. He wanted to do something with his life and he saw teaching as a way of doing that. He had had teachers from his own school years who had *stuck in his mind as people that had done things for me ...there wasn't any real reason for them to help me out...cause I wasn't actually the nicest kid...other than that they saw something there that was worth giving a bit of a hand.* He is quick to imply that it is not a teacher's job, or even a student's right, to be helped, but adds that teachers sometimes recognise potential. This has coloured his attitude to teaching:

A lot of the kids that I work with now have the same sorts of problems, attitudes, whatever...and I think that knowing where they're coming from, and realising that - hey they're just kids and there's lots of stuff going on in their lives too - that they think is a lot more important than learning – and getting through some of that - has been one of the things that I've thought I've done quite well. It seemed to be what I needed to do when I left Teachers' College - to get into a place where there are lots of kids who have a lot to offer, a lot of potential, but some of their behaviour and some of the things they do, put most teachers off having anything to do with them.

Subject F had been teaching at the same school ever since leaving College. This is an Intermediate in a northern town and one that has since become a year 7 to year 9 school, and may possibly become Year 7 to 10 in 2002. The first three or four years were difficult for

him because he felt he did not get enough support as a beginning teacher, and there were major staff upheavals. Putting a positive spin on it, Subject F admitted that all of this probably enhanced his ability to cope and learn from doing.

Subject F admitted that in his present position as Acting Deputy Principal, his job is more pastoral than academic. He spends more time trying to help children get on with one another, helping them get their lives together, or helping parents get on with their children, than in actual teaching. He insists he does not like responsibility, but that *when I have to do things, I do them*. The responsibility he refers to, is really that of the disciplinarian. At present *I spend more time growling than working and having fun*. For this man, teaching is synonymous with fun.... *where I get to do things with kids – in different settings and using a lot of the skills that – especially the Maori kids, have*.

The best aspect of teaching for Subject F is the thrill he gets - *just seeing the kids having so much fun and talking about it - and the knowledge that they've actually picked up – Even though you think they haven't learnt anything – but then when you actually get out there and start finding out what they remember and what they've held onto from other units. That's what gives me a buzz*. And then there are the times he bumps into ex-students in the pub who ask him if he remembers them. The down-side of teaching for Subject F is the planning and keeping records *the stuff you do after school. I do it but I don't enjoy it*.

Subject F thinks that male teachers have a different role in primary schools from women teachers. He is interested in boys and their behaviour and achievement. He thinks boys *definitely have a different view of education and what they see as important and the types of learning they enjoy. I think as a male you have a big role as a role model and you have to actually show these kids some of the behaviours they're not seeing at home*. He talked extensively about Maori teachers in schools like his. [Subject F is part Maori].

I've seen a lot of them [Maori boys] with messed up ideas about what being a man is – and that for me is a real concern. Seeing lots of young guys coming through now whose influences are coming from rap music, and they're coming from backgrounds where there's maybe only one parent. And they need somebody who's not yelling at them or offering to punch their heads in – (which a lot of the kids that I work with have at home) – who's fair, reasonable, listens to them, actually responds to what they have to say, and is a male as well – because like I say – a lot of them don't get that.

I wondered whether there really needed to be a male in this role or whether Subject F's model of "the effective teacher" is basically an androgynous one. He denied this. He said that anyone listening to him interacting with boys would not hear a lot of nurturing or caring in what he has to say. He compares his method of communicating with boys with the way women teachers do it: *I think with boys – and I might be generalising – you have to speak the language they understand... You have to speak clearly - not too many words - and they have to understand what you're trying to say.* He notices boys becoming confused by women staff and suspects they are thinking "what are you talking about? Why do you keep going on and on at me?" He maintains that he simply says - *This is it - this is your choice - get on with it - that's what we're doing.* And that boys like it. *There's not all that wishy-washy, airy-fairy type stuff. It's in one box and that's all they need to know. And I think boys appreciate that as well, because they don't need all that other stuff.*

As Deputy Principal, Subject F has to deal with *a lot of the problem children.* While most of them are boys, he admits to occasionally having difficulty dealing with some of the situations concerning girls. This is, he believes, because girls have different ways of dealing with one another, and *they carry on for days and days (with grudges and gossip) , whereas boys... You generally get them in - tell them what's going on - what they're not allowed to do - what they are allowed to do - and that's that.*

There have been some difficult situations for Subject F. He described an incident on a school visit when one child made an enemy of a worker and the whole group became protective and defensive of the child. Teaching staff had to get everyone back on the bus to calm them down, before returning to the park. Subject F referred to this affectionately as *the tribal mentality – looking out for each other.*

On another occasion he contended with a parent who were gang members and came to school to *sort out some kid who had upset his daughter.* He claims that while these parents generally support the school, they often lack coping strategies other than limited aggressive stances. This reinforces his theory about his students needing alternative male role models.

Subject F believes that to be a good teacher you need to be committed to children and their learning. It is important in his view, not to pretend to know all the answers. Children at the age he teaches, *want the opportunity to learn and they want to do it themselves, but they need someone to guide them and not make them feel silly when they make a mistake.*

He recommends to young men considering teaching, that they - *think long and hard about it*. Non-teaching colleagues from his school have recently gone into teacher training, but one of them gave up because he couldn't afford to support a family while he trained, and another taught for a term before *the system put him off*. However two others he had mentored, are teaching now *and loving it*.

Subject F has been *brushing up the CV lately* because he believes *it is time to move on*. He puts it this way: *I don't want to be part of the new set-up [at this school]* and he hopes to go to a small country school or find an area school in a similar setting with more company. He believes that *there is no shortage of jobs, but it is just a matter of finding one that suits you and you suit them*.

Subject F seems to have a passion and commitment for teaching in general and for teaching Maori students in particular. He has a positive attitude towards these children. He seems to have managed to combine his own intuitive observations of "what works" with an interest in theory and also in promoting learning. In spite of there being a glut of teachers looking for jobs, Subject F will probably always manage to find a position because he wants to teach in "unpopular" and demanding situations.

Subject F has thought carefully about his value as a male Maori teacher. He sees evidence of unsatisfactory male role models in children's lives, and sees himself as a role model who can demonstrate masculinity which is reasoned, fair and interested. He is also very clear about what constitutes a good teacher for boys. He thinks there is a particular way of communicating effectively with boys, and he believes that males are the most comfortable with it.

4.7 Problems encountered with the Interviews

Subjects E and F were interviewed over the telephone. This was not ideal but travelling to other cities around New Zealand would have been more difficult, and I did not want to limit my interviewees to local men. An interview room with audio-conferencing facility helped, and I was able to hear the interviewee speaking in the room and tape his responses. It was difficult to establish rapport without body language and I noted that these interviews were shorter than the others. Subject F interviewed satisfactorily over the phone but Subject

E had a tendency to mumble quite quickly, making it difficult to discern later. One cannot ask the subject to keep repeating himself as this will interrupt his “flow” so the transcript has blank areas.

Throughout the interview with Subject B, his child cried and kept getting out of bed. This meant that there were lots of interruptions in which he probably lost his train of thought. It also made it very hard to transcribe the tape later.

Because the subjects had already completed the questionnaire, there was no need to ask them to repeat their answers from that. But since not every subject had given enough detail in the questionnaire, I prepared separate questions for each interviewee. This meant that the interviews did not always follow the same pattern. This is the nature of narrative research, The interviewer cannot keep complete control of the interview.

One area over which an interviewer has little control, is the mood of the respondent. The subject responded according to his mood or how he was feeling at the time. This was evident from Subjects D and F for example. Subject D was tired after a long school day and apprehensive because his wife was at a job interview, so his responses were possibly more perfunctory than say Subject A or B who seemed to enjoy talking to me. Subject F was interviewed from his office where he had had a productive day and he was rather elated. I recognise this as a successful teacher, and suspect that his effervescence and confident responses were influenced by this.

Some of these interviewees had been rather “damaged” by their experiences of Teachers College or teaching. Subject A was quite nervous and Subject B initially defensive. I found myself wanting continually to reassure them and to give them positive feedback on their responses.

It was more difficult than I anticipated to listen without leading and to respond without interfering. The interviewer should not talk as much as I did. The transcripts unfortunately reveal that I occasionally cut interviewees off before they had finished speaking. It proved difficult to conceal my own opinions during these interviews, and to be faithful to the principles of narrative research. Some interviewees simply talked while others needed prompts and encouragement – especially a sense of engaging in a dialogue. This meant that the interview tended to become a conversation. In two cases I resumed the interview specifically to record something additional the interviewee wanted to say.

Summary

Chapter 4 comprised interpretative analyses of six in-depth interviews in terms of the relevant research questions. These interviews yielded rich data of the motivations of six men as they began their teacher education. They explained why they wanted to be teachers and they shared their personal pleasures and frustrations of Dunedin College of Education in 1990. Each interviewee had experiences of teaching to recount and these experiences impacted on their decisions to go teaching or to choose another career.

The two subjects who failed to complete teacher training were more critical of Dunedin College of Education than those who graduated. Those who were still teaching were the most positive about the teacher education programme. Four of the six interviewees were no longer primary teaching and while their reasons for leaving the profession were diverse, they all included gender specific explanations. The two who had taught consistently since graduating, had age, qualifications and "teaching styles" in common. Both express a commitment to teaching in the future.

The analysis of each transcript, used a research question as a focus. It examined interviewees' experiences of teacher training and of teaching, in an attempt to identify those factors that influenced their decisions to remain in or leave teaching. Each interviewee related quite different experiences and perceptions.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the research data from referral to Dunedin College of Education records, a postal questionnaire of a sample of 20 men, and six interviews with members of the sample.

The questions proposed at the inception of this research were the following:

1. What factors contributed to some men failing to complete teacher education?
2. What factors contributed to some men not taking up teaching at the completion of training?
3. What factors contributed to some men giving up teaching within the first seven years?
4. What factors kept some men in the teaching service for more than seven years?

According to the research of Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) and others (cited in Sikula et.al., 1996) the likelihood of going teaching or leaving teaching, differs by age, gender, years of experience, academic background, teaching level, specialty field, salary and workplace conditions. My research has considered only men, and my sample trained together and were surveyed and interviewed ten years later. This makes the sample a homogeneous group with regard to gender, years of experience, geography and salary. So my research questions will be viewed in the light of age, academic background and subject preferences of the subjects. The chapter also discusses the perceptions held by members of the sample, of two workplaces - the Dunedin College of Education and New Zealand primary schools.

5.1 Characteristics of the sample

The pool from which the sample for this research was drawn was the total of 42 men enrolled in the primary programme of teacher education at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. From College records of 1990, the researcher was able to draw up a list comprising five men doing the shortened graduate course for primary teachers,

seventeen enrolled in the three year diploma of teaching, and twenty enrolled in the four year Bachelor of Education Degree.

Because of the limited data kept on enrolees ten years ago, the research relied on a postal survey to build up a clearer picture of these men. There was a 50% response rate to the questionnaire. The 20 men who responded to the postal questionnaire constitute **the sample**. The sample is representative of the pool of enrolees that year, since the respondents (referred to as subjects 1-20) consisted of two from the graduate programme, only one of whom graduated; six who graduated with a Diploma in teaching; eight who graduated with a Bachelor of Education; and four who either dropped out of College or failed to graduate. The five Maori men in the pool are all included in the sample as they all responded to the questionnaire.

Ages of the sample ranged from 18 to 39. The mode was 19, and the average 24, yet there were no men aged between 24 and 32 in this sample. I believe one of the reasons for this is that men (and probably women also) who enrol for teacher education come from three different age bands.

There are those who come directly from either the sixth or seventh form at school. These young men are usually aged between 17 and 19. I refer to this group in my discussion as **school leavers**. The second age band consists of those men who tried something else after leaving school. Some of these men enrolled in university study or polytechnic courses but decided within a year or two that the course did not suit them, or that they were not succeeding. Others in this age band had gone straight from school into the workforce. As this tended to be into unskilled work, some of these men had decided that they either wanted, or were capable of "better". The men in this band are generally aged between 19 and 26 or thereabouts. I have coined the term **samplers** to refer to this group as I believe they enter teacher education after "sampling" at least one other option. The third age band is the group of "mature" men who are usually over 30 and are retraining or embarking on teacher education as a "second chance" career. These men often have dependants and they come from other occupations or careers with which they are dissatisfied for some reason. In some cases their previous employment was under

threat, and in most cases these men are searching for job security as well as a more rewarding career than they had previously. I have called these men *retrainers*.

Individuals in the sample, fell easily into one of the three groups. The researcher found these categories useful since there emerged a strong correlation for men with other members of the group. While in teacher education, men appeared to share common characteristics with their age peers. Common factors impacted on their ability to adjust to the culture of teacher education, their expectations and motivation and on their attitudes towards education, and towards teaching as a career. On a more personal level, a man's age also impacts on his psychology and gender identification and on the ways he interacts with others. This becomes apparent in discussion of those factors which impact on men's attitudes to teacher education, to children and to teaching.

The following discussion examines factors which men had in common with other members of their age group, that might have impacted on their decisions to remain in teaching or to leave it. It draws on the data elicited from the survey of 20 and from the interviews with six men, representative of the three groups.

5.1.1 Factors shared by the male *school leavers*

Six of the respondents came to The Dunedin College of Education in 1990 directly from school, two from co-educational high schools and four from single sex boys schools. Most were encouraged by their parents to embark on teacher education and all had either spent their first year at home or in a hostel, before going flatting for the remainder of their time in Dunedin.

Predictably, the favourite academic subjects for all 20 respondents tended to be those generalised as male-specific – mathematics and science. (Shaw, 1995, p.107 and Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p.303) However this was less pronounced among the *school leavers* in 1990. The two *school-leavers* from co-ed schools were “arts” students: (art, art history, history, geography.) One boy from a single sex school listed art and English as favourites and mentioned a love of music elsewhere. The other three listed mathematics as a favourite and one other. These particular men contrasted with the

generalised findings of the Education Review Office's report on Career Information and Guidance (1999) that both boys and girls at co-ed schools are more likely to take gender-specific subjects than are boys and girls at single-sex schools.

Of the eight respondents who graduated with Bachelor of Education degrees, all but one came from this *school-leaver* group. There are several possible explanations for this: Perhaps coming straight from school they were still in the habit of taking course advice and accumulating qualifications. In 1990, staff at Dunedin College of Education were advising students to enrol in the four year Bachelor of Education rather than the three year Diploma. As the *school leavers* (especially the men) were generally considered rather immature, they were encouraged to take the longer course.

On the other hand, the fact that more of this group completed the degree than those men in other age groups, could be an indication that they were generally more academically able than their older peers. They were selected on the basis of sixth and seventh form grades, while many of the older men could bring little evidence of academic achievement in recent years. However this group also included at least one in the survey who repeated a year while at College, though he claimed it was because *I was too immature*, rather than because he had struggled academically.

Krotseng (quoted in Cushman, 1999) found that *students commonly over-estimate their ability to adjust academically and socially, and under-estimate their ability to make a personal/emotional commitment*. This statement aptly fits this group of men. While only one of this sample dropped out without graduating, three others did not go teaching after graduating, (though one later did). None actually failed academically but several reported anxiety about literacy, theory, education papers, writing essays and organisation of workload.

The *school leavers* went to Dunedin College of Education for a variety of reasons. Often these students chose teacher education because of a lack of other vocational advice or because they simply wanted to stay in the education system. The two respondents who "fell" into teaching without making a conscious choice to become teachers never went teaching. Perhaps this was to be expected. Renwick (1993) identified the four most

important factors influencing appointment to a teaching position in New Zealand. "Commitment to teaching" was at the top of that list. When Subject C from this group was interviewed he reflected on the lack of commitment he demonstrated in his studies, on his posting and looking for a job. Several respondents gave evidence about a subsequent lack of commitment to teaching.

Several of this group manifested a lack of preparedness to teach. They were more likely to repeat a year or to decide not to teach at the completion of the programme. Housego (1992, in West, Jarchow and Quisenberry 1996) observed that male students felt significantly less prepared to teach and demonstrated less confidence in their ability to be an effective teacher in their final term than did female students.

One respondent *wanted to make a difference in people's lives*. King (1998) refers to this type of "calling" as a quasi-remedial designation and suggests that this is the male equivalent of the female "caring". If we accept King's premise that only a certain "type" of man goes primary teaching then this description probably comes closest to that "type". In the past, one might have identified this as "a missionary zeal" and one might suggest that as in the case of Respondent 14 these statements issue from a Christian. This type of "caring" may be safer to men than other models of male-caring. This respondent was still teaching in 2000.

Possibly, 18-19 year old males coming straight from school are "still kids themselves" and respond well to a teacher education course which supports and teaches them as if they were still schoolboys. These are the students that the 'mature student', Interviewee A, refers to when he notes that *the students we've got at school at the moment, they're out there playing cricket with the kids at lunchtime*.

On the other hand there may be those who come to teacher training to be free of the constraints of school. Two respondents complained of *being treated too much like children*. Perhaps this is predictable. According to Cushman (1999) *the practice of recruiting lecturers from junior classes and expecting them to make the instant transition to teaching 25-40 year olds may justifiably lead to the indignation of some students*. Teaching the 18 year old *school leavers* may in fact be more difficult than teaching the

mature men because the former still see themselves as students rather than adults or teachers.

When asked what they thought of the teacher education programme, four *school leavers* thought it was "fun" – notably those from co-ed schools. Two from boys' schools complained of being treated like children. There appeared to be a tendency among this group of male *school leavers* to dislike the theoretical or "writing" side of teacher training. They wanted the course to be practical and fun. This is a particularly "male" characteristic, according to Renwick (1993), Farquhar (1997) and Fergusson & Horwood (1997). Two *school leavers* interviewed, claimed to have found the College of Education too female-dominated and politically correct.

Because this group seemed to consider themselves students being taught by lecturers, they tended to have trouble adopting the teacher persona. The perception of oneself as "a student" appeared to make it difficult to prepare for the classroom especially if they experienced some confusion about their role as "teacher".

This group voiced many concerns relating to physical contact with children and appeared to struggle the most with the role of a male teacher. If schooling equates with caring as suggested by King, (1998) and the perspective of "in loco parentis" requires the primary teacher to take on a quasi-parenting role as Shaw (1995) suggests, then this is difficult to reconcile with men's fears about being accused of touching children.

Both interviews with *school leavers* revealed a strong concern about physical contact. This manifested itself in the "touch hysteria" described by King, (1998). Most men - of all the groups expressed a preference for teaching more senior students because they were uneasy about relating to the juniors. One respondent expressed horror at being posted to two new entrant classes, because he *did not know how to relate to wee kids*.

Both *school leavers* recounted stories similar to those recorded by Farquhar (1997) with male early childhood teachers of feeling "unsafe" in the proximity of children. One was insistent that he received no support from female colleagues for wanting to put protections in place to safeguard his safety from false accusations, and one

claimed "it was a turning point" when he was made to feel uncomfortable when the children in his class expected hugs.

Barry and King (1998) maintain that *The more the teacher's authority is founded on that of a more experienced, more knowledgeable, older and hopefully wiser person, the more likely the students will respect and appreciate the teacher's leadership.* This would appear to be more challenging for the young than the older students, yet fewer **school leaver** respondents expressed anxiety about "control" than did the **retrainers**. This suggests that Petersen (1984, in Shaw 1995, p.43) had it right when he said: *When teachers are younger, they more closely identify with their pupils and feel happier.* So the **school leavers** were probably happiest playing cricket with the children at lunch-time.

5.1.2 Factors shared by the male **sampler** group

The second age group was only slightly older, having "sampled" another option since school. These eight men were in their twenties though one had already, at 19 been in the workforce for some years. All had spent a year or two either in tertiary study or in unskilled labouring jobs. The **sampler** group therefore, can be broken into sub-groups of **university samplers** and **workforce samplers**.

All those who went to university or polytechnic listed mathematics and science as favourite subjects, with two respondents including physical education and another history. Of the five who had been at Otago University for a year, only one had been successful. Three other respondents were open about that first year at university being "a bad one". They had failed, and expected to fail the following year. They had decided that university wasn't for them. The fifth took education papers preparing himself for teaching, as he had been urged on his first application to the Dunedin College of Education to take a university course in the meantime and apply again the following year. For this reason, this **university sampler** (Survey respondent 17, Interview subject E) more closely resembles a **school leaver** as that was his intention, and because he shares

many of the characteristics of the younger age band especially concerns about closeness with children. He was one of two *samplers* not to graduate.

All the one-year *university samplers*, as well as the one who spent a year doing business studies at the Polytechnic, turned to teaching as a "second choice career path" on the rebound from something they thought they might prefer, but found they were not good at. Most of these young men cited "career" or "job" reasons for going to Dunedin College of Education. This group adds credence to the research of the American, Horn (2000) who believes that the calibre of students going into teacher education is lower than for other under-graduate courses. However rather than struggling with the academic study as Brookhart and Loadman (1993) suggested, the students at Dunedin College of Education coped with the academic requirements. They may have expressed a dislike of education papers and writing essays but none of the *university samplers* repeated a year for academic reasons, or "failed", though two did drop out of teacher education before graduating.

One *university sampler* respondent was surprisingly, put into the shortened course, usually reserved for graduates. He may well have struggled academically since he confessed to always having had trouble with literacy. In the interview this subject gave a description of a disagreement with a lecturer which led me to infer that he may have had problems with the level of debate in College classes. He dropped out of teacher education in his first year. Perhaps Horn is right when he points out that *The lack of academic ability may not be an obstacle to success in teacher education*. (Horn, 2000, p.3)

One *university sampler* was different from the others. He had completed a successful year at Otago University. His reason for choosing to go to into teacher education was that he *thought [he] would be good at it* – not necessarily because he thought it would be an attractive or stable career. He completed his Bachelor of Education in four years, then returned to university to complete a Bachelor of Science and then a Masterate. In spite of graduating as a teacher, he never went teaching. Perhaps he just discovered that he was good at a range of things. This supports the findings of researchers, Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996), that those with a degree in an academic discipline other than education are more likely to leave the field. Similarly, those with

attractive non-teaching alternatives are usually the first to leave teaching. (Darling-Hammond and Sclan 1996, p.84)

Also surveyed, were two men in this age group who left school and joined the workforce. Both *workforce samplers* had arts "bents" at school. Respondent 12 went psychiatric nursing in Australia. He decided to train for teaching because he *enjoyed teaching anybody anything, and wanted to get job security and teaching was a good occupation for this*. He had apparently been working as an unskilled nurse aide in a psychiatric hospital. His comments suggest that this young man "knew himself" at 23. He knew what he enjoyed doing, what he wanted and probably what he didn't want. He graduated with a Diploma in three years, and was still teaching in 2000 at a school where, from all accounts he was very highly thought of. Similarly, Respondent 6 worked in a variety of unskilled jobs before deciding what he didn't want to do. He was influenced by peers in teaching and he relished the idea of a fresh start in Dunedin far, from his home in the north. He graduated with a Bachelor of Education in four years and was still teaching in 2000.

The comparison between these two groups of *samplers* is an interesting one. Those who set their sights on university or another career and discovered that they were "not good at it", looked to teaching as an *easier* option. Those who left school for unskilled work, on the other hand, discovered two things – what it was like to *earn* and also that while they could do those unskilled jobs – they were capable of *better* – and wanted more. These men appeared more "driven" than the *university samplers*. Three of the five *university samplers* were still teaching in 2000, (one who sampled polytechnic teaches in London) and both of the *workforce samplers* were still teaching in 2000 and had plans to remain in the profession in the future.

On the whole the *samplers* were positive about the College of Education course. Two who had already tasted university life saw Dunedin College of Education initially in a poor light compared with the university where they were more autonomous with regard to attendance, where the lectures were impersonal and the pastoral care minimal. Most of this group, however, were more tolerant of College personnel than were the *school*

leavers. This was possibly because they compared lecturing staff with staff at other workplaces or campuses, rather than expecting them to be like the teachers at school.

Most of those still teaching in primary education came from this age band. The five who had since made a career of teaching had positive things to say about the content of the primary programme, with the proviso that there were, they believed, some irrelevancies. These men appeared to have a sense of urgency and wanted to be in the work force. They wanted their training to be *practical* or *more on real teaching*. Renwick (1990) reported the teachers in her study calling for *more practical components* and more recognition of prior knowledge. The *samplers* I surveyed and interviewed, echoed this.

My research suggests that this group of men who are neither *school leavers* nor entrenched in a career long enough to consider "retraining", are the most well suited to teacher education. Their more mature peers (30+) had often spent years in another occupation and established a pattern of a particular trade, and they entered teacher education as a traumatic "retraining" or "second chance" exercise. These younger men on the other hand, tended to have a different perspective. Some of them had given work - often unskilled - a try, and decided that they wanted better or were capable of better. The respondents I interviewed and several others surveyed who had made successful and rewarding careers of teaching, had experienced earning wages for a couple of years and had been successful at what they did. It was discontent with their job, rather than a sense of failure, which took them into teacher training.

Those who initially sampled university often came with a sense of deflation at having "not been good enough" for university. However, this did not appear to disadvantage them and several went on to make successful and rewarding careers in primary teaching.

This group of men who sampled work or other tertiary study seem particularly well suited to teacher training because they "knew themselves" better than the school leavers and most have a realistic idea of their academic abilities. They were generally "in a hurry" and favoured practical aspects of the programme, over theoretical ones. They

appeared to have adjusted most easily to the culture of a teacher education institution and were the most tolerant group of content and pedagogy. This was probably because they were used to university or different workplaces.

5.1.3 Factors shared by the male *Retrainers*

The six men in this age group surveyed ranged from 32 to 39 and all of them were on at least their second "career". Four were married with children. They wanted to live or remain in Dunedin.

While it was some time since they had been at school, four listed their favourite subject as English, supporting the findings perhaps of King (1998) who proposes that a particular "type" of man chooses to go teaching. The language subject preference according to Nias (1989), King (1998) and Shaw (1995) is indicative of a more female bias. Another respondent claimed science and mathematics, and the other mathematics, physical education, te reo Maori and science.

Four respondents chose to retrain because their previous trades – as a builder, gardener, photographer and electrical operator, were not satisfying for one reason or another. One respondent gave an indication that work for him had been piecemeal and hard to find in Dunedin. Another, (the oldest) believed he could do better than his factory job. Both graduated, but had since College, maintained unsettled work records. Both tried primary teaching, and one had continued teaching part-time or relieving in much the same sporadic way that he had worked prior to embarking on teacher education. The other had found that teaching was not for him, and was instead working on a fraction of the salary as a teacher aide, to a special needs child. The photographer and builder both graduated with Diplomas but after trying primary teaching initially, were both by 2000 involved in adult education tutoring in their original trades.

Respondents 4 and 20 possibly more closely resembled the *sampler* group because although aged 32 and 33 when they began Teachers' College, they were unencumbered by family, without secure jobs and came to Dunedin from points north.

Both were similar to respondents 6 and 12 in that they had been unskilled in the workforce long enough to realise they were capable of more. Respondent 20 had been back at secondary school part-time, prior to entering teacher education, and both respondents 4 and 20 had been encouraged by people they respected, to go teaching.

All the men over 30 in the sample were enrolled in the Diploma of Teaching rather than in the Bachelor of Education Degree course. This was probably due to the attraction of a three year (rather than four years) qualification, not because they perceived the latter to be more difficult.

The mature students were without exception negative about the teacher preparation course. Although they all took the minimal Diploma course, respondents 1,3,4,5 and 8 all felt that time was wasted. Several commented that the course was *out of touch with the real world*. While these men might have felt they were mature enough to have an insight into "the real world" they were probably less qualified to comment on the world of the classroom than those who had only recently left school. They may have felt a loss of autonomy in many respects, and had no way of knowing what was to be of value, hence the frustration of three respondents. When asked to reflect on those previously-held views, only one respondent had changed his negative opinion of the College course, though another did admit that he had experienced some personal growth while there.

Penni Cushman's 1997 survey of men and women dropping out of Christchurch College of Education identified the three most common reasons for withdrawal as wrong career choice, stress outside college and stress at college. These three reasons appeared most relevant to the group of *retrainers* in my study. These men had already faced "wrong career choice" in a previous occupation and respondents from this group appeared more likely to admit "wrong career choice" again. This was not a reason given by either *school leavers* or *samplers*. However, had I interviewed every one of every group I might have elicited more responses of this nature.

Secondly, men with families are probably more likely to experience stress outside college. Sacrificing full-time employment for three years to pursue a teacher preparation

course must have been particularly worrying for those men trying to support families. Fees were lighter at Dunedin College of Education than at the University of Otago in the 1990s, and the Diploma course was shorter than the degree, but attempting to sustain part-time work on top of study and a family life, would have very stressful.

While teachers' salaries may not have been attractive (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000) none of these men reported salary as a deterrent (or motivator) for going into teacher education. Instead, they were more likely to mention the security of a regular job and salary, and the relief of any income after three years studying without one.

Thirdly, judging from responses of the *retrainers* to the survey and during the single interview conducted with a *retrainer*, it is evident that many experienced stress at college. This took three forms - anxiety about the academic nature of teacher education - confusion about how to behave in classes - and the expectations that staff and associates had of "mature students", especially males. These concerns separated the *retrainers* from members of the other two age bands.

It is often assumed by staff at Colleges of Education that the mature men will thrive as they contribute worldly sense in class and they have a real commitment to retraining in their new career, especially if they are supporting a family on no income. However my survey suggests that the mature students had different expectations of teacher training. They expected it to be purely vocational, practical and "work-based" as their previous trade probably was. All those surveyed considered the course *drawn out* or *complicated* or *uncompromising*. Several mentioned their frustration at the *irrelevancies*. Some found it bewildering to find themselves in the classroom without all the answers. Possibly one of the reasons these *retrainers* get a reputation for being "good students" at Colleges of Education is that they are anxious about their ability to cope with the academic requirements, so they work diligently.

Some found the interpersonal relationships in classes difficult. They encountered problems in learning how to behave in College classes. Interview subject A explained that in spite of hearing how boys dominate classes, mature men often felt obliged to respond more vocally in class, because they were expected to and - *because the girls just*

sat there like puddings. This lends credence to a recommendation of Boyer and Baptiste (1996) in their call for diversity among the teaching service: *A mentality that says that "one size fits all" is not an appropriate framework within which to recruit, teach, learn or evaluate.* (Boyer & Baptiste, 1996, p.785)

Interview subject A described different expectations of men who were *always treated as if we should know*, or given the difficult children: *We were given the basket cases because they thought we could handle them.* (Interview subject A). The experiences of this interviewee were similar to the experiences of male primary teachers interviewed by King, (1998) who recounted not only different expectations of them because of their gender - but specifically expectations that they would be the disciplinarians:

Men are less permitted to need help with discipline (Interview in King, 1998, p.102)

Often when I hear "we need more men in elementary" I shudder to think what they want us for. (Interview in King, 1998, p.101)

If the responses I received from the six **retrainers** in my survey are representative or typical, teacher educators should consider addressing some of their concerns in teacher preparation programmes. Perhaps the recognition of prior experiences called for by Marjorie Renwick (1993) as a result of her 1990 research should also encompass an awareness of the concerns and **gaps** in prior knowledge of men in this age group. Recommendations of overseas researchers for support for certain threatened groups in teacher education, appear particularly relevant to this older group of **retrainers**.

The men who retrained as teachers, experienced little success in their subsequent teaching careers. While they all completed their training, many of the men surveyed had spent the previous seven years teaching sporadically – part time or relieving, without much job satisfaction. Only one, (Respondent 20, aged 33) had a permanent teaching job in 2000. Four of the six found that they were either “not good at it”, or didn’t enjoy it. Those first to leave the primary service were, as predicted by Gray (in Darling-Hammond & Sclan, 1996, p.84) those with attractive non-teaching options - such as photography, art or the Maori language.

Colleges of Education frequently promote pre-service teacher education courses as transferable qualifications or a ticket to other careers. However, I did not find this to be the case. Several subjects when interviewed or surveyed, mentioned the Bachelor of Education or the Teaching Diploma as a useful qualification for getting into other careers but there was little evidence of this. Most men who failed to graduate were left with little of 'market value', and several who did not go teaching found their qualification less portable than they had hoped. One *retrainer* successfully combined his teaching skills with those of a trade, to become an adult tutor of his newly discovered interest - art. However, all the *retrainers* in my sample who were no longer teaching were employed in work of lower status and wages. (Teacher aide, warehouse supervisor, labour scheme tutor.) This reinforces the impression of this researcher that primary teachers' salaries were neither an incentive nor a deterrent for this particular sample from 1990.

5.1.4 Factors shared by the male Maori students

Darling-Hammond & Sclan (1996) identified distinguishing factors such as age which affected attrition rates of primary teachers. They did not consider ethnicity or cultural issues as one of those factors. However the research of Boyer and Baptiste (1996) emphasises the need for diversity of cultures as well as genders in primary teaching. These researchers also maintain that *few persons of color choose teaching* and that these people are the most difficult to retain in the service.

There were five men who identified as Maori within the complement of 42 men in the 1990 cohort of first year primary teacher trainees. All five responded to my postal survey, and one was subsequently interviewed. Five respondents constitute a small sample, but, since they were the **only** Maori men enrolled in the primary programme in 1990, their responses are significant. This section discusses the factors they have in common, and which may have impacted on their attitudes, decisions and subsequent career paths.

In 1990 there were five Maori men in the primary intake. None was in the shortened graduate course. Two were local, coming directly from single sex boys' schools. Both had arts subjects as favourites, (art, English, music). Subject 15 claimed he chose Teachers College because he didn't know what he was going to do in 1990 - *so I decided to apply to College, to see if I could get in*. Both young men claimed to have enjoyed their time at Dunedin College of Education.

One respondent took five years to graduate. He took a "study leave" year after his second year at College then did not return in 1993. He said in the questionnaire that he repeated a teaching block because *I was too immature to handle the situations I was presented with*. I regret that this respondent did not want to be interviewed or I could have asked for more detail. In 1994 he completed his "third year" at College and graduated with a Diploma of Teaching. The other school leaver also spent five years at College as he had to repeat his whole third year. He did not graduate.

Both of these young men lived at home while attending Dunedin College of Education and were still living in Dunedin in 2000, where they were usually unemployed or in temporary or part-time non-teaching work. One respondent stated that for the last ten years he had been: *playing in cover bands, doing interest papers at university, travelling around N.Z. working part-time jobs (non-teaching)*.

Two of the other three men came from the North. Though one was 21 and the other (Survey respondent 4) aged 32, these men had a lot in common. Both had had a variety of unskilled jobs since leaving school and the older one had most recently been a youth worker teaching te reo Maori. He claimed that he was motivated to come to College as he "had a good role model" and he identified him as a well-known teacher of Maori.

Similarly, the other respondent, (Survey respondent 6, Interview subject F) was encouraged into teaching by teacher friends. He liked the idea of "a fresh start" in Dunedin, but did not elaborate on this. Both men listed four subjects when asked about their favourites: claiming mathematics, sport or physical education, science and a language (one Maori, the other English). The mature respondent was less positive about

his experience at Dunedin College of Education than his younger counterpart and he shared the attitude with other *retrainers* that the course was not sufficiently practical or work-based.

This *retrainer* respondent did not complete his second year until 1992 as he was summoned back to the North after a death. He returned to Dunedin and enrolled in his second year but came into conflict with the Maori and other departments. He puts it this way: *[I did not complete the course] because I submitted all my work in Maori before a policy was developed. My work was not accepted at the time without an English translation. I chose not to provide one.* This was an interesting time for the Dunedin College of Education. This student represented a test case. For some staff it meant a window of opportunity. If it was good enough for the courts of New Zealand to provide translation into, or from Maori, then some staff and students believed, Colleges of Education which valued te reo Maori should also take responsibility for translating assignments. This however did not happen at Dunedin College of Education in the 1990s and the issue has not been broached since.

As a consequence of his protest, this respondent moved north and completed his training at another College of Education. He spent the next ten years in primary schools in the north - initially as a teacher aide but more latterly at a primary Rumaki. His aim in 2000 was to complete a Masters Degree in Maori. The other respondent from the north, a **sampler**, moved smoothly through four years at College and graduated with a Bachelor of Education. He moved immediately back to the North and had been teaching in Intermediates there ever since. He was the Acting Deputy Principal at his school in 2000, and was passionate about the profession. His plan for the future was to "return to his roots" with his young family. He put it this way: *finding a nice little country school that can put up with me - except ***, as it's too close to home.*

The fifth Maori male was another *retrainer*, of 36. He was leaving the building trade due to a back injury. His favourite subjects were English, art, technical drawing and design. He was critical of the teacher education programme claiming subject studies were too drawn out and that the planning *seemed to have us peaking and lulling*. He believed that *the structure was at fault, not the staff*. It appears that his responses were

indicative of Cushman's research into the inability of some students to adapt to the social fabric of a College of Education. (Cushman, 1997) This respondent took a year off after his second year (but gave no explanation for this) - and graduated with a Teaching Diploma after four years. While it would be easy to see this respondent as an unsuccessful graduate teacher because he never went primary teaching, it appeared in 2000 that he had successfully retrained and found his own niche using his teaching and building skills to tutor local Maori students in work skills.

While at College most Maori lived at home with family. Both *school leavers* lived with their parents, and two lived in their own houses with a partner and/or children. Teacher educators might infer stability from this. However, if no one at home is involved in tertiary education or teaching, the environment could be neither encouraging for a student nor conducive to study. From Cushman's survey at Christchurch College of Education (1997) it is clear that students who withdrew from teacher education cited "stresses outside college" as important as "stresses at college". Students of any age whose life outside College presents distractions or concerns, are more likely to drop out of teacher education.

The one man who went flatting with fellow students was the only one to graduate with a Bachelor of Education and that was without missing a year. He had stayed with relatives for the first three months of his training, then went flatting with other "Teacollers".

I find the living arrangements of the Maori men surveyed an intriguing aspect of my findings. Two travelled from the north to train as teachers in the deep south, one claiming to want "*a fresh start*". This is an interesting concept and one which reminds me of the words of J.H.Pope in 1880 who with missionary zeal urged that *Maori need to be separated from the debilitating effects of the village*; and Bird who in 1928 reported on a Maori school in the Ureweras offering to the Maori children *a pleasing asylum from the life of the kainga (native village)*. (Harker 1985, p.63) Perhaps in order to adjust to the culture of an institution one needs to be immersed in that culture. And the culture of Dunedin College of Education and perhaps other teacher education providers is predominantly Pakeha and relatively academic. Perhaps a full immersion ("*fresh start*")

or "*a pleasing asylum*") enables students to shed the distractions and stresses of life outside the College and outside its culture.

Both of these northern men graduated from teacher education and in 2000 both were working as primary teachers. On the other hand, the two Maori *school leavers* who failed to complete teacher education were both living at home with family. Whether it was the living arrangements or the ages of these men which made the difference, is impossible to gauge.

The more mature men were the most critical of the College programme expecting it to be more practical and work-based. Both were involved in education by 2000, but not in conventional primary teaching. Perhaps this is a function of their expertise in te reo. It appears to be most valued in non-academic tutoring programmes or in immersion classrooms. Neither of these sites is well paid, secure, high status, dependent on teaching qualifications, or part of a strong career path.

None of the respondents made any comment about whether the teacher education programme met their cultural needs at the time, but possibly I failed to ask the appropriate question. Most of the factors I have identified in each subject's case, have as much to do with their age and background as with their Maoriness. For example the two *school leavers* shared more characteristics with other *school leavers*, than with other Maori men: in their motivation to embark on teacher training, their enjoyment of the course and their reluctance to go primary teaching at the end. The most successful Maori man in this cohort with respect to academic achievement and subsequent career in primary teaching, was the only one from my previously labelled *sampler* group. Perhaps the factors which made this respondent a good student and subsequently a good teacher, have more to do with his intellect and personality, than with factors shared with other Maori, 21 year-olds, or men.

5.2 Research Question Number 1:

What factors contributed to men failing to complete teacher education?

5.2.1 Academic Ability

Of the 42 subjects in the pool of men in the 1990 first-year primary division cohort, 16 failed to graduate. Of the 20 surveyed, three did not complete teacher education at all. Another graduated with an incomplete B.Ed after four years so did not go teaching until he had finished it. A fifth graduated after five years with one year out in the middle of his course. As he never went teaching, this subject (respondent 15) almost qualifies as a non-graduate. Two of the non-graduates were interviewed.

The research of Brookhart and Loadman (1993) found that males who enter the teaching profession in the United States were less academically oriented and less well qualified on entry to teacher education programmes than their female peers. I have no evidence to establish whether this academic discrepancy existed at Dunedin College of Education in 1990, since I studied only men, but College records of automatic entry and scholarships, give substance to the belief that there are differences in the entry and exit characteristics of men and women.

Horn, (2000), insists that few of the most academic college (secondary) students of any gender were attracted to primary teaching. Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) contest this since many teacher education institutions in the United States have begun to require higher grade-point averages and test scores for admission, over the last twenty years. This has not been the case in New Zealand, so there is no evidence of academic qualifications of prospective teachers improving. The experience of administrative personnel at Dunedin College of Education continues to substantiate the idea that students are more likely to be attracted to teacher education if they think that they are not bright enough to go to university. (South interview, 2000).

Evidence from my research backed this up. The *school leavers* were not generally top stream students. One (plus respondent 15) of those non-graduates surveyed was a *school leaver* and another would have been if he had been accepted into College on his first application. The other was a *university sampler* who had been unsuccessful in his first year at university. None of these men “failed” in their teacher education course.

That is, none of them were asked, or forced to leave. They chose to pull out and used a range of reasons to explain why that was. None said that the work at College was too difficult. However, it was not uncommon for students to repeat a year of their course before deciding to drop out. While this is not clear-cut, it does suggest that in several cases they "failed to meet the requirements of the course" in years prior to their decisions to drop out of College.

5.2.2 Subject Preferences

Are those who have "strengths" in the arts more likely to choose a teaching career than those with maths and science "strengths"? King (1998) suggests that this is so. This was not the case for the men in my study who chose to embark on teacher education in 1990. The arts were less favoured than mathematics, science and physical education. A sample of this size of young women coming directly from school in 1990 would not have had as many with mathematics as a favourite subject. There is evidence of this in College records of subject study (optional courses) choices. This can result in the perpetuation of predominantly female primary teachers with arts and literacy subject strengths and preferences, inadvertently promoting those strengths and preferences in children of the same gender. Three of those men surveyed who did not graduate, had mathematics as a favourite subject, accompanied by science in two cases and English in one. The fourth student listed English and art as favourite subjects so there appears to be no discernible pattern here.

Men might have brought mathematics and science preferences to their teacher preparation courses in 1990, more commonly than young women, but this did not necessarily imply "strengths" in those subjects. It might instead have been a function of what Shaw (1995) identifies as subject polarisation. While one usually prefers those subjects which one is "best" at, it does not necessarily follow that one has real expertise in the area. There is some evidence of this in the responses of the two subjects interviewed who failed to graduate from teacher education. One of the interviewees who failed to complete the course, specifically criticised the teaching style inherent in

mathematics classes at the College of Education in 1990. He resented *playing with blocks* and *being treated like children*. Harding (cited in Martin, 1996) suggested that the traditional didactic teaching style favours boys, and that a student-centred collaborative pedagogy is more girl-friendly. Perhaps this student was railing against the fear reduction therapy introduced to counter the prejudice and anxiety many girls were feeling towards mathematics in 1990, or struggling to come to terms with a more "girl-friendly" pedagogy in general. Further research is needed in this area.

If we compare the favourite subjects of the non-graduates with those still teaching ten years on, there is no pattern in their preferred subjects, except that those men who have been "successful" in primary teaching generally identified a broader range when asked to list their "favourite subjects". The nine men who are still in primary teaching ten years on, tended to be those who nominated either **more than three subjects** as their favourites, **or arts-type** subjects such as English, geography, economics or history. As a generalisation relative to subject preference, three possible reasons can be put for why these men might have been more likely to remain in primary teaching than their four peers who did not graduate:

1. That these men were more independent and less subject to group dynamics, than were those men who favoured narrow gender-specific subjects. (as suggested by Shaw, 1995, p.122-128).
2. That the "arts bent" might make them more suited to primary teaching and to the primary school environment. (as suggested by King, 1998, p.56))
3. That Colleges of Education do not do well preparing students with science and mathematics backgrounds for the classroom. (E.R.O. Report, 1999, p.30)

5.2.3 Failure to adjust to the Culture of Teacher Education

Several men repeated a year during their teacher education course. Reasons they gave for this were contingent on whether they had eventually graduated or not. Two who

had graduated but had had to repeat a year or a course component in the process, attributed this set back to personal failings:

- *I was too immature to handle the situations I was presented with*
- *I needed time out*

These reasons reflect the lack of preparedness to teach which Housego (1992) reported among Canadian beginning teachers. He found this to be more common among men than women. (Housego in West, Jarchow and Quisenberry, 1996, p.1055)

The three surveyed who **failed to complete the teacher education** course generally blamed the course or the College:

- *I did not like the way the course was set out. Some things were totally irrelevant to teaching*
- *I did not enjoy T.Col at all. I felt frustrated and for me it was not stimulating*
- *It certainly didn't impress me much. I thought we were all treated to much like children ourselves*

The interviewee who withdrew from teacher education early in his first year was disgruntled about a conflict with a woman lecturer over gender issues and this prompted his decision to drop out. While this may have been an isolated case, the research of Boyer and Baptiste (1996) comes to mind. When it is assumed that men and women will respond in the same ways, teacher educators may be failing to not only address individual differences, but also to accommodate those students who are different from the dominant group. Without giving consideration to the psychological accommodation and instructional dynamics of teaching learners of different genders, teacher education risks penalising the minority and being accused of academic sexism. (Boyer & Baptiste, in Sikula et al, 1996, p.789)

5.3 Research Question number 2

What factors contributed to men not taking up teaching at completion of teacher education?

Six respondents of the twenty graduated from Dunedin College of Education but did not go teaching. Four were from the male *school leavers* category. One *sampler* went back to university and a *retrainer* returned to his previous trade. Two, (both *school leavers*) did go teaching three and six years later.

5.3.1 Level of Commitment

This is the chief factor in determining whether a *school leaver* would go teaching after graduating from teacher education. The *school leaver* interviewed who graduated but did not go teaching claimed that he tried to get a job but was unsuccessful. However, an analysis of his interview transcript revealed that even before graduating he had acknowledged his lack of commitment to teaching as a career. He explained that it was after his third year posting that he decided that teaching wasn't really for him. He had over-committed himself at College and was ill-prepared for his posting. *I think it was the first year that put me off actually... I remember one of the lecturers actually bailing me up and asking me why I hadn't given in some essays... But it was a case of if I liked doing everything else so much that I always put that at the bottom of the list.* He explained his lack of success in terms of general organisational factors. And although this subject did not "fail", he maintained that a poor teaching report may have contributed to his not getting a teaching job after graduation. What made teaching lose its appeal for him? He mentioned in the interview, factors such as the lack of money, lack of status, and the stifling of his own creativity. Since the path this young man subsequently chose was one of less money and status, I conclude that his decision reflected Cushman's (1999) findings, that some students simply lacked commitment to teach.

This seems true also of the *school-leavers* who claimed *I had to live a little* and travelled overseas; the one who took a carpentry course; and the fourth who had spent the years since graduating - *playing in 'cover' bands, taking interest papers at university*

and travelling around New Zealand. These four support Krotseng's theory (cited in Cushman, 1997) that students commonly overestimate their ability to adjust academically and socially and under-estimate their ability to make a personal/emotional commitment. On the other hand, their lack of preparedness could have been a function of age alone, since two *school leavers* did resume teaching years later and both were still teaching in 2000.

5.3.2 Ambivalence about the role of male teachers

Being a role model is not the same as being a classroom teacher. Some young men particularly, feel uneasy about the responsibility of being a "role model" and the usual addition of "being a male role model" makes that even more onerous. (Survey of First year male intake, Dunedin College of Education 2000)

The men in the sample who graduated but decided that teaching wasn't for them, tended to give gender-specific reasons - not as their **only** reason for not teaching but **one of them**. The subject interviewed spoke at length about what it meant to him to be a male primary teacher. He was unsure what it meant to be a "male role model" Should he be indistinguishable from the women primary teachers around him? This presented problems for this young *school leaver* who claimed that *there are some things that males can't do that women can...like more openly love children*. He was unsure what a male primary teacher **could** do. *I think you can be the father figure in a way - but a father can hug his kids you know - and you can't. That's kind of a contradiction isn't it?*

Men in transition to teaching interviewed by Cushman, (1997 & 1998) and Farquhar (1997) expressed the same anxieties. Those interviewed by King (1998) who were by then "successful" primary teachers, had attempted to find a path through the ambivalence of needing to replicate "women's ways" but with masculine restraints. Male graduates who chose not to go teaching, had most likely failed to feel comfortable in their role as a male "nurturer". As Interview subject C added, *I think I'd feel more comfortable now - being older and married.*

5.3.3 Concerns about physical contact with children

Research at Christchurch College of Education reported in Cushman (1999) focused on factors that deterred men from teaching as a career. Her 1998 survey asked a total of 83 Year 1 male students whether three specific issues had been of concern to them when considering teaching as a career. Those issues were the status of teaching as a career, teachers' salaries and physical contact with children. The research revealed that 56% had some concerns about the perceived status of teachers 78% expressed concern ranging from slight to extreme about salary and 89% listed concern ranging from slight to extreme about physical contact with children and the ramification. It is clear that for this first year cohort all three issues were of concern but the issue of physical contact with children was the most worrying.

The 2000 male cohort of first year students at Dunedin College of Education expressed similar concerns about physical contact. My interviews with two men who had decided not to teach, demonstrates that those fears could be strong enough to drive some young men from the profession. For example, Respondent 7 (Interview subject E) withdrew from the teacher education programme after four years, just prior to graduating. To the questionnaire, he gave as a reason: *Stress/harassment policies*. When subsequently interviewed, this subject, explained that he was concerned about inconsistencies in the way men could behave as teachers, and he felt very conscious of propriety around children. He was worried about accusations of sexual harassment and he was anxious that his concerns be taken seriously by his associate teachers. King, (1998) refers to this phenomenon as "touch-hysterics" and it is evidence in my research that this fear is a factor in young men's decisions whether to embark on teaching even after graduating. This substantiates the research of Farquhar (1997) and Cushman (1999).

The interviewee who graduated but chose not to go teaching described a *horrible situation* when he felt uncomfortable because a junior class expected hugs from him as they received from their regular teacher. This had made him feel confused about the role he should play as a male teacher. At 18 or thereabouts, this was probably too difficult a question to solve without guidance. He added in the interview *It was just a turning point ay*. The "turning point" for these young men who decided not to go teaching appears to

have been the realisation that while teaching equates with caring (King, 1998), the rules of that caring are different for men from women.

While teacher educators were not addressing this inconsistency in 1990, the men I interviewed had struggled with confusion over what their role should be, while enduring postings in which they felt they were viewed with mistrust simply because they were men.

5.4 Research Question number 3

What factors contributed to some men giving up teaching within seven years?

5.4.1 Age

Of the seven graduate respondents who were not teaching in primary schools in 2000, four were *retrainers*. These mature students appeared more likely to go into teaching for a time and after teaching sporadically for short spells and with minimal success, decided it wasn't for them. The research of Darling-Hammond and Sclan (1996) suggests that when considering a change of occupation, individuals generally consider the human capital investments they have already made, the costs of retraining and the likelihood of securing another job with the preferred attributes. Thus those deciding to leave the teaching service are most likely to be those with the most viable and attractive alternatives. That is, unless there are aspects which **drive** them away from teaching.

5.4.2 Conflicting Expectations

The interviewee who gave up teaching claimed that children's expectations of him were confusing and unrealistic. He believes, like King (1998), that most male teachers in primary schools are *on the softer side of masculine* and that this *causes more and more children to challenge them for not conforming to their stereotype of what a male should do*. This supports the findings of Seifert (cited in King, 1998) who maintains that there is

a "compensation hypothesis" at work which is contradictory: *It simultaneously suggests that men can provide sex-appropriate role models for boys and offer children of both sexes models of caring, nurturing men....[However] it is quite possible that a sensitive, nurturing man could be perceived by others, most notably parents, as inappropriate for young boys.* (Ibid. p.5) Perhaps one of the indications that this beginning teacher was experiencing this was his observation that at every school he had taught at, children had asked him whether he was gay.

All of the role models that this interviewee had in teacher education (associate teachers and lecturers) and in his early years teaching, were women. He tried to replicate their practice and take their advice but it was not appropriate to his gender. He claimed that it was not easy being a man in a primary school. *You're always treading the line. You can't be too masculine in the school because there's no roughhousing. There's no overtly masculine things that you can do anyway.* Men interviewed by King (1998) expressed the same confusion at being unable to behave like women. They claimed that men didn't want to know their kids inside out; didn't want close attachments; didn't want to play with little kids; didn't want to coddle little kids. (From interviews: 6/5, 4/1, King 1998)

My interviewee (Subject A) expressed similar sentiments: *I never felt terribly comfortable playing sport with the kids at lunchtime. I'm a referee... I can't abide cheats. I wouldn't do everything for them. I made them do it themselves because I think kids get far too much help.* He was very ambivalent about working with other people's children, claiming that he was in fact harder on his own sons than on the children in his classroom. *The kids [in the classroom] look at men differently. If you look at the average [male] teacher, you're either not enough like their dad or you're too much like their dad- and it's a real problem because... they have a different attitude to men [from women].*

5.4.3 The Education Reforms of 1989

Wylie (1999) identified areas that specifically impacted on teachers since the reforms of 1989, as higher workloads, inadequate staffing, limited funding and resourcing of

curriculum change. The men in this research did not join the teacher workforce until 1993 or 1994 so they had no conception except as pupils, of what schools were like prior to 1989. They could make no comparisons. I encountered no comments about schools governance, staffing, funding, parental involvement or class size. However three interviewees complained about the quantity of paperwork and extra-curricular expectations. Both these factors had resulted from the 1989 reforms in education. The interviewee who eventually gave up teaching claimed *I found that when I went teaching, I worked so damn hard that I had to give up everything that got me into teaching in the first place.*

It would appear that apart from the quantity of work, other effects of the reforms did not directly impact on these men. None perceived themselves as instruments of reform nor the targets of it. (Darling-Hammond & Sclan 1996, p.90) A range of New Zealand studies revealed similar findings. The changing climate in schools caused some respondents who were still teaching in 2000 to express displeasure at the workload of their chosen profession but it did not cause them to leave it.

Those who left the profession, mostly cited reasons based on personal and psychological factors. The *Retrainer* interviewed, gave reasons related to his being a male in a primary classroom. He struggled with three aspects of being a man in primary teaching - The concept of being a male role model, children's behaviour, and being a lone man in a female environment.

5.4.4 Controlling children's behaviour

For some men, caring and controlling are mutually exclusive. If they care about children they cannot growl at them. Both the interviewee who did not go teaching after graduating (Subject C) and the one who gave up teaching within seven years (Subject A) struggled with the requirements to be both nurturer and disciplinarian. King (1998) interviewed eight male primary teachers who claimed that there is an expectation that men will be good disciplinarians. Subject A quotes bitterly the advice of a female colleague who advised him that he should make the children afraid of him. *I'm still*

struggling with it because I think that as a male you actually have a particular set of problems in the classroom with kids who feel it really necessary to challenge you because they don't know how else to handle you. He found, as did King's interviewees, that there was a tendency to "dump problem children on him" because he was a man, and that he was expected to be able to discipline them appropriately even in his first year. This angered and frustrated him just as it had Interviewee 2/7 in King's study, (King, 1998, p.101)

This subject never really discovered a method of disciplining that worked for him. He found it too difficult to replicate what he perceived to be the women's behaviour management mode: *Some of the things I see that work [in teaching] I couldn't do... I'm not that tough.* He believed women could be more *vicious* than men, and hold grudges longer. However he had had no male role model himself to demonstrate other ways of controlling children.

5.4.5 Isolation in a Women's Profession

In the three schools this male primary teacher worked, he felt isolated.

There were no other men in the junior school. So the women all worked together and, you just don't fit in. This describes the feeling of working in a feminised workplace. There is no suggestion of malevolence toward this subject, but the sense of isolation comes from being a minority immersed in another culture. He readily admitted that the primary school is a feminised environment and men feel isolated within it. Again, the eight interviewees of King (1998) agreed.

It was difficult for this interviewee to divorce his "failure" as a teacher from his failure as a person. Shaw (1995) and Nias (1989) report from their research, that teachers perceive their role as teacher to be indistinguishable from them as a person (Shaw, 1995, pp. 62-64) Yet this subject believes it was specifically in his role as **male** teacher that he struggled. He attributed his "failure" not to the system or to education in general, but to

very gender-specific failings. As a consequence he did not believe in 2000 that primary teaching was a good occupation for men.

5.5 Research Question Number 4

What factors contributed to men remaining in the primary teaching service for more than seven years?

5.5.1 Motivation

By 2000 when the 20 respondents completed the postal questionnaire, eleven were in teaching positions though two were teaching in England. Two of these men had been *school leavers*, seven were *samplers*, and two were unencumbered *retrainers*. The motivation for going into teacher training was, for most of these men, quite focused. They **chose** teaching - albeit for a variety of reasons, but mostly it was a deliberate decision rather than *falling into it - giving it a go* or simply on the rebound from other occupations. Four travelled from the North Island or from overseas to embark on teacher education. One wanted to make a difference in people's lives, two thought they "would be good teachers", two stated that they had had a long term interest in becoming a teacher and five chose it because teaching appeared to be a sound and secure career. Only one mentioned the appeal of *scarfie life*.

5.5.2 Attitudes towards teacher education

Most of the men still teaching claimed that Dunedin College of Education met their needs or served them well but six had reservations about either pace, length or worth of particular classes. While several described the course as *varied* or *interesting*, none described it as *fun*. This group of men appeared to have a sense of urgency about their training programme and criticisms of the College programme were of its focus and lack of practical content rather than its pastoral care.

5.5.3 Subject preferences

Subject preferences were wide-ranging and most listed three or four favourites with a mix of arts and science. Seven listed mathematics and six physical education. Only three mentioned English.

5.5.4 Living arrangements

The *retrainer* in this group, lived at home with his family for the duration of the teacher preparation programme. The two *samplers* from out of town stayed with relatives or *in a van in the College grounds* for the first few months before going flatting. Two *school leavers* lived in a hostel for the first year, but all of this group eventually went flatting with other students.

5.5.5 Plans for the future

Only five of the surveyed group of eleven men teaching in 2000 were considering teaching in the future. The other six had future plans which included "getting out of the classroom", further tertiary study or travel. Several had picked up other strands of education such as ESOL, environmental education and outdoor education. The respondents still teaching in 2000 comprised five in middle primary schools. Interestingly, none of these men intended remaining in teaching. They cited a range of plans but none of those included going for promotion within the school. Those most happy in the profession - measured by two indicators: long service; and intentions to remain in teaching in the future; all taught further up the school. Two were in secondary schools (Remedial/TESOL and outdoor education) one was in a position of responsibility in a school in the United Kingdom, and the other three taught in intermediate schools.

The three respondents who had positions of responsibility, admitted that they had sought promotion for the "recognition" and the money, but that they preferred teaching to administrating. It is a source of resentment for some women teachers in New Zealand -

that men move quickly out of the classroom (Bryant in Broadsheet 1981), but it may be a source of resentment for men that they are forced out of the classroom if they want more status or money. Cushman's (1999) survey of Christchurch College of Education students indicated that 78% of those surveyed felt some concern at the rate of teachers' salaries. By 2000 the respondents in my study were experiencing pay parity with secondary teachers so this made salaries more attractive. However positions of responsibility remained the best career path for those primary teachers looking for more money.

5.5.6 Attitudes towards the role of the male primary teacher

The two interviewed who were still in the profession ten years on, shared some other characteristics. Besides being intermediate teachers, they both had strengths in physical education and sport among other things. Both described the real "reward" of teaching in similar terms with an educational slant: *when a child finally grasps a concept. And when children talk about knowledge they have retained from previous units.*

These two men claimed to relate particularly well to boys and one of them had served two years working in a boys-only school. They believed emphatically that the specific role of a male teacher in a primary school had to do with pastoral care for boys and with discipline. Both claimed that they were capable of performing both aspects of the job, but that they enjoyed the former much more than the latter.

Most of the men I interviewed, believe that men have different ways of communicating and relating to both girls and boys. This is why they talk about male teachers in the past with whom they "clicked" – (Interview subject A,B, E, & F). The two men interviewed who are still teaching and experiencing success and fulfilment, described their methods of communicating with boys and were explicit about how these were different from women's communication. While the men had different styles from each other - possibly prescribed by the cultural and socio-economic make-up of the boys they teach - their methods were "conventionally masculine" and in the mode of "good fathers". (Biddulph, 1997) *Good men ...empathetic and strong, autonomous and*

connected and responsible to self and family, friends and society. (Adams-Jones, 1995, p.14)

These two interviewees did not claim to be "soft men", androgynous teachers or "nurturers." They did not express concerns or confusion about their roles as male teachers. Somehow men who remain in teaching manage to steer a course which preserves their own "safety" with children. King's interviewees who were still in teaching had acknowledged that : *I have to be rather insensitive to kids*" (interview 4/13, in King 1998,p.79) and *Some behaviour women exhibit, such as hugging, is acceptable for just women.* (interview 3/7, in King, 1998, p.77) Having managed this successfully over the years, the "ambivalence" associated with nurturing or controlling appears to disappear and become a non-issue. (Subjects D and F)

The reasons men gave for remaining in the profession were psychological rather than external. Their job satisfaction appeared to come from the "type" of men they are because this determines how each feels in the company of children. If he is secure in his role and relationships with children, and he is rewarded by seeing them learn, then he will find the profession rewarding. If the factors that influence their decisions to stay in the primary teaching service, are personal, it is no wonder that teachers believe that "failure as a teacher feels like failure as a person" (Nias cited in Shaw, 1995)

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of the key themes or issues arising from this study lead into points for the consideration of teacher education providers. Other issues signal the need for further research for New Zealand teacher educators.

1. Conclusions

My research suggests that the age of men going into the primary teaching service is an important determinant in whether they eventually become teachers or not. This is because men in the three broad age bands - of *school leavers*, *samplers* and *retrainers* share some characteristics that impact on their motivation, attitudes to the course and decisions relative to becoming teachers.

The *school leavers* of my sample of twenty surveyed were more likely to withdraw from teacher education before completing the course, or to choose not to go teaching even after graduating.. This was for a variety of reasons most notably a lack of commitment to the profession and a lack of preparedness to teach. School leavers persisted in thinking of themselves as students and expected lecturers to treat them as their secondary teachers did. They struggled with the dual personas of "teacher" and "male role model".

The older *samplers* were more aware of their own abilities and aspirations. They comprised two groups - those who had been in the workforce and had decided to do something more challenging, or those who had embarked on, but experienced little success in, university study. *Samplers* were the most tolerant of College life and though they preferred the programme to be more practical, they were generally satisfied with the preparation course. This research found this group to have the highest rates of "success" in teaching, measured by long service and future plans to stay in education.

The oldest group of students - the *retrainers* consisted generally of those who had had relatively unsuccessful or unsatisfying occupations prior to embarking on teacher

education in 1990. This group proved to be the most disgruntled with teacher preparation courses but were more likely to complete the training. Men in this group however were likely to either not go teaching after graduation, or to attempt teaching with little success over the next few years before giving it up. Most went back to their previous trades or used teaching skills to combine that trade with tutoring.

Reasons men in my sample gave for failing to complete the teacher education course were generally based on one of two elements. Firstly they were unhappy or dissatisfied with aspects of the course. While they may have been ill-suited for teaching because of limited ability or because they failed to adjust to the culture of the institution, none claimed this. Instead, they were critical of the programme or of attitudes of staff within it. Secondly they were confused about the role of men as primary teachers. The concerns which prevail among men in their first year of training as demonstrated by my survey of first year male students at Dunedin College of Education in 2000, were evident in reasons given by men who graduated in the early 90s but chose not to go teaching.

Men who chose not to go teaching after graduating, were often I believe demonstrating a simple lack of commitment to teaching. This may have surfaced during their training. However those surveyed or interviewed did not admit this. The reasons the men in my sample gave for deciding not to teach after graduation were predominantly gender-specific. Some believed it was because they were men that they had not found College rewarding. Others were so concerned about physical contact with children that they were fearful about teaching. Generally the men in this study were ambivalent about the role of males in primary schools. In the feminised environment of primary schools some felt isolated. These respondents lacked male models of and strategies for controlling and caring. This ambivalence appeared particularly pronounced for the *retrainers* in this sample and for the *school leavers*.

Men in my sample who were still teaching, ten years on, shared few specific characteristics but did have some attitudes in common. They had generally made a deliberate decision to choose teaching as a career and they maintained their focus and commitment throughout the three or four years required to complete either the Diploma or the Bachelor of Education. None repeated a year and most were positive about the

value of their teacher preparation course, though most felt the course should have been shorter and more practical. All but one, shared flats with fellow students.

The men interviewed who were still teaching in 2000 were secure in their roles as male primary teachers. They were emphatic about the value of men in primary schools specifically with relation to boys, and both men were conscious that they had different modes of communicating from women. These men did not see the role of male primary teachers as "nurturers" yet they were aware that they had a valuable pastoral role to perform particularly with boys. These men were not "softer types of men", contrary to the opinions of some men surveyed and interviewed both for my study and King's (1998) in the United States. These men were confident of their ability to "control" their students and they were aware of and undeterred by their roles as disciplinarians. They did not see this as compromising their capacity or ability to "care".

2. Recommendations or Areas for future research

As a result of this research, I have identified some broad areas worthy of further research. These take the form of considerations for those involved in teacher education. They signal sites for study, consideration and possibly action.

- ✱ While most teacher education providers have as their catch-phrase for the new millennium *We want to produce reflective practitioners* it is indicative of a narrow technicist perspective that places practitioner first and then urges students to reflect on what they have done. In effect the Dunedin College of Education and other providers teach students how to evaluate their teaching performance and they call this reflective practice. Teacher education may need to move away from this technicist model. Educators at Colleges of Education must be prepared to challenge their own conventional wisdoms and not simply practise critical appraisal of teaching techniques. Critiques should be located within the broader political and social perspective of schooling in New Zealand.

- ✱ Teacher Education should address teacher understandings of gendered processes specifically to enable such understandings to translate into changes for students. (Groundwater-Smith & Millan cited in Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p56) At the heart of the gender difference issue is an understanding of the nature of difference and its educational implications. Research into gender-related issues in teaching and learning outcomes (Hilke 1994; Weis and Fine 1993) conclude that learning styles and teaching styles differentially affect learning outcomes for boys and girls. However girls and boys should not be seen as homogenous groups. Factors such as socio-economic status, cultural background, disability, sexual preference and rural/urban location also create differences within as well as across genders. (Gender Equity Taskforce for Ministerial Council for Unemployment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 1997)
- ✱ It is important for teacher education to communicate research and debate about gender issues to student teachers. Such understandings will translate into changes for children in primary schools. It is important also that understandings about the nature of difference have implications for pedagogy within teacher education classes. Colleges of Education are the appropriate sites for demonstrating "best practice". They are also the best sites in which to prepare teachers to cope with a demanding teaching role and to celebrate the different facets (including gender) they bring to it. Unless we want every primary teacher in the same mould, we should be celebrating their diversity.
- ✱ Over the past decade Colleges of Education have included **gender issues** in their programmes. This previously implied looking at girls' disadvantage. This was a valid area of concern, and one that needed addressing. It was usually delivered by committed and forthright women who modelled assertiveness, by attacking all detractors. (Interview Subjects A and B) The effect of this was that trainee teachers became aware and informed of the issues pertaining to boy/girl dynamics in the classroom; the need for assertive female role models; and the liberating power of the "girls can do anything" slogan. Possibly however, it antagonised or frightened male trainees to whom only two avenues were open: To defend males against the

accusations of having subjugated women, *or* to take the “feminist” message on wholesale. Naturally the second option was preferable to being a minority (and chauvinistic) voice, but at times this appears to have manifest itself as guilt and/or confusion about how male primary teachers **can** or **should** behave.

- ✱ Australian educators Rollo Browne and Richard Fletcher (1996) are instituting programmes to address the behaviour, values and relationships of boys in schools. I have some unease about making “a subject” out of these concerns as we have done with other health/counselling areas such as ‘self esteem’, drug education and suicide.
- ✱ Teachers – both male and female – appear unsure about which behaviours are “natural”, which are “learned” and which should be encouraged or extinguished. Behaviourists define misbehaviour as behaviour which interferes with the learning of self or others. We need to be very certain about those behaviours which actually *facilitate* or *enhance* learning. Are they the same for boys as girls?
- ✱ This raises some interesting questions for educators with regard to learning styles. Do teachers instinctively adopt a different pedagogy to accommodate the different learning styles of boys and girls? Is this a good thing or is one learning style work more effective than another? Are we disadvantaging one group by “allowing them” to dictate the pedagogy that suits them? (Jones, 1991)
- ✱ Do teachers have their own pedagogical style based on the way they learned (possibly gendered)? And does that pedagogy when shared by a collective, become a culture? Is there a feminised or masculinised culture in some institutions, and if so, what does it look like? Does a more student-centred collaborative pedagogy favour girls and does the traditional ‘didactic’ teaching style which still exists in many Asian countries, favour boys? (Harding, in Murphy & Gipps, 1996)
- ✱ Many researchers, (Bird, Davies, Martino, Coote, and Rutledge cited in Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000, pp 152-175) have identified the literacy strengths in girls and the often antipathy and comparative weakness of boys in the language arts. When researchers focus on the effect of teachers on this process they tend to look at generalised

teaching ability rather than at the effects of teachers' specific subject preferences. For example Alton-Lee and Praat, (2000, p172) state: *Wilkinson (1997) presented one argument for the possible magnitude of the gender gap in achievement at the Year 5 level in the IEA study. This argument was the 'culture hypothesis' that the poorer achievement of boys occurred because boys identify less readily than girls with the values of their predominantly women teachers. This explanation is somewhat undermined by the differential achievement of boys in different subject areas also taught by female teachers.*

Unfortunately this line of thought leads female teachers to take the 'culture hypothesis' as criticism of their teaching, when in fact the idea of 'a feminine culture' pervading primary schools is not an indictment on teaching standards, but merely a reflection of a dominant culture. I suggest that that culture (referred to as feminisation) may well pervade Colleges of Education and impact similarly on the learning of men and women. Teachers of different genders may develop a pedagogical style which suits not only their subject, but also by implication, their gender. (Shaw, 1995, pp.106-128) Addressing the needs of reluctant learners in science and mathematics and reluctant learners in literacy in teacher education, may call on different teaching skills.

- ✱ Male and female teachers have different ways of implementing the curriculum. (Gabriel and Smithson cited in Cushman, 1999) They also have different backgrounds, cultures, subject strengths and interests. More male teachers – like more teachers from other cultures, classes or regions – give our schools diversity. New Zealand education is not managing the diversity of students well, (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000) evidenced by the widest home language gap in literacy performance of any country. Perhaps the fact that the primary teaching profession continues to reproduce itself has something to do with this.
- ✱ What should concern ERO is not so much what Colleges of Education can do to “train” people how to teach mathematics and science, but why those school leavers with maths and science strengths are not being attracted into teaching. The men in this research who responded to the postal questionnaire overwhelmingly claimed

mathematics and science as their favourite subjects. While this is most likely evidence of the subject preferences of boys and girls at secondary schools in the 1980s, it is also disappointing if we have failed to enlist these trainees with maths and science preferences into primary teaching. Do we fail to accommodate and address the needs of pre-service students with different subject preferences from most teacher-educators?

- ✱ Teacher education providers must reflect on the delivery methods of their own establishments. If we want the teaching profession to be more representative of our society we need at the very least to attract and accommodate more males. There are issues relating not simply to **what we teach** but also to **the way we teach**.
- ✱ Although teacher education advocates "addressing the different and specific needs of children in primary classrooms," the educators themselves are often guilty of failing to address these different 'needs' in tertiary classrooms. Is this academic sexism?
- ✱ In teacher education students from minority groups (and this includes men) need support. Colleges of Education might consider mentoring systems using authentic role-model mentors as proposed by Boyer and Baptiste (1996) or Reference groupings or "clubs" whereby mature students, school leavers or samplers are grouped separately as a variant on the suggestions of Nias (1985) or Thornton (1999).

Concluding Remarks

My case study is a relatively small one drawing its sample of twenty from a pool of 42 who comprised the 1990 primary cohort of men at Dunedin College of Education. But it has been an enlightening one. The in-depth interviews have provided insights into the motivations, attitudes and concerns of six men representing different groups within that pool of 42. Those different groups were: those who did not complete their teacher education courses; those who graduated but did not go teaching; those who taught for a few years but gave up within seven; and those who were still teaching at the time of this study in 2000. The men also fell into three broad age bands which I classified as *school*

leavers, samplers and *retrainers*. Members of each of these groups shared some characteristics. My research identified those factors which contributed to some men:

1. failing to complete their teacher education course
2. choosing not to go teaching after graduating
3. teaching for less than seven years
4. remaining in the primary teaching service ten years on from their enrolment at Dunedin College of Education in 1990

As with most research, this study raises more questions than it answers. It has acted as a springboard into other research and issues. For example, it prompted my survey of first year male pre-service students' concerns about teaching in 2000. It highlights some areas that teacher educators should keep in mind when formulating recruitment and selection procedures. It raises some questions about the dominance of female primary teachers as teacher educators, and the preparation provided to male teacher trainees who may feel isolated within a women-dominated profession. More importantly, it should encourage teacher educators to address their own delivery and to reflect on the relationship of gender and teaching style. Teacher educators must themselves become reflective practitioners if they hope to effectively prepare a diverse population for primary teaching in New Zealand schools.

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APPENDIX A

English Department
Dunedin College of Education
Dunedin

March 24 2000

The Research and Ethics Committee
Dunedin College of Education

Dear Dr John Smith and Dr Gill Thomas,

You recently approved my research proposal for the Master of Philosophy thesis that I am studying for at Massey University.

Now, I need your permission to retrieve and use information on students from the college archives. The data required, which will enable me to track a single cohort of male trainees who began at Dunedin College of Education in 1990, are specifically:

1. The roll of first year enrolments in the primary division 1990
2. The roll of study leave and second year students in 1991
3. The roll of study leave and third year students in 1992
4. The roll of third year students in 1993
5. The roll of third year students in 1994

As I want to follow up a group of these students to survey them, I would also like access to their home addresses at that time.

All of these data are available, but I need your permission before I can ask Student Records to surrender them to me.

Please advise me as soon as possible as I am eager to begin work.

Yours faithfully

Gaynor Corkery
Senior Lecturer
Dunedin College of Education

APPENDIX B

Dunedin College of Education
Private Bag, Union Street
Dunedin

April 18 2000.

Dear

I was an English lecturer at Dunedin College of Education when you were there. I am doing some research this year into the recruitment and retention of males into the primary teaching service, and am trying to track down the cohort of men who began primary training at Dunedin College of Education in 1990 – the year I began as a lecturer at the College. I want to find out where every one of you is and what he is doing 10 years on.

There were 42 of you – A1 and A2S - who embarked on your training that year. I am attempting to track down as many as possible to answer the following questions:

1. Who did not complete their training – and why?
2. Who graduated but did not teach?
3. Who taught for a while but then left the profession to do something else?
4. Who graduated and immediately did something else but took up teaching at a later date?
5. Who went teaching and has been primary teaching for the last 10 years?
6. Who is still involved in education but not primary teaching?

In short – what happened to you all?

I hope you will help me by filling out the enclosed questionnaire.

I will enclose the list of all your names to refresh your memory and because you may be able to help me track down other men of your year.

In my research I will not identify you by name. Instead I will give you a number on the basis of your alphabetical order. You may be interested in my findings though, so if you are happy for me to let your peers know where you are, you can indicate that on your form. I hope to interview a cross section of you who fall into each of the 6 categories listed above. If you don't live too far away and are prepared to talk to me and a tape recorder for about an hour I would be delighted. (Perhaps we could even do it over a telephone).

I look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible – and even to talking with you.
Best regards.

Gaynor Corkery
Senior Lecturer
English Department

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire For men in the 1990 cohort at Dunedin College of Education

Name: _____

1. You began teacher training at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. How old were you then?

2. What school or work had you come from?

3. Why did you choose to go to Teachers' College?

4. Who influenced you in this decision?

5. What were your best subjects at school?

6. Where did you live while you were at DCE? Home/ hostel / flat / other?

7. What did you think of the primary programme at DCE at the time?

8. What do you think of that programme now – 10 years on?

9. If you repeated a year – why was that?

10. If you did not complete the course or graduate – why was that?

11. If you did not complete the teacher training course – do you have any regrets now – after 10 years?

12. What have you been doing for the last 10 years?

13. What plans do you have for the next 10 years?

14. Would you be happy to be interviewed? Yes/ No

15. Would you be happy for other men in your year to know where you are? Yes/ No

Questionnaire
For men in the 1990 cohort at Dunedin College of Education

Name: _____

1. You began teacher training at Dunedin College of Education in 1990. How old were you then?

2. What school or work had you come from?

3. Why did you choose to go to Teachers' College?

- 4 Who influenced you in this decision?

- 5 What were your best subjects at school?

6. Where did you live while you were at DCE? Home/ hostel / flat / other?

7. What did you think of the primary programme at DCE at the time?

8. What do you think of that programme now – 10 years on?

9. What did you do the year after you graduated?

10. Did you go teaching? When and for how long?

11. Where are you employed now?

12. What do you think of primary teaching as a career for men?

11. What plans do you have for the next 10 years?

14. Would you be happy to be interviewed? Yes/ No

15. Would you be happy for other men in your year to know where you are? Yes/ No

APPENDIX E

TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT A

Gaynor	Cast your mind back to Teacher's College – you began in 1990, you graduated in 1992. Now, you were 39 at the time which made you one of the older students starting then. Why? Why did you go to College?
Subject A	I had been doing papers at Massey, so I had actually formulated the idea years earlier that I didn't really want to carry on in the trade that I was in. And having been a sports coach referee and all that sort of stuff, and I had quite a bit to do with the local school, so I thought that I got on with the kids and staff and so on, so I thought I could handle that. I sort of thought I would like to teach, so I started doing papers at Massey. I did two papers a year, so I had about five papers when I started at College. I missed out the first time I had a go, so that was my second attempt to get into College.
Gaynor	Why didn't you think of doing it straight from school?
Subject A	I was quite pleased to get out of school really, and I had no... I had never really... I went through high school without ever really thinking of having to get a job at the end of it or anything else. So it was just when I got to the sixth form and really did rather badly that my father said, "I'm not going to support you for another year so you'd better get a job". I thought, "Oh, dear, I'd better do something". So I applied for a job and got it at a place where two of my uncles worked and so then I just sort of stuck there for years and years and years.
Gaynor	And did the Massey work as well?
Subject A	Well I didn't do anything, I just did my trade exams and so on. And once I got Advanced Trade Cert I said "Yippee, that's it. I'm finished. I'll never do another day's study in my life". And then after a few years I got bored and suppose started getting my act together and I started doing courses through work for work. And I thought, "Oh, I quite enjoy this".
Gaynor	"And I'm good at it."
Subject A	Yeah, so I started... decided that, really, the job wasn't going to be what I wanted and that I could do more and that I would be of some use to the community I thought.
Gaynor	Aha. So what happened in that final... well you tried twice, ok, so it was sort of you got to that stage...
Subject A	The first time I tried they said to me that I didn't... I passed all their criteria except that I hadn't had enough time working with kids in schools. And I sort of attempted to point out that I actually worked 50 hours a week which made it rather difficult, but that didn't seem to help.
Gaynor	You would have been a parent by that stage, weren't you?
Subject A	Yeah. So, well my kids were actually fairly well down the track by then. Because I didn't do that until my wife went to work, so the kids were sort of settled in school.
Gaynor	Do you think you were better able to make that decision at 39?
Subject A	Oh yeah.
Gaynor	You didn't sort of think back and think, "I wish I'd come straight here from school"?
Subject A	No. That wouldn't be universal. But certainly for me, I wouldn't have come straight from school. I was a horrible teenager. I wasn't very good.
Gaynor	So what particular skills and attributes did you bring, do you think, to the teaching profession? What made you think you'd be good at it?
Subject A	Well...
Gaynor	See, I know lots, but I want you to....
Subject A	There are quite a few, I mean, the sports, the music, literacy – I was quite literate...
Gaynor	Yeah, very.
Subject A	Yeah. So I thought really that I should have had all the skills. As it turned out it's a whole lot harder to actually use the skills than you think.
Gaynor	What do you mean?

Subject A	Well, you seem to get tied down with all sorts of other stuff, that... like I found that when I went teaching that in fact I worked so damn hard that I had to give up everything that got me into teaching in the first place.
Gaynor	Good point.
Subject A	So what happened was, that I didn't have the energy to play a lot of sport, referee in the weekends. In the last year they told me that I wasn't putting enough time and I'd have to give up the band. I said to them that it was the only thing that's left of me, you know?
Gaynor	What about your story-telling?
Subject A	Just... I still used a bit of it in the classroom. But not to the extent that I would have thought. So yeah, as I say, I went in thinking that I probably had the right sort of skills, but in actual fact it didn't really come off. I don't know why. I do know why some of it didn't come off, but that may be another question.
Gaynor	Do you want to tell me now, or do you want to wait till I ask it?
Subject A	I just... I'm still struggling with it because I think that as a male you actually have a particular set of problems in the classroom with kids who feel it really necessary to challenge you because they don't know how else to handle them. And I spent a lot of time wondering what the hell was going on. You know, what is the problem here?
Gaynor	Boys or girls?
Subject A	Both. So I got on really well with some classes. I really enjoyed my first year teaching.
Gaynor	Where was that?
Subject A	That was at ***
Gaynor	What age?
Subject A	Standard two and three. So the youngest were seven, so seven to nine basically. I had a really good year there, but that was about it.
Gaynor	What changed?
Subject A	I think that the school was very supportive, very strictly run, but very supportive. So that you never had real problems working out what to do in any area.
Gaynor	Do you mean curriculum or behaviour management?
Subject A	Yeah, curriculum and behaviour. Well there weren't any behaviour problems because they just didn't allow it, pretty much. They didn't have kids that misbehaved over there in those days anyway. Not much. I had a bit of trouble with some girls who disliked me – that was a shock. But anyway...
Gaynor	Well, okay. I was going to ask about the survey that you completed for me, you said that you had some teachers who had inspired you to go to Teachers' College. Want to tell me about that?
Subject A	Yeah, well, I got on quite well with my son's teacher at ***. Although he was quite a nervous man and he wouldn't actually allow adults in his class very often, even though he's probably one of the better teachers around. I spent quite a bit of time talking to him and I was in fact one of the few adults that he would actually allow in his class, and he'd never have a student, never had students or...
Gaynor	Why? What did he say?
Subject A	Well, because he got so nervous.
Gaynor	He's just shy.
Subject A	He just shrivelled up. But his classes were really good. And also my wife's sister, was a teacher. She's given it up as well. She was a teacher in those days that when I first started she was working in *** I think she was at. And she was really good. So I actually knew a lot of the teachers around *** got on quite well with them.
Gaynor	How did you find College?
Subject A	Well, I really loved College. You know, I think there's probably a few things that I would change if I... well I don't know if I would change them. There were a few things that didn't probably work for me.
Gaynor	Like what?
Subject A	Probably because I was older. I think there was a lot of time and energy put into self-development and I can see why that is for most of the students.
Gaynor	Like school leavers?

Subject A	Yeah, but I felt that a lot of that was a bit pointless for me because I'd done a lot of other stuff and I would've liked more time on very, very practical things like reading books, which I really struggled with when I got out into schools. Especially when I was sort of left alone. Like I didn't seem to struggle too much at *** school when everything was very systematic and it seemed to work really well. When I got to other schools where they didn't have the equipment, they didn't have the gear, you sort of struggled really hard to work out what to read these kids... things like that? It just frustrated me so much and I spent so much time and effort trying to get these things set up that, you know, it sort of... I thought, "This is what I needed more of", but I didn't know that at the time. So I felt that maths – I thought we needed more practice in actually teaching maths to kids, but I don't know how you'd do... I think the apprenticeship system probably appeals to me. I know it can't be done fairly or evenly...
Gaynor	You mean like working alongside one teacher?
Subject A	Yeah, a mentoring system or something like that. Just to, like an AP sort of thing. See, what happened was (I can't really blame the school,)... but when I came out of College to my first year teaching what the school did was they booked the principal's teaching times and reading recovery times and made a position for me, which got me through for a year. But it meant that I didn't get the sort of help that I probably should have got. Which wouldn't have mattered had I stayed at that school for another year, but it was only a one-year position – and I found that being cast out on my own straight after that was really tough for me. And I think partly being an older male, everyone thinks that you can do it, so they don't help you. Possibly, I don't know, maybe my attitude made people think I could do it. But in actual fact you're floundering away and you don't know what's going on and how to do it, and nobody helps you. And I found that particularly because of what happened, when I finished at *** School and I went to *** School to replace the principal. It was a two teacher school and the other lady was the junior teacher and really wasn't able to help greatly in what I was doing anyway.
Gaynor	You were like a sole charge?
Subject A	Yeah, almost.
Gaynor	In your second year.
Subject A	So, and what happened... I mean I think we did some really good stuff and overall I quite enjoyed it. But oh the kids! But we had one we expelled, a seven year old. It was unreal.
Gaynor	How many kids did you have like that?
Subject A	Oh it was only... it was a real small class. Sixteen, I think it was, sixteen or seventeen, standard two to four, or standard one to four. And oh, there were just some awful kids. Some of them were probably quite nice, but a few were really terrible. But, yeah, it was a real eye-opener. And then I went to *** (a rural area school) and that was not good.
Gaynor	Why?
Subject A	Well, I didn't get on particularly well.
Gaynor	Was it the school rather than the teaching? Or was it the town?
Subject A	Yeah, a bit of all of that, yeah. Yeah, I didn't get on particularly well, I didn't get on all that well. I got on okay with some of the staff, but I didn't find anyone very helpful.
	Even in town it's not something that I really noticed. I mean, I was there for a year, or a year and a half overall, and I suppose I knew a few people in the town but I didn't really... I suppose in that year and a half I went to the homes of three other teachers in that time I suppose.
	So yeah, I just didn't... weren't on the same wavelength.
Gaynor	So what happened after there? How long were you there?
Subject A	I was there for a term, then I had a year with a form one class which was quite good – quite enjoyed it...
Gaynor	Same place?
Subject A	And then I had another term and then we agreed to part.
Gaynor	So what did you do after that? Did you come back to another job, or did you chuck it in?
Subject A	No, I chucked it in. I went and had a go at selling real estate and didn't sell anything.
Gaynor	Real estate!

Subject A	Yeah. Well, I couldn't think... nobody else wanted me. I mean, that was the... I mean I understood that that would be something of a problem, but once you're as an older male, the teaching qualification is not really very portable.
Gaynor	Isn't it?
Subject A	Not at all portable. Nobody really wants to know. So basically you're in a situation where you have to buy your own job I think. Yeah, so that was, you know. I went overseas for three months and wandered around Europe and all that – that was lovely.
Gaynor	Do you think it's especially hard for people – for men – to be teachers?
Subject A	I do. For example, I mean if you look at the school I'm at now, the staff room's absolutely full all the time, but the caretaker's a male, I'm a male teacher aide and the principal's a male. And that's normal wherever you go. I mean, when I was at the Area School there were males on the staff, but they were all in the senior school. There were no other males in the junior school. So the women all worked together and you can just sort of... you don't fit in.
Gaynor	What about in the classroom? Do you think it's difficult being a male in the classroom?
Subject A	Um, I did, yeah I did... I think it's very difficult because the kids look at men differently. You see, most... if you look at the average teacher, they're nothing like the kids' parents. Now that's either really good or really bad.
Gaynor	Yeah, and yet for lots of kids they don't have dads at the moment. Is that relevant?
Subject A	Well, yeah, that's part of it too. But most of them have men around somewhere, so you're either not enough like their dad or you're too much like their dad – and it's a real problem, because, you know, they do have a different attitude to men. The women, female teachers are sort of a bit like mums or aunties, you know they sort of, you can get by on a lot of things.
Gaynor	So you think for men the kids are more likely to treat them as a dad.
Subject A	Yeah. Possibly.
Gaynor	Where does that leave the school leavers, then? The young boys who go out teaching when they're only 22?
Subject A	Well, I don't know. You'd have to ask them. I can't imagine whether they just want to stay at school – which I felt a lot of the guys I was with did – they just wanted to stay in the system as long as they could. Because they were all... I look at the students we've got at the school at the moment, they're out there playing cricket with the kids at lunchtime, you know, that's what they like to do. And that's fine. If you can do that, that's good. I never... when I was teaching I never felt terribly comfortable playing sport with the kids at lunchtime because I can't, having been a referee for so many years, I can't abide cheats – it just annoys me so much.
Gaynor	Okay. One of my questions was what about at College? You said at College there were some things not as important as others and there were some things you missed out on. Was it easy being a male at College? I'm asking that because basically the staff are predominantly women, the students are predominately women, and for you coming from the workforce it would have been the first time that you would've been in a minority. It certainly wasn't the last, but it would have been the first time. How did you cope with that?

Subject A	Basically I enjoyed College. I felt that we did get treated a little differently, but it was really difficult because when we were there we were getting all this sort of propaganda from lecturers and everyone else that the squeaky wheel gets the oil and boys talk all the time and you get paid attention to and the girls don't. But at the same time we knew that the lecturers required us to ask questions and talk because otherwise no-one said anything and everyone sat there like a bunch of puddings, you know, so really it was sort of quite difficult. The only time I really struggled was when I did this story telling at an open day and I was surrounded by all these signs about women's dreams and what men have done to them. I remember as vividly to this day I was really wild about it, because I think I had a go at *** (a female lecturer) about it because it was a lecturer who put all that stuff up, I said "That woman is marking my papers. What sort of deal can I expect to get from someone who thinks like that?" So that was about the only time I really got wild about it. I felt that when we went out on section and say in your second year that people like *** and myself, were given the basket cases to work with, you know.
Gaynor	What, the bad kids?
Subject A	Yeah, you know, kids totally unable to read or kids who couldn't behave. A lot of the time we seemed to cop the – well not that I really complained, I can understand why that happens – but...
Gaynor	Was it because you were men or because you were older men?
Subject A	Older men! Yeah, I think it was older as much as anything. But yeah, that seemed to happen a lot. I thought, well that was okay, but it's just another difference. But I thought for the most part most of the lecturers treated us really well, we got on fine. I didn't have too many problems in College at all, I really enjoyed it.
Gaynor	What sort of teacher are you? What are you like in the classroom?
Subject A	Well I was noisy and untidy.
Gaynor	Were you? Noisy and untidy! I can't imagine you being noisy.
Subject A	Yeah, I was fairly noisy I think, and untidy. Certainly untidy. No I tended to try and keep everything as much as possible child-led, so that I wouldn't do things for kids that I see done for them. Like in the classes that I've been in. I wouldn't do any of that stuff. You know, if a kid wants something... if something has to be cut out – they pick up the scissors, they cut it out. I'm not going to photocopy nine thousand sheets for them and cut it all out. I think that they get far too much help, that was probably another problem that I had with some of them because they felt they should've got photocopied sheets and I'd say "Hey, you know. If you want the page ruled in four, you rule it in four – that's what a ruler's for." It shouldn't be a problem. But they felt that they should've got it all done, all they have to do is fill in the gaps. So we had a few differences on that. Yeah. So I liked the work to look like it was done by kids. I was into that. Yeah, I don't know much more beyond that. I probably didn't use the music and stuff as much as I would've if I was having another go now. But I don't know.
Gaynor	In your experience as a teacher and also as a teacher aide, you've probably seen some teachers that you think are very, very good. What kind of attributes have they got? What do you think now makes a good teacher, ten years on?
Subject A	Don't know. And that's really perplexing. I really don't know what makes a good teacher. Some of the things I see that work, I couldn't do.
Gaynor	Like what?
Subject A	Well, I'm not that tough. And I can't... I think women are far more – well to be horrible about it – far more vicious than men, and consequently most of the kids have worked that out too. And it works... I don't think men hold grudges as long as women do and kids know that. So they know it will blow over. Whereas with some women teachers that I know, it doesn't blow over, you make a mistake on day one, it's still with you on the 20 th of December. And I think that's one thing that does work. Because you've gotta... like a teacher at *** School used to say to me "They like you, and that's fine. But there's gotta be some fear there, you know. There's gotta be a bit of fear there and you don't have it". True enough.
Gaynor	Fear though!

Subject A	Yeah, well, I think it was probably too strong a word, but what she wanted was just a bit more in-your-face I suppose, I don't know.
Gaynor	Are you the same sort of teacher as you are a father, would you say? With your own kids?
Subject A	Probably. I don't know. I mean my wife says that I'm quite tough on the boys, I can't imagine how it can be. She thinks that I am. But I'm not really.
Gaynor	But if it comes across as toughness, then that probably is the toughness that you want in the classroom, it doesn't have to be fear, does it? You know. It's why your kids are still living at home. It's not because they fear you. No, it's because they like you. What else? What haven't I asked you? One question is do you think men have a different role in the primary school than women?
Subject A	I think in some schools they're used that way, I don't know whether... because of the kind of people that I see that are male teachers, I don't think there is that much difference – I think most of them are, as I said before, fairly soft anyway. And there's not really a lot of difference in the way they do things. It's not like in the olden days where the man teacher did all the punishing and stuff...
Gaynor	Strapping!
Subject A	That doesn't happen.
Gaynor	Because there's no strapping.
Subject A	Yeah, that's right. So, yeah, I don't know that they are used any different. I think the men obviously have to be very careful what they do in the schools – I don't worry too much myself. But you do have to be very careful and even things like I noticed at school the reading recovery teachers all have their doors shut. No man could do that... just could not do it.
Gaynor	I'm not sure women do it anymore either, do they?
Subject A	I'm not sure if they do. But things like that. Because we have so many kids who are basket cases, to be honest, that every spare space in our school is taken up with some aide or some incoming specialist working with the kid everywhere. Some days it's just like a Turkish bazaar, there are so many adults in the place working with these kids – it's just amazing.
Gaynor	So are you a teacher aide to one child or...
Subject A	Yeah, I work with one child.
Gaynor	A special needs child?
Subject A	Yep.
Gaynor	The direction that it's probably going is that teaching is perceived to be a women's job more than a man's job these days and we certainly don't seem to be attracting boys to the profession. Does it matter – does it matter if we end up with schools staffed only by women?
Subject A	I think it does. Because even though, you know, men are not used for different purposes as such, they are different, they have different ways of looking at things. I get really frustrated working in a school where most of the adults can't actually work a tape recorder but are teaching science, you know? And you see year after year of teachers teaching science who actually have no idea of how anything works. I'm not saying that every man does, but a lot of them spend more time fixing the car though and stuff like that. That may sound old fashioned, but a lot of the teachers I see just don't have a lot of skills that I think are probably needed. So you can get kids who go through right to form one or two, and haven't ever come across anybody who has done anything but teach, for a start off.
Gaynor	That's right. Straight from school into school.
Subject A	Or been a mum. Okay, there're lots of skills there, but they are only a certain skill. Yeah, so the skills aspect is one thing, but just the different attitudes that you have to everything, to all sorts of things. You just don't come across them. It's not easy to do as a man though.
Gaynor	Why not?

Subject A	Well... I don't know. Because you're always treading the line between being... you can't be too masculine in the school because there's no roughhousing, there's no sort of overtly masculine things that you can do anyway.
Gaynor	There used to be, didn't there? There used to be, it used to be more masculine. Perhaps it is in high schools – say boy's schools or...
Subject A	Could well be... yeah, I'm sure there are.
Gaynor	It seems like the model for male teachers now is in an androgynous one, you know? The idea of being neither female or male, we are just somewhere in between and just a teacher.
Subject A	Yeah, I don't know about that either. I mean I certainly... I think that if male teachers adopt that attitude – and a lot of the male teachers I know that are still surviving tend to be a bit that way, you know like they are on the softer side of masculine – that will cause more and more children to challenge them because that's not conforming to their stereotype of what a male should do. And that's one of the problems that you have, you know?
Gaynor	So is it a good job for a male?
Subject A	Most kids ask me if I'm gay. It's one of the first things they ask.
Gaynor	Do they? Why?
Subject A	I wear coloured shirts, that really upsets a lot of them. And I don't coach the rugby at school, so yeah, it's one of the first things I get asked at every school I go to. Every school I've ever been to.
Gaynor	That surprises me. Well, if one of your sons wanted to go into primary service, teaching, would you recommend it?
Subject A	Well, no. My youngest son was considering going secondary teaching and I didn't recommend that. I just said to think very carefully about it.
Gaynor	What did you say to put him off.
Subject A	I just told him to think back over the last few years when he was at *** High School and think again about whether he really wanted to do it. Were any of the teachers that he really liked when he was there - still there? And I don't think they are. The ones that he really liked have all shipped out.
Gaynor	Yeah, that's pretty telling, isn't it?
Subject A	And some of them, there was some really good teachers who have all gone, I mean they haven't all left teaching, but they've all left here. You get left with the dregs.
Gaynor	Right, thank you.

APPENDIX F

TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT B

Gaynor	What did you do when you left school?
Subject B	I don't know, I suppose I did a lot of things. I suppose in one way my parents wanted me to do a degree so I started and I did a... I started doing a geography degree and I did a couple of papers and was really not so good at it. I was more interested in sport actually.
Gaynor	But you told me in my survey that your good subjects were maths and chemistry?
Subject B	Yep, yep, but I was not really... they were indeed my strong suits, but I didn't really like the way they taught maths and chemistry at Varsity, only because my chemistry and maths... I really didn't like maths at Varsity either. It was very hard. Maths at Polytech where I was... it was more like going back to school, so when I eventually did maths again I did really well at it. Well, initially I did very bad at it, but my second crack at it I did very well at it. So I think I'm not what you would call a brilliant academic, ay?
Gaynor	Well sometimes you grow into those things. You know, sometimes you get better as you get older, don't you find? At some things?
Subject B	Definitely things become a lot clearer when you're a lot older. I found that out by doing a bit of tutoring. I'm tutoring a fifteen year old now, a fourteen year old at third form maths, and things I thought were really hard at maths have now become so clear that it's sort of obviously obvious. It wasn't obvious at the time, but I think that was the fault of teachers. I also started Varsity. When I went to Varsity I was... I remember, I was [playing sport] for New Zealand as well at the time, and I was sort of more interested I suppose in performing and doing overseas things and doing [playing sport]. A lot of the reasons I dropped out of Varsity, ah T-Coll, was because of [playing sport] and also because I hated the place so much. The way they taught teachers, I thought it was demeaning. But anyway, that's beside the point. So anyway, I remember getting a geography exam back and I thought "Jesus I hate this, this is so bad this exam". It was so badly written, and I think I failed, I got a D, and I thought, "Jesus, this is terrible". So I went hard out on literacy for a year and did creative writing and then I came to your class and I got 17 out of 20, and I remember my mark and I thought "Gosh, that's pretty amazing for a guy who really couldn't write to save himself".
Gaynor	You obviously could.

Subject B	And T-coll was my first year after that experience. And I was still interested in [playing sport]. This was 1990 at the time and I got sent for the New Zealand team and I was so disillusioned with T-coll, with the way that they... the demeaning way they taught teachers, it just didn't interest me at all. I thought this was just absolutely unbelievable, so I was put off. Which is quite sad really because I really felt that at the end of the day... in fact I was writing to somebody the other day, I said "Well, here I am, I'm a bloody engineer", it's just an interesting profession I suppose, but I'm a civil... I mucked around after T-coll and did a NZC Electrical and hated that and thought "Well, gosh, I'm getting on in age now, I'd better sort of find something I quite like". And I found with NZCE Civil paper, I did that and it was like it was written for me, you know? I just got As and Bs all the time so I didn't have to really try. And it was so obviously obvious it was obvious – if I can say it like that. So I did engineering and did roading for a couple of years, three years working for a contractor looking after State Highway Coastal Otago Roding Network and 50 staff. And then I left that job and went to design roads in *** and I was commuting backwards and forwards there on a daily basis. And I thought it started there, all these people do this every day. And then I thought at the end of the year I thought "No. I live in Dunedin. I don't have to do this job. I want to find a job in Dunedin where I don't have to spend two hours of my precious life sitting on my bum travelling backwards and forward to *** of all places". This job as a landfill engineer came up and I thought well, there aren't too many people who know anything about landfills, and I'm an engineer and a consultant and a contractor, so I suppose I can be....
Gaynor	Yeah, ideal. So how long have you been doing this?
Subject B	Three years. It's a very specialist area at work. And engineering - it's like pioneer engineering, 1990 resource management came along basically and changed the face of landfills – it was a do-anything-you-like, as long as you don't compromise the end result. So, but there's nothing, no standard guideline written to guide you on how to do whatever you want to do. So we make up standards and guidelines and we call them manuals for dummies, and systems and forms and data recording sheets and data analysis of reporting and stuff like that. So that's what I do.
Gaynor	So you're sort of at the cutting edge of the new technology...
Subject B	As well as ideas that spring into my mind, like perhaps we need a fence here or perhaps that would look quite good – some plants, perhaps we'd chuck some rhododendrons in there.
Gaynor	Oh, you do that as well?
Subject B	Yeah, all that... I've probably done about maybe \$150,000 worth of planting out there, the landfill. So when you go out there and think of the... you drive down the rows of trees and flaxes and stuff like that – well, that was me!
Gaynor	So I know who planted these. Oh, that's interesting. But you said on that survey that you always wanted to be a teacher, and still do.
Subject B	Absolutely. And still do. In fact, as I said to you, I was writing a letter to somebody the other day and said, "Here I am about..." it was my sister actually "Here I am, I'm an engineer – I hate it". She says she hates her job. I said, "It's boring as hell, you know. It doesn't have any people interaction. I sit in front of the computer all day and I bloody crunch numbers and write instructions and develop systems and analyse data and write reports and stuff like that". And there's no... unless something's going wrong like a complaint or something like that, you know there's very little people interaction. You do the odd sort of public speech and stuff like that, about, you know, the landfill and waste minimisation and recycling and stuff like that and I've done the odd school tour actually as well. Just on that subject and on the landfill, where it's going, what's happening out there and stuff like that. But other than that, you know, it's pretty boring really.
Gaynor	You said though that you still want to teach...

Subject B	I wanted to feed young minds, you know, my aim of... I was a coach and I thought I was quite good at it. I was able to portray – I thought – portray information very well to people and do it in a way that was fun and entertaining and they enjoyed themselves being sort of with me and my [sports] crew, and I wanted to try and refine those skills into teaching and train as a teacher. Fortunately I was in the shortened course because I had half a degree somewhere along the line, I was able to go into the *** class. And I thought that's great – I'll get it done in two years and get out of there. Get into it. But I went there and it was just... it was really belittling I thought. I remember going to maths classes and playing with bloody blocks, you know, yellow blocks and pink blocks and those orange blocks and counting them up and it was so boring. It was just... the only stimulation you really got was doing... well the Māori stuff I didn't really enjoy at all. I hated that. And I thought there was such a strong emphasis on it you just about had to have some Māori blood in you to appreciate the culture and I felt that perhaps in Dunedin it's... from a Dunedin perspective being a Dunedin lad, it's not that much... it's not that relevant for down here. It's thrust down your throat at T-coll and the relevance in society and Dunedin is pretty small.
Gaynor	I think College policies...
	INTERRUPTION
Gaynor	You were telling me about College and about being in maths class and it was all too simple, and Māori – you didn't think it was appropriate for down here.
Subject B	Yep. And I remember sort of speaking to... ***, what was the first name?
Gaynor	***?
Subject B	No. A woman. ***?
Subject B	Yeah, *** She was our, what do you call it...
Gaynor	Tutor ?
Subject B	Something like that. Or she seemed to have a lot to do with our class.
Gaynor	English perhaps?
Subject B	And, yeah, that subject is really badly taught I reckon. I can't really say in my whole life I've even had an inspirational English teacher. It really pissed me off actually. That sort of side. And I had a lot of trouble through Varsity and stuff like because of poor English skills. Yeah, I remember expressing an opinion about Māori and stuff like that at the start of the year when she was trying to promote the case, and I thought that, well, okay, what I was saying was perhaps not quite PC enough for her. Plus this trying to have a discussion about equity and what have you, and I thought, well, okay, this sort of started an interesting debate. I put a viewpoint on it out and it was really sort of like... I remember being quite hammered about equity and Treaty of Waitangi issues and stuff like that. And I thought that my viewpoint wasn't all that respected and she sort of really got her back up against me for trying to... I don't think she realised where I was coming from. All I was trying to do was promote a discussion and everything, and it was that particular sort of first encounter that we had, it was sort of like a defensive thing and I didn't find her input very helpful for me.
	INTERRUPTION
Subject B	So yeah, that's what happened at T-coll and my brief experience there. I enjoyed your class.
Gaynor	Good. Tell me, was it easy being a male at College? Because I mean it's predominantly female staff, predominately female students.
Subject B	Well, I didn't find that...
Gaynor	It didn't matter to you? Probably because you were in *** class, there's more men in that course anyway.
Subject B	Yeah, there was a few of us there in that course.
Gaynor	But for some it's quite daunting for the first time in your life being in a minority. What high school did you go to?
Subject B	I went to a boys' school for three years and then a co-ed for two years. But I could imagine if you were from a single sex school you would find it a bit of a challenge.
Gaynor	Yeah, I think you would.

Subject B	Girls are funny when you first sort of come from that environment...
Gaynor	Yeah, because you've got to work with them too. And you know, it's not just a case of having girlfriends and boyfriends.
	INTERRUPTION
Gaynor	Right. So it wasn't hard being a male there. You must have had some postings while you were at College. How did you enjoy those?
Subject B	Those were the most practical things out. They were very good.
Gaynor	Yeah. What sort of teacher are you?
Subject B	Well, they posted me to new entrants, which was horrific... if you don't mind me saying... it was horrific. I found I couldn't even speak a normal conversation language with them because some of the words you were using were too complex for their intellectual ability at that particular point in time. And I never really wanted to teach new entrants. I ended up teaching them and I had absolutely no idea how... it was just shocking. I really didn't enjoy it at all.
Gaynor	So did they give you a posting with older kids after that?
Subject B	No.
Gaynor	That was it?
Subject B	I had seven year olds and new entrants, which were always, I found, too young. And just really hard going.
Gaynor	So you never really got a taste of, say, form one and two kids? Did you?
Subject B	No.
Gaynor	Well, okay.
Subject B	It's funny, because they ask you what age group you want to teach and you tick the box for that age group, and then you're sort of thrust into this new entrant environment and that's a totally different style of teaching than teaching form one and two kids. I think.
Gaynor	In what way?
Subject B	There was a girl in our class who couldn't construct the letter 'L', you know. And yet there were people in that class who could write stories. So there was this huge gap between the new kids on the block, so to speak, and the ones who had been there for most of the year sort of thing. And, yeah, I found it really hard going.
Gaynor	Do you think it was harder because you were a male?
Subject B	Yeah. For that age group, yeah.
Gaynor	What do you think would have made a good teacher at that level?
Subject B	Well, I think you need specialist skills at that level. Like you need to have ability to... young children have a very sort of short attention span, and you sort of really need to keep on your toes really for that particular age group. It's a very difficult age group to teach I think.
Gaynor	What about now you're a father? Do you think you'd be better at that age group?
Subject B	Yeah, most definitely. I mean, well my experience with five year olds was nothing. I had a long time lifetime of nothing at that particular point. And here we were trying to teach that group which I found very difficult, a very hard group to teach. I didn't know how to even relate to their behaviour like telling them off is even a very difficult thing to do. I found it difficult anyway because they're so sort of small.
Gaynor	Do you think it's hard for men to teach little kids? Do you think it's harder for men than for women?
Subject B	Absolutely. They don't have the nurturing skills that women have, that seem to be natural for them.
Gaynor	Well, I think that's quite interesting that we think... in the past we didn't used to think that teachers needed – male teachers particularly – didn't need to be nurturers. They needed to be sort of authoritarian and distant. But now there seems to be this trend towards teaching as a nurturing profession. Have you noticed that? I suppose really what I'm asking is do you think men have a different role to play in school than women?
Subject B	Yeah, I think there's totally two different unique styles of teaching. My best teachers were men teachers – for me – at school, because they had a way of teaching I suppose males...

Gaynor	What's that way, do you know? Can you put your finger on that?
Subject B	It was more focused I think, yeah. You know, "this is the way we do it and this is how it's to be done, and go for it fellas". And my most influential teachers were very authoritarian, almost to the point where you were sort of saluting them as they walked into the classroom. In fact, for some of them actually, at *** High School we had to stand up for them when they came into the classroom, but they were effective teachers... for guys anyway. I hated it there. I would never ever go back there. Single sex schools are so wrong. That's my viewpoint.
Gaynor	So you didn't want to be a secondary teacher?
Subject B	I did actually.
Gaynor	Did you?
Subject B	Teaching... I saw (<i>the shortened course</i>) as being a back door route to getting into secondary teaching.
Gaynor	If you'd finished your degree you could have done secondary teaching in one year.
Subject B	Yeah, that's right.
Gaynor	Still keen?
Subject B	Yeah, I would give up all I have got at the moment and do it again. But I earn more money now than I'd ever do teaching.
Gaynor	What makes it an interesting profession for you?
Subject B	I just... being able to influence young minds, to be able to show them a way of life, it's not just about teaching subjects, it's about teaching them about life as well and to...
Gaynor	What do you mean by that?
Subject B	Well, the most influential teachers I had at school were not just teachers of a subject, they were actually life teachers, and I reflect back on my secondary school years – the most memorable teachers that stand out for me are the ones that not only taught subjects, but taught me life skills and how to sort of...
Gaynor	Values?
Subject B	Behave, values, you know, ideals, thoughts, processes, valued thinking... were positive role models.
Gaynor	Do you think that's the role of the teacher or the role of the parent?
Subject B	Both really. But teachers certainly have a huge part to play in a person's life. I mean they're there from nine till three and they see a good portion of those teachers. Secondary... well you're obviously only there for an hour for that particular teacher for that particular subject, but in that hour, you know, you can impart some very valuable skills to that particular person.
Gaynor	What about primary? Do you think it's important to have male teachers in primary? Because we're going in a direction where there's fewer...
Subject B	I think it is. I think, particularly for boys, actually. That's probably why there's... I think maybe the problem in society in regards to boys and the lack of the male identity. Where is it? There's debate now, as you probably are aware that males... the kiwi bloke is sort of accused of as what is wrong within society. And maybe that's due to possibly the lack of male role models at an early age, and not just parental role models, but in society – other males apart from local family that they can sort of learn off and have some contribution from.
Gaynor	I think that's true. But what makes a good role model? What sort of role models?
Subject B	A mentor sort of person you mean?
Gaynor	Yeah, you know. If we're putting men in front of kids in classrooms in primary, is there a certain sort of man that we should be using? You know? As a role model?
Subject B	Yeah, I think you would... yeah there is. Obviously you don't want... you want sort of... I was going to say – a touch of arrogance here – you want guys like myself really.
Gaynor	Yeah, well what it is that you would bring? What is it that you bring to teaching that not every other man is going to? Or perhaps not women... that women can't?

Subject B	I think that there's almost a degree of creativity. I want to talk more globally and generally speaking rather than sort of specifically here. I think generally speaking there's a little bit more creativity, practical creativity with men than there is with women. And I don't mean that to be derogatory or anything like that. It's natural for men to sort of fix things and prepare things and create things and think of ideas. Not to say that in a primary sense women aren't superb at that role, because they are, it's just...
Gaynor	I'm not so sure that they are.
Subject B	It's just that we do it differently I think than women.
Gaynor	Yeah, you don't have to apologise for saying that.
Subject B	I didn't apologise, I just think... I don't think I express it very well. Yeah, so that's where I see...
	INTERRUPTION
	I suppose there needs to be recognition of the fact in T-coll that guys do things differently. I'm not sure in 1990 that there was that recognition, and I don't even know that there is today. If there is a recognition, I suppose, that the guys have a contribution to make to primary teaching, it's not very well publicised or promoted, is it? There isn't that "hey, you're a male, we want you" sort of approach to try and attract males into the profession.
Gaynor	And if we do, we're not quite sure what makes a good male teacher. You know, we're not sure whether we want them to be androgynous, you know, like neither male or female – somewhere in the middle? Or whether we want them to be so pro-female that they are pseudo-female.
Subject B	Is it basically the administrators of T-coll are female and are...
Gaynor	I think that could have some effect and also...
Subject B	And perhaps they confuse themselves as to where they want to head?
Gaynor	So in the end, what made you finally chuck it in? What was the big crunch at College?
Subject B	Well, I wasn't there very long really, I was only there for really six or seven months, or something like that, because I got sectioned to row for New Zealand and...
Gaynor	So it was really the [sport]?
Subject B	I was sick of it, absolutely sick of it! I couldn't even tell you if I passed anything. I never even checked. Probably passed your paper, but it wasn't sort of a pass/fail thing, was it?
Gaynor	No, it was a grade. You would have got a grade though.
Subject B	I couldn't even tell you what grade I got. Yeah, we did this Māori stuff even... I couldn't tell you any grades I got at T-coll because I was so pleased to get out of the joint. Which is terrible really, because I did really want to be a teacher and I was so pleased to get out of the place that... you know... <i>oh thank god that part is over with</i> , I wanted to move on with my life.
Gaynor	Was it because you felt you were being treated like the children?
Subject B	Exactly that! I thought Teachers College was all about trying to teach teachers how to teach. And yet you've absolutely nailed it. And here we were doing stuff that, like we were kids. Like we were the five year olds or seven year olds and stuff like that. And you've nailed it actually. That is exactly it. If I didn't allude to that earlier on, that is the primary reason why I gave up because as I said it was a belittling experience and it was because we were... because it was that experience. You know, it was a very belittling experience. I thought the idea of Teachers College was to teach you how to teach, teach you problem areas and what if that happens, what if this happens, how would you deal with that, what's the psychology of doing it with this and when you've got a difficult child, how are you supposed to manage that? And that was never really taught. It was you were given... maths for example – given blocks and told to... this is a block and a five and it's made up of five one blocks that are white and they stick together and you can count them "one, two, three, four, five" and that's... you can do a blue block. That's fun isn't it?
Gaynor	Yeah, well I don't know.
Subject B	And, you know, Jesus, maths I used to go to sleep in the back corner, it used to be horrific. The guy was boring too, an old guy.

Gaynor	I wonder if it was because they thought that like children, everyone learns by doing, so you had to actually do what you would get kids to do in order to...
Subject B	Yeah, well that may suit some people. But I didn't think it suits men to go through that experience. And, yeah, I never want to go through that experience again.
Gaynor	When you left, did you have an interview? One of those 'exit' interviews?
Subject B	No.
Gaynor	Should've ay? You could have said why you were leaving ...
Subject B	I didn't do any of those. I think I was just off, you know I was away for six, seven months.
Gaynor	Mind you, you were [playing sport] for New Zealand – you couldn't have been at College anyway, could you?
Subject B	No, I was in Cambridge and I was in Bosnia. Good times, ay?
Gaynor	Yeah, I bet.
	INTERRUPTION
Gaynor	Okay. Would you recommend teaching as a profession for a young man leaving school?
Subject B	You'd have to be a special bloke, I think.
Gaynor	Special in what way?
Subject B	I would say almost feminine in approach. But not so feminine in the terms of being gay or anything like that. But feminine in the approach that it's not the more kiwi sort of bloke. It's for... guys, a typical bloke doing it, I would say you're best not to do it. Do engineering or something that you can actually... or acupuncture or something like that if you feel you need to get people interaction in your life, because the teaching experience is a belittling affair and unless you have to be a pretty good person to stomach it. That's probably why there's no male teachers left.
Gaynor	You still want to go back and do it though, don't you?
Subject B	Ah, yeah, I would rather do... I think I'd like to do a specialist area of work. Or, you know, sort of like up until sixth form, that sort of thing.
Gaynor	What about tertiary? What about teaching engineering?
Subject B	Oh yeah, that would be great. Yeah, any sort of teaching would be good. I'd just enjoy getting out there and putting my ideas across in a way that you could understand them. And you know, it's pretty exciting stuff when you put an idea or three or four ideas in front of somebody and they pick up on it, and you think... they recognise how it's sort of put together and I find that extremely stimulating. I enjoy tutoring, and I think I'm quite good at it because it's put in a way that young people can understand it, I think. And that's a big part of this, you know?

TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT C

Gaynor	Start by telling me if you can cast your mind back to what inspired you to come to Teachers College? Why did you want to be a teacher?
Subject C	The very first thing was both of my brothers had applied for Teachers College years before and I was pretty competitive with my brothers so I guess I had a desire to see if I could get in.
Gaynor	Had they gotten in?
Subject C	No. They would've been good teachers, actually. And they didn't and so I thought I'd give it a try. The other reason was because I was sort of quite strong across the curriculum at high school. I thought it would be a way of using all my skills in one job.
Gaynor	You came from a co-ed school and you were good arts as well as sciences?
Subject C	Yep, and sports as well. I was applying for some other things as well. Like I was interested in graphic design and things like that... architecture. But I applied for Polytech... I got in, but it was too easy... you know, like I felt that they accepted me without really interviewing me. But here, the interviewing process is more thorough and it's actually quite prestigious to get into Teachers College, I felt. Yeah. So that's the reason why.
Gaynor	So you came straight from school?
Subject C	Yep.
Gaynor	So how old were you?
Subject C	I would have been 18 I guess.
Gaynor	So how did you cope with coming to a place where there are so few men?
Subject C	I think... it didn't bother me too much. Maybe in the beginning I guess. I associated with guys, like there was a few familiar faces I recognised...
Gaynor	From your school?
Subject C	Yeah, like a couple of people that I recognised and sort of immediately hooked up and did stuff together, and we were quite comfortable.
Gaynor	And did you enjoy College?
Subject C	Yeah, I really did. There was a lot of things that I learnt, talents that I found. There was parts of it that I didn't like.
Gaynor	Like what?
Subject C	Like the education. Didn't like education as a subject.
Gaynor	Why?
Subject C	I think it was the first year that put me off, actually. It was the social foundations part. I just felt like there was a just lot of theories... I struggled to see how it fitted in with the classroom. I remember one of the lecturers actually bailing me up and asking me why I hadn't given in some essays, you know, for social founds. But it was a case of - I liked doing everything else so much that I put that always at the bottom of the list and procrastinated my way through. I'm not a very good organiser.
Gaynor	What did you like doing best?
Subject C	Definitely the performance papers and the art papers. Yeah. I really enjoyed those classes, it was just the chance to dig deeper into the talents I didn't know that I had, or you know, work on the things that I really enjoyed.
Gaynor	So by the time you graduated, what was it - were you here for three years or four years?
Subject C	I was here... well, four, but one of those years was really part time here, part time University.
Gaynor	Study leave?
Subject C	Yeah.
Gaynor	So by the time you graduated did you feel that you were well equipped to go out and be a teacher?

Subject C	I pretty much had decided that... I guess I was – like technically speaking, but in my third year of College, you know the last year, I felt... I didn't have a great experience on my last posting.
Gaynor	Why?
Subject C	Overworked, stressed out, and not an awesome relationship with my associate teacher.
Gaynor	Right. So apart from the relationship with the associate, did that stress and everything else come from College or come from the school situation.
Subject C	It came from College, because, well... what it was is that I sort of over-committed myself, I went in the production that year. And I was going to pull out - but I kind of got talked into it because... and I could see why, they really... like they felt they needed me to carry the show to a degree. There was a key part of the boy in the play.... And that's when I knew I wanted to do some more theatre. And so it's a real... I was torn, you know. And what ended up happening was that I focused on that more than on my posting. So when it came time for my posting and I probably wasn't as prepared as well as I could have been, and then because of that lack of preparation my associate... that really stressed our relationship a little bit and, yeah. And then I felt uncomfortable in her class. And the school even offered to move me to another class, but I thought 'no, these are the kids that I want to work with'. And so I stayed the course and made it, but I didn't – you know – it could've been a lot better – teaching those kids.
Gaynor	So did you go teaching after you graduated?
Subject C	No.
Gaynor	Why not? Was it that last posting that soured it?
Subject C	Yeah, I think that was a big part of it. I did apply for jobs and I got a lot of rejection letters, and that's tough. And I thought maybe that's just not what I'm supposed to do at this time. You know? And I was interested in theatre and there were a couple of courses in community theatre and a few things I wanted to look at, so I went back (<i>to university</i>). And I enjoyed that, I really did. I learnt some valuable things there. But, you know, yeah, I guess the combination of the rejection letters and the bad last experience.
Gaynor	Why do you think you got rejection letters? Was it just the luck of the draw?
Subject C	I wonder. I don't know. Sometimes I wondered if it was because other first year teachers had better reports than me...
Gaynor	Oh right, because of that last posting.
Subject C	Because of that experience. But in reality, when I think of that, we pretty much wrote our own reports in conjunction with our associate... with our College teacher that came out with us. So that's not really the reason.
Gaynor	You were mobile though? You were prepared to go anywhere?
Subject C	Yeah, I tried up north and things.
Gaynor	What sort of teacher are you? What are you like in the classroom?
Subject C	Management's the hardest thing for me. Like just telling people off. I'm a bit soft. But since then I've learnt... I have done other teaching, I've done some – must have been after College – yeah, I did some art classes here I think. The after school art classes.
Gaynor	Yeah, okay. So that was working with children?
Subject C	Yeah. Did some drama stuff through "Interact" in town. Did some school holiday programme kind of things.
Gaynor	So you really carried on teaching, but...?
Subject C	Yeah, I have, but not as a full time employed teacher. I found... because of that third year experience, I realised that there was a lot of work to be done and I thought, you know, it's a lot of stress. And it just became less appealing. But, I should go back to the question that you asked – what kind of teacher am I? I think I'm positive. I'm pretty passionate about the things that I teach. If it's something that I really believe, it's so much easier to teach it. I love kids, I really do. And, yeah.
Gaynor	Do you think it's... do you think it's important to have male teachers in primary?
Subject C	Yep. Absolutely. Some kids, especially nowadays, don't have strong male role models. Families falling to pieces. They really need male role models in the classroom.

Gaynor	What makes a good male teacher? Is it the same recipe as what makes a good teacher? Or is it different?
Subject C	Good question. You think... I would like to think it would be the same things, but there are some things that males can't do that women can.
Gaynor	Like what?
Subject C	Like more openly love children. That's the one thing that I noticed in my third year class – my teacher... my associate teacher was... I'm not sure if it was her personality, but she would give the kids hugs and stuff. They would line up and she would give them hugs. And then I came into that class and the kids wanted to give me a hug and I felt really uncomfortable about that just because of the issues that we were taught in College. And it's sad, you know, and so I think, yeah, there's an issues there that... I think you can be the father figure in a way, but a father would hug his kids, you know, and so you can't – and that's kind of a contradiction, isn't it?
Gaynor	Yeah. Especially when you're a young man.
Subject C	Yeah. Definitely. There's all sorts of issues to do with sexuality that you go through when you're that age at College. But, yeah, I think I'd feel more comfortable now being older and being married. You know, it's... you know, I think that if I – I don't have my own children yet, but once you have your own kids I think things come into perspective a little bit more too. But, yeah, I think in terms of other things the recipe would be the same, you know. Quite often I think I've seen schools where the male teachers kind of sometimes carry the authority, you know? And, especially with boys that need a good telling off... but that's a generalisation I've seen.
Gaynor	I've seen that too.
Subject C	Teachers who are women can do it too. But quite often, maybe it's just kids sometimes respect the male, I don't know. But all the other things, to do with how you teach and what you teach and creating a nice learning environment, all those things I think are the same whether you're male or female.
Gaynor	Do you think it's a good career? Teaching?
Subject C	I think it's honourable, yeah. I've been thinking about that a lot, again because I thought, you know, if you're teaching you get to have school holidays, a chance to spend time with your family. So, if you're a family man, you know, it's a good career. I've always felt that teachers are underpaid compared with other jobs that probably aren't so stressful and... there's a lot of responsibility – looking after children. I think they're underrated. It's a good career, but I don't think... from what my understanding it, you can't soar to these big salaries that a lot of these corporate places offer.
Gaynor	Yeah, that's true. You know, ten years on, do you think the career has changed in any way? I mean, are there any ways do you think that teaching has changed over the last ten years? Or are you not in contact with enough people who are teaching - to know?
Subject C	Yeah, I don't know like in terms of what it is in the classroom. At tertiary level it has, I think. There just seems to be this, like a blooming, or an explosion of tertiary institutions teaching anything. And that's quite competitive, I can see, so I think, you know, that there's opportunities there. Whether it's of as much value as teaching children, I don't think so.
Gaynor	Well tell me a bit about what you're doing now.
Subject C	Right now, last year I've been teaching part time at College and studying part time.
Gaynor	Ah, what do you study?

Subject C	I've been studying... what I wanted to study was post-graduate design studies. Essentially graphics, computer graphics. And sort of having some career advice and things, I felt that was one of the gaps in my employability in terms of... like if I ever wanted to go into something like big business or corporate things and use my talents, then that was what was missing. So I was going to do that, but then after enrolling in University one of the lecturers went on a sabbatical overseas and so one of the papers which was key to the post-graduate diploma was withdrawn. And that was the one that I really wanted to do. I could have picked up some other paper to supplement it, but because that was the one that interested me the most, I decided to wait. And so I did some part time teaching here at College in drama, which I really enjoyed. Especially the second and third year levels. Really, yeah, it was fun.
Gaynor	Because you're working with tertiary students and those who are here because they want to be? Or is it compulsory curriculum?
Subject C	It was compulsory curriculum. And some of them didn't want to be there, but generally second and third year... like, that's why I didn't like the first year so much. Second and third year they do though. And, yeah, I had some fun.
Gaynor	Yeah, you would.
Subject C	Yeah. So I enjoyed that, but as of now, I'm technically unemployed.
Gaynor	Oh dear!
Subject C	Next time I'm going to be a full time student.
Gaynor	Are you?
Subject C	And I will be doing that post-graduate diploma. And whether that turns into a masters or not, I'm not sure – it just depends on how it turns out. But I've decided not to come back here and teach next year.
Gaynor	Why's that?
Subject C	Just there wasn't enough room for it there in terms of something else would have to give. So, yeah, I wanted to sort of have a balanced lifestyle and that just lets me out a little bit. So, I'll be a full time student.
Gaynor	Looking forward to that?
Subject C	Yeah I am. Yeah I am. Sort of more towards the end of the year when I can actually go and find some work. Because that's what I want to do, you know. I don't really want to be studying too much more.
Gaynor	So what sort of work ideally would you get into – at the end of that?
Subject C	That's a good question. What I'm interested in is actually... it's really just teaching, but it's... I want to be able to present ideas in a way – like visually? I guess it's like marketing/advertising kind of area? And in what context and in what degree they would be, I'm not sure. It might be within education, you know. But these skills are basically multimedia skills, and once you team it up with my theatre and teaching background, hopefully it will, you know... then I could go to places and not necessarily sell them things, but to be able to present things really effectively.
Gaynor	Yeah. Could be publishing too. In that field.
Subject C	Yeah, it could be.
Gaynor	Oh, very exciting. You're very creative though, aren't you?
Subject C	Yeah. So it's just another strength, I think. I'm not totally sure at this stage. Like, at... I'm just going on faith, you know. But I feel it's the right thing to do. I can only... like even here at College, I felt like the... even though I was going to get more hours if it worked, it just didn't feel secure enough and so, yeah.
Gaynor	Looking back, do you think you would've been better to go to Teachers College when you were older?
Subject C	Yes and no. I think there's some valuable things that I've learned, that now I'm really grateful for.
Gaynor	Like what?

Subject C	Just like personal skills. I felt like I was kind of... in a way you can be forced to be a little bit more mature than perhaps you'd be inclined to be. But I think that's a good thing. And things to do, like, for me I found I did really love creative things and that in a way I felt that in a classroom that might have been suppressed a little bit. Because it's about helping others find that rather than expressing yourself? Yeah. So... but in terms of, like looking back now, I think if I came to College now I'd be a lot more focused about... I did want to be a teacher – it would be a more conscious choice, more committed. But that's in hindsight.
Gaynor	What about if a young man of 17 came to you and said do you think teaching's a good profession? What would you say?
Subject C	I think I'd tell him the pros.
Gaynor	And what are the pros?
Subject C	I think the lifestyle. If you can manage your classroom and not be stressed out, I think, you know. Like everyone says, there's good holidays. I think you need it when you're a teacher though.
Gaynor	Yeah, I think you do too.
Subject C	Yeah, like if you're a family orientated person I think it's good because you don't have to work late nights – I assume. I remember when I was doing my third year posting it was pretty much eight to five, and a little bit more too in the evenings. There's always that preparation sort of stuff. I think it's like... teaching is a honourable profession because it's, you know, it's about giving, about learning – it's good. If you want to get rich it's probably not the right thing. Getting rich isn't everything either, is it?
Gaynor	No.
Subject C	I'd recommend it to someone who was a good teacher. Yep.
Gaynor	Like you?
Subject C	I dunno. When the turning point came for me, you know... It was like, it was the second day of my posting and I'd seen the kids give hugs to the teacher and after doing... it was like a news or a project presentation by the children and the bell rang for interval and these kids lined up for a hug.
Gaynor	Oh, really.
Subject C	And it was like, it just was... it was just a strange...
Gaynor	What did the associate say?
Subject C	She wasn't there. And that's why I felt... if she was there it probably wouldn't have bothered me, you know. But, yeah, it was just the horrible thing of feeling unsafe ... of feeling unsafe, you know?
Gaynor	Yeah, yourself.
Subject C	Yeah, it was just a turning point, ay? It really was.
Gaynor	So how would you handle that differently?
Subject C	I think I would be more distanced, I think, ay?
Gaynor	Does that make you have to be someone you're not though?
Subject C	Yep. It's like... I'd probably say to the kids... I'd tell them why, I think.
Gaynor	Well, there is a point at which teachers aren't fathers. Teachers have one particular role and it may not be appropriate to be the huggers. You know, you might sort of pat them on the back and say 'well done'?
Subject C	Yeah. It's a kiwi male thing, too, isn't it? Not to show affection or anything? But, hey, kids need it – they really do. But another time when I was on my first year, this little kid said to me, "Mr *** can you be my dad?" And I, oh, it just cut me to the heart, ay? I just like said, "Oh, I can't" – but you know? And it's just stuff like that. That's what makes me believe that there needs to be male teachers in the primary school. But it's just having that, I don't know, how do you get the safety at the same time. I don't know.
Gaynor	Yeah, getting that balance and knowing how to behave. Otherwise it's stressful.
Subject C	Yeah, and I thought, like, now I feel more comfortable about it... I think I really would. You know, cause, yeah, I think I would... I'd feel more comfortable about it. But then... I guess it's just all the issues that were around – when you were at that age of life, 18 or 19, there's just so much things that you're going through.

Gaynor	Yeah, that's true. Wait till you have your own kids.
	INTERRUPTION
Gaynor	Tell me about your work as a Missionary
Subject C	After I graduated from University, I... while I was there I basically became a Christian and then I had an invitation extended to me to serve a mission and it was interesting because I already felt like I should do that.
Gaynor	Yeah. Was that sort of a prestigious invitation? Did you feel that that was really something special?
Subject C	Oh, yeah.
Gaynor	Not just a kind of duty?
Subject C	No. It was... I felt like it was inspired, actually. Because of some personal kind of experiences that I'd had, I kind of felt like that's something that I maybe <i>should</i> do. And then when the invitation was extended it kind of confirmed it. And so... yeah.
Gaynor	So what did that entail?
Subject C	Teaching.
Gaynor	Yeah, where?
Subject C	I went overseas, went to America. What happens is when you say that you want to do it, your name and papers are basically submitted to the Head of our church and through prayer, and they assign you to a place. And I got assigned to America. Right in the heart of Salt Lake City actually, so it was kind of ironic.
Gaynor	Salt Lake City? Wow.
Subject C	And so I went there for two years and essentially what you do is you find people and you teach them in their homes. And I taught lots and lots of people.
Gaynor	Lots of them would already be Mormons though wouldn't they?
Subject C	Yep, but we taught lots of people that weren't, and a lot of families who were Latter Day Saints, or had friends and they would invite them and then they would invite me and my companion over and we would teach them.... Teach them about faith and Jesus Christ and about God and about this plan.
Gaynor	Did you enjoy that?
Subject C	I did. I did. Yep. Two years that I would never, ever... I don't know. I just felt like I'd received things that were more than I gave, you know. And you can't replace them.
Gaynor	Yep. So was it only a two-year contract? You had to come home, or could you have stayed?
Subject C	In a way you can stay, but... what happens is after the two years you're released as a missionary, and so you're not a missionary anymore – technically – you know. But, yep, you can come home or do whatever you want really. But I wanted to come home. Cause, yeah, for various reasons.
Gaynor	What an exciting experience.
Subject C	Yeah, it was different to teaching, like... although there were times when I taught in front of large groups of people. In my mission I'd have responsibility at different times to teach other missionaries as well. So, I did a lot of teaching. But the most special ones were teaching people in their homes with their families.
Gaynor	And that was teaching adults, wasn't it?
Subject C	Yep. And their children though.
Gaynor	So you'd be using your teaching skills, wouldn't you?
Subject C	Yep. I guess it was mostly teaching adults, I think it's about 50/50 really. It's a different sort of teaching though, cause... oh, no, the principles are the same.
Gaynor	Which ones?
Subject C	Things like teaching principles and then letting them learn for themselves. Because you can't really convince somebody by yourself.
Gaynor	No, that's true.
Subject C	They have to do that work themselves, find out themselves. Yeah. But I had a great time. Made some great friendships and with the wonders of email you can still keep them up.
Gaynor	Yeah, you can.

Subject C	And I still teach at church now.
Gaynor	Oh, do you?
Subject C	Yeah. I have responsibilities for what we call the Elders *****. It's basically the men in the church and our congregation, and I can teach often. It's the same principles, and, yeah... so it hasn't really stopped.

TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT D

Gaynor	I want you to simply talk and tell me anything that's relevant... but first I want you to cast your mind back to Teachers College. Tell me why you went to Teachers College and how old you were.
Subject D	I think I was 19. I had one year at University, hadn't been that successful. I think my parents must have had insight into what sort of marks I was going to get, and particularly my mother, encouraged me to apply for Teachers College and I sort of didn't have any particular career path in mind, so I sort of went along with that and put in my application.
Gaynor	So when you went to University, you did physed, did you?
Subject D	No, I started a science degree, I wanted to get into the physed school, but I think if I had gotten into physed school I think I probably would've ended up teaching anyway.
Gaynor	So, then you went to Teachers College. So at that stage did you really want to be a teacher, or were you just sort of looking for something?
Subject D	Just looking for something I think.
Gaynor	Had you been in a co-ed school?
Subject D	Yes. And a lot of people from my form class had ended up going to Teachers College – a lot, I think seven or eight.
Gaynor	Oh, so you knew quite a few people when you got there?
Subject D	Yeah, they were all mainly a year ahead of me – but I did know a lot.
Gaynor	So when you were at school, what were your best subjects?
Subject D	Maths, probably... I did maths and science and English – which wasn't a strong point at all.
Gaynor	So how did you find Teachers College? First of all you would have been in a minority because there were so many women there.
Subject D	Yeah. I thought there were some things that we did at Teachers College that were really good, but I think some things like the AV programme that we did I thought was irrelevant really. You know, when they teach you how to use a photocopier you go to a different school, different type of protocol there, but that's just common sense. You can learn that in five minutes, something like that.
Gaynor	So the AV course is basically common sense?
Subject D	Yeah, I thought that was a waste of time. But that's changed from what I've gathered.
Gaynor	Oh, yeah. They make videos, and do that sort of thing.
Subject D	I thought the things like working through the documents and things like that were really helpful. But I think I did most of my reading, I think, in my first year of teaching. You learn... or you heard about all these different things, but having the chance to put them into practice made all the difference.
Gaynor	So, do you think Teachers College prepared you for being a classroom teacher?
Subject D	A little bit, but I think most of learning was really done on the job. I think if at Teachers College I'd had more time in the classrooms, I think that would have prepared me a lot better than more time at College.
Gaynor	Most people say that, don't they? The best part is actually being out on postings. What sort of teacher are you? Or, what sort of teacher were you? Are you the same now as you were then?
Subject D	Oh, no. I think when I first came out I was just sort of surviving from day to day. For now I'd like to think I am a little bit more organised. Better understanding of different kids and perhaps different teaching styles and things like that.
Gaynor	One more question about the College then, what were the highlights... any highlights of Teachers College?
Subject D	None that really stand out. I think, well, mainly there was a really good group of people that went through that I still have contact with which is quite good. That's quite good.
Gaynor	Okay. Do you think the role of a male teacher is different from that of a female?

Subject D	Ah, yeah I think it is changing. When there are a lot of families these days with a single parent, and quite often it's the mother that's the only one around – I think sometimes male teachers end up taking the role of the father in some ways. The father figure in their life. But apart from that, not really.
Gaynor	How did you cope with that role when you came out, cause you'd only have been in your early twenties then?
Subject D	Yeah, not sure really. I suppose you just took the time out, sort of... know the kids who probably needed that and probably took a little more time. Just say giddyay to them more often or have a bit of a talk to them, things like that - informally.
Gaynor	So what did you do when you graduated?
Subject D	I didn't get work straight off.
Gaynor	Were you looking? Were you looking for work?
Subject D	Yeah I was. I think I was looking very selectively though. I ended up relieving at my old (secondary) school.
Gaynor	In the junior department?
Subject D	No, any department. Relieving in the maths right up to sixth form.
Gaynor	Oh, how was that?
Subject D	It was, yeah, very tough. Very, very tough material and things like that.
Gaynor	It didn't make you want to teach secondary?
Subject D	No, not really. Well, there were some things that I really liked about it. The release time was good. And also as far as interactions with the older students, the fifth form, compared with form one, two or primary aged kids. And then in between that, I was doing some relief work at an Intermediate and one of the teachers was going overseas and they just wanted a position for two terms it was I think.
Gaynor	Right, so that was form one and two.
Subject D	Form two plus, and then that turned into a permanent position.
Gaynor	So how long were you there?
Subject D	Four years.
Gaynor	Then what? Then did you come here (to your present job)?
Subject D	No. I had a year at *** Intermediate. My partner decided to go to Teachers College, so, yeah, I got a job at *** Intermediate and that was a long term relieving position. At the end of the year the roll dropped by two classes and one teacher went overseas and my position was... well, it was supposed to be safe. We were going to drop a manual teacher, but manual staff petitioned or put off the Board of Trustees and it was a classroom teacher that went then, so that's when I ended up leaving and coming to *** School.
Gaynor	So you were the most recent appointment, probably?
Subject D	Yeah, last in - first out.
Gaynor	So that would be disappointing?
Subject D	Yeah it was. But as I look back now I think it really worked out for the best.
Gaynor	So your partner was at Teachers College here in Dunedin.
Subject D	Yeah, she's just finished this semester. She's actually at a job interview at the moment, so it will be interesting to see what happens.
Gaynor	It will be – nerve-wracking.
Subject D	So I've prepared her.
Gaynor	So she wants to stay, in Dunedin? What's your plan?
Subject D	I've just been talking to my wife about this today. Well, she's got a job interview at *** Intermediate in *** and I'm going to put in an application for a job at *** Intermediate, a senior teacher's position. I just wonder how it's all going to work out in the end, but, yeah.
Gaynor	Teachers often marry teachers, don't they?
Subject D	Yeah, I remember saying to the principal at *** Intermediate that... I didn't know that his wife was a teacher at that stage – I said "Oh, how boring marrying someone in the same profession".
Gaynor	Oh, it's really common. I think it's because we're such boring people, you know, nobody else will listen to us.
Subject D	She might think that I'm boring, but... no.

Gaynor	You'll talk school from now on.
Subject D	Exactly.
Gaynor	So what are the best things about teaching as a profession?
Subject D	When I think the students, (not all students I suppose), are getting it... someone that you see finally grasps a concept – I think that's pretty cool. Holidays are good. That helps a bit. But the longer I've been a teacher the more time I've spent doing work in the holidays, so...
Gaynor	Is that because the pay's not good enough?
Subject D	Oh, just trying to get everything done. Paperwork...
Gaynor	That sort of work... yeah.
Subject D	Yeah, I just think... different activities. It's just not inside all the time, it's the other options outside, working sports teams and things like that. That's an interest of mine.
Gaynor	Is it just as you thought it would be?
Subject D	I don't actually know what I thought it would be like to be honest. Yeah. Like I had... when I was at school, I liked school as a pupil, I didn't know whether it was going to be like that.
Gaynor	Did you have any inspirational teachers who inspired you?
Subject D	Inspirational? I had some good teachers I think that were interesting and took an interest in what I was doing.
Gaynor	What do you think makes a good teacher?
Subject D	I think someone who's got a life outside of teaching for a start. I think someone who's down to earth and doesn't actually see... well, they've got authority in the classroom, but they've still got a rapport with students as well. And sort of recognise their individual needs, and things like that. I think those are the key things.
Gaynor	At a co-ed school, do you think a male teacher on a staff has a different role from maybe a female teacher?
Subject D	Well, I think it may depend on the school you're in. I think sometimes males are seen as dealing with the discipline and things like that a lot more than the females.
Gaynor	Are you happy in that role? Especially if you're going for a position of responsibility?
Subject D	Yeah, I can do it. But I don't like to do it all the time.
Gaynor	What's the down-side of teaching as a career?
Subject D	You end up thinking about school at the weirdest times.
Gaynor	And dreaming about it?
Subject D	Yeah, things like. Yeah, just, it really is a lifestyle, it's not a job. You just think about things when you might be driving to school or driving somewhere and you have this idea about what you could do in class. Yeah, that's probably the biggest downfall. And I think, well... and also perhaps the expectations that are there or placed upon teachers, workloads, expectations for them to be involved in appropriate co-curricular activities as well.
Gaynor	Expectations from school?
Subject D	I think it's... a lot of schools advertise that that's something that they're looking for - and also I think that the schools, some parents still expect teachers to be doing that sort of thing.
Gaynor	Do you think the workload's got heavier?
Subject D	I think it's the paper trail, yeah. The writing everything down and making sure that it's covered and sometimes I don't know if it's beneficial for the students later on. You could be spending that time with the kids, or preparing something for the kids that they'd find more interesting.
Gaynor	If a boy, say from school, came to you and asked you about becoming a primary teacher, would you recommend it? To young men these days?
Subject D	I think it would depend on the person. I think... but if they were an all round sort of character who really wanted to teach, I'd say give it a go. It opens up a lot of doors to other things as well, especially if they want to travel, you know, it's a good ticket for a job. And a lot of teachers end up doing other things later on in life.
Gaynor	Yeah. Do you think you will?
Subject D	I don't know. Don't know. I thought I would. I thought that after ten years in the job I'd be doing something different, but I don't know if I will or not.
Gaynor	You said on your questionnaire that you intend becoming a principal....

Subject D	Yeah, maybe.
Gaynor	Heading in the right direction?
Subject D	Yeah, well I think that at this stage I've got to sort of make a bit of a move further up into management side of things, or just be happy being a teacher. And I think if I didn't have a go at going for manager or anything like that, I'd probably sort of wonder, you know, what I might have done.
Gaynor	Sometimes it's disappointing though that we take the best teachers out of the classroom and make them administrators.
Subject D	Yeah, I think so too, but It's getting the recognition I suppose, financially, too.
Gaynor	It is.
Subject D	If teaching was more financial, people would just stay in the classroom. The job's probably a lot easier in the classroom than some things like administration and being a principal.
Gaynor	Yeah, I think it's quite interesting that lots of principals in secondary schools around here are primary trained.
Subject D	Yeah. I'm always surprised about that. But I wondered whether that's because they've had the opportunity to become principals in primary schools and then made the jump across from the primary schools into the secondary schools.
Gaynor	Most of them don't. I suppose the area schools are the route really. So you don't want to go into secondary?
Subject D	Oh, I like some ideas of the secondary school. Yeah, I find secondary schools a lot more political than primary schools. You sort of look after only one department, whereas sometimes in the primary school they're more willing to help out and keep up with curriculum and things like this. Whereas I find in secondary schools... well, the two that I've been in, that, for instance we're be doing maths here, we don't want to know anything about literacy or anything like that. I find it frustrating at times.
Gaynor	Everybody keeps to their own domain...
Subject D	But I can understand why they do that, because its what they're interested in. And if they didn't they'd end up being so bored. But you need some willingness to co-operate with other departments, I think.

TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT E

Gaynor	Tell me about your present job....
Subject E	I'm a warehouse supervisor. There's three of us in the warehouse, and I more or less do most of the paperwork. We've got 20 outlets and we supply them so it's my job to organise the stock and where do we want it sent over the South Island and what have you.
Gaynor	And you said the other day your wife was graduating. What was she graduating from?
Subject E	A Bachelor of teaching and learning.
Gaynor	Oh, good grief. More teaching in the family?
Subject E	Yep.
Gaynor	Anyway, I want to ask you some questions. I'm just going to call you Subject E, so your name is going to be confidential, and I want you to cast your mind back to when you were at Teachers College...
Subject E	Yep.
Gaynor	It was a while ago. And you began in 1990 when you were 19. Why didn't you go directly to Teachers College from school?
Subject E	My first application was unsuccessful, so I did a year at varsity anyway.
Gaynor	What did you do at varsity?
Subject E	I did just the first year of BSC. Maths, chemistry, biology and what-have.
Gaynor	You came from (a rural area) so when you came to university here, did you go into a hostel?
Subject E	Yep.
Gaynor	So were you still in the hostel when you started at Teachers College?
Subject E	Yes, I was in the hostel for three years. I felt it was easier, had a preference for it. I enjoyed the people that were there. And I was in an actual group that stayed there for three years, so...
Gaynor	Did you feel that you were a little bit older than the other students at Teachers College because you'd had that extra year at varsity?
Subject E	On one hand yes, on one hand no. Yes, because I had that year of varsity under my belt, but no, in our tutor group... when we were initially put into a tutor group, we had a very unusual tutor group that of the 12 or 16 of us that were in it, half of us... or nearly half of us were guys, which is quite high, we had about five guys out of the 12 or 16 or whatever it was, and of that... also half of that group again had had work experience. I'd include myself in that category of not coming straight from school.
Gaynor	Yeah, right. Just that much older.
Subject E	You see what I mean. Some of them had had 10 or 15 years work experience and what have. There were most - or half of our group had come straight from school. So in a group, in our tutor group, I found, no, I didn't feel that older because we already had a lot of more mature students in our group. But then again, I felt that we all had such diverse backgrounds that it was a real great introduction to life.
Gaynor	Yes, it would be. What made you think you wanted to be a teacher?
Subject E	I know some of the reasons. You see I'd always wanted to do it, for quite a few years. I mean, I actually actively coached.
Gaynor	Oh, what sort of sports?
Subject E	[Specialised sport]. I'm actually the National Coaching co-ordinator for that.
Gaynor	So that's what you're doing now?
Subject E	As a volunteer thing in my spare time, yep. And...coaching - that's what I felt like I wanted to do and what have. I enjoyed working with children and things, which I've obviously continued with coaching and that.
Gaynor	What made you... what do you think was their reasons for not taking you the first time you applied?

Subject E	I was aware of... well the first time around I'd just driven up from *** by myself and I was from a farm and normally don't drive far anyway. Well, you know, always Mum or Dad had driven us. So it was the first good car drive by myself. And when I arrived, I arrived like 20 minutes before I was supposed to – like they say to. Walked in, it was a windy day, I was still combing my hair and such and settling down the nerves, and they came out and asked me if I'd go in straight away because the previous applicant hadn't turned up. So it unsettled me a bit more. I didn't want to put them off and make them feel, you know, say no. I didn't want to say no in case of upsetting them, so I said yes I'd go in and I did an interview... And - well... that's why... In my first year I got to talk to one of the guys who was interviewing that day and he said he remembered me and said I seemed quite unsettled at the time.
Gaynor	No wonder!
Subject E	I'm also aware of the politics. Apparently you have a larger intake in Southland every second year.
Gaynor	Oh, I see. Larger intake down in the Southland Campus?.
Subject E	Well, no, - from the Southland area. And then the next year they have a more of a... well that's what I've heard anyway. Whether or not that's true...
Gaynor	When you... you came... had you had any inspirational teachers at school? Anybody that made you think teaching was a good career?
Subject E	Yep. I had a couple of primary teachers who, you know, I really clicked into the way that they were... I had one guy who was really good at teaching maths and I really clicked into that. And I could see how he was approaching it. Maths was one of my strong points at primary school level. I had another teacher who actually ended up marrying a cousin of mine who worked for... who owned the farm next door. They had like a year or two living next door when I was younger, and that and as a high school student I was able to talk to her about teaching and things like that, and the way she approached things and that. So yeah.
Gaynor	Right. So what had been your best subjects at high school?
Subject E	At high school? Maths and science.
Gaynor	Alright. Now what do you remember about the College?
Subject E	First off impressions or overall?
Gaynor	First impressions then.
Subject E	First impressions. A big scary place. Not always user friendly for first year students.
Gaynor	In what way?
Subject E	There were lots of good things in there, but, yeah. We were lining up for TB shots and no-one actually knew what we were lining up for, we were just getting injections. And then because our group... we had an unusual composition in our tutor group, we actually refused to get them until we had pamphlets. A couple of guys in our group... or a couple of people I should say, in our group said well, no they won't get them. So the rest of us said we'll go with you on that. We refused to get our TB shots until we had pamphlets to explain what it was all about. Because we were just lining up like sheep, initially. And a lot of other students were too.
Gaynor	How did that make you feel?
Subject E	Very wary of things. Just very aware of what was happening and trying to look at the bigger picture. One of those living experiences, I suppose. I was just willing to accept the line up and get a jab in the arm but I wasn't even sure what it was about.
Gaynor	Right. Yeah.
Subject E	I mean, it was harmless, but...
Gaynor	But you weren't to know that.
Subject E	No.
Gaynor	So what do you think are some of the strengths of the Teachers College programme, as far as you were concerned?
Subject E	A couple of the lecturers were absolutely brilliant. You could sit down and talk with them. We had, I assume you don't want me to name names.
Gaynor	That's right

Subject E	We had... but when my mother passed away we actually had a lecturer who was an ex-Southlander who noticed her name in the paper and actually sent me a card.
Gaynor	Oh, right. Yeah.
Subject E	Things like that. We had... there was two or three lecturers that really stuck out. If there was a problem you could sit there for ten minutes, quarter of an hour, nut it out, talk it through and come out feeling like you'd achieved something.
Gaynor	Yeah. Good one. So what do you think were the weaknesses of the programme? Generally? Or specifically?
Subject E	There were... I had several criticisms. One I suppose would be the amount of time spent on sexual harassment procedures, policies, things like that. From a male perspective I actually found some of these... I could see the logic of why they did them and I agree with it, but when I went out and tried to put them into practice working with female associates who didn't appreciate where I was coming from being a male, weren't prepared to follow some of the rules that we were told to follow as College students.
Gaynor	What do you mean? Give me an example.
Subject E	I can think of an example. We went on a camp, and I remember specifically asking the associate to... that if I had to go somewhere with children there always had to be two or... you know, the College warned us. And they were doing an orienteering course in pairs in small groups and I was to go to one boundary, there was a couple of other parents who went to other boundaries, so if the children went too far down the street, we could turn them around and send them back.
Gaynor	Yeah.
Subject E	And when it came to the end of the time, she was just going to send out students to pick us up. And I said, well can you please... well it would make me feel comfortable if you send like a boy and a girl, or two girls or two boys, it didn't matter as long as there was two or three or whatever. She said it wasn't a problem. She sent one girl who... I would just say was randomly picked I assume, I wouldn't read anything into it... and when I was talking to the other parents they said they got two or three people went to get them. And when I asked the associate she said "Oh, I assumed since you were a teacher, there wasn't necessarily a need for it". And I said that I'd asked for that reason, because worse case scenario an accusation does come, who was going to make it?
Gaynor	Yeah. Good point.
Subject E	And she didn't see that as being an issue. I said well, from my point of view, yeah. Another classic thing was actually we had some parents, I was helping with some swimming lessons. We had - two students, I think there were - went in to get changed, and one parent came and said "Can you go help (<i>the other kid</i>) change? And I said "I can't go in there unless you ask me and you stay with me because I'm a male training teacher and so on and so on. And she said, "Okay, fine". I went and got the associate out and said to the associate I'm asking for you to come in and help with the changing and things like that. And the associate said fine, and I said that's fine and we went in and we continued. I spoke to her about that policy that I couldn't go in and help children change, because it wasn't deemed as being proper for being a male trainee.
Gaynor	That sounds very aware of you. Did you find it quite difficult being a male at Teachers College surrounded by so many women? I know that wasn't the case in your tutor group specifically, but in general? Because it would have been one of the first times that you'd been in the minority as a man?
Subject E	I didn't find it a problem in the classes or socially or with... but even that... it seems to be a greater number of our lecturers or tutors seemed to be female. I didn't feel there to be a problem there. It was just that I had to work with women in the classroom, the majority of people I taught with in the classroom were women.
Gaynor	Do you mean out in schools?

Subject E	Out in schools were women, like the associates and parents were mostly female parents. Whereas I... they are quite happy to go off and do that because they know each other and they know the children and have that trust there, whereas a stranger – who was only in the classroom for two weeks, I couldn't do that and they thought that was being weird. And I said, "Hang on, I just can't go charging off and doing that unsupervised or without going through these channels first".
Gaynor	Do you think that would have changed once you were a teacher?
Subject E	Yes, to a certain extent yes, but there would still have to be certain procedures there. If there was a child like that, then I'd possibly have to get someone... get another adult to come or whatever. A situation like that where... say where, they were the main messengers. But with older children that situation may not arise.
Gaynor	We've got a lot fewer male teachers in the primary than female teachers. Do you think that matters?
Subject E	To a certain extent yes. I think you've got to have that male role model there. Especially in today's society where there are a lot of single parent families. I think they talk about frontier education. These are the men that are seen as doing things, the caretakers, the principal and the teaching of the older children – the more technical stuff. I think we've got to break that stereotype and have them in there, have the... odd teacher, you know, teaching the juniors as well, and things like that.
Gaynor	What sort of role models do you think male teachers should be?
Subject E	The same sort of role model a female teacher should be.
Gaynor	Okay, well what makes a good teacher, in your opinion?
Subject E	Someone who cares. They're caring, they're interested in the children, educating for their individuality - and can cater for that to a greater degree. Knows where they're going, what they want to do, can plan, is willing to take on... willing to adapt as they go and what have. Training... if they come up with problems they can't solve, they can seek help rather than trying to ignore it.
Gaynor	Those sound like pretty good ingredients. Do you think... is that the sort of teacher that you were?
Subject E	I'd like to think so. I know that's what I try and do with coaching, you know, take an interest in the children's life in general as well as just in the sports itself, because it builds up a better relationship. And I think that would apply to teaching. If you know that Mary has an interest in motor biking or Barry collects stamps, or whatever, then you can incorporate that in and the kids click onto that.
Gaynor	Well, tell me about your progress at Teachers College and why you eventually dropped out?
Subject E	Someone once described me as an "Neillian trapped in a Skinnerian box" or was it the other way around?
Gaynor	Oh, what does that mean?

Subject E	Based on the two theorists from first year education, A S Neill and Skinner. A S Neill was that you could do it any way, you could pretty much do what you want as long as you don't interfere with others. And his school was based pretty much on personal freedom and he said he'd rather kids he taught turned out as a happy street-sweeper than a neurotic multi-millionaire. Skinner was into everyone's programmed by society, you conform and are controlled, etc, etc. What I found with teaching was that you were shown 10 or 15 different ways... or 10 or 15 different styles of teaching – you know, different approaches and things... different theologies and what have, but when it comes down to actually being in a classroom on section and with writing out lesson plans for both associates and for tutors, their way was the only way. There wasn't that freedom. So they were saying, you know, you can approach maths or English or language, whatever - this way, this way or this way... but when it came to the side of it of lessons and planning and things like that, particular associates and the way they set the classroom up was very inaccessible. And I remember having one or two discussion where I said 'can I try this?' and they said 'no, no, no, you'll upset the class'. I would say "well, that's fine – I'm aware of that, I'm going to be in control, I want to try it at the start" – just one example was of the class where every morning they'd go down for aerobics for 20 minutes – just a fitness thing. And when they came back in I said all I wanted to do was write the instructions on the blackboard before I left. So that when they came in I could tell the class that the instructions are on the blackboard, by the time I've collected up the paper, etc, etc, by the time they got back to the classroom they could set themselves up, read the instructions and follow it. Well, the associate in particular wouldn't have a bar of it – because that's not the way that they do the swap over between aerobics and maths or whatever.
Gaynor	How frustrating.
Subject E	Well it is, yeah. I mean, that's definitely... I found there was no room for any movement. But I've been told that we could try all these sorts of things, go out there and try them – but I couldn't.
Gaynor	Presumably, I suppose you have to wait until you have a class of your own to try those things.
Subject E	True. True. I've had many people come back to me and say why did you do this or do that? If you don't know what style you're going to adapt from the time you start and sort of don't get a chance to find out till you start to teach, it's going to make that first year even more scarier. I'd wanted to have some sort of standing before I took on a class full time. I wanted to have something standard. It's like my coaching, I know to a certain extent how I'm going to approach the thing before I start it. I talk to the kids and that and build it up. So I knew where I was going, I had some sort of style in place. I felt that going to a first year teaching position, as a first year teacher without any style would have been suicidal.
Gaynor	That's an interesting point.
Subject E	You know, you have to know to a certain extent what does work, what doesn't. And if you try something in a class and it doesn't work, sit down with the associate and say why didn't this work? And I've had associates do that. I had one or two that were excellent. We sat down and we tried something and I said it didn't work because it was right over their heads. And the associate said "Yes, it is. Last year's class would have picked it up and you could have taken all your assessment activities and done them in half an hour instead of the 45 minutes you've taken". He said "but this year, you've overestimated them, or underestimated them, and they couldn't handle it". So we took the two levels to do the one. And he said... I learned from that. And they would have gained a better understanding because I made a mistake. But there wasn't always that flexibility there to be able to try something, make a mistake and learn from it.
Gaynor	Okay, and you didn't want to go out teaching and make mistakes and learn from them? You wanted to have some idea of where you were with your own personal style before you went out teaching?

Subject E	Yeah that's right. And I didn't have that. It was obviously going to be developed and grown over time as well, with teaching. Obviously I was still going to make mistakes when teaching as a first year teacher, but I felt that at that later stage of training, because I was in my third year, that I hadn't had any sense of style. I was still... because I hadn't been able to try the different things or whatever... I mean some people came to me and said "Oh, we tried this, and tried this, and tried this". I didn't seem to have... I don't know if I had a bad run of associates or what... I mean, because it is pot luck at whether or not you get associate A, B or C.
Gaynor	I wonder if just simply changing your associate might have made all the difference for you?
Subject E	It may have done. It may have done. I know that talking to one school after I left, that I was actually talking to the principal and he was actually quite horrified when I spoke to him because I had an associate... a male associate actually... who at the end of the year they were losing one position due to the funding and one position had to go and my male associate was adamant that he was quite happy not to do anything extra because he assumed that he would have the position, that he would stay on. Three of them were going to be reduced to two. And he assumed that he was going to stay on because he was male. And in the end he lost out because the two women buckled in and they did a few extras and they showed that they were prepared to work for the school and to work to keep their jobs.
Gaynor	I wonder if that's typical.
Subject E	I don't know. Come to think of it, he was my only male associate.
Gaynor	I wonder if male teachers have a different role to play in the school from what women do?
Subject E	Not at primary level. I think at secondary level where sometimes you might have children you need to look eye-to-eye with, it may have an effect where you have someone physically bigger and can look at you and say "No you can't do that". Not as a physical threat, but just has that stature. Then again, I don't think it plays that important a role because one of the teachers I have the greatest respect for is only five foot two, or five foot three. Sure, that would be the one that married my cousin, but she wasn't short of stature and she had... I've seen her reprimand students that are... I remember in standard three I could look her eye-to-eye. I'd look at her... I've seen her take, tackle a problem issue with a form two student who was a good foot and a half taller than her and you know, she was able to handle him with a very mature way, treat him with a lot of respect and at the same time say - "Hey, look you're out of line. Just tow the line here and keep everyone happy".
Gaynor	Sounds as if she was a good role model for you. Your style of teaching? So how do you feel now in retrospect about having chucked it in? Any regrets?
Subject E	My wife is in the background.
Gaynor	Is she? Is she rolling her eyes?
Subject E	No. Yes and no. She's asked this question as well. Yes, if I'd finished I could have used the degree elsewhere. I could use the qualification elsewhere. But no, because at the same time there was lots of personal growth that I had at College at different things. I was involved with the huge College production, Sleeping Beauty, making three different sets - it was quite a large production there at the time. Being in that was a huge personal growth time for me, very huge. I can look back and think, well, the changes and all that. I mean, I learnt heaps from it, and I may not have walked out with a paper, but I walked out with a lot of experience... life experience under my belt which I wouldn't have got elsewhere.
Gaynor	Yeah, exactly. Interesting though that you could have taken the degree and used it for something else. You definitely didn't want to go teaching by the end of it, did you?

Subject E	Oh, I just had enough of Teachers College and being a student. I mean, by the time I finished up, I had a year and a bit of leave between my second and third year as such. I did my first two years, did my study leave year, came back, started my third year and wasn't so sure... I was umming and ahing, you know, whether I really wanted to do, I was getting a bit sick of it by then. So I had a year and a bit off for... to work, to see if the options came back.
Gaynor	What was it you were actually sick of?
Subject E	Just the issues I brought up before, of being able to harass... the sexual harassment policy procedures, some of the tutors and things happening and ... I mean, I felt some tutors, there were one or two in particular, gave me impressions that they didn't want to really work or really be there, that students were part of the job but that they didn't want to deal with their problems or spend time talking to them. Like, they enjoyed being at College because it was good to be able to research their teaching theories and philosophies and things like that – they were doing that, the senior lecturers and what have... But dealing with the students... they were like... okay, we'll deal with that now... they were sort of 'icky' for lack of a better word. And I found that's the impression they gave of dealing with the students – was 'sort of icky'. And I was talking to the other students at the time, I wasn't the only one that got that impression, and it wasn't just male, or just females, there seemed to be a good crop or group that sort of felt that certain lecturers were icky to deal with.
Gaynor	And you hadn't felt that when you were at university?
Subject E	To a lesser degree because you weren't involved with lecturers as much. So if you wanted to... I never had any problems with tutors or anything like that there because I was at the stage when I came to do my study leave year, I knew that if I wanted something and I wanted to see a lecturer I would go and track them down. At Teachers College I'd do the same, but when it actually came down to sitting down with them, some of the College ones gave you that sort of icky impression. Of course some were awesome. I don't know whether the varsity lecturers approach it differently or what. It may have had the approach where "There's a student, I've got to deal with them, then they'll go – so I deal with them quickly they're going to go quicker". I don't know.
Gaynor	That's interesting, isn't it? So really, it was sort of the pastoral aspect of College that put you off?
Subject E	Yeah, that would be a good way of putting it.
Gaynor	So, what did you do straight after you left?
Subject E	I was lucky that within a week of leaving I was able to get work. So I was very lucky in that.
Gaynor	Doing what? What work did you do straight away?
Subject E	Well, in my first break I actually had a temporary job which was supposed to last two months more or less as a courier driver, but I ended up going nine months, and that led me into working for a local factory doing deliveries when I left College altogether. But they took me on because I had the local knowledge as a courier driver, to be able to do their local deliveries and what have. And over a two-year period I ended up working in a small fish factory doing everything bar signing the cheques and filleting the fish. I think that had a lot to do with my background... because teacher training gives you such a wide variety of skills that you can turn around and even at a practical level... base level, you can adapt and change and do anything. Whether it be delivery... or just the basic skills, when it comes to dealing with invoices and paperwork, you know, just the general presentation that College gave me and still being able to do projects or do paperwork as well as... does that make sense?
Gaynor	Yeah. So that's been quite useful for you then?
Subject E	Yeah, yeah. Because I'm using the office work, the clerical type of skills and that.
Gaynor	Did it give you any other skills?
Subject E	I think a lot of my personal skills grew, just my world perception of things grew. In a lot of ways I still am quite naive about how the world works, but then again, I was even more naive when I first started College because I had a red-neck Southland attitude.

Gaynor	You haven't got that any more, have you?
Subject E	Ah... no. I mean, just moving to Christchurch and having to deal with different cultures and things like that, College has helped a lot with that too. I mean, you can't... there were just a lot of misconceptions I had coming from rural Southland, because my high school had 250 children, from one to form seven, and we probably had half a dozen Māoris. And any other race other than European was even rarer. So, I mean that was a real sort of eye-opener for me in my development.
Gaynor	That could have made problems at times for you at Teachers College too. Did it?
Subject E	No, not really, because I found that the introduction they gave at the start was really good. When they sat down and said this is how you deal with Island children, it's not as respectful for them to look you eye-to-eye because if you're in a position of authority, them eyeballing you is not seen as appropriate culturally. So, issues like that were covered in the first couple of weeks and they became easy to handle because we were given a good base to work from. And things from there were able to grow and move from there.
Gaynor	So that's been an attribute that you've got from College too.
Subject E	Yeah, I mean, as I said there are a lot of non-academic attributes which I've picked up and I've used.
Gaynor	Well, would you recommend teaching training to young men today?
Subject E	I think if they're interested in it, definitely. I mean, it's still a good profession. Based on talking to father-in-law in America and things like that and different people, I think New Zealand teachers are treated very well and if they're interested – go for it. If they want to do it. I still think it's a good thing to do. It just not necessarily my cup of tea. But you don't know until you try it.
Gaynor	Plans for the future?
Subject E	Up-skilling
Gaynor	To what?
Subject E	Well, I have no real qualifications and I could still be this warehouse supervisor in 20 years time at a lowish wage. I've only been in this position three years since we moved up here... well, nearly four years now... we moved up here so my wife could be at Teachers College in Christchurch. So that's part of it. Just upskilling, possible career change, looking at the police force, things like that.
Gaynor	Why do you fancy the police force?
Subject E	It's people-orientated and I have a lot of the skills. Yes. I've heard that with respect to the recruiters... I know one through church and he was saying that they look very favourably on people who finished their teacher training because a lot of skills based in it, things like that – but then you're dealing with different age groups and different situations. And I don't think it's a job that you could prescribe for.
Gaynor	No maybe not.

TAPE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT F

Gaynor	Hey, they tell me you're a dad! Congratulations - what sex?
Subject F	A little boy! He's nearly three....three next month
Gaynor	Brilliant. I'm going to ask you to cast your mind back to when you started Teachers College... a long time ago.
Subject F	Yeah, it feels that way.
Gaynor	Now you began in 1990, when you were about 21. What had you done in between leaving school?
Subject F	Ah, I worked as a forestry worker, I did some security work for *** Security. My very first job when I left school was actually working for what they now call Income Support. That quickly got me thinking about what I really wanted to do with my life, working there. I mean, I managed to last six months before I decided it was time to go from there.
Gaynor	Right. And what made you decide to go teaching?
Subject F	It had always been something I wanted to do, but some experiences I'd had, had put me off, plus it sort of... just after leaving school I really just wanted to get as far away from education as possible and do other things. And then when I was living in Auckland working at *** Security, I actually flatted with an old mate of mine from up north who was at Teachers College at the time and we stayed together in Mount Eden.
Gaynor	Oh, right. So you had a pretty realistic idea?
Subject F	Yeah.
Gaynor	Do you think having had some work experience made you better able to decide on your career?
Subject F	Yeah, definitely. I think knowing that there are worse things than sitting in a lecture for two hours or having some snotty nosed kids upsetting you, means that you can sort of get things into perspective. I'd think - well, you know, there are much worse things than this. Yeah.
Gaynor	Right. And what inspired you? Was it the money? Was it the conditions? Was it...
Subject F	Well, it wouldn't have been the money when I first started, would it? It's gotten better recently, but it wasn't when I first came out. I think it was that I really did want to do something with my life and I saw teaching as being a way of sort of doing that. I had... when I was at primary school and high school - I had a couple of teachers that sort of stuck in my mind as being people that had done things for me, and as I got older I thought about some of the things they did. There wasn't any real reason for them to help me out, other than that they saw something there that was worth giving a bit of a hand.
Gaynor	Yeah? Like, what did they do?
Subject F	Well, just... cause I wasn't exactly the nicest kid when I was at school, and I think sometimes people giving you that time and understanding you, so, that sort of... a lot of the kids that I work with now have the same sorts of problems, attitudes, whatever you want to call it - that I had. And I think that knowing where they're coming from and sort of realising that, 'Hey, they're just kids' - and that there's lots of stuff going on in their lives too that they think is a lot more important than learning - and getting through some of that - has been one of the things that I've thought I've done quite well. It seemed to be what I needed to do when I left Teachers College was to get into a place where there's lots of kids who have a lot to offer, a lot of potential, but some of their behaviour and some of the things they do, put most teachers off having anything to do with them.
Gaynor	Do you think your job is mostly pastoral care or academic?
Subject F	Pastoral at the moment, I'd have to say. I'd say that I spend more time trying to help kids get on, get their lives together or help parents try and get on with their kids at the moment than I do actual teaching as such, in terms of academically.
Gaynor	Right. So you're the acting DP, aren't you?

Subject F	Yeah. We're going through a lot of changes here and because they wanted to keep people who are on-board here in those positions, I got the job.
Gaynor	That's brilliant.
Subject F	Yeah, it's been interesting. I've learnt lots of things. One thing I've definitely learnt is that I don't really like responsibility that much, but when I have to do things I do them.
Gaynor	Why don't you like responsibility?
Subject F	'Cause there's all... I say to my kids that I work with, 'Since I've been acting- DP I've spent more time growling than I have working and having fun', and I actually still think of teaching as being a fun job – where I get to do things with kids. Especially with a lot of the new curriculum stuff that's coming out in terms of technology and things, I see those as being really neat opportunities for me to work with kids – in different settings and using a lot of the skills that... especially the Māori kids that I work with, they have lots of good hands-on skills, they have lots of neat ideas and, yeah, they just do neat things. But as a deputy principal you end up spending a lot of time meeting the mums and dads and trying to get people to settle down... or having interviews with policemen like I did today.
Gaynor	Oh, that would be interesting.
Subject F	Oh, yeah.
Gaynor	You've still got a class though?
Subject F	Yeah, still have a class. Oh, because I'm actually in charge... we go up to year nine here, we were up to year ten, but with the changes we've been chopped back to year nine. And my class is actually the year nine class as well.
Gaynor	That's unusual, going up to year nine, isn't it?
Subject F	We have applied for permission to go to year ten. We had year ten for a year and then the following year they said, 'Look you were operating illegally with your year ten, the ministry had only given you permission to go to year nine' – which wasn't what we were told. It's the old - one-minute-they're-saying-one-thing and the-next-they're-saying something-else.
Gaynor	So what about next year, will it be up to year ten?
Subject F	No, next year will be our final year of year nine. A lot of our kids who stay back, - they were the kids who were dropping out on their way to high school anyway, or kids who were having maybe some learning difficulties - and an extra year here would have been a good thing for them. At the local high school a lot of our kids... or not a lot... some of our kids go on into sort of remedial classes they run that gets them up to speed once they get to high school and things. And so, we were saying why send them up there where they just get locked in a big school – do the same thing with them here and then send them off.
Gaynor	Yeah, good point. So, what do you remember about Teachers College?
Subject F	Lots of sitting and listening.
Gaynor	Too much?
Subject F	I don't know that the sitting and listening really helped me a lot. Some of the people who I thought were quite boring and didn't have a lot to offer – I now wish I'd spent a bit more time with them.
Gaynor	Why? What's made you...
Subject F	Well, one person in particular, I remember ***, I think back on him now and think, oh, I wish I'd listened to him a bit more because some of the things he had to say on professional development were fairly important. They were the things I've actually had to use a lot more of, than say, some of the other stuff you listen to when you're in a lecture.
Gaynor	Yeah, okay. What were the best things about College?
Subject F	Honestly?
Gaynor	Yeah.
Subject F	The parties! I had a good time.
Gaynor	Was it because there were so few men?
Subject F	No. We had a... I was a member of the Dunedin Young Gentlemen's Club, we had enough men there. There was... there weren't as many as there could've been, but the ones who were there, we had a good time.

Gaynor	Oh yeah. You were always drinking and vomiting, weren't you?
Subject F	No, not me. I was drinking but I wasn't doing much of the vomiting, we had to clean up afterwards.
Gaynor	Oh, that's right.
Subject F	Anyone who was on the committee usually had a reason why they were on the committee and that was because they could handle it and clean up later on.
Gaynor	So they could clean up.
Subject F	Otherwise they wouldn't be allowed back in to the Student Centre.
Gaynor	Well, what were the weaknesses of the programme – Teachers College – that you recall?
Subject F	I think... I don't really think you can speak of 'weaknesses'. What I'm looking back on and thinking with hindsight - you can sort of think 'well it would have been good if...', but one of the things I've learnt is that you can't prepare people for what they're going to expect out there in the big wide world, because all schools are different. They all have different policies and different ways of running, routines and things, different expectations of teachers. I mean I can trot around here in a pair of shorts and sandals and then just go down the road and I'd get a few dirty looks from people and sort of saying, you know, you don't dress like a teacher. Whereas here, that's quite acceptable, we're comfortable with what we're doing and how we dress and act and things like that.
Gaynor	Yeah.
Subject F	I think it's not until you're actually in a situation that you think back on to what sorts of things you might have needed to know, you know? I think, if anything, it would be interesting to see what would happen if we went back to the system of people doing most of their training in classrooms and then only getting back to College for short sort of bursts of time.
Gaynor	So you stayed with the one associate most of the time?
Subject F	Yeah, I think that would give people a lot of help. I mean, we've actually got a couple of first year teachers here now and one of them is a male, and it's the little types of accounting types of things and keeping records and things like that that you have to learn each of the schools you go into systems. Those are the things that take up a lot of your time in your first year. But the actual running of your class and things like that – you've gotten that experience from College, you know what to do with that, it's all the other things that the bureaucracy sort of throws up at you. I know when I first started with all the changes in the curriculum documents and things like that, we seemed to spend like hours and hours in a staff meeting just learning about all this stuff that we sort of then filled in at College. We had a better understanding of it than a lot of the teachers that were out here.
Gaynor	Is that right? Yeah, you did say in that survey that you thought you were better equipped than lots of other people from other colleges.
Subject F	Yeah. And people who had been in teaching for quite some time. With the new changes, anyway. I think Dunedin College helped us with that. But then there were other things, like I say, I don't think you could teach anyone that, those things you have to get with experience and really as a teacher that's been one of the great things for me. I've been able to have lots of experiences here.
Gaynor	Good one.
Subject F	All sorts.
Gaynor	Did you find any difficulties at College being a male? You know, coping with all the female students and mostly female staff?

Subject F	I think you've got to... you've got to be flexible. I know a lot of the younger guys, and I was only a few years older than them, the guys who'd come straight out of school really noticed that there was a strong female sort of... I won't call it... bias is probably a way of putting it, but I don't know if it's really a bias or if it's just them feeling it that way. But, myself, I didn't find a problem with it. I actually thought it wasn't that big a deal. Being another work environment where, you know, you have that sort of thing anyway, or others where there's more males than females, and you still have the same sort of personality clashes and other things. But I think at College it was more for a lot of the guys who came straight from school, and some of the hang-ups that they had – it was probably a bit hard.
Gaynor	Did you go to a co-ed school?
Subject F	Yep.
Gaynor	Yeah. Perhaps that had something to do with it too?
Subject F	I think it probably did too. Yeah.
Gaynor	What did you do straight after you graduated from College?
Subject F	Bummed around for a couple of months. But straight after I actually had to jump in a car and drive to *** to an interview.
Gaynor	And you got that job?
Subject F	Yeah. We were roaming around... Some friends of mine, we were just getting ready to do a couple of months roaming around New Zealand in this bomb we'd bought, and my mother rang me... and where the hell were we? I think we were in Christchurch and she said "Look, you need to hurry up and get back here – you've got an interview", and I said, "you know, we can't get back any faster than we're going. Give me a ring in Tauranga when we get there and I'll tell you how I'm going". And it sort of went from there.
Gaynor	That was a lucky break.
Subject F	Yeah.
Gaynor	You said in that survey that the first three or four years were crap. What did you mean?
Subject F	I didn't get a lot of support in my first year, like as a beginning teacher. My support teacher, or whatever you call them, was actually looking at retiring. I had three different principals in the space of about a year and a half.
Gaynor	Gee.
Subject F	Because it was... The principal at the time was resigning. She lasted a term – she's the person who gave me the job. Then the DP came up, took over and then he got a job somewhere else as well. And then we had our new principal come along. He left, oh in March... the start of last year.
Gaynor	So it was basically the organisation that was crap.
Subject F	Yeah, and so... and at the same time now, looking back I can say that all that crap that went on made me a bit better at what I'm doing because I had to cope and learn as I went along.
Gaynor	Probably made you more independent?
Subject F	Yeah. Well, like I say, I don't enjoy responsibility, but when I'm given it I take it on. So I ran a lot of things. I was put in charge of PE and sport and at this particular school I'm in, that's one of the strengths of the school. Art and physical education seem to be the two subjects that they love. And so I found a lot of success with that as well, because we'd go off and explore things and the kids here do really well and different athletes competing and doing really well. And that helped me because I could sort of get an idea of how to do things and I sort of had a few strengths in that area anyway.
Gaynor	Yeah, but you've got a strength in English as well I remember.
Subject F	Oh, I don't know about that being a strength. I could teach maths here in the morning. We stream the kids into groups and... because we pick up on literacy and numeracy as being real weaknesses of some of the kids, we've targeted those areas and I was one of the few that sort of said 'oh, yeah, I know a bit of maths'. I'm now teaching most of the maths, four mornings a week.
Gaynor	Are you enjoying that?

Subject F	I get bored with it, but because I see what it's actually achieving with the kids I don't actually mind so much.
Gaynor	Yeah. Something good about maths, ay? A right answer is universally right.
Subject F	Yeah. And that appeals to a lot of the kids.
Gaynor	What's your favourite thing about teaching? Give me an example of something that gives you a real sort of buzz.
Subject F	<p>Oh, okay. Well, things like recently we had our Olympics, that was our last big theme for the year. This term we've just been sort of cruising along doing outdoor ed and stuff like that. But the Olympics... the kids here, when we get into a theme type of activity, we really get into it ...and we had a really good time. And those types of activities, even though they're really hard work to organise, just seeing the kids having so much fun and then talking about it and the knowledge that they've actually picked up – even though you think, well, you know, they haven't learnt anything – but then when you actually get out there and start finding out what they remember and what they've held on to from different units – that's what gives me a buzz. And bumping into the kids in the pub and they're saying 'hey, Mr ***, remember me?' because I've got a few of them...</p> <p>At this school they call you Mister and you have to figure out, if there're three or four men on the staff, which one is it that they're talking to. To differentiate, because I've been here for a bit longer than some of the others, I'm Mr ***. <i>(shortened version)</i></p>
Gaynor	Fair enough. So what's the downside of teaching?
Subject F	Planning, keeping records and all that sort of... the stuff that you do after school when the kids are gone. I don't enjoy it – I do it but I don't enjoy it.
Gaynor	<p>No.</p> <p>Do you think male teachers have a different role in the primary school than women teachers?</p>
Subject F	Yep. I do. One of the things I've been really interested in the last few years and been looking at is boys and their behaviour and their achievement and what they see as being important in their education and school life and that. I've been on a few seminars and just sort of been listening to what different people think. I think some of them have got the right idea in terms of - that boys definitely, definitely have a different view of education and what they see as important - and the types of learning that they enjoy. But I think as a male you also have a big role as a role model and you have to actually show these kids some of the behaviours they're not seeing at home.
Gaynor	So you think it's important to have male teachers?
Subject F	Oh, for sure.
Gaynor	Yeah?
Subject F	Especially Māori teachers, especially in schools like the one I'm in... I've seen... a lot of them have real messed up ideas about what being a man is – and that for me is a real concern. Seeing lots of young guys coming through now who their influences are. They're coming from rap music that's around, and they're really coming from backgrounds where there's maybe only one parent – they really are messed up, some of them, - the ideas that they've got going on in their heads. And it needs somebody who's not yelling at them or offering to punch their head in, which a lot of my kids that I work with have at home..... Who's fair, reasonable, listens to them, actually responds to what they have to say, and is a male as well – because, like I say, a lot of them don't get that.
Gaynor	Do you think that successful males teachers are sort of that androgynous type? You know, that they are nurturing in the same sense that women are? Or do you think that there is something significantly different?

Subject F	I think people would really wonder what's going on sometimes when they hear me talking to kids, because there's not a lot of nurturing and caring going on in what I'm saying to them. I think with boys, and I might be generalising a bit, that you have to speak the language that they understand. Especially with the lively year seven, eight and nine type boys that I've been working with. You have to speak clearly, not too many words and they have to understand what you're trying to say. And a lot of the times, I see it with kids, where they'll be getting so confused by one of the female staff and it's sort of like going on in their heads sort of along the lines of - "What are you talking about? Why do you keep going on and on at me?" Whereas, I just say "This is it. This is your choice. Get on with it. That's what we're doing". And they like it. There's not all that wishy-washy sort of airy-fairy type stuff. It's in one box and that's all they need to know. And I think boys appreciate that as well, because they don't need all that other stuff. They know when they've done things wrong or when they've done things right, and they just need you to guide them, I think.
Gaynor	Do you find yourself treating girls and boys differently, then?
Subject F	I try not to, but like I say, it's because of my job as the DP, I find that I get a lot of the problem children sent to me and a lot of the time they're not girls, they're mostly the boys. I find I have difficulty dealing with some of the situations that arise with girls - in our school anyway. Because there's just that different way of dealing with each other. They'll be catty and carry on for days and days, whereas the boys ...you generally get them in, you tell them what's going on and what they're not allowed to do and what they are allowed to do and that's it. Whereas, with us, the girls here tend to carry on with little grudges and... gossip is the thing around here - 'spinning' they call it.
Gaynor	Spinning?
Subject F	Spinning, yeah. When you tell stories about people, you're spinning. Spinning's banned at our school. And the girls are so good at it, we just...
Gaynor	So you haven't had any real bad moments yourself professionally as a teacher have you?
Subject F	No, not really. Well, no. I've had situations that I think things could have gone badly. Because of the area we're in and the... we're in a low socio-economic area. We have lots of interesting parents. I've had a couple of occasions where parents have come up to the school and we've had some interesting run-ins, 'discussions', I think you'd call it.
Gaynor	Like arguments?
Subject F	Yeah. We've got a lot of gang members that live just down the hill you see. And while they support the school, they only know... and that's what I'm saying about the role modelling thing... they only know how to cope with the strategies they've got themselves. And that's generally what they do. So, it's fairly exciting trying to talk someone into giving you their steel bar and calming down a bit.
Gaynor	Woah.
Subject F	And we have some interesting kids. We went on a few trips where... just because of the nature of the kids, they can get themselves into difficulties because of the way they are. They're very... not aggressive - but if people try and question what they're doing, they're defensive straight away. And they like to protect each other. They're very loyal. If you pick on one, you end up with about thirty of them. And we went to Rainbow's End one day and that sort of developed. We had a group of kids get all protective over one of their friends who said something to somebody and we then had to get everyone back on the bus and calm them all back down, so we could go back to having fun at Rainbow's End. But, as I said to somebody, it's that tribal mentality - they're looking out for each other.
Gaynor	Staunch.
Subject F	You've got it. And it's a good thing. It's one of the things I like about it here.
Gaynor	It is. Loyalty. So have you changed your mind about what makes a good primary teacher, or have you always known?

Subject F	I think you've really just got to be someone who's just committed to kids and their learning. Yeah. And like, I mean it's one of those things people put on paper all the time, but it's an on-going thing. I don't ever pretend to know all the answers. In fact a lot of the time I'm wrong, and the kids seem to like the fact that I don't always know either, and that we'll go and find out together. As opposed to people who come across like they always know. This age group is the age group I really like. I haven't had much experience with other kids. But at this age group I think that they want the opportunity to learn and they want to do it themselves, but they want someone who can guide them and not make them feel silly when they make a mistake. And some of our kids, they've had that experience – of people telling them that they don't know what they're doing or things like that.
Gaynor	Yeah. I'd imagine you're very good.
Subject F	Oh, I hope so.
Gaynor	Would you recommend teacher training to young guys these days?
Subject F	I think anyone who wants to get into teaching needs to think long and hard about it. I've actually had a couple of people that I've worked with at the school over the last couple of years go off to Teachers College and train up here. One of them, he had to finish, mainly because he couldn't handle the financial side of being at Teachers College.
Gaynor	Oh, the loan?
Subject F	He had a young family and you know, you can't keep saying to your kids 'well, no, you can't have that because Dad's got no money', and he had to leave and go on to other things. But yeah, another guy that I know, he went through. He's now teaching and he's loving it.
Gaynor	Gee, that must make you feel old?
Subject F	Well, not really. We have quite a close association with the polytech, who are also doing teacher training now and they send quite a few students up here, and, interestingly, one of them actually went to school at Otago Boys' High School. So that was quite funny because he sort of got up here and thought there was no one from Dunedin around here. He bumped into me at school and "Oh, yeah, I used to live down there". Anyway, he's just completed his graduate year so he's off to do his thing.
Gaynor	Oh, that's good.
Subject F	There's still a few coming through and most of them are pretty keen. It's just that the system puts them off, I think.
Gaynor	Yeah, I know. We don't want that though.
Subject F	Yeah. Well I had a mate, he was teaching at *** and he only lasted the first term and then he was gone. That was about six years ago now though. And I still don't catch up with very many people. I don't know if there are many still teaching from out of...
Gaynor	Yeah, it's pretty disappointing.
Subject F	I bumped into *** who was in our lot.
Gaynor	Yeah, I spoke to him on the phone.
Subject F	I heard he was moving up here. He actually tried to get me to move his blimin' furniture, I said "Get stuffed – I'm on holiday pal". He hasn't changed, he still gives it a go. And other from that I really haven't heard from many that are still around. Well, most of the ones that went through at the same time as me actually never went teaching when they first left. A lot of them went to the police or managing furniture factories...
Gaynor	Yeah, quite a few did things like that. And you've been at the same school all the time?
Subject F	Yeah.
Gaynor	So where to from here?
Subject F	Well, I've actually been brushing up on the old CV and looking around cause after this year, things change here. I don't really want to be part of the new set-up that they're looking at having, so I'm looking around. At this stage, I'd like to go to a small country school or find an area school so that I could still be in that sort of setting but maybe with a bit more company, I'm not really sure yet.
Gaynor	So you're looking for a job where it's a nice lifestyle?
Subject F	Yeah.

Gaynor	I can empathise with that. Good luck.
Subject F	Well, there's plenty out there, I tell you. There's one thing. There's not a shortage of jobs, it's just a matter of finding one that suits you and you suit them.
Gaynor	Well, our problem down here is all the students want to stay in Dunedin.
Subject F	Yeah, well, I don't know why. The rugby season's not turning too flash.
Gaynor	No they're not. Well, thank you very much for talking to me like this.