To identify factors associated with persistence in teaching and to supplement a 10-year longitudinal questionnaire survey of the 1954 class of City University of New York student teachers, 50 elementary and secondary school teachers, who had been teaching from 7 to 10 years since graduation, were interviewed. The subjects were drawn from a total of 210 graduates who had responded to four prior questionnaires. A content analysis based on summaries of the interviews and a series of rating scales was used. Findings indicated that (1) sex, marital status, and age of children are the dominating factors in teacher persistence, (2) the sample was strikingly homogeneous in their early family background, in their self-description of childhood qualities, and in the source of attraction to teaching, for example, admiration for their early teachers, (3) they experienced "reality shock" in their initial teaching experiences, which they attributed to inadequate methods courses in their training programs, and (4) most women expected to remain in classroom teaching, while many of the men planned to become principals, and (5) variables found unrelated to persistence were grade level taught, level of morale, and differing educational philosophy. The remarks of interviewees led to the recommendation that teachers be included in curriculum planning rather than being merely passive recipients of orders from outside "experts" and "superiors." (AW)
Teachers who remain in the classroom: An interview study of persisting teachers

by

Ethel Horn

Office of Research and Evaluation
Division of Teacher Education
The City University of New York

March 1966
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New York, New York 10021

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This study could not have been completed without the generous time given to it by the teachers who came to be interviewed after a full day's work of their own.
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**II Procedures**

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<td>26</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Chapter I

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Introduction

This paper reports a study which is part of a series of studies aimed at identifying factors that are associated with persistence in a teaching career. The four preceding studies used mailed questionnaires. In the present study, interviews were conducted with fifty elementary and secondary school teachers to investigate some factors, personal and work-related, which were thought likely to have an effect on the length of time a trained teacher remains in teaching. The interviewees were graduated from The City University of New York in 1954, having completed a program of preparation for teaching that included student teaching. They have all taught for at least seven years, and were still teaching when interviewed. They are, for purposes of brevity, referred to as "Persisters."

The present study was undertaken for two main reasons: first, because of administrative concern with the alarming rate of attrition among trained teachers in a period of prevailing teacher shortage; and second, in order to obtain more understanding of the nature of professional identification, and of the work-related satisfactions, frustrations, and conflicts of this group of professionally trained people currently engaged in teaching.

The earlier questionnaire studies surveyed, in 1955, 1957, 1960, and 1964, the career history of the 1954 class of teacher education graduates of The City University (The City College, Hunter College, Brooklyn College, and Queens College). The aims of that repeated inquiry were: (1) to identify career patterns; and (2) to determine factors associated with these patterns. The four questionnaires were brief, and limited to pre-coded items designed for quick and easy response to information requested, in order to insure as far as possible, a large and rapid return of respondents. The questionnaire items therefore consisted of factual data on such personal characteristics as job history, income, marital status, school level at which teaching, etc. The results identified sex, marital and family status as the situational factors related to persistence.
The present study supplements the questionnaire investigations with intensive interviews. Although it is restricted to fifty persons who responded to all four questionnaires, it extends the longitudinal data to include personality and attitudinal variables.

Interview data have not yet been collected on those features which may differentiate persisters from non-persisters (also trained in the same graduating class but who either never taught or taught for a short time, i.e., three years, and resigned). Interviews with a parallel group of non-persisters are in progress. The present report deals with the characteristics of fifty persisters, and leaves open for subsequent inquiry the comparison of findings between the two groups.

**Related Research**

Despite increasing enrollment in teacher training institutions, the continuing shortage of qualified teachers remains a perplexing problem for school administrators. Since most teachers are women, the shortage is in large part attributed to the high attrition rate among women who are primarily committed to marriage and child rearing (Rabinowitz, 1960, Impellitteri, 1965). The high incidence of "contingent career commitment" among women teachers, and "limited career commitment" in men, has also been reported by Mason, Dressel and Bain (1959) and Haubrich (1960).

Among the personal-professional factors noted as characteristic of teachers and teaching, Thorndike and Hagen (1961) found that those men who left teaching to move into some other career scored higher on a battery of Air Force tests than those who remained in teaching. The findings of Allensmith and Goethals (1962) and Johnson (1958) attest to the low esteem in which the profession of teaching is generally held. Rogers (1957), and Kaplan (1959), among others, have described the emotional and social pressures associated with teaching; and Rosencrantz and Biddle (1964) have specifically pointed to the lack of clarity regarding pressures arising from persistent disagreement and conflicting educational values and aims among teachers, the public, and community institutions. If teaching is
shunned by the most able (Thorndike and Hagen) and held to be only marginally attractive to those who chose the profession (Haubrich), and if most males view classroom teaching as a necessary transitory activity on the way to an administrative position (Mason, Dressel and Bain), then stability in the supply and demand ratio and a high level of functioning are hard to expect.

However, many teachers do make teaching a life career and some are more effective than others. Yet despite a large number of tests to measure selected aspects of teacher personality and motivation for teaching, and aside from implications derived from the many personality studies of teachers that may suggest why some teachers leave and others remain in the profession particularly Wayson's study of differing motives among slum school "Stayers" and "Leavers" (1965), and Steinhoff's study of "Organizational Climate" (1965), it is evident that there are many issues still to be understood and dealt with in recruiting, selecting, training and retaining teachers.

The baffling problem of how best to understand and thereby deal with retaining "qualified" (i.e., trained) teachers in the schools, particularly in the classroom, is still not satisfactorily resolved.

Objectives

In the present study the interviews were planned to cast light on:
1. selected aspects of teachers' early life experiences, i.e., sociological aspects of family background, places lived in, schools attended, and self image as a child;
2. when they first thought of teaching as an occupational choice, and what influenced them to do so;
3. their evaluation of the course of their professional development;
4. their current attitudes and feelings towards teaching and children;
5. their professional self-image, morale, career perspectives, and plans.
Through this information and through inferences made from the quality of the interview responses, this study continues the search for those factors that may be associated with persistence in teaching.
Chapter II

PROCEDURES

Population and Selection of Sample

The original 1954 class of student teachers consisted of 1800 persons. Of this number, 1628 persons (203 males, 1425 females) became subjects of the ten year longitudinal study of persistence in teaching. Shrinkage of this original sample occurred during the course of the four surveys due to (a) non-deliverable questionnaires, and (b) subjects' failure to respond. Hence, by the end of the ten years when the fourth follow-up questionnaire was mailed in 1964, a total of 840 subjects responded; of these, 659 persons had responded to all four inquiries (1955, 1957, 1959, 1964).

The fifty subjects interviewed in the present study were drawn from the 659 four-time respondents to the questionnaire surveys. Of these, 210 were identified as persons who taught for seven to ten years after graduation in 1954 and were still teaching, including persons who:

1. in 1964 were engaged in classroom teaching, excluding college level (all were regular appointees except for two per diem substitutes);
2. had been teaching continuously since graduation from college; or since receiving license to teach; or who left on official leave for graduate study; or who took maternity leave not exceeding a total of three years in ten; and
3. were still teaching in the Metropolitan area, including New York City, Long Island, Northern New Jersey, and Westchester.

From the 210 Persisters a sample of 80 persons stratified according to sex, marital status and school level was listed. From these 80, the final sample of 50 interviewees was completed on the basis of (1) listing in the telephone directory; (2) proximity to research headquarters; and (3) willingness to be interviewed. Approximately 25 persons either refused to be interviewed or were not reachable by phone; others (about 5) did not keep
their interview appointments. Thus a considerable degree of self-selection operated. For example, married elementary women teachers with young children tended not to be receptive for interview appointments, either refusing from the beginning, or cancelling later on.

Representativeness of the Sample

The extent to which the final composition of the sample represents the 210 full-history persons who persisted in teaching in the New York Metropolitan area. was determined by Chi square tests (See Table 1). The frequencies obtained did not differ significantly from the theoretical ones when all sub-groups are considered ($\chi^2 > 0.05$). There was no significant difference between theoretical and obtained frequencies for sex and, among females, for family status. However, obtained sample frequencies significantly over-represent secondary and single women, thus leaving open to question the representativeness of those inferences from interview responses that are found to be a function of school level and marital status.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Population</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Sample</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtained Sample</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of Actual Population, Theoretical Sample, and Obtained Sample Frequencies by Sex, School Level, and, for Females, by Marital and Family Status
A second basis for estimating representativeness of the samples is the proportion who were teaching in New York City public schools. In this respect the fifty interviewees were found not to differ significantly from the population of 210 persons,¹ and thus may be taken as representative.

The teachers' ages at the time they were interviewed are shown in Table 2. Although their ages ranged from 30 to 53, 70 percent were between

Table 2

Age Distribution of Subjects by Sex, School Level and Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>30-33</th>
<th>34-37</th>
<th>38-41</th>
<th>42 and over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Totals</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The 210 persons in the population consist of 152 persons in and 58 persons not in New York City public schools. These frequencies lead to theoretical sample frequencies of 36 and 14 persons, respectively. The obtained sample is 40 and 10. These differences result in a \( \chi^2 \) of 2.0; \( p > .10 \).
30 and 33 years old, and 22 percent were between 42 and 53. In the youngest category there were proportionately more males than females (75 percent and 65 percent respectively), proportionately more single than married females (77 percent, 60 percent respectively), and more married than single males (85 percent, 60 percent respectively).

**Interview Procedure**

The questions which constitute the interview schedule were organized around a broad range of topics and provided for a relatively intensive inquiry into them.\(^2\)

The items in the interview schedule included both direct and indirect questions. Thus some questions were relatively "closed," and elicited easily categorized information. Other questions were relatively "open" to encourage freedom of response. The interviewer probed for fullness of response when it seemed appropriate to press for clarification or further detail, in an effort to obtain comparable data from case to case, so far as this was feasible.

The interview schedule was administered in a relatively standardized, semi-structured fashion. Because the subjects were currently employed teachers, departures from standard procedure were introduced from case to case only to accommodate to the teacher’s personal circumstance (e.g., grade, school level-subject-matter-taught—as well as marital status, sex, and ease or guardedness in the interview situation). Otherwise sessions were structured to cover all areas of the schedule and the general sequential order of questions was maintained.\(^3\)

All interviews were conducted by an experienced interviewer trained in the clinical understanding of personality. In addition, she had experience in teaching both children and teachers in training. The role she

\(^2\)Content areas are to be found in the Appendix.

\(^3\)Interview Schedule is to be found in the Appendix.
tried to sustain was that of an accommodating, responsive, yet reserved participant in the interview situation.

In tone quality the sessions were informal and conversational to encourage the teacher's sense of ease, comfort, and personal connection with the research objective. It was hoped thereby to elicit reasonable frankness and integrity of response, and give leeway for spontaneity.

Interview sessions were generally conducted privately in a quiet room at The City University's graduate studies headquarters; a few were conducted in the teacher's school when so requested. Sessions averaged 50 minutes in length. All interviews were tape recorded.

Methods of Analysis

Each of the taped interviews was played back and the responses in each area of the interview schedule were summarized. A content analysis, based on the summaries, and a series of rating scales constituted the method for data analysis. Data requiring minimal inferential judgments were classified into the content categories. The unit for analysis was the response to a single question in the schedule.

All rating scales were constructed on a three-point bipolar continuum, some indicating degree of magnitude, others discriminating between qualities. The unit for analysis was based on responses to several related questions. Since these judgments were dependent on the affective quality of the response as well as on the content, the ratings were made directly from replay of the interview.

Two judges made independent ratings on all interviews. Where disagreement occurred, a consensus rating was arrived at. Estimates of between-rater reliability were obtained by coefficient of contingency.\footnote{The rating scales are to be found in the Appendix.}

\footnote{These are reported in Chapter III whenever relevant.}
Sources of Data

Three sources of data were used in this study. The basic data consisted of the content of responses to the interview; the other two sources were auxiliary and included;

a) certain of the 1963-64 questionnaire responses, and
b) interviewer's notes containing general impressions of the interview situation.

The questionnaire data provided such information as subjects' marital status, number of children, educational history beyond college, spouse's income, subject's salary, type of school and grade level at which subject was teaching, and subject's self rating on degree of satisfaction with teaching. Marital status and grade level provided criteria for differentiating sub-groups. The other information helped to orient the interviewer to the subjects prior to the interview session.

The general impressions were written by the interviewer at the end of each interview session. The main purpose was to highlight the special characteristics of each interviewee. These notes summarized the subject's reaction to being interviewed: his ease or guardedness, and his interest in the purpose of the interview. Included also was the interviewer's impression of the subject's way of presenting himself as a teacher.

Methodological Limitations

Before presenting the results of the interviews a note is in order to further clarify the conduct and outcome of this study. The way in which this study was conceived and structured was in large part determined by its function in relation to the longitudinal surveys. But the design was also limited for at least the following reasons:

a) Sample size was small. Statistical comparisons based on observed differences among the sub-groups in the sample were therefore not appropriate. Instead, a qualitative approach and simple quantitative description of the data was followed.
b) If a comparison group of Non-Persisters had been included in the study sample, data collection and analysis could have been more sharply focussed on the issue of persistence.

c) If more cognizance had been taken of the fact that most teachers are women and that women account for most of the dropouts, a more fruitful approach might have been to structure the investigation to study the profession in terms of its meaning and relevance to the socio-psychological factors of professional commitment among women.

There is usually good reason to question the validity of self-report data. The contention here is that the quality of rapport established in the interview sessions helps to mediate against an undue amount of distortion in the data. Other factors safeguarding reasonable credibility were:

(a) the essentially volunteer composition of the sample, implying intrinsic interest in the research project--an interest not based on either financial or job rewards; and (b) in the rating of the responses, affective characteristics were as much taken into account as were the factual elements of the responses.
Chapter III

QUANTITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF PERSISTERS

Identification with Teaching

Sociological Aspects of Family Background

It is assumed that many attitudes and underlying needs originate, as far as the individual is concerned, in the family situation. Hence data on the sociological aspects of the teachers' family background were examined. Sociologically these data have significance for aspects of cultural mobility. Clinically, it is assumed that they have psychological significance for a person's personal and social orientation in his culture--affecting his life style, his basic sense of "belonging" in his culture, his values, and perhaps career or job choice.

Social Class Origin. The teachers in this sample came mainly from upper working class and lower middle class backgrounds as roughly assessed by the occupational and educational status of both parents. The data in Table 3 show a pattern similar to Chicago studies reporting teachers' class origin (Peterson, 1964).

The predominant occupational levels in which fathers were classified were semi-skilled workers and small store owners. A scattering of laborers and technicians in semi-professional occupations is also evident. Only two fathers were reported as members of a profession (a school principal and a rabbi). The teachers' mothers were primarily housewives, but about 40 percent of them worked part-time during depression years to supplement family income. They worked in factories, or as secretaries, or as store clerks. No reliable difference is evident in the parents' occupational levels as between the male and female teachers, or between elementary and secondary school teachers.

The educational level of both parents was generally low. Sixty-four percent of the fathers and 54 percent of the mothers were either self taught or had at most graduated from eighth grade. More mothers than
Table 3
Socio-Cultural Status of Persisters’ Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Cultural Variables</th>
<th>Parents of All Teachers</th>
<th>Parents of Males</th>
<th>Parents of Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1. Occupational Level:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1. Occupational Level:

- High includes Professional, Semi-professional, and Skilled Technical workers.
- Medium includes Clerical, Sales, Small Business and Skilled Craftsmen.
- Low includes factory workers and unskilled laborers.

2. Educational Level:

(in years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parents of All Teachers</th>
<th>Parents of Males</th>
<th>Parents of Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-16</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>16+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* High includes Professional, Semi-professional, and Skilled Technical workers.
Medium includes Clerical, Sales, Small Business and Skilled Craftsmen.
Low includes factory workers and unskilled laborers.

Occupational classification followed The Dictionary of Occupational Titles.
fathers achieved a high school education (38 percent and 24 percent respectively). Four fathers and three mothers were college graduates. Only one parent, a father, attained a graduate degree. Although the educational difference between mothers and fathers was negligible, the parents of the male teachers (particularly the mothers) had a somewhat higher level of schooling than the parents of female teachers.

The data in Table 4 suggest that the higher the mother's educational status, the more likely was the teacher to be teaching on the secondary school level. Sixty-seven percent of the mothers of elementary school teachers as compared to 57 percent of the mothers of secondary school teachers were self-taught or graduated from eighth grade. Similarly, 29 percent of the mothers of elementary teachers had some high school training or had graduated from high school as compared to 35 percent of mothers of secondary school teachers who attained the same amount of schooling.

Parents' Country of Origin. Approximately 68 percent of the teachers' parents were foreign born, most of them minimally schooled either in the country of their origin, or in the United States. The majority of them had come from eastern Europe (Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia). A few
had come from Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Only 20 percent of the teachers were clear second generation Americans. Six of the teachers were in a mixed 2nd and 3rd, 2nd and 5th, and 2nd and 8th generation. Six teachers were foreign born and became naturalized citizens (Table 5). A sign of a changing ethnic composition of New York City teachers is the presence of four persons stemming from the British West Indies

### Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persisters</th>
<th>1st*</th>
<th>Mixed **</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Native (Am. Negro)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes 5 foreign born who became naturalized citizens.
** Mixed categories refer to maternal and paternal differences.
(Negroes), one American Negro, and one of Puerto Rican origin. The extent to which these persons are ethnically representative of the City's teachers is at this time not ascertainable.

** Places Lived in and Schools Attended.** Aside from the five naturalized citizens referred to above, the teachers had been born and reared in New York City. The schools which they attended were predominantly public, although ten had attended parochial schools (Catholic, Jewish, and Seventh Day Adventist). No one reported extensive travel either within the country or abroad during childhood, an experience hardly to be expected during depression years in the socio-economic level represented here.

The "mixed" categories indicate maternal and paternal differences.
Image of Self as a Child

The interviewees were presented with an open-ended request, "Would you describe yourself as a child?" It should be noted at the outset that the researcher was aware that in self-reported data no differentiation could be made between the real childhood self and the tendency to color the self-presentation, either to enhance or to disparage it. The responses to this question were, therefore, understood as are projective data in general where the psychologist perceives these data as notions about the self, true or not, yet still psychologically relevant. In this case the researcher was interested in two aspects of the responses: (a) as indicators of the subjects' perceived temperamental quality and the attitude toward school which he is willing to acknowledge publicly; and (b) as one indicator of the degree of self-awareness of personal attributes. The extent to which the subject offered relevant, spontaneous, elaborative remarks to this question was also considered in relation to his willingness to be fully or meagerly responsive and spontaneous to other questions in the interview schedule.

Each subject was classified in three category areas of descriptive "recall" found to be most prevalent for the group as a whole, as follows: 7

2. Temperamental characteristics: Shy-Outgoing.
3. Reference to and concern with adequacy and achievement in school: Present-Absent.

Inspection of Table 6 indicates that for both men and women, spontaneous responses referring to general feeling tone and school were generally sparse. The preponderant ratings were in the "bland" and "omits" categories.

Over half of the women described themselves as having been retiring, timid, obedient, or withdrawn children who did not have many friends, who enjoyed quiet activities of the homemaking type (sewing, etc.) and who read many books about children their own age, biographies, and other

7 Between-rater reliability on scales using coefficient of contingency:
1) comfort - discomfort: $C = .645 \ (p < .10)$
2) temperamental characteristics: $C = .783 \ (p < .01)$
3) school reference and concern with school achievement: $C = .729 \ (p < .01)$
children's books. Such a reading pattern may represent a search for a more solid personal identity than their shyness, timidity, and obedience afforded them. Voluntary reading also may be considered as one index of identification with school learning, of identification with adult standards and, in this sample particularly, identification with teachers, since the educational cultural level of the parents in this group was rather low.
Table 6
Self-Description of Childhood: Persisters Rated on Degree of Comfort with Childhood, Shyness, and Concern with School Achievement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persisters</th>
<th>Comfort with Childhood</th>
<th>Degree of Shyness</th>
<th>Concern w. School Achievemt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discomfort</td>
<td>Comfort</td>
<td>Bland/or Omits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married (N = 14)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single (N = 10)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married (N = 6)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single (N = 8)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married (N = 7)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single (N = 5)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N = 12)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Totals (N = 50)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tempermentual Quality and School Identification.

It seemed appropriate to examine the relationship between reported shyness and the tendency also to recall and spontaneously describe the self via a school reference, especially in terms of aspiration for school achievement. This relationship is shown in Table 7. Those who reported themselves as having been shy were likely also to include school material through which to round out their self-description. Those who reported themselves as not shy (either outgoing or bland) tended not to include school in their descriptions.

Table 7

Shyness Associated with Presence or Absence of School Recall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Recall</th>
<th>Shy</th>
<th>Not Shy</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stage In Life When Teaching Was First Considered. Interviewees were asked when and how they happened to decide upon teaching as their occupational choice, and whether there were other careers they had considered. Only one teacher asked permission not to answer this question; all others seemed to have no difficulty. Table 8 shows the distribution of responses in categories "early" referring to elementary years and "late" referring to high school, college years, and after. A little more than half of the women (58 percent) and one-third of the men reported they had "always" wanted to teach, beginning in the early grades of elementary school. No appreciable difference appears for marital status in either elementary or secondary school. Comparing school levels, a slightly higher proportion
Table 8
Number of Persisters Deciding "Early" or "Late" on Teaching as a Career Choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persisters</th>
<th>Time When Teaching Was First Decided Upon</th>
<th>&quot;Early&quot; (Elementary Years)</th>
<th>&quot;Late&quot; (College &amp; After)</th>
<th>No Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Males</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Totals</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of elementary than secondary teachers decided to teach early—62 percent and 50 percent respectively. This trend holds for the men as well, since all three who taught in the elementary school, and only one who taught in the secondary school reported an early decision to teach.

Thus it appears that among these Persisters at least half made an early decision to teach. Early choices were made by more women than men, and by more elementary than secondary teachers.

Other Careers Considered. Teaching was reported to have been the only occupation considered by 30 of the 38 women in this sample, and by nine of 12 men. Other careers considered were one each in nursing, psychiatry, medicine, and business administration; two women gave a generalized response, "I would have liked a more glamorous career," and, "Yes, somewhere that I can be in more contact with adults." The remaining reported they
never really wanted to teach. One woman considered social work but was advised against it in college, and the other wanted to be a commercial artist, but was not successful. Two of the men considered medicine and government work (related to interest in history), the third was "talked into it" by his college advisor.

A few teachers worked as bio-technicians immediately after graduation until they received their license to teach, or until receiving an appointment. A few older women returned to college for accreditation when the teacher shortage promised jobs for them. Two older men left the business world because they "preferred teaching."

Summary. The findings on early-life background point to a narrow range of differences in this sample's socio-economic-cultural milieu. Also evident is the similarity of city and school life of this sample of teachers. There is no evidence that any direct influence towards a professional career orientation, and towards teaching in particular, stems from close family identification. These findings support other studies (Warner, Valentine among others) which emphasize the social mobility aspirations underlying teaching as a chosen occupational field among the nation's elementary and secondary school teachers.

For almost all of the teachers in this sample, the major influence underlying teaching as a preferred vocation was in connection with school, rather than friend, relative, or immediate family. Admiration for a particular teacher, in first grade or on up through college, was overwhelmingly reported. Only three persons reported enjoyment of school learning per se, and keen interest in a subject-matter field, as accounting for their first desire to teach. Admiration for a teacher, therefore, seems to be a very strong factor in a Persister's identification with teaching.

Professional Commitment to Teaching

In the normal course of events any conscientious beginning professional worker encounters at least some initial difficulty which taxes his sense of adequacy. It was, therefore, expected that some ordinary degree
of difficulty would be reported. In differentiating Persisters from Non-Persisters the assessment of degree of difficulty in the initial job assignment, and the available sources of help in coping with difficulties may be a discriminating factor.

Initial Adjustment to Teaching

The interviewer asked, "How did your first year of teaching go for you; hard or easy?" The responses were later rated on a three point scale: 1 = Low (no or little difficulty), 2 = Medium (considerable difficulty), 3 = High (very much difficulty). Table 9 presents the distribution of responses for the present sample as a whole and for sex and school level.

Table 9
Degree of Difficulty in the Initial Adjustment of Persisters to Teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and School Level</th>
<th>Degree of Difficulty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary (N = 24)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (N = 14)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary (N = 3)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (N = 9)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Totals (N = 50)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ratings took into account elaborative statements made by the respondents, whether they occurred spontaneously or as a result of probing by the interviewer. An estimate of inter-rater reliability, obtained by coefficient of contingency, was highly significant. (C = .708, p < .01)
Over half of the total group, approximately 56 percent, recalled with well-remembered affect considerable difficulty on their first job. This was so for more women (60 percent) than men (41 percent), and slightly more among secondary than elementary teachers, 60 percent and 52 percent respectively. Combining categories (2) and (3) the picture becomes much more severe among the women, and the difference in school level washes out for them but is accentuated for the men.

In their hierarchy of complaints and explanations for the difficulties which they reported, the teachers first of all pointed to the discrepancy between their expectations of the teaching role and the reality of the role actually encountered. About 75 percent of the group experienced this "reality shock." The teachers indicated that their expectation was that "the day would begin with the children in their seats, the teacher ready to teach, and the children ready to attend and learn." This is the classroom they saw in their student teaching placement.

Complaints were far less frequently focussed on the school administration or type of children. With relatively few exceptions, the reports were monotonously uniform and critical of the "inadequate" preparation for teaching. Elementary school teachers pointed especially to the methods courses in basic skills as not helpful either as an aid in lesson planning or in the technique of teaching the various skills, particularly reading. Theoretical courses (child development or its equivalent) were of some help, but the gap between theory and practice was repeatedly mentioned. Although student teaching was the most helpful and practical aspect of the training program and received most favorable comment, they were critical of the time allotted to it. They recommended a full day over a longer period of time. Instead of a college supervisor, they recommended placement with master teachers who would be free part-time to do supervisory training. They felt they were given minimal guidance, if any, in their student teaching experiences. But above all, they asked for a "realistic situation" in which to train, i.e., not just middle class schools and not only a model school such as Hunter Elementary or High School. From the college they also wanted more step by step instruction in proper program planning, especially because the "Board of Education Curriculum Bulletins" are broad and not
explicit enough." In addition, they recommended better instruction in classroom management techniques in such matters as class control, dealing with behavior problems, lining up children, and attendance taking.

Career Perspectives

Responses to the questions "Do you see yourself teaching ten years from now?" and "Do you foresee any circumstance that may make you decide to leave teaching?" are summarized in tables 10 and 11, and show the teachers' career orientation projected for the next ten years.

In table 10 the responses of the women teachers are distributed according to their age and marital status in three categories: combine home and teaching roles simultaneously; return after maternity leave; no return after maternity leave, or undecided.

Table 10

Career Plans: Orientation Towards Family and Work Roles of Females, by Marital Status and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status and Age</th>
<th>Career Orientation*</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>N  N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-53</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* + Combine home and teaching roles simultaneously
  + Leave for maternity and return
  - Leave for maternity and not return, or undecided
Inspecting these data it is seen that all of the married women teachers in the older age group (42-53) were clearly committed to remain in teaching without interruption. Their children ranged in age from 11 to 25 years. Only one woman in this group had no children. Their salaries ranged from $10,045 to $7450 and averaged about $8685. Two of them were widows, one was divorced. Where spouses' salaries were given (in 3 cases) two earned between $6,000 and $10,000, and the third earned between $10,000 and $14,000.

The younger married teachers (between 31 and 33) were almost equally divided between, on the one hand planning to continue to teach without interruption, and, on the other hand, not returning after maternity (when it occurred), or were undecided. Of those in the group who wanted to continue teaching combining home and work simultaneously, two had no children; three had children aged from 5 to 9. Their salaries ranged from $1800 to $8650. None was divorced or widowed. Their spouses' income, when given, was between $6,000 and $10,000.

Those in the group who were undecided or who thought they might not return after maternity leave included three who were awaiting pregnancy. They were earning between $6500 and $7500. Their spouses' income, when given was within the $6,000 to $10,000 bracket. The remaining two teachers each had children between 6 and 9 years old; one of them felt quite harassed in her dual role, the other was a widow looking forward to marriage.

Half of the single women, when asked about plans if they should marry, expressed a preference for staying home with young children, and returning when the children should reach school age. However, an equal number looked forward to not returning if they should marry and have children.

Table 11 shows the distribution of all teachers with regard to their expectations of remaining in elementary and secondary school classrooms or moving either to administrative positions or to college teaching. Inspecting this table it is readily seen that 56 percent either prefer, or for other reasons expect, to remain teachers of children. Both males and females in the elementary school appear more inclined to stay in the classroom than do those in the secondary school. In general, relatively more men, approximately 40 percent, wanted to move out of the classroom as compared with 29 percent of the women.
Table 11
Career Plans: Expectation of Remaining in Classroom Teaching or Moving to Administration or College Teaching, by Sex and School Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and School Level</th>
<th>Stay in Classroom</th>
<th>Move to Administration or College Level</th>
<th>No Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary (N = 24)</td>
<td>17 70</td>
<td>6 26</td>
<td>1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (N = 14)</td>
<td>5 36</td>
<td>5 36</td>
<td>4 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary (N = 3)</td>
<td>2 66</td>
<td>1 34</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (N = 9)</td>
<td>4 44</td>
<td>4 44</td>
<td>1 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N = 50)</td>
<td>28 56</td>
<td>16 32</td>
<td>6 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morale

Each subject was rated on a three-point scale for general level of morale, taking into account both the content and affective quality of his responses to several questions. The response to the direct question, "Do you feel that your particular school helps or hinders you in being the kind of teacher you want to be?" was assigned relatively more weight than the following questions: "Do you feel there is anything about school life for teachers or children that you wish could be different and, if possible, changed?" "How do you describe teaching as an experience?" "Do you feel you've changed much as a teacher, and in what way(s) has change occurred; to what do you attribute change?" "Do you foresee any factors or conditions that would make you decide to leave teaching?" "Do you plan to stay in the same school; why?" "Do you have plans or goals for self-development as a teacher?"
Taken separately, some of these questions and possible responses to them obviously vary in their direct relevance to morale. However, in order to reflect the multi-faceted complexity of this factor, responses to the array of questions were judged in combination, and a synthetic rating was assigned to each subject. Thus each assigned rating (H.M.L.) was based on a global impression. \(^9\)

**General Group Trend on Morale:** The distribution of ratings for all Persisters is summarized in Table 12. It seems reasonable to characterize half of the group (52 percent) as teachers with high morale who presented themselves as having a pervasive feeling of acceptance, enjoyment and satisfaction in their present job.

### Table 12

**Distribution of Ratings by Sex, Marital Status, and School Level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persister Group</th>
<th>Morale Rating in Percentages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School Level:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Persisters</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\)An estimate of inter-rater reliability was obtained by contingency coefficient: \(C = .76, p < .01.\)
A sizable number, 30 percent of the sample, fall within the middle range; these form a mixed group. Some of the members in this group presented themselves as bland; the others reflected a generally positive, but qualified, level of morale. They professed a strong sense of mission and commitment to teaching, but they also reported a perceptible amount of realistic frustration and loss of idealism; or annoyance due to personal discomfort (walking too many stairs; too much paper work; the ban against prayers; the rut that is so easy to get into). They were clearly lacking in bitterness. They were instead, more similar to the high group, but differed from them in their heightened awareness of frustration and consequent lessening of satisfaction.

Only nine teachers out of the 50 interviewed, representing 18 percent of the whole group, may be characterized as projecting a sense of bitterness and lack of commitment.

Sex, school level and marital status, each examined separately, showed only negligible differences.
Chapter IV

QUALITATIVE DESCRIPTION

A brief account of the subjects' impact on the interviewer is presented here. This section draws on the interviewer's frankly subjective impressions. The aim is to depict only some of the prominent characteristics of the teachers interviewed in this investigation, in a form more flexible than was possible in the preceding section where the basic data were quantified.

In their initial reaction to being interviewed, most of these teachers were dutiful and cooperative. A few were somewhat apprehensive and guarded despite the interviewer's introductory remarks (meant to be reassuring) with regard to anonymity and the confidential nature of the proceeding. In general, as the session progressed, the teachers' involvement with the interviewer's purpose became smoother, more relaxed in tone, and less anxious. The amount of relevant spontaneous remarks varied for individuals and for areas in the interview schedule.

Those who seemed willing and able to give information freely and spontaneously also seemed to be among the most vital in their expressiveness, in their involvement with teaching as a service, and in their concern and respect for children. A few of these, among the single women in their early thirties, reported that they will leave teaching when or after they marry. Among the younger married ones with either no children or a small family, some planned to leave to take care of their own young children when they have them; or to move on to college teaching. Also among the vital ones were a few older women in their late forties and early fifties whose children were young adults or adolescent. These included a widow; one whose marriage was unsuccessful; and another who had what she called a "strong maternal instinct." These people tended to emphasize that teaching was "filling" their lives and they reported they will teach "forever" in the classroom rather than seek administrative posts.
There were other teachers in the sample who impressed the interviewer as having a bland, neutral relation to teaching. They seemed to be marking time, teaching out of economic necessity or general inertia. There were still others who fitted the prevailing stereotype of the docile, shy teacher, timid with authority figures. Fearful of the principal but desirous to please and to be approved of, they experience considerable tension when demands placed upon them are perceived as excessive.

But whether vital or not, a change in occupational field itself was not seriously considered by any of the teachers. After nearly ten years of teaching, their occupational choice had become fixed regardless of their morale status. For both men and women, when change was contemplated it was towards mobility within the school system, as specialists in reading, in guidance, or in supervisory roles.

The advantages of a financially stable, secure professional framework which allows for some degree of potential variety in the basic work role makes this occupation attractive, especially for the men, who seemed on the whole somewhat more restless than the women. The personal and professional aspirations of the women seemed modest. In their attitude toward careerism single women teachers were still hopeful of becoming married and most of them hoped they would not be teaching much longer. A family orientation was uppermost for them. There were also some single teachers who winced at the characterization of themselves as "career-oriented." One of them—a young Negro woman (elementary school level) said: "It sounds as though we are not interested in anything else." Cultural and recreational pursuits, dating, and marriage were in their inventory of reported activities and wishes. Thus the above remark suggested to this interviewer a rejection of the stereotyped image of the spinster schoolteacher who devoted all of her adulthood to teaching at the expense of a varied personal life-style, as well as a rejection of total commitment to any work role as the sole basis for establishing a personal self-identity. The first stereotype is fast disappearing. The second rejection may perhaps be symptomatic of a more pervasive social-psychological current affecting other professions—but more particularly teaching—partly because most teachers are women. But even among the men, notably among the married ones, extra-
school activities were devoted first of all to family involvements. Educational conferences and reading professional literature or journals tended to be by-passed or neglected by both men and women. More of the single men in the sample—though not all—engaged in professional pursuits. Two of these were bachelors, aged 40 and 44; they also came to teaching later after having tried another occupation. Only two of the teachers reported writing for the field. In general, goals for professional development were defined within the framework of advancement within the schools.

With very few exceptions they thought of themselves as typical teachers, and a strong group identity seemed more prevalent than a self-differentiated awareness of personal uniqueness. They accepted the school system for what it was. Some "merged" with it despite their minor complaints. Others put the burden upon themselves to work more creatively within it, feeling variable or occasional success. Almost all the teachers felt that their school did not hamper them from being the kind of teacher they wanted to be. But they did project a sense of loss of earlier idealism and enthusiasm as they reported a more realistic adaptation to reality. Thus most of them expected modest scholastic achievement from the children, although they seemed more exacting about children learning good behavior, citizenship, and interpersonal tolerance and acceptance. Nor did they expect or ask for personal rewards or special recognition for their work. From their superiors they asked for more professional respect—a chance to be heard in curriculum decisions, and to be trusted and not checked upon for trivia.

But the hardened, bitter, and disillusioned teacher was hardly evident. Perhaps these did not come to be interviewed; perhaps teachers in their thirties are still capable of relative serenity and cool realism, as Peterson (1964) points out in his study of age and generational differences among Chicago teachers. Perhaps also, strong pride operated for some: pride in needing to feel competent and pride in teaching as a professional endeavor.

They were also loyal to public education and proud of it. These teachers were not paying lip service in their reported preference for
public rather than private schools. For their own children they uniformly preferred the public school, including the municipal colleges, as against the private, independent ones. It was surprising, however, that only two teachers in the sample reported that they knew what the private progressive experimental schools tried to accomplish in their teaching, and none had ever visited to observe the kind of teaching these schools were undertaking.

In their educational viewpoint they projected a mid-point position between a "traditional" and a "progressive" school approach. This was part of their "adaptation to reality." As one teacher put it--"Dewey's ideas unfortunately do not work here." And another teacher said: "Conformity doesn't hurt--it didn't hurt me."

Almost all impressed the interviewer as having a strong sense of caring about the children they teach. They enjoyed the times of pleasure that came when the children responded to their wishes for them. All of them wanted the children to enjoy learning. Although the frustration in this area tended to be considerable, nevertheless, most of the teachers reported a sense of resiliency in themselves, and many of them did express a relatively high level of physical and emotional energy. Among the elementary school women this resiliency was underpinned with a strong maternal, nurturing orientation to children. To the secondary school teachers, men and some women, teaching was an outlet for speaking to the world through children, and through their interest, whether strong or marginal, in their subject matter field. But in general the teachers said one had to enjoy teaching as an ideal per se, because the immediate rewards were sparse, and recognition for their work was elusive. Children were either not capable learners, or they did not work hard enough even if capable. Teaching was fatiguing--and many deplored a perceptible lessening of their available energy.

More job than career-oriented, most of the single women in this sample seemed to fit the current cultural pattern of their sex-role expectations without a sense of dilemma or conflict. If they would eventually become careerists it would be by default, i.e., through spinsterhood. Their strong need for family affiliation seemed to be expressed in their living arrangements. All, without exception, have chosen to live with
their parents or other near relatives rather than in an apartment of their own.

Modest in their personal and professional aspirations, this sample of people are not pace-setters, as teachers, or as educators for social change, or as women in the work world. Nor do they feel that such an orientation is expected of them. Recessive and plain in their appearance, not bound strongly to a specified or "counter cyclical" educational ideology (David Reisman), conformist in their acceptance of the prevailing values and approaches in the educational system, after almost ten years of teaching they adapt with a functioning equilibrium to what is expected of them in the school's authority system--and for the most part with a productive morale so long as the principal lets them alone in their classroom with children.
Chapter V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Interviews were conducted with fifty elementary and secondary school teachers who have been teaching seven to ten years since graduating, in 1954, from the teacher-education program of the senior colleges in The City University of New York. The purpose of the study was to supplement, by means of interviews, a ten-year longitudinal questionnaire survey of the career history of the 1954 class of student teachers, and to extend the investigation of factors which may be related to persistence in teaching. In contrast to the questionnaire surveys which were concerned with demographic factors (sex, age, marital status etc.), the interview study included other personal and attitudinal factors presumed to have formative significance for subsequent attitudes towards teaching as a career commitment.

Before reviewing and discussing the results obtained, it should be noted at the outset that the teachers in this study represent a single graduating class of teachers from four municipal colleges of The City University of New York. In addition, although the interviewees represent an adequate sample (according to certain selected criteria) of the 210 Persisters identified in the longitudinal questionnaire survey, they were also a self-selected group to a certain extent. They were, for instance, as much persisters in responding to the four questionnaire surveys and in willingness to keep their interview appointments, as they were Persisters in teaching.

The degree to which results may be generalized to other "Persisting" teachers is qualified by the age, and more specifically, the decade into which this sample was born and subsequently reared. Born in the depression years and educated through high school and college during a period of declining progressivism in political, social, and educational ideology, and reaching adulthood during a period of increasing economic and financial affluence, they may be different in aspects of life-style and life values from the generation of teachers that preceded them, or from those who may follow them.
With respect to persistence, the present results support the findings of the questionnaire surveys and re-emphasize the well known fact that sex, marital status, and age of children are highly potent factors underlying persistence in teaching. Men teachers had no intention to exchange teaching for another occupation. Having taught over five years, they remain a stable work force within the profession. Single women, currently "careerists," reported their intention to leave teaching if and when they marry. If they were to return, it would not be before their children were at least of school age or later. Likewise, married teachers without children were awaiting pregnancy, and intended to stay out of teaching in order to have a close "mothering" relation to their children. Only a few contemplated per-diem substituting in combination with family involvement. Women teachers in their forties and early fifties who had grown children said they would teach indefinitely.

Other findings which emerged from the interview include the following:

1) There was indication that this sample of teachers tended to be a strikingly homogeneous group in respect to their early family background, in their self-description of childhood qualities, and in their source of attraction to teaching. They came almost exclusively from lower middle-class and upper working-class homes. Almost all were born and raised in New York City. Most of them attended the city's public schools. The female teachers, almost exclusively, described themselves as having been shy, quiet, obedient children. They were attracted to teaching early in life (in the elementary school years) and on the basis of their admiration of teachers. Very few of them either explored or considered other careers.

2) In their initial adjustment to teaching they experienced "reality shock" which they attributed to inadequate methods courses in the training program. Disparity between theory and practice, and restricted experience and inadequate guidance in student teaching, were the main areas about which they were critical. The fact that these teachers continued on the job and in the profession may suggest stamina, resiliency, a high threshold for frustration, and adaptability to the teaching task.
3) Most of the women teachers expected to remain in classroom teaching rather than enter administrative positions, whereas many of the men planned to become principals.

4) Approximately half of the group may be characterized as having a high level of morale, despite complaints centering around realistic frustrations and general loss of idealism. Only a small minority had low morale.

The extent to which the above characteristics differentiate Persisters from Non-Persisters can be ascertained only on the basis of closer study of both groups based on comparable data. Nevertheless, the present findings support certain recommended practices which may help retain more teachers in the field. In order to encourage women with young children to return to teaching earlier, Rabinowitz and Crawford (1958) and Impelliteri (1965) have suggested:

1. establishment of free-tuition nursery schools close to existing elementary and secondary schools; and
2. extension of opportunities for part-time teaching arrangements.

In order to meet the problem of attracting more persistent teachers they suggested focusing on:

1. recruitment of the older group of students, those who are 27 years old at time of graduation, who tend to be the more persistent teachers; and
2. recruitment of males to teach at the elementary school level.

In addition, the following recommendations are suggested by this study based more directly on the results of the interview:

1. The teachers' almost uniform criticism of the teacher training program suggests the need for close examination of present training procedures. Perhaps they have improved sufficiently since 1954; perhaps not.

2. To promote professional commitment among teachers, teachers must be convinced that they are perceived as professionals by all those engaged in the business of educating children. The most vital teachers among the persisters felt they should be considered as colleagues in
curriculum planning, instead of being passive recipients of "orders" (however subtly administered) from outside "experts" and "superiors."
The rut into which they felt it was so easy to slide may be by-passed by opportunity for extensive and deep involvement with professional concerns in a professionally oriented interpersonal relationship.

When the teacher shortage is viewed in even broader terms than those thus far considered, then the persistence issue becomes part of a larger social dilemma. Not only are our women teachers engaged in a traditionally feminine occupation and directed towards the extension of the nurturing role in their conception of teaching, but family life is the central core of the factors interacting with their career pattern. In this respect they maintain the status quo of the essentially traditional image of women in our society with respect to the role of women in home and outside work.

If each generation of teachers is essentially self-selected in terms of admiration for their teachers, to what extent does each generation of teachers emulate, in certain basic ways, the preceding one? To what extent does the lack of variation in career pattern and in early life experiences affect the values communicated to the children (some of them prospective teachers) and particularly with regard to the development of social sex-role identification as this relates to occupational choice and work patterns? To what extent will men choose to enter teaching, if the profession remains essentially a socially perceived sex-linked occupation? When social sex-role definitions are linked to occupational fields, the dilemma of how best to solve a teacher shortage (or, for that matter, solving the current shortage in traditionally masculine occupations such as medicine, engineering, or in the physical sciences), is as much a social problem as it is a more narrowly defined problem for school administrators.
REFERENCES


Interview Content-Areas

I. "Life Space"

A. Early life experiences. (Background information)
   1. Socio-economic-cultural background of family.
   2. Sibling constellation.
   3. Variety of places lived in; school(s) attended.
   4. Self-image as a child (re school life; self-description of personal qualities).

B. Current realm of experience outside of teaching.
   1. Extra-school activities related to regular classroom teaching,
      involvement in:
      - graduate work, or inservice courses
      - membership in professional organizations
      - other professional activities (e.g. union, N.E.A.)
   2. Extra-school activities not related to teaching,
      involvement in:
      - general family orientation
      - supplementing income (job)
      - non-teacher related organizations
      - general self-development or expression (e.g. arts, etc.);
      source(s) for recreation and entertainment.

II. Perception of Self as a Teacher

A. Self-perceived assets and liabilities in the function of teaching
   (areas of strength and weakness)
   1. Extent of apparent awareness.
   2. Areas or content dealt with.

B. Awareness and basis of satisfactions and dissatisfaction with
   specific aspects of teaching assignment:
   1. Type of school (location), children, parents, staff.
   2. Principal, supervisor.
   3. Work load (clerical duties).
   4. Size of class.
   5. Facilities.

C. Changing or static view of self as a teacher.
   1. Continuity of change.
   2. Source of change.

III. Orientation to Pupils

A. Awareness of modern knowledge of developmental psychology.

B. Perception of individual vis-a-vis group - categorical distinctions versus idiosyncratic distinctions.

C. Relatedness to pupils: respect, concern, involvement in fostering growth of intellectual capacities.
IV. (Selected) Professional Attitudes

A. Attitude toward professional preparation of teachers.
   1. Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with educational training.
   2. Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with induction, supervision, assignment to school and grade level by school system.
   3. Ideas for improvement in 1 and 2 above.

B. Attitude toward educational process: acceptance, rejection of current practices in Education (innovation; e.g. teaching machines, etc., curriculum priorities-bulletin, etc.).

C. Controversial issues (e.g. desegregation; grouping according to intelligence and achievement).

V. Career Perspectives

A. Stay in teaching; goal for development.

B. Move in hierarchical ladder.

C. Other careers.

VI. Overall Judgments

A. Formal qualities of responses.
   1. Clarity and relevance.
   2. Ease or guardedness.
   3. Fullness or meagerness.

B. Personal-professional qualities.
   1. Centrality and meaning of teaching in teacher's life:
      (Degree of involvement with teaching - basis of identification with role of teaching and teaching profession.)
   3. Intellectualism, non-intellectualism in presentation of the self.
   4. General level of morale - (personal degree of self-realization vis-a-vis professional teaching situation).
      (Level of tolerance vis-a-vis dissatisfaction and frustration.)

C. Interviewer's subjective impression of personal qualities: stereotypy, general professional stance; intellectual, social, aesthetic impression (s)he creates.
CAREER TEACHER INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. Background Information

(First I would like to ask about your family and a little about yourself not directly related to teaching.)

1. Where were your parents born?  
   Mother_________________________  
   Father_________________________  
   And you_________________________  
   Generation American?  First_____ Second_____ Third or more_____  

2. When you were young what kind of work did your parents engage in?  
   Mother_______ housewife?  Other? ______________  
   Father:  
   skilled worker_________________________  
   professional_________________________  
   business_________________________  
   other_________________________  

3. What was their general educational background?  
   Mother:_________________________  
   Father:_________________________  

4. (Now about your brothers and sisters) how many children were there in the family?  
   1  2  3 more  Are you: oldest_____  youngest_____  
   middle_____  

5. What was their education like?  
   What kind of work do they do?  

6. While the family was young was there occasion to live outside of N.Y.C.?  
   Was there occasion for extended trips in this country, or abroad?  
   If yes:  when_______ for how long _____ where _______
7. Did you attend our public schools during:
   elementary _____ and secondary _____ school years?
   If not: what type of private school?

Now I have some questions of a more personal nature.

8. How would you describe yourself as a child? Do you remember much about yourself when you were little?
   (Any particular hobbies or special interests? Friends? School?)

9. With whom do you now feel more comfortable - children or adults?

10. (If single): Do you now live with any members of your family or do you have an apartment of your own?

11. How do you spend your summer vacation?
    If travel: do you make any direct use of travel in your work with the children? How? (What is there about travel that appeals to you?)
    How responsive are the children to the experience you bring back to them?

12. During the working year what kind of activities related to teaching are you engaged in?
    Graduate Courses
    Professional Organizations
    Educational Conferences
    Read Educational Materials? Journals?

13. Do you generally have time for activities not related to teaching ... when you are not teaching what else do you find yourself doing?
    Are your friends teachers or not?

14. Do you have any particular role in your school either official or, perhaps, by reputation? For instance, do you carry any special responsibility, or do you exert any particular type of influence, formal or informal? How rewarding is this role?
    If not, would you like to?
    If yes, - Is this rewarding or is it a chore?
15. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the kind of professional training you experienced in college ... can you, for instance, remember in what ways your training helped you to become a good teacher? In what way, if any, was it of little or no help?

16. Knowing what you now know about what makes for good teaching, what do you think good basic training should include?

17. How did your first year of teaching go for you, hard or easy? Did you have anyone to help you? How free did you feel to discuss your problems with your principal? Your supervisor? Other teachers?

18. What do you think would have been a general or specific type of help to you during your first years of teaching? 
   or
   (If discouraged at first) - what made you continue with teaching despite the problems and discouragement you describe?

19. Now a few questions about the children in your class ... how many do you have and how would you describe them? Are they the same or different from children in other classes or schools you worked in? (Is there anything especially satisfying about these children?) (Especially annoying or frustrating about them?) What do you think they enjoy most or least in their school work? (In what ways do you feel they are growing?)

20. We know teachers are different. They tend to stress different things. As far as you are concerned what do you want to be sure your class is getting that is good for it? How do you manage to get this across to the children? When they don't seem to respond, what do you find yourself doing? When a child misbehaves or does not seem to care about learning - what do you do?

21. Do you feel there is anything about school life that you wish could be different and, if possible, changed -
   for children:
   for teachers:
   or for both:
22. Some public school teachers send their own children to private elementary or secondary schools. Why do you think they do this, and how do you feel about it?

Aside from tuition costs, do you see any advantage to the municipal colleges as compared to independent colleges?

Perception of Self as a Teacher ... 

23. These are the last set of questions now and they deal with how you see yourself as a teacher ... I'd like to ask you first when - and - how you happened to decide to teach?

24. Do you have an image of yourself of the kind of teacher you think you are?
   In what way do you think you are a good teacher? What are your strongpoints?
   In what way do you want to improve? Do you feel that you have any weaknesses?
   What do you suppose the children think of you?

25. I wonder if you feel you've changed much as a teacher. If so, how? Was there any particular pattern, in the way this happened to you ... any factor which you think accounts for this change?

26. Do you feel that your particular school helps or hinders you in being the kind of teacher you want to be? What about the school system as such ...? The type of children? - etc.

27. This experience we call "teaching" - how do you describe it?

28. Do you see yourself teaching ten years from now?
   Plan to stay in the same school? Same general age level?
   Any plans or goals for self-development as a teacher?

29. Do you foresee any factors or conditions that would make you decide to leave?
   (If you would leave) ... what other careers would you consider in that case?

I don't have any more questions to ask ... if there is anything you would like to say that you didn't get a chance at, please feel free ...
Criteria for Interview Ratings: Career Teachers 1964-65

(1) Self-Image of Childhood

(a) Degree of Comfort-Discomfort with Childhood

1. Discomfort: Subject reports much discomfort, unhappiness, loneliness and unsatisfying experiences during childhood.

2. Neutral: Subject reports no memory of anything outstanding; rather bland; omits affective recall.

3. Comfort: Subject reports very comfortable, happy, satisfying experiences during childhood.

(b) Temperamental Self-Image

1. Shy or introverted.

2. Omits this aspect of descriptions.

3. Outgoing, or extroverted.

(c) Absence or Presence of Pressure for Scholastic Achievement

1. Absent.

2. Omits this aspect of description.

3. Present.

Interview Questions:

No. 8: a) How would you describe yourself as a child - do you remember much about yourself when you were little? b) Any particular about hobbies, friends, school?

(2) Difficulty in Initial Adjustment to Teaching

Consider the subject's stated assessment of the amount of difficulty or floundering in his first teaching assignment.

1. Reports a clear absence of difficulty.

2. Reports some difficulty of relatively short duration.

3. Reports a great deal of difficulty, bewilderment and floundering.

Interview questions:

No. 17: a) How did your first year of teaching go for you, hard or easy? b) Did you have anyone to help you?

No. 18: What do you think would have been a general or specific type of help to you during your first years of teaching?
(3) Morale

Consider the level of morale in terms of on-the-job satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

1. Low: subject feels stymied for one reason or another; feels discouraged or bitter; is waiting for opportunity to get out of the classroom; feels his job is not very worthwhile, generally unrewarding.


3. High: Subject is satisfied with teaching; self-realization through teaching. Optimistic with regard to the impact of teaching; feels interests and abilities as a teacher are not hampered either by administrator, type of school or children.

Interview questions:

No. 21: Do you feel there is anything about school life for teachers that you wish could be different and, if possible, changed?

No. 26: Do you feel your particular school helps or hinders you in being the kind of teacher you want to be?

No. 29: Do you foresee any factors or conditions that would make you decide to leave?

No. 28: b) Plan to stay in the same school? Same age level?

c) Any plans or goals for self-development as a teacher?

(No. 14 possibly): Do you have a particular role in your school, either official, or by reputation? If so - how rewarding, or frustrating? If not - would you like to?

(4) Responsiveness during Interview

1. Low: weak, recessive, constricted, dull, conventional--meagerness of response.

3. High: buoyant, vital, forceful, personal flavor --fullness of response.

Rate on basis of total interview.
### SCORING SHEET

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(1) **Self-Image of Childhood:**

   (a) Degree of comfort-discomfort with childhood
       1  2  3  

   (b) Temperamental self-image
       1  2  3  

   (c) Pressure for scholastic adequacy and achievement
       1  2  3  

(2) **Difficulty in Initial Adjustment**

   1  2  3  

(3) **Morale**

   1  2  3  

(4) **Responsiveness during Interview**

   1  2  3  