STAFFORDSHIRE UNIVERSITY

BUSINESS SCHOOL

EDUCATION

Teaching Assistants -

the development of a profession?

Michelle Lowe

September 2010

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Staffordshire University
for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

Teaching Assistants – the development of a profession?

In 2003 a national agreement between government, employers and workforce unions introduced significant changes to the school workforce. A key outcome was a significant increase in the number of Teaching Assistants (TAs), who could take on some aspects of the work of teachers. However, there is very little empirical data about TAs, most of what is available is based upon limited datasets. Most previous analyses presume that they are an homogenous group, thus ignoring the possibility that there may be important differences in the types of TA and their deployment. The research reported in this thesis documents the history of TAs and explores their current role. It is argued that a typology of TA roles can be derived, which can help their future deployment in schools and form the basis for the development of a career pathway specific to TAs.

The national agreement was to lead to a new 'professionalism' (DfES 2003) and this research provides new empirical analysis which specifically explores the extent to which TAs have become 'professional' in the light of these reforms. In pursuing this objective the concept of professionalism in relation to TAs is critically appraised by examining the views of TAs and the teachers and CPD leaders they work with. It is argued that these perspectives on professionalism and professional status impact upon how schools deploy TAs. It is also argued that these perspectives lead to specific patterns of remuneration and working conditions which are different from those anticipated by orthodox labour market theory. A proposition supported by analyses of TAs' pay and job satisfaction. This thesis identifies that there has been an uncoupling of the factors normally associated with pay and satisfaction at work, leading to a mutually reinforcing relationship between pay and satisfaction which generates inertia and has the effect of negatively disadvantaging TAs in employment.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 The Development of the Teaching Assistant Role

Chapter 2 Teaching Assistants and Education Policy

Chapter 3 Professionalism

Chapter 7 - Understanding the determinants of TAs' wages and satisfaction levels

Section 7.1 The determinants of TAs' Wages

7.1.7.0 Job Role Model of Wage Determinants

Table of Figures

Table of Tables

List of Abbreviations

ACSL	Association of College and School Leaders
ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers
CA	Classroom Assistant
CLANSA	Certificate for Literacy and Numeracy Support Assistants
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DcSF	Department for Children Schools and Families
DES	Department for Education and Science
DISS	Deployment and Impact of Support Staff Study
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Employment and Education
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission
FDTA	Foundation Degree for Teaching Assistants
FTE	Full time equivalent
GCSE	General Certificate Secondary Education
GMB rights	GMB is a membership-based organisation that campaigns for and protects workers'
HLTA	Higher Level Teaching Assistant
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools
HMCI	Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools
LA	Local Authority
LEA	Local Education Authority
LGMB	Local Government Management Board
LGNTO	Local Government National Training Organisation
LSA	Learning Support Assistant
NAHT	National Association of Head Teachers
NASUWT	National Association of School Masters and Union of Women Teachers
NEOST	National Employers' Organisation for School Teachers
NNEB	National Nursery Nurse Examination Board
NRT	National Remodelling Team
NUT	National Union of Teachers
NVQ	National Vocational Qualifications

OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PAT	Professional Association of Teachers
PDC	Professional Development Coordinator
PE	Physical Education
PPA	Planning, Preparation and Assessment
PWC	PriceWaterhouseCoopers
SA	Support Assistant
SCRE	Scottish Council for Research in Education
SEED	Scottish Executive Education Committee
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SENCo	Special Educational Needs Coordinator
SNA	Special Needs Assistant
SNSA	Special Needs Support Assistant
SSA	Specialist Support Assistant
STA	Specialist Teacher Assistant
STRB	School Teachers' Review Body
SWDB	School Workforce Development Board
TA	Teaching Assistant
T & G	Transport and General Workers' Union
WAMG	Workforce Action Monitoring Group

Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank my supervisors. This thesis would not have been possible without Professor Nick Adnett and Professor Peter Davies. They have both been there for me, from my initial vague ideas to the final submission of the thesis, offering encouragement, guidance and support. Thank you both, so much, for remaining patient with me! I would also like to thank Professor Jean Mangan for her invaluable help on statistics and SPSS.

I am also grateful to Staffordshire University for investing in my professional development through the PhD. My thanks go to my colleagues in the Institute for Education Policy Research whose academic support has been challenging yet always caring. I would also like to thank colleagues in AERA, CASEA, BERA, BELMAS and UCET who have contributed their thoughts on my work at conferences and helped to shape this thesis.

My heartfelt thanks go to the schools, teachers and TAs whose stories lie at the heart of this research. Without their openness and honesty there would be no thesis.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the love and continuing support of my family – Mike, Matt, Jen and Dave – thank you for everything!

Preface

Having additional adults in a classroom is not a new development (Watkinson, 2003); schools have used parents as a resource in classrooms in the primary sector for many years. The ad-hoc development of additional classroom roles in England, reflected in the variety of occupational titles used to describe these people, contrasts strongly with the recent development of classroom support. During the 1990s additional support in the classroom was referred to in a variety of ways; Special Support Assistant, Specialist Teacher Assistant, Support Assistant, Special Needs Support Assistant, Learning Support Assistant and Classroom Assistant. There were additional titles used for those who held a qualification in classroom support work; the NNEB[1] and the CLANSA[2]. Since 2000 the term Teaching Assistant has become the common generic term:

> *"The term 'teaching assistant' (TA) is the Government's preferred generic term of reference for all those in paid employment in support of teachers in primary, special and secondary schools. That includes those with a general role and others with specific responsibilities for a child, subject area or age group".*

> (DfES, 2000a)

The research programme reported in this thesis asks questions about what it is to be a professional within education and whether TAs are developing a professional identity. Gatekeepers to TA professionalism are identified and there is a critical evaluation of the extent to which professional identity impacts upon opportunities for professional development. Further, the research explores whether current models of

---

[1] National Nursery Nurse Examination Board –This is a qualification offered by "institutions approved for the purpose by the Department of Education and Science, and by the Home Office or the Ministry of Health. The National Nursery Examination Board [NNEB] lay down entry requirements to courses, administer the final examinations and provide an outline syllabus for the guidance of those conducting the courses" (Plowden p368 para1029)

[2] CLANSA – Certificate for Literacy and Numeracy Support Assistants. A validated vocational course offered at Level 3 on the National Qualifications framework.

professional development for TAs are effective, given the changing demands placed upon their role in the current educational context.

The central component of this thesis examines the characteristics of a group of TAs from across the West Midlands Government Region and analyses their deployment within the primary sector. Further analyses seek to explore whether TAs are an homogenous group, as the existing literature and government policy implies or whether, from the deployment data, a typology of TAs can be derived. It examines the factors which determine TA remuneration and satisfaction. It also examines the ways in which TAs, and the teachers they work with, understand the role of the TA and makes comparisons with evidence drawn from previous research about the ways in which TAs work. This research asks questions about the definition of the TA role within the current educational context and analyses how the role is linked to the role of the teacher. More explicitly, the main research questions addressed in this research programme are:

1. **How are TAs deployed within the primary sector?**
   a. What are the key demographic characteristics of TAs?
   b. Patterns of deployment – are there distinct job role types?
   c. Is the currently accepted TA job classification an accurate reflection of practice?
   d. What is the relationship between TAs' characteristics and remuneration?

2. **How do TAs perceive their role?**
   a. What is the relationship between job role type and the perception of the TAs' role held by TAs and the teachers they work with?
   b. What determines TAs' job satisfaction?

3. **How do teachers and TAs define 'a profession' and 'professionalism'?**
   a. To what extent do TAs exhibit the characteristics of a profession?
   b. To what extent are TAs regarded as a professional group in schools?

c. Do the ways in which teachers perceive the role of the TA impact upon the way their development is supported through CPD?

In addressing these research questions it was recognised that a significant empirical longitudinal study on support staff in schools was being undertaken simultaneously by Blatchford et al. (2009) for the government. The 'Deployment and Impact of Support Staff' (DISS) research used factor analysis to identify different types of support staff. Their research developed a typology of seven types of support staff; TA equivalent, Pupil Welfare, Other pupil support, Technicians, Administrative staff, Facilities Staff and Site Staff. The DISS study classified all TAs as a single discrete group, thus ignoring possibly significant differences in types of TA and their deployment. It also excluded some key members of staff, who some schools classify as TAs, such as bilingual support staff, who were excluded from the DISS TA classification. The research reported in this thesis differs in two key respects. Firstly, it provides a broader analysis of the TA role, incorporating an historical analysis of the development of the role and professionalism, and also includes a more rigorous empirical analysis of TA roles as they are actually carried out in primary schools. Secondly, it provides a more fine grained analysis of the factors associated with TA pay and satisfaction. The DISS study analysed the remuneration of support staff but it applied an earnings function model to the whole class of support staff, rather than explore earnings functions exclusively in relation to TAs. The model used in that research did not include some potentially important elements related to key policy initiatives (in particular Workforce Remodelling), such as the impact of vocational qualifications above level 2. It also ignored elements typically included in other earnings function models such as the impact of volunteering, which descriptive statistics have indicated many TAs undertake (see chapter 6). Whereas satisfaction levels are simply reported in the DISS study, this thesis seeks to model the factors associated with differing levels of TA satisfaction.

In answering the above research questions this thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 1 traces the historical development of the role of the Teaching Assistant charting the changing nature of the role and the debate about what such post

holders should be called. The current role definition provided by the government (DfES, 2000a) will be analysed and it will be seen that some of the difficulties in defining the role are linked to the lack of standard nomenclature in relation to the job title. It will also be argued that the term 'TA' hides subtle, but potentially important, variations in the job roles actually being undertaken by TAs in schools. Despite the fact that the government identifies both the teacher role and TA roles as professional (DfES, 2000a), this chapter concludes by arguing that professionalism is applied differently to each group and that the way schools deploy TAs can illustrate the ways in which teachers and TAs define the latter's role.

The work of Teaching Assistants is set within a context where their role in education is being highlighted as part of a wider agenda of school reform (Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe, 2005). Chapter 2 will evaluate the expectations placed upon Teaching Assistants in relation to their role in supporting: the school, the curriculum, the teacher and the pupil by critically analysing their role in relation to the 'Raising Standards' agenda, Inclusion and Workforce Remodelling. These three interlinked Government initiatives have been significant drivers of reform within education under New Labour. The election of Labour in 1997, on a manifesto commitment to prioritise education, saw increasing emphasis on raising standards of attainment in education for all children. This was to be delivered through various 'National Strategies' such as the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies (DfES, 1997; DfES, 1999), which had specific roles for TAs in supporting learners. At the same time the types of learners and the range of needs to be found in mainstream schools were also changing. The national and international drive to make educational provision more inclusive, and to reduce the potential for marginalising pupils with special needs, meant the increasing use of TAs to meet those pupils' needs in mainstream settings. TAs were identified in 2002 (DfES, 2002) as important in enabling schools to meet the individual needs of learners. In 2001 the government commissioned PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC) to study teacher workload. PWC concluded that reducing teacher's workload was central to raising standards and proposed an increase in the use of support staff to facilitate that reduction. In 2003, the role of the TA was linked to the role of the teacher through the process of 'remodelling' of the school workforce (DfES, 2003a). Recommendations for deployment of TAs were made and new groups of TAs were

developed. Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTAs) and cover supervisors were able to allow teachers to leave their classrooms to undertake planning, preparation and assessment activities (PPA) (DfES, 2003a). The research reported in the later chapters of this thesis explores the impact of these initiatives on TA deployment and the understanding of the TA role held by TAs and the teachers they work with. It seeks to identify whether the defined role for the TA that has emerged is achievable given the qualifications and training of TAs, and whether or not schools are actually deploying them in line with recommendations.

In Chapter 3 the concept of professionalism is explored. It has been noted that the government has used the term 'professional' to describe both teachers and TAs (DfES, 2000a). However, the concept of professionalism is contested. There have been three main ways of defining professionalism. The first is to regard it as a series of traits or characteristics that an occupation must possess in order to describe itself as a profession (Millerson, 1964; Larson, 1977; Rich, 1984; Pavalko, 1988; Burbales and Densmore, 1991; Pratte and Rury, 1991; Turner, 1993 and Boone, 2001). The second conceptualisation sees professionalism as the result of external factors and argues that a profession must be judged within a certain historical, political or social context (Carr-Saunders, 1928; Goode, 1960; Johnson, 1972, 1977; Poulantzas, 1975; Parkin, 1979; Friedson, 1970; Hanlon, 1998; MacDonald, 1995; Abbott, 1988 and Dietrich and Roberts 1999). Whereas a trait theory would simply see a profession as a group of people sharing the same skills, abilities, qualifications etc; and a sociological definition would see professions as resulting from the way society is structured and organised, the third, an economic definition, sees them as a response to market failure. This economic conceptualisation suggests that professions are associated with a shift away from the 'free market' and are there to act as a collective regulator of economic activity (Dixit, 2002; Burgess and Ratto, 2003 and Adnett, 2006). This chapter discusses each conceptualisation and then moves on to explore how professional identities develop and discusses whether we can regard TAs as professionals using the three competing definitions. It will also ask whether professionalism is beneficial and if so to whom. Chapter 3 builds upon the analysis of Chapter 1 and argues that we must understand the question about whether TAs are professional within the current historical, political and social context.

It will argue that as the role of the TA is linked inextricably to the role of the teacher, the issue of TA's professionalism is linked to a much wider debate about teacher professionalism and to workforce remodelling discussed in Chapter 2. It will be argued that the government has an interest in changing the professional role of teachers through *'occupational control'* (Johnson, 1972) and that the employment and subsequent deployment of TAs is part of the strategy to facilitate this.

An important aspect of professionalism and professional identity is access to continuing professional development (CPD). Chapter 4 explores how the government has sought to develop the role of the TA through professional development and provides an overview of the range and type of such opportunities offered to TAs. It will argue that a competency based approach, based on an understanding of professionalism as a series of traits that can be acquired (Carr Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Rich, 1984; Pavalko, 1988 and Pratt and Rury, 1991), has been and remains the key feature of professional development. It will argue that relying on such an approach may be problematic, given the variety and complexity of roles TAs hold. It will argue that professional development needs to become more systematic if TAs are to successfully meet the demands placed upon them. If the government's aim of remodelling the education workforce is dependent upon the recruitment, training and development of TAs then we need to secure an understanding about how this can be supported (Hammersley Fletcher and Lowe, 2005). This is an area of study in which little research has been conducted and so this work is particularly timely. The ways in which Professional Development Coordinators[3] act as *'gatekeepers'* will be explored in relation to the provision of and access to training opportunities for TAs in schools. Chapter 4 also identifies the role of teachers as 'gatekeepers' to TA professionalism. It argues that teachers are also exercising *'occupational control'* (Johnson, 1972) over the role of TAs and analyses the reasons for this.

---

[3] The person with responsibility for making decisions related to training and development for Teaching Assistants in schools. In many schools this person is called the Professional Development Coordinator.

Chapter 5 outlines the methodology and methods used to gather data. The research was conducted in two phases. Phase one was a quantitative study to ascertain statistical information about the current role of TAs in order to examine whether there are any discernible patterns of deployment. Questionnaires were distributed to students enrolled on a Foundation Degree for Teaching Assistants (FDTA) who are currently employed in the primary phase. These are drawn from eleven Local Authorities from the East and West Midlands, the North West and Welsh Borders. 195 questionnaires were issued and 139 were returned which represents a response rate of 71%. The activities TAs carried out as part of their job role were subjected to factor analysis in order to identify inter-relationships and test whether the role of the TA was as homogenous as the literature implied (DfES, 2000a; 2003). This analysis is presented in chapter 6. What emerges from the data is confirmation that the TA roles are complex. Hence, research predicated on TAs as an homogenous group is unlikely to capture the full complexity of their role or be able to represent the subtle inter-relationships in relation to deployment and role type.

The research questions which sought to examine perceptions of professionalism and professional as it was enacted could not be 'tested' using a quantitative approach and therefore qualitative approaches were used. The typology of TA roles can help to explain the ways in which TAs are deployed in schools. However, this thesis also examines the ways in which TAs, and the teachers they work with, understand the role of the TA and the ways in which TAs work. It asks questions about the definition of the TA role within the current educational context and analyses how the role is linked to the role of the teacher. It identifies gatekeepers to TA professionalism and critically evaluates the extent to which professional identity impacts upon opportunities for professional development. Further, this research explores whether current models of professional development for TAs are effective given the changing demands placed upon their role in the current educational context. In order to gather data to answer these questions quantitative data alone is not enough. Phase two of the research consisted of semi-structured interviews in five schools. Interviews were conducted with each school's Continuing Professional Development Coordinator

(PDC), a TA and the teachers the TA worked with. In total nineteen interviews were conducted. Schools were selected to be representative of the sample population in phase one.

In order to more fully address the issue of professionalism the thesis explores TA remuneration and job satisfaction. These are important as each has been identified in the literature as factors associated with professional status. Chapter 7 is divided into two parts. In part one findings in relation to wages in the sample are presented and two earnings functions models are investigated. The first a human capital model of wage determinants uses parameters typically found in the study of wages in orthodox labour economics. This is extended by model two which incorporates a broader job role model of wage determinants. The analysis of earnings functions allows us to see if qualifications and training impact upon pay. In part two a regression model is developed to explain TAs satisfaction as reported by the TAs sampled. In using econometric modelling to explore inter-relationships in the data it has been necessary to provide additional information within both chapters 6 and 7 to aid the non-specialist reader. The additional information outlines why a particular variable has been utilised in each econometric model, identifying and justifying where the model used deviates from standard econometric models in relation to job satisfaction and wage determinants.

In chapter 8 the thesis returns to the three central questions posed; how are TAs deployed within the primary sector? how do TAs perceive their role?, and how do teachers and TAs define 'a profession' and 'professionalism'? The chapter summarises what this study has ascertained in relation to the key demographic characteristics of TAs and their patterns of deployment. It explores the relationship between job role type and the perception of the TAs' role held by TAs and the teachers they work with and summarises the factors which determine TA job satisfaction. It critically evaluates the extent to which TAs are being treated as a professional group within schools. The chapter ends by summarising the key contributions of this thesis to the knowledge base and reviewing the limitations of the

current study. Ways of enhancing and extending the research are proposed in the concluding section.

Chapter 1 The Development of the Teaching Assistant Role

1.0 Introduction

As identified in the Preface, the role of the TA is not 'new', however there is much about TAs that is still unknown. The starting point for this chapter is therefore to identify *who* and *what role within a school* we are referring to when we use the term 'Teaching Assistant'. The British literature on schools typically refers to those working in education as Teachers or Support Staff. Support Staff is the generic title given to those who work to support learners. This includes Secretaries, Lunchtime Supervisory Assistants, Site Managers, Caretakers and those who work to support teaching and learning. The label learning support assistant (LSA) largely signifies supporting the learning of a child with special educational needs (SEN), especially in secondary schools. Classroom assistant puts the emphasis on the 'domestic' role and teacher assistant emphasises the role as that of an aide to a specific teacher. From 2000 those who work to support learning have been defined by the universal term of 'Teaching Assistant' (TA) (DfES, 2000a). This title is only recognised in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as Scotland refers to this group as Classroom Assistants (CAs).

Section 1.1 provides an outline of the historical development of the role of the TA and in section 1.2 an overview of the numbers of TAs in the school workforce is analysed. In section 1.3 the way in which the role has been defined by government will be explored. The role is not new, but one which has emerged since 1945 and can be traced through varying job titles. The standard job title introduced by government was identified as a method of resolving this difficulty (DfES, 2000a), however as later chapters will show, this has not been fully accepted in schools and it will be seen that some of the difficulties in defining the role are linked to the lack of standard nomenclature. However, it will also be argued that the myriad patterns of deployment mean that a standard nomenclature may be inappropriate. This chapter will also argue that we need to see the definition of the role of the TA in relation to

the definition of the teacher. In section 1.1 it will be demonstrated that the TA role historically developed in relation to the role of the teacher and key legislation. In section 1.3 it will be similarly argued that the current conception of the role is defined by the TAs position in relation to the teacher in the school and the role of the TA as it was envisaged by government is described. The government (DfES 2003) categorised the role as having four elements: support for the pupil, support for the teacher, support for the curriculum and support for the school. Each of these will be analysed. It will be demonstrated that there is little empirical evidence available about the reality of what TAs do and that descriptions of their job role are therefore not necessarily a reliable indicator of the ways in which they can be and are deployed. In section 1.4 the chapter concludes by arguing that the current view of TAs in England gained from an analysis of government policy documentation would suggest that they form a relatively homogeneous group but that this is not the case. It will identify some key questions to be discussed in chapters two and three of the thesis.

1.1 Historical Development of the Role

In this section an overview of the historical development of the role is provided. This is summarised in Table 1.1 We can trace the emergence of teacher support roles in education to the 1944 Education Act. This act identified children who were considered to be *"uneducable"*. Pupils were labelled into categories such as *"maladjusted"* or *"educationally sub-normal"* and given *"special educational treatment"* in separate schools (Select Committee on Education and Skills, 2006). The 1944 Act, section 33, laid down rigid categories of special need: "*defective of speech, blind, partially sighted, deaf, partially deaf, delicate, diabetic, educationally subnormal, maladjusted and physically handicapped*" (ibid). Children were diagnosed, principally on medical criteria, and then assigned to particular disability groups with which particular institutions and curriculum forms were associated. These institutions had been employing additional staff to assist with the care needs of these children for many years. However, the first identifiable mainstream support role for the teacher was that contained within the National Nursery Examination Board (NNEB) role which arose alongside the development of nursery education early in the twentieth century.

The NNEB came into existence in 1945, and established the job role of nursery nurse with a two-year course, examinations and certificates for training young

women of 16 to 18 years and over *"in the development, care and education of the young child from birth to five years of age"* (Parry and Archer, 1974, p67). The role of the NNEB was one of assisting the teacher by helping pupils in the toilet and in getting changed for Physical Education lessons, and in generally keeping the classroom tidy. Indeed, they were appointed because it was recognised that very young pupils and those with severe and complex special needs, required help in completing these self-help and, by implication, non-educational tasks. Teachers, on the other hand, were appointed to teach the regular curriculum and the presence of assistants to help with these other 'peripheral' activities enabled them to do this.

It was the Plowden Report of 1967 which promoted the development of a more defined teacher support role and introduced the nomenclature 'Teachers aides' as the term to be used for trained additional staff in schools who could give substantial help to teachers inside and outside the classroom. Plowden saw this role building upon that of the NNEB role, which she praised for its quality which consisted of training in:

> *"observation of the growth and development of children .... students [NNEBs] are expected to keep records which they discuss with their tutors. The more theoretical parts of the course in the care of children cover the following topics; Young children in the community, Children's needs, Children's development, Special aspects of the care of children, Services relating to the care of children".*

> (Plowden Report, 1967, para 1031)

Table 1.1 The Development of the TA Role

Date	Title of Role	Overview of Role	Accompanying Government Documentation
1944		To assist in the care of disabled children	1944 Education Act
1945	Nursery Nurse	Helping pupils with non-educational tasks and "peripheral" activities i.e.; helping pupils in the toilet and with getting changed for PE, keeping the classroom tidy. Working with pupils under the age of 9	NNEB – Nursery Nurse Examination Board established 1945
1960's	Teacher Assistant, Welfare Assistant, Ancillary help	Generally assisting the teacher by keeping the classroom tidy / a 'housekeeping' role	
1967	Teacher Aides	To relieve teachers in caring for the needs of young children – 'welfare care	Plowden Report 1967
1978	Classroom Assistants	To assist the integration for pupils with sensory of physical needs	Warnock Report 1978
1981	Learning Support	Support SEN in mainstream	1981 Education Act
1986	Non-Teaching Assistant (Special Schools)	Differentiated from child care staff who took on a more caring role. Non-Teaching Assistants assisted teachers to prepare lessons and supported pupils to allow them to access the lesson.	1986 Form 7M School census special schools amendment
1990	Special Support Assistants (SSA)	Support SEN in mainstream and special schools	Circular 11/90 DFEE 1990
1994	Specialist teacher assistants (STA)	Supporting teachers with basic skills teaching at KS1	1994 Code of Practice SEN
1997		Support to cope with increasing demands Alternative entry routes into profession	1997 Green paper
1997	Support Assistant Classroom assistant CLANSA SNSA / LSA	Practical help with the organisation of teaching materials and equipment. If trained and working under the supervision of teachers, make a direct contribution to developing pupils' knowledge, understanding and skills.	Dearing 1997
2000	Teaching Assistant	The term [TA] captures the essential 'active ingredient' of their work	DfES 2000
2001	Teaching Assistant	NVQ standards – help with… Support … Contribute to	LGNTo 2001
2003	HLTA	Teaching	Workforce Remodelling DFES 2003

Plowden noted that the NNEB qualification, which was still the predominant training available, had "*made a substantial contribution to the staffing of nursery schools and classes during the period when little encouragement [had] been forthcoming from the central government*" (Plowden, 1967, para 1035). A clear vision for the role was outlined. The role had several aspects. The first saw 'Teacher aides' as *"an extra pair of hands for the teacher"* (ibid) and went on to suggest:

> *"There is no reason why they should not prepare materials for art and craft, look after plants and animals help with displays and exhibitions, and record school broadcasts".*
>
> (Plowden Report 1967 para 329)

Plowden noted that the teacher could only be with one child at a time and that the teacher aide could encourage and help other children. In addition, they could accompany teachers and children on out of school visits and help inside and outside the classroom in the preparation and maintenance of materials and equipment. A further aspect that teacher aides could engage in was *"supervising children after school hours while they were waiting for their parents"* (ibid). The reason why an extra pair of hands was needed was left unclear in the report, however given the emphasis in the report on meeting teacher shortages it is reasonable to assume that Plowden envisaged increasing class sizes alongside teacher shortages and introducing the teacher aides was a way of solving a staffing problem in schools. This begs the question about what Plowden would have recommended if teacher shortages were not perceived to be a problem. Plowden argued that to meet the increase in staff required in the growing schools sector, more aides needed to be trained. Plowden envisaged that the proposals would mean the training and recruitment of over 50,000 aides by 1973/4 (Plowden, 1967) indeed it was *"essential"* that *"older women should be trained"* (Plowden, 1967, p364 para1035). No reason was given as to why the aides should be older women. The NNEB, praised so much by Plowden, was after all aimed at young women. But Plowden had another function for the aides to undertake in schools and it was this that perhaps only older people could do. Plowden argued that there needed to be *"some change in purpose"* (ibid). The *"teachers' aides should be trained for employment throughout the primary stage*

of education and their training should equip them for wider functions in the schools than those of welfare assistants" (ibid). Teacher aides with special skills could help deliver some aspects of the curriculum on a part time basis. Such skills were identified as *"needlework, art and craft, handicraft, gardening, games and swimming, drama, music (including acting as pianist), library work and knowledge of children's books"* (ibid). Plowden signalled that schools could deploy people with dual role responsibilities i.e.; school secretary and teacher aide. However it was also indicated that some of the skills required by the aides in relation to delivering these aspects of the curriculum were specific and would require schools to employ new types of aides:

> *"The combination of role with the school secretary is seen as helpful, although the 'all rounders' are unlikely to be able to also help with musical or mechanical equipment".*

> (Plowden Report, 1967, para 329)

The need to employ such curriculum specialists reflected the teacher shortages of the time. But, as Kolvin et al. (1981) have noted, at this time, the TA was viewed as a domestic helper and no more. Clayton (1993) has documented the change in the role of the TA and notes that the early role was identified as a 'housekeeping' and 'pupil supervision' role, designed to free teachers from such tasks. It is perhaps understandable that the sudden suggestion from Plowden that the aides could take on some of the work of teachers was met with opposition. Teacher Unions "*expressed anxiety and opposition to Teaching Assistants undertaking anything which gave the slightest hint of substitute or unqualified teaching which they feared might dilute the profession"* (Plowden, 1967, p33). Plowden also identified a report from the Education Department of 1964 which quoted a high-ranking public education official as referring to *"teacher assistants"* being involved in certain types of teaching as *"scandalous"* (Plowden, 1967, p34). Despite this Plowden argued that the role of teacher aide was central to the development of education and to meeting the predicted shortage of teaching staff in schools.

Plowden noted that the steady increase in aides within the system was not going far enough, *"not everywhere and not comprehensive enough"* (Plowden, l967, p318). Plowden felt that schools had not recognised the benefit of having additional adults within the classroom and were not employing enough support staff given school staffing problems. Only 22 per cent of schools had welfare assistants to "*relieve teachers in caring for the needs of young children"* (Plowden, 1967, p318). Part of the reason for this was that there was *"little logical pattern"* (ibid) in the employment of aides. Plowden identified factors such the experience (or lack of it) of the class teacher and confusion over the function carried out by aides as reasons for this lack of logical deployment. However, part of the reason for this lay in the limited training of both the aides and the teachers, with Plowden identifying a mere ten "*local authorities ...running courses on a more modest scale for welfare assistants in infant schools"* (ibid). What Plowden did not articulate was the possibility that different types of teacher aide would be needed and therefore different recruitment and training strategies may be required. The teacher aides were positioned as an homogenous group despite the fact that there were likely to be key differences in the abilities of the teacher aide who was required to help deliver skills within the curriculum and the aide who was required to supervise children after school, but these were never articulated.

Despite the Plowden Report it was not until the late 1970s that the role of assistants began to significantly develop. The development of the role was linked to the earlier positioning of the role in relation to supporting pupils with SEN and not the suggestions made by Plowden in relation to support for the curriculum. It happened because of fundamental changes to the ways in which pupils with SEN were educated. In 1970, the responsibility for some of the provision for pupils with SEN moved from Social Services departments to Local Education Authorities. Pupils with SEN that had been excluded from mainstream provision began to be included in schools. To facilitate their inclusion, staff in ESN(S) (Educationally Subnormal Schools), as they were then called, began to receive training in a whole range of areas and began to move into mainstream schools. However, the concerns over the encroachment of TAs into teacher work was still evident, for example, Kennedy and Duthie (1975) noted that TAs could encourage students and help them when they

had difficulties, but were arguing that they should not plan activities, organise or manage classrooms. Despite the concerns some influential courses began to emerge which went beyond simply training TAs to assist with welfare activities. Of specific note here are the 'Education of the Developmentally Young' (Foxen and McBrien, 1981) and 'Portage' (White and Cameron, 1987) courses which were specifically targeted at assistants and the teachers they worked with in order to improve the experience and provision for pupils with SEN.

The 1976 Education Act (DES, 1976) changed the emphasis of education for handicapped children and young people from provision in special schools to provision in ordinary schools but it was not until The Warnock Report (DES, 1978), an investigation into the special educational needs of children, that the conceptualisation of special educational needs began to change. It introduced the idea of special educational needs (SEN), 'statements' of SEN, and an 'integrative'— which later became known as 'inclusive'—approach, based on common educational goals for all children regardless of their abilities or disabilities: namely independence, enjoyment, and understanding. The Warnock Report interestingly makes no reference to the earlier Plowden Report and appears to indicate that this Committee were unaware that TAs were a feature of schools. Within the text we see that the Committee became aware of:

> "the important contribution made by ancillary staff, sometimes called non-teaching assistants, to the work of classes and groups of handicapped children, and our evidence suggests that this is particularly the case where there are young children, children with severe disabilities and emotionally disturbed children. Not only do they provide care for the children but they enable teachers to concentrate their attention on individuals and small groups. Moreover, they themselves carry out important educational work with children under the direction of the teacher. As we pointed out in Chapter 8, the staff-pupil ratios suggested in the Circular on the staffing of special schools issued in 197311 are based on the assumption that adequate numbers of suitable ancillary staff are available".

(Warnock Report, 1978, p278)

However, the report made no recommendations specifically about the TA role other than to indicate that they were to be considered as a way of meeting the staff student ratios set out in previous guidance *"the staff-pupil ratios suggested in the Circular on the staffing of special schools issued in 1973/11 are based on the assumption that adequate numbers of suitable ancillary staff are available"* (ibid). In 1981 the Education Act recognised the term 'Special Educational Needs' and signalled that pupils with SEN should be accommodated in mainstream schools. Brennan's (1982) research has identified that, during the 1980s TAs were often appointed to assist the integration for pupils with specific SEN needs (sensory or physical) in mainstream schools. At this time we see the use of the 'Learning Support Assistant' title being used to refer to those supporting pupils with SEN. Alongside the roles came advice on "room management" schemes (Thomas, 1985), which were designed to show how the roles of teacher and assistant could be managed practically. In this advice we begin to see the suggestion that the roles of the teacher and assistant can be interchanged so that both groups of pupils, those with SEN and other pupils could work with the teacher. An important recognition that the role was not one of *'care'* or *'housekeeping'* came in 1986, when the section of the Schools' Census relating to Ancillary Staff was amended to differentiate between *'child care staff'* and '*non-teaching assistants'* (DES, 1986). This is the first use of the term 'non teaching assistant' by the government but it was not a job title in wide use. According to Burnham (1988) the role of TA at this time was 'diffuse' and 'invisible' in that they were often excluded from many of the day to day activities of the school. Burnham describes the labelling of them as *'non-teaching assistants'*, as though they were *'non'* people, the '*forgotten staff'* (Burnham, 1988, p31). However, it should be remembered that Burnham's research lacks a rigorous evidence base so it is difficult to see how such generalisations about all TAs can be made.

At this time a further role for TAs begins to emerge. We have seen that they are already being utilised in schools to support the inclusion of pupils with SEN, both through supporting those pupils directly or by freeing up the teacher to work with the pupils. However, the problems of teacher shortage identified by Plowden, were still present in schools "*Over the last generation [shortages] had only been solved as a problem during economic recession"* (DfEE, 1988, para 5.16). The measures

proposed by the Green Paper were intended to solve the problem of teacher supply *"effectively"* (DfEE, 1998, para 5:16). The Green Paper (DfEE, 1998, para 5:48) proposed that teachers should have some additional support in order to cope with the increasing demands on their expertise. It was argued that *"Using support staff in schools, whether in the classroom in the case of teaching assistants, for example, or outside it, in the case of bursars and other administrative staff, can make a profound difference for teachers",* and therefore would resolve teacher shortage problems. The Green Paper also proposed that there should be additional entry routes into the profession specifically for teaching (DfEE 1988). However, interestingly at no point in the Green Paper were TAs identified as a potential pool of future teachers. TAs at this point in time have a job role which is clearly linked to making the role of the teacher easier to manage, supporting SEN pupils and enabling the teacher to concentrate on the business of teaching all pupils in the class.

A further key policy which increased the number of assistants in mainstream schools was also SEN related. The Code of Practice on the Identification and Assessment of Special Educational Needs (Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), 1994) enshrined in law the right of a child to have their special educational needs met in mainstream schools or early years settings, that their views and their parents should be sought and taken into account and that they should be offered full access to a broad, balanced and relevant education, including an appropriate curriculum for the foundation stage and the National Curriculum. In order to achieve these objectives children received the 'statement', which set how their needs would be met. For many children the most obvious way to ensure they were included in mainstream schools was to assign additional classroom support to the child.

Perhaps it was inevitable, with increased numbers of adults in classrooms who were taking on more pupil support in order to enable teachers to work with all pupils that a new dimension to the assistant role was to be identified by the government. John Patten, the then Education Secretary, announced the provision of government money to train specialist teacher assistants (STAs) in supporting teachers with basic skills teaching at KS1. This is the first mention since Plowden that TAs could help to

support in a wider sense. It was met with hostility by teacher unions who viewed it as a threat to teacher professionalism and a way of getting teachers on the cheap. The growth in assistants had been noted by the school inspectors. Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) published one of their last pamphlets in the Education Observed series on Non-teaching Staff in Schools (HMI, 1992a). It predicted a likely increase in numbers of TAs, and pointed to an increasing diversity of role. Such staff were being appointed under a variety of names which included support assistant (SA), classroom assistant (CA), Special needs support assistant (SNSA), special needs assistant (SNA) and learning support assistants (LSA) in addition to specialist teaching assistant (STA). The NNEB qualification was still recognised and used widely. Barber and Brighouse (1992), influential figures in the development of education policy, supported the expansion and greater involvement of TAs in teaching and learning. The HMI report (1996) on the first years of the STA training (HMI, 1996) identified that STAs were having a positive impact in the classroom. However, this judgement was based on observations during inspection of schools and lacked any quantitative support. HMI (1996, p51) note that:

> *"Where STAs have been trained for a year on courses that followed the DfEE guidelines they contribute significantly to raising standards in numeracy and literacy if they are suitably deployed. In such circumstances, assistants save teachers' time and enable more flexible use to be made of trained staff within the classroom".*

They concluded that "*the support for teaching and learning given by trained STAs was helping teachers to give the children in school improved learning experiences and to raise standards*" (HMI, 1996, p10). In 1995 OfSTED were claiming, despite a weak observation-only evidence base, that there was a positive correlation between the use of TAs and the quality of teaching and learning. Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (HMCI 1995, P51) reported on the work of TAs seen on inspection:

"The use of non-teaching support staff is increasing in both primary and secondary schools....In addition to providing practical help with the organisation of teaching materials and equipment, assistants can, when trained and working under the supervision of teachers, make a direct contribution to developing pupils' knowledge, understanding and skills".

After the General Election of 1997 that year's Green Paper 'Excellence for all children – meeting special educational needs' signalled a rapid growth in the deployment and development of staff supporting teachers as the needs of all children were to be met in mainstream school where the parents wished it. In a rare piece of joined up government thinking, the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, more commonly referred to as the Dearing Report (DfEE, 1997b, para 38) was to recommend the development of a new qualification for Teaching Assistants:

"The stakeholders in teacher education should consider the need for a new qualification for teaching assistants and the role that HE can play in developing such a qualification".

The OfSTED Review of Primary Education 1994-98 (1999) was to state that *'Well-trained teaching assistants were a key resource and were used very effectively in many primary schools'* (OfSTED, 1999, p9). However, little evidence of this was provided other than Inspectors observations.

A key policy development which led to rapid expansion in TA numbers was the raising standards agenda. New Labour, elected on a mandate of 'education, education, education', had set in place national strategies for the teaching of Literacy and Numeracy which required additional adults to deliver them effectively. It is perhaps not surprising therefore, that the DfES (2000) noted an increase from 1998 in the deployment of support staff to support the delivery of quality teaching and a modern curriculum in both primary and secondary schools in an attempt to deliver

the raising standards agenda. They identified that TAs were "*helping to raise standards in the classrooms in which they work*" and that they were "*continuing the work that has been successfully carried out for a long time, especially by those assistants with the NNEB qualification and, more recently, by those who have successfully completed the Specialist Teaching Assistant (STA)*" (DfES, 2000a, p6). It was at this point that 'Teaching Assistant' became the preferred term to refer to support staff in schools:

> *"The term 'teaching assistant' is the Government's preferred term of reference for all those in paid employment in support of teachers in primary, special and secondary schools. That includes those with a general role and others with specific responsibilities for a child, subject area or age group …. The term [TA] captures the essential 'active ingredient' of their work; in particular it acknowledges the contribution which well-trained and well managed assistants can make to the teaching and learning process and to pupil achievement".*

> (DfEE, 2000a, p4)

By now the role of the TA had been broadened to include support for the teacher to enable them to teach all pupils and to make the role of the teacher more manageable, support for specific pupils with SEN, support for identified pupils in relation to literacy and numeracy. However, there is no indication that what might be required are different types of TAs who could take on each of these roles. A TA was supposed to be able to manage all of the aspects identified. However, some were to assert that there were differences in the ways some of the support roles in schools were being perceived by teachers and by the support staff themselves. Robins (1998) claimed that foreign language assistants for example had more recognition than TAs. This was not based upon compelling evidence but it does however point to an emerging sense that the job role was perhaps more varied than government policy indicated. By 2001, the DfES through 'Professionalism and Trust – the future of teachers and teaching' identified that classrooms of the future would be:

"rich in the number of trained adults available to support learning to new high standards. Pupils will benefit in the classroom through the help of teachers, teaching assistants and ICT technicians".

(DfES, 2001a, p15)

In response to the growing numbers of TAs and their recognition in government education policy inevitably nationally-recognised qualifications for teaching assistants were developed, initially through the Local Government National Training Organisation's (LGNTO) in 2001. These were delivered through National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ's) at Levels 2 and 3 in the National Qualifications Framework. What this did was locate the education of TAs within a vocational rather than an academic context. TA education was about learning how to do the job of the TA. This training concentrated on developing TA skills in relation to supporting the pupils, the teacher and the school. In 2002 the DfES introduced 'Induction Training' for all new TAs in order that they could be well-informed about the context in which they are working, and know how to support teachers in the key areas of behaviour, literacy and numeracy. In 2002, 'Teaching assistants in primary schools: an evaluation of the quality and impact of their work' reported inspection evidence from OfSTED which had identified that TAs had played an important part in the implementation of the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies by providing support to both teachers and pupils in the classroom.

A key development for the TA role came through the changes to The Education (Teaching Work and Registration) (England) Regulations in 2002. In 'Raising Standards and Tackling Workload: A National Agreement' (DfES, 2003a) the way in which the education workforce was to be remodelled and the reasons for the remodelling were set out. In chapter 2 a further discussion of this key policy change will show how it was predicated on the old problem of solving teacher recruitment problems. 'Remodelling of the workforce, it was argued was dependent upon TAs:

"support staff will be critical to the achievement of these goals, both through their direct contributions and by releasing the energies of teachers. Teaching Assistants working alongside teachers have already contributed to significant improvements in the quality of teaching in literacy and numeracy. Over the coming years, we shall see further types of support staff appearing in our classrooms. That includes the development of high level teaching assistants, pushing back the boundaries of what they can do in classrooms".

(DfES, 2003a, Foreword)

The remodelling of the workforce saw the introduction, amongst other things, of guaranteed planning, preparation and assessment time (PPA) for all teachers. To free teachers for their PPA time a new cadre of TAs was introduced. The high level teaching assistants' status (HLTA) was intended to introduce a new category of senior support staff who when working in the classroom would make an even more valuable contribution to improving standards in schools and who could release teachers for their PPA time by taking the class in their place. This remodelling, as we will see in chapter 2, did not meet with approval from all in education with the National Union of Teachers still being opposed to the broadening of the TA role.

There can be no doubt that there has been an evolution in the role of the TA. However, it can be argued that this evolution has been imposed on this group of workers as a result of changes to teacher's roles. However, teachers themselves have not always welcomed this imposition. Hancock and Collins (2005) assert that within the teaching profession the issue of clear role identification for TAs is problematic, manifesting itself as confusion over the title of the role, the role description and identity of the profession itself. Perhaps it is teachers' unwillingness to accept a wider role for TAs that has made it difficult for some reforms to become embedded. We have seen for example that the preferred term was identified by government in 2000 yet MacBeath et al. (2006, p10) in a study of inclusion policy and practice in English primary, secondary and special schools, commissioned and

funded by the National Union of Teachers, note the ongoing difficulty of nomenclature:

> *"Our first difficulty was to come to terms with the terminology. We had assumed that the purpose of such titles as Learning Support Assistant, Classroom Assistant, Teaching Assistant or Special Needs Assistant was to differentiate roles, responsibilities and training. This, however, proved not always to be the case…There was, however, no consistency in these various designations. Neither did the different titles differentiate between the amount of training received".*

So far we have seen that the role of the TA can trace a lineage back to the 1940s but that the role largely developed in relation to supporting pupils with special educational needs up until the late 1990s. At this point the role became overtly linked to the raising standards agenda of the new labour government which became the main driver of role development. Both of these drivers are developed further in chapter 2. What is also apparent is the positioning of the role in relation to that of the teacher. We have also seen that teachers have sometimes been hostile to expansion of the TA role. Perhaps more alarmingly, much of what has been written about TAs comes from a limited evidence base. This makes it difficult to fully consider the impact of each driver on the actual role that the TA undertakes in the classroom. However, in the next section the thesis attempts to outline the numbers currently employed in the TA role.

1.2 The number of Teaching Assistants

In 1995, the Local Government Management Board (LGMB) undertook a survey into the work of assistants working in the classroom. They concluded that there were 87,061 TAs employed in England in the autumn of 1995 (LGMB, 1996). From 1992 to 1996 there was a 56% increase in the number of education support staff in primary schools in England and the period 1992 to 2000 saw a 112% increase. The majority of these staff were described as classroom assistants (DfES, 2000a, 2002b). Clarity over the precise number of TAs has only been available since 2000.

From 2000 onwards Form 7 changed to reflect the increased visibility of TAs in schools. Form 7, completed by headteachers every January for the Government had outdated headings which were ambiguous with regards to staff titles and defining full-time and part-time staff. The returns up to January 2001 were made in terms of hours worked, and then calculated as a nominal full-time equivalent (FTE). Education support staff included nursery nurses, those employed to support pupils with SEN and ethnic minorities, and those working to support pupils with additional needs. The figures derived showed an increase in numbers each year. Figures for 2005 showed that there were 268,600 support staff working in schools.

Between 1997 and 2005 the data suggests that the number of support staff working in schools in England nearly doubled. No national level data about numbers employed as TAs has been published by the government since 2006 so figures identified here may not reflect the current numbers of TAs deployed. The Department for Education and Skills' (DfES, 2005a) full-time-equivalent figures for staffing in English Primary schools show a 97 per cent increase in the number of support staff between 1997 and 2005, from 136,500 to 268,600. This compares with an eight per cent increase in the number of teachers over the same period. DfES figures suggest one of the fastest growing groups over this period, with an increase of 142% was TAs (61,300 to 148,500). This included special educational needs (SEN) staff whose number rose by 96% (24,500 to 48,100). If we remove those supporting SEN and look at the figures for those whose role was classified as General Teaching Assistant we see that the increase was 173% (36,800 to 100,400). There has also been a 50% increase in the numbers of administration staff (39,200 to 58,600). This includes a 54% rise in the number of bursars (4,100 to 6,300) and a 223% rise in the numbers of other administrative staff employed (7,500 to 24,200). The number of technicians has increased 71% from 12,700 to 21,700. An analysis of the distribution of these support staff in 1997 according to role is set out in Table 1.2 In 1997, TAs formed the largest group of support staff in schools. When combined with staff whose role was to support special educational needs they accounted for 51% of the support staff in Primary schools.

By 2005, this group of staff also accounted for the largest sector of the support staff workforce. The percentage of TAs and special needs support staff employed in Primary schools in England was 58%. Table 1.2 documents the huge scale of change in the number and range of support staff in schools and also points to significant staff changes within the category of support staff. For example, whilst overall numbers of support staff have increased the proportion of the workforce categorised as administrative staff have seen their proportion of the support staff workforce decline by 8% in this period, along with the proportions of those employed as Bursars 1% decrease) and Special Needs Support staff (1% decrease). Increases in the proportion of staff have occurred only in the category of 'other administration

.Table 1.2 Support Staff Deployment in Primary Schools in England 1997 - 2005

Category	1997		2005		Number Increase	% Increase in total numbers employed	% increase in proportion of support staff in the school support workforce
	Total Number Employed (Full Time Equivalent)	% of support staff in the workforce	Total Number Employed (Full Time Equivalent)	% of support staff in the workforce			
Support Staff	136,500	100	268,600	100	132,000	88	N/A
Teaching Assistants (Including SEN Staff)	61,300	51	148,500	58	87,200	142	7
Teaching Assistants	36,800	31	100,400	39	63,600	173	8
Special Needs Support Staff	24,500	20	48,100	19	23,600	96	-1
Administrative Posts Including Bursars)	39,200	32	58,600	25	19,400	50	-7
Administrative Posts	35,100	29	52,300	21	17,200	49	-8
Bursars	4,100	3	6,300	2	2,200	54	-1
Technicians	12,700	11	21,700	9	9,000	71	-2
Other administrative staff	7,500	6	24,200	10	16,700	223	4

Source: Extracted from DcSF (2007)

Table 1.3 illustrates the numerical relationship between support staff and TAs in the workforce and raises an interesting question. Workforce remodelling, discussed further in chapter 2, identifies that 25 duties, previously carried out by teachers, would now be undertaken by support staff.

Table 1.3 Support Staff Compared to Teaching Assistants in the School Workforce in England 1997 to 2006

Category	1997		2006		Number Increase between 97 – 2006	% Increase in total numbers employed between 97 - 2006	% increase/ decrease in proportion of support staff in the workforce between 97 -2005
	Total Number Employed (Full Time Equivalent)	% of support staff in the workforce	Total Number Employed (Full Time Equivalent)	% of support staff in the workforce			
Support Staff	136,500	100	256800	100	132,000	88	N/A
Teaching Assistants (Including SEN Staff)	61,300	45	130430	51	69130	113	6
Teaching Assistants	36,800	27	100,400	37	63600	173	10
Support Staff Other *	59400	44	104500	41	45100	76	-3

Extracted from DcSF (2007) *incorporates special needs support staff, administrative posts (including bursars, Technicians, other administrative staff

Figures for 2005 to 2006 (Table 1.4), show that this growth is not consistent. In some years there is a decrease in the numbers of support staff. There was a 12% decline in the number of support staff employed in 2006 when compared to 2005:

Table 1.4 Support Staff Compared to Teaching Assistants in the School Workforce in England 2005 to 2006

Category	2005	2006	Percentage of school support staff workforce		Number change	% change in total numbers	% increase / decrease in % of school support staff workforce
Total Support staff including TAs	268,570	234,930			-33,640	-13%	N/A
			2005	2006			
TAs	148,500	130,430	55	56	-18,070	-12%	+1% in
Support Staff	120,070	104,500	45	44	-15,570	-13%	-1%

Source: Extracted from DcSF (2007)

1.3 What do Teaching Assistants do?

Prior to the early 21st century, research into the work of TAs had historically been on a small scale, tending to simply describe what *some* Teaching Assistants did at the classroom level and then to infer that this was what *all* did. (Thomas, 1987, 1991, 1992; Clayton, 1993 and Moyles and Suschitzky, 1997) More specifically it tended to explore the work of those employed to support SEN (Farrell et al., 1999; Lacey, 2001), not unexpected given the previous association of the role with special educational needs following the Warnock Report in 1979. Historically, there has

been a general lack of attention paid to support staff as a whole, and particularly to TAs by school managers, Local Authorities and at the national policy level. Similarly, at the international level there has been an emphasis on the classroom level. Giangreco et al. (2001) in a broad literature review of research undertaken into the role of TAs in the USA found that little research had been undertaken on the consequences of TA employment on measurable outcomes in children. Loxley and Swann (1997) argued that the difficulty in researching the role of the TA is associated with unwillingness for the role to be acknowledged in both its complexity and diversity. This, they argue, is a barrier not only to research but also to the development of the TAs role within education, which will result in disillusionment for people carrying out the role in schools:

> *"until this issue is resolved, primarily at national level with the DfEE giving a policy lead, the result will be disillusionment and frustration …they [TA's] are probably the richest untapped resource in our education service. They deserve recognition".*

> (Loxley and Swann, 1997, p21)

Research carried out in England prior to 2003 had tended to concentrate on the demographic characteristics of this occupational group and on their classroom activities. The research seemed to indicate that TAs were a relatively homogeneous group at least in respect of their demographic characteristics. The majority were described as white women. Lee and Mawson (1988) in a survey of 12,484 schools identified that 99% of their survey were female with 96% of white ethnic origin. Watkinson's (1999) study of 488 schools in Essex LEA also identified that 99% were female. The age profile was mature. Watkinson (1999) identified that 97% of her sample were aged over 25. Lee and Mawson's research indicated that the age profile is even higher than that identified by Watkinson with 86% of their sample aged 36 or over. Clayton (1990) identified similar patterns of previous experience before becoming a TA such as childcare, both in the home and paid, voluntary work and nursing as the most common experience, training and qualifications brought by TAs to their role. This was supported by Watkinson (1999) who identified that 94% of her survey had parenting experience and 86% had undertaken voluntary work. Only

18% of TAs held substantive vocational qualification such as an NNEB (Nursery Nurse Examination Board) or STA (Specialist Teaching Assistant – introduced by the DfEE in 1996) however 63% were educated to O' Level / GCSE grade C. (Lee and Mawson 1998). Lee and Mawson (1988) also revealed that only 50% of TAs had permanent contracts and the average number of hours worked was 20, half of which was typically spent supporting pupils with SEN. It is against this limited research background that this study has been conducted. Within the literature there is no critical analysis of why women with reasonable Level 2 qualifications should fare so badly in terms of employment contracts, nor any discussion of why the role of TA was being carried out by such a narrow demographic group. Research after the changes to the Education (Teaching Work and Registration) (England) Regulations in 2002 broadened the research focus in that it now explores the impact of TAs on school structures (Butt and Lance 2005, Gunter 2005, 2007, Butt and Gunter 2007). In order to understand what TAs do this section outlines the typical role of the TA as outlined by the DfES (2000).

It must be remembered that what follows is merely a perceived job role which lacks any empirical underpinning. DfES assertions are made on limited observational evidence gained unsystematically during OfSTED Inspections which should alert us to the need to question them. It does however serve to help us understand what Teachers and TAs might perceive the role to be if they work from the government's perception. The DfES indicate that TAs can be found in every aspect of life in a school and perform multiple and differing roles. The DfES regard TAs as a single group and claim that there is increasing homogeneity in the work that they undertake. This work can be divided into four strands (ibid):

- support for the pupil
- support for the curriculum
- support for the school
- support for the teacher

TAs are said to provide all four of these forms of support and at any time a TA may well be involved in an activity in which two or more forms of support are being given.

1.3.1 Support for the pupil

The DfES (2000) indicate that some TAs are employed with specific responsibilities to work with individual children with special educational needs (DfES, 2000a), whereas others are given more general classroom responsibilities (ibid). In both roles they are expected to foster the participation of pupils in the social and academic practices of a school (ibid). It is envisaged that this form of support for pupils is seen in the following ways:

1. "*Supervising and assisting small groups of pupils in activities set by teachers ideally in consultation with assistants*" (DfES, 2000a, p10). The rationale provided for this is that the TAs' greatest contribution to children's learning is made when they are working with groups of children under the management of the teacher. This form of support is regarded by DfES as especially helpful to children with special educational needs (SEN) or for whom English is an additional language (EAL) as they are able to *"benefit from the attention of a sensitive adult, without being stigmatised as 'different' because of frequent separation from their peers for individual tuition"* (ibid). Such support is positioned as valuable because it is a way of "*Developing pupils' social skills by supporting children who might otherwise have been separated from other children to receive individual attention. This promotes the inclusion of those children in mainstream work*" (DfES, 2000a, p10). The teacher is seen as being the lead person in the classroom, deploying the TA effectively to concentrate their efforts on some of the more vulnerable children. There is an assumption that communication between teacher and TA in relation to these pupils should take place but the use of the term 'ideally' signifies that it is not a prerequisite. What this guidance implies is that TAs may have more time to devote to individual children than teachers within the classroom. But having more time to be with a pupil does not lead to more effective support. Blatchford et al. (2009) have warned that what can arise from one to one support of this type is a dependency climate in which the pupil can be

separated from their teacher, the curriculum and their peers which can have a negative impact.

2. *"Implementing behaviour management policies"* (DfES, 2000a, p10) - The TA is seen as being able to provide a *"valuable backup to [the teacher] in dealing with disruptive or potentially disruptive behaviour from pupils"* (ibid). However this is to be done in *"accordance with guidance provided by the teacher"* (ibid). This again assumes a lead role by the teacher in deciding how behaviour will be managed within the classroom. It also assumes that the teacher will communicate their behaviour management system. Along with the allocation of specific pupils to the TA (SEN, EAL as noted above) it requires an effective communication strategy to be in place between teacher and TA. There was some limited empirical evidence (IOE, 2004) which indicated that TAs were effective at building relationships and could act as effective mediators between different groups in the school. However, Blatchford et al. (2009) have noted that whilst teachers believe the extra support of TAs in relation to behaviour has a positive impact there is little evidence of this in systematic observation of pupils in classrooms. Being positioned at the forefront of behaviour management, the TA can also *"spot early signs of bullying and disruptive behaviour …an alert TA can be in a position to head off disruptive behaviour before it happens"* (DfES, 2000a, p10). This might indicate that TAs have a closer relationship with the pupils than the teacher, particularly if they are principally deployed to support specific groups. Indeed the TA is portrayed as someone pupils find it easy to confide in [a] *"listening ear"* (ibid). However, there is a dangerous implication here. In classrooms where pupils are unruly and there are problems with bullying is this in some way the fault of the TA for not demonstrating the required alertness? Further, wouldn't we want classrooms where pupils felt confident to confide in all adults, not just the TA?

3. The role of the TA in promoting inclusion, particularly *"supporting individual children who find it difficult to form friendships and good relationships with others is highlighted"* (DfES, 2000a, p10). As noted before the TA is positioned as being closer to the pupil than the teacher, perhaps inevitably if the teacher decides to always deploy the TA with specific groups as the

guidance implies they might. More specifically the TA is identified as having the potential *"time and expertise to help …with language"* (ibid). Whilst at its simplest this just means more contact time between the TA and pupil there is also the indication that TAs have specific expertise that teachers may lack. Given that earlier research on TAs had indicated low rates of vocational training (Lee and Mawson, 1998) whether they would have this expertise is doubtful. Indeed the DISS study (Blatchford et al. 2009) found that the language exchanges between teachers and pupils and TAs and pupils were qualitatively different. Pupils tend to be more engaged in sustained interaction with TAs but this is problematic as most of the dialogue tends to be task rather than learning related. The DfES argue that *"pupils' minds [go] wandering off their work when they are in a large group with only one adult"* (DfES, 2000a, p10). Certainly having a TA keeps a pupil on task but that is not the same as helping them become better learners.

4. The role of the TA in relation to learning is further identified through a list of ways in which TAs can *"enable pupils to become more independent learners"* (DfES, 2000a, p11). Much of this is reiterated from the earlier guidance. TAs can "*raise the self-esteem of children"* (ibid) by showing interest not only in the pupil's work but in what the pupils do outside the school. As before this positions the TA as the person who can build a close relationship with pupils and get to know them individually. They can assist individuals in educational tasks and help them to *"increase his or her knowledge, understanding and skills"* (ibid). This is identified as being particularly important in relation to children with special needs who might find it difficult to perform the tasks requested of them at all. This echoes the view that the TAs role here is to provide specific support to individual pupils to enable them to access the classroom learning. They can also "*encourage independence by freeing up the teacher to work with groups or individuals who need special attention"* (ibid). However, the teacher must be *"satisfied that the TA is sufficiently confident and accomplished"* (ibid), before they do this. These required accomplishments are not specified in relation to the TAs whole class role rather than specific pupil role. The TA is again positioned as being *"potentially"* a *"good role model [s] for children both in behaviour and in*

learning" (ibid), and a specific role is added in relation to supporting EAL pupils in that the TA may read to them and *"therefore provide a model of good English"* (DfES, 2000a, p29). O'Brien and Garner (2001) (using the accounts of Learning Support Assistants) concluded that they could enable:

> *"children to think in a more focused way about their learning…by modelling positive behaviour, establishing and developing relationships, increasing learner confidence and self belief, encouraging risk taking – in fact empowering the learner".*
>
> (O'Brien and Garner, 2001, p3)

A further specific support role emerges - "*Teaching Assistants can assist pupils with their physical needs towards independence as adults*" (DfES, 2000a, p29). The TA is positioned as the person who would have a specialist relationship with a pupil and / or knowledge to enable those with physical needs to access a mainstream classroom. Some research into the role of the TA seems to indicate that they can undertake this government defined role. A systematic study by Alborz et al. (2009) shows that studies which examine the effect of support staff who are trained for a specific intervention programme and have support and guidance from a teacher tend to show a positive impact on pupil progress.

One of the roles specified by the DfES seemed at odds with the view of the TA as subject to the teacher's direction. The guidance suggests that *"TAs are appropriate persons to work with outside consultants"* (DfES, 2000a, p11). However, it soon becomes apparent that the role here is to simply implement the specialist programmes designed to support pupils with SEN as the consultants identified as being appropriate for a TA to work with are those who have an impact on the educational inclusion and success of pupils with special needs. For example, a speech and language therapist may prescribe a programme of exercises for the pupil to do between his or her own sessions, and this will often be undertaken by the TA under a reporting-back arrangement with the teacher. Similarly the TA can act as the point of contact with the schools SENCO (Special Educational Needs

Coordinator). TAs are identified as being able to liaise with outside agencies only so far as they impact upon the needs of individual children with special educational needs whom they support. What this implies is that TAs should not have more generic liaison roles with outside agencies. For example, a TA would not be seen as the person to liaise with Local Authority advisors in relation to the curriculum. A more sophisticated role appears to emerge in relation to the schools engagement with parents. The TA is seen as being able to be a point of contact between school and parents. However, this role is not predicated on specialist knowledge or specific skills, more of geographical or cultural proximity to the people the school is trying to communicate with. It implies that TAs will come from the schools local community. The TA is *"closer to parents than teachers, as they may themselves come from the immediate community and may be, or might have been, themselves parents of pupils in the school"* (DfES, 2000a, p29). Similarly a bilingual TA can be an effective channel of communication with ethnic minority communities as they *"share a language with them [and] are not only able to talk to them in that language but can help overcome misunderstandings due to cultural differences"* (ibid).

A picture begins to emerge of TAs viewed as having time to devote to individual children, to intensively support them (sometimes in a specialised way), to develop close personal relationships with them that extend beyond the classroom and to liaise with external agencies in relation to supporting them. However, Blatchford et al. (2009, p2) have noted that support staff can have a negative impact upon pupil achievement[4]:

> *"there was a consistent negative relationship between staff ratings of the amount of support a pupil received and the progress they made over the year, the more support pupils received over the year the less progress they made".*

It is also clear that the TA is viewed as subordinate in role to the teacher. The teacher is required to manage the TAs' workload, make assessments of the TAs

---

[4] The DISS study chose to differentiate between attainment, that is the level of the pupil using the National Curriculum, and progress.

confidence and ability levels in relation to their work, define the behaviour codes for the classroom, and design the learning activities. The teacher is also assumed to be able to be a role model in the classroom and to undertake external liaison work.

1.3.2 Support for the Curriculum

Whilst the clear role of the TA as a source of support for individual pupils is identified there is also a role defined in relation to the 'class' in which they work. By encouraging the participation of all pupils in the *"social and academic practices of a school"* (DfES, 2000a) and *"enabling pupils to become more independent learners"* (DfES, 2000a, p11), TAs can help "*raise standards of attainment for all pupils"* (DfES, 2000a, p12). Research undertaken by Farrell et al. (1999) supports this assertion and argues that TAs are effective in enhancing teacher's understandings of pupils' needs in relation to learning. TAs are encouraged to *"alternate intervening with particular pupils and being a general resource for the whole class"* (DfES, 2000a, p12). The DfES (2000a) note that TAs are required to work across the curriculum and have a role in implementing lesson plans and making ambitious learning activities possible (DfES, 2000a). If the TA is 'briefed' and *"fully engaged with the aims, content, strategies and intended outcomes for a lesson"* they *"are likely to be more effective than those who are required only to concentrate on individual pupils and their learning plans"* (DfES, 2000a, p12). This role is then outlined as the preparation of materials and resources for the lesson (DfES, 2000a). The DfES guidance uses the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies (DfES, 2000a) to exemplify the TAs role in relation to supporting learning. DfES (2000, p8) argue that *"it is now common and desirable for teachers also to allocate TAs tasks that were once more often done by the teacher".* The tasks to be devolved include the assessment of pupils and supporting pupils on learning tasks. The greater involvement of the TA in lessons enables them to provide feedback to teachers on the effectiveness of classroom (DfES, 2000a). Furthermore the DfES (2000a) identifies that in order to support the teacher effectively TAs need information about the *"current attainments of the pupils in the class and the teacher's aims for them"* (DfES, 2000a, p22).

The DfES espoused role for the TA can be developed to include preparing materials and resources, observing pupils, assessing their learning and reporting to the teacher. The role of the teacher is also further defined to include the creation of the aims, content, strategies and intended outcomes for a lesson. This is however the most problematic area and received the least clarification from DfES in the 'Guidance on Working with Teaching Assistants' (DfES, 2000a). There are a number of issues related to the deployment of TAs such as the type of job contract they hold, the hours they work and the remuneration they receive which will be highlighted in the analytical data presented in chapter 7. These have an impact on the TAs ability to support the curriculum in the way identified. For example, the practicalities of ensuring that consultation/ briefings with TAs on learning activities and TAs reporting back their observations / assessments of pupils is problematic given the nature of their employment and deployment. Similar considerations arise when we explore the preparation of learning materials and resources. The question must also be asked about the tension between these aspects of the TA role and the specialist support some provide for individual learners. If an individual pupil needs intensive and /or specialist support how can it be taken away to allow the TA to work with the whole class or withdrawn to allow the TA to prepare resources?

1.3.3 Support for the School

In addition to the role for TAs of preparing resources, supporting, assessing and reporting back on learning, liaising with external specialists and communicating with parents (DfES, 2000a), TAs are also required to provide wider support for their school. The DfES (ibid) argue that TAs are regarded as part of a staff team, and as such their remit includes translating school policies into practice and promoting the ethos of the school. However, as will be developed in chapter 2, the nature of TA deployment is a considerable barrier to this element of the TA role. It could also be argued that the use of the term 'translating school policies' implies that TAs may not necessarily be involved in the creation of those policies. Again little guidance is given by the DfES (ibid) as to how TAs can support the school. The lack of definition of the TA's role in relation to supporting the curriculum and the school is interesting and may indicate a lack of role clarity between teachers and teaching assistants within the classroom. It may also indicate a lack of unwillingness on the part of government

to clarify these roles. A DfE report (Mortimore et al., 1992) explored the role of school staff and the boundaries between them and argued for an enhanced role for TAs with "*greater professional and pedagogical commitments*" (Mortimore et al., 1992, p178).

1.3.4 Support for the Teacher

In the foreword to the DfES Guidance Estelle Morris, then Secretary of State for Education, identified that defining the role of the TA had to be done in relation to the role of the teacher. The DfES (2000, p24) argued that *"By definition, support for the teacher is at the heart of the role of the teaching assistant".* The relationship between the Teacher and the TA was clearly defined with the teacher "*always and rightly*" being the *"senior partner in the relationship"* who retains "*at all times, responsibility for what is taught and for the conduct of the pupils*" (ibid). The guidance clarifies the respective roles (ibid):

> *"The teacher plans lessons and directs learning. The TA provides support to the teacher and through this to pupils and to the teaching of the curriculum. The TA works under the direction of the teacher, whether in the whole class or on their own with a small group of pupils or an individual".*

And there is much emphasis in the document that *"the greater involvement of trained teaching assistants in the learning process in no way detracts from teachers' own unique professional skills and distinct responsibilities"* (DfES 2000 foreword). This seems to indicate that in classrooms there are distinct roles for both the teacher and the TA. However Blatchford et al. (2009) noted that TAs were undertaking extensive contact with some groups of pupils and had a 'distinct pedagogical role'. Questions must also be raised about the extent to which teachers are carrying out the role envisaged for them by the DfES (2000). As Blatchford et al. (2009, p7) note:

> "*Teachers did not therefore always have moment by moment responsibility for the curriculum and pedagogical planning for pupils supported by support staff".*

The relationship between the teacher and TA should be based upon *"mutual respect and trust"* (DfES, 2000a) although there is also an acknowledgement of the importance of *"personal chemistry"* (ibid). The DfES argue that there are a number of key elements that can help to develop the relationship and respective roles. Time should be given for reviews of the classroom relationship as the TA and the class teachers with whom they work regularly will need to discuss *"how well their working relationships are advancing the pupils' learning"* (ibid). Limited advice is provided as to how to achieve this although it is clear that this should be part of a teachers 'management' of a TA. The teacher should create a *"climate that encourages high quality TA input"* (ibid). This climate comes *"with time and grows from a mutually supportive relationship with a teacher where the direction given by the teacher has been absorbed and does not need to be constantly explicit"* (ibid). However what this assumes is that there will be sufficient time to build relationships, where TAs are deployed in several classrooms this may not be as easy to achieve. It also assumes that teachers are responsible for the quality of the relationship with the TA.

The DfES (2000) argue that TAs should participate in planning and preparing work that has clear objectives. TAs should be informed of the learning needs and any behavioural difficulties of children with SEN so that they can deal with them confidently and help give the pupils access to the curriculum (ibid). It is seen as appropriate, to include TAs in reviews of Individual Education Plans because they often spend more time with some pupils than the teacher does and may have important contributions to make (ibid). Practical advice is provided as to how this can be achieved:

> *"In respect of short-term planning this involves a few minutes a day to inform the TA in advance of the lesson plans, preferably entailing both explanation by the teacher of his or her plans and conversation between the teacher and the TA about the Teaching Assistants contribution. Medium-term plans will generally require a longer conversation, probably of around half an hour, between the teacher and the TA once a term or more".*

> (Ibid, p25)

However, it is difficult to ascertain how a TA could expect to grasp the intricacies of several complex lesson plans in a *"few minutes"* (ibid) and this does not allow time for TAs to provide high quality input, which the DfES identifies as another key element of the TAs role in relation to supporting the teacher (DfES, 2000a). The development of feedback mechanisms through which the TA can support the teacher by providing information on pupils, including the nature of the difficulties that hamper pupils' progress, is also identified as being a key element of success. No practical advice is given as to how to achieve this (ibid). What this means is that TAs and cover supervisors often feel *"under prepared for their roles, picking up subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge by 'tuning in' to the teachers delivery"* (Blatchford et al., 2009).

TAs can further support the teacher by dealing with behaviour management issues under teacher guidance, using the individual teacher's own approaches to dealing with particular behavioural difficulties. It is not the place of the TA to use their own behaviour management approaches. They must conform to the teacher's approach to managing behaviour so that *"conflicting messages are not given to pupils"* (DfES, 2000a, p25). The guidance specifically states that TAs should manage behaviour *"knowing the limits of tolerance that the teacher will apply to individual pupils"* (ibid). This positions the TA as subordinate to the teacher. This can be problematic for TAs with differing views to the teacher, more experience than the teacher. It may also be challenging for TAs who work with multiple teachers.

The DfES suggest that TAs should be invited to staff meetings but recognises that there may be a resource implication (DfES, 2000a). Similarly they should be allowed to have *"equal access to the staffroom"* (DfES, 2000a, p25) and be included in written communications (DfES, 2000a) to indicate that they are part of the school team. As part of the school team they have legal responsibilities for Health and Safety, Child Protection and any other forms of legislation that impact upon the work of a school. It follows that they should be informed of the provisions of the legislative framework around schools, and be kept up to date with changes, particularly on those issues that directly affect their own work with pupils (DfES, 2000a, p26)

What emerges from government guidance is a clear definition of the role of the TA.

- TAs are subordinate to the teacher and take direction from the teacher. They must adopt the teacher's behaviour code and (in) tolerances to inappropriate behaviour.

- TAs can observe pupils and assess their learning and should report back to the teacher on pupils learning.

- TAs can prepare materials and resources

- TA's can work to support individual children (focussed / intensive/ specialist) or they can work to support the whole class to enable the teacher to provide specialist input.

- TAs are best placed to develop close personal relationships with children that extend beyond the classroom

- TAs can liaise with external agencies in relation to supporting pupils and may be best placed to develop external links with local communities

Teachers are identified as being the ones who manage the TAs' workload, acting as the senior partner. This involves making assessments of the TAs confidence and ability. They take the lead in developing a relationship with the TA and have a responsibility to provide TAs with information as deemed appropriate. They should seek the input of TAs in designing the learning activities, but they have the sole responsibility to create the aims, content, strategies and intended outcomes for a lesson and inform TAs on both short and medium term planning. Teachers should define the behaviour codes for the classroom and act as a role model in the classroom for learning and behaviour.

Within the DfES guidance (2000) teachers and TAs are required to undertake their respective roles 'professionally'. Teachers professionalism is referred to in the foreword and teachers are assured that TAs will not compromise their own 'unique professional skills'. However, these professional skills are not defined. TAs professional skills are also undefined; however the guidance refers to their 'professional development needs' which can be identified through 'Appraisal - or professional review'. The TA is predicted to develop *professionally* and as they do

so their *"job will change, their role will need reassessing and the job description will need to be reframed"* (DfES, 2000a, p35). TAs are urged to keep a "*professional development portfolio"* (ibid) *a*nd a TA case study is used where a TA describes how a University course had *"professionalised her role"* (DfES, 2000a, p37), implying for the first time what academic level a professional TA might be educated to. The government clearly see TAs as an emerging profession. However, what is being defined within the guidance are two different 'professional' roles as they are practiced in relation to each other. This raises a fundamental question. If TAs are described as being professional, how can they be supervised or subordinate to another professional group? This specific issue will be addressed in Chapter 3. The thesis has identified the current role of the Teaching Assistant as perceived to be by the Government. This will be explored further in Chapter 6 when this perceived role is compared to the role as enacted by respondents in this research.

It is important to identify that the evidence base upon which many of the government's assertions about the deployment and impact of support staff referred to in this chapter had been based on limited evidence. The principle source of evidence for many of the assertions in the guidance to schools was derived from OfSTED inspections. It may be that the changes brought about by Workforce Remodelling (DfES, 2003a) have fundamentally changed the relationship between teachers and TAs. However, there has been no new guidance issued, despite the government funding a longitudinal study into the deployment of support staff. The DISS study (2009), outlined in the Introduction, worked from the premise that little was known about the deployment and impact of support staff and chose to ignore the existing significant body of evidence. Indeed a criticism levelled against government has been its failure to properly assess the empirical evidence available in relation to support staff (Gunter, 2005). Of significant note here is the Transforming the School Workforce Pathfinder Project. This government funded project was designed to identify ways in which the school workforce could be 'remodelled' to ensure the *"reduction of bureaucratic burdens on teachers such that they could be allowed a greater focus on teaching and learning"* (Butt and Gunter, 2007, p20). It explored how case study schools changed working practices. In many schools this was through the appointment of additional staff or through the redefining

of the roles of existing staff. What the project noted however was that rather than being a *"must do"* (ibid, p29), remodelling was rather more complex and context specific i.e.; changeable depending on individual school circumstances. The project team had doubts about the sustainability of the work of some of the schools, concerns that the schools, which were self selecting may have already begun significant structural processes of change in schools to facilitate the effective deployment of additional staff and were therefore not representative of schools as a whole. They also noted the need for a cultural shift in staff attitudes before remodelling could be effective.

The government also ignored the results of a significant study undertaken in the USA. The Student/Teacher Achievement Ratio (STAR, 1989) was a four-year longitudinal class-size study funded by the Tennessee General Assembly and conducted by the State Department of Education. Over 7,000 students in 79 schools were randomly assigned into one of three interventions:

- small class (13 to 17 students per teacher)

- regular class (22 to 25 students per teacher)

- regular-with-aide (TA) class (22 to 25 students with a full-time teacher's aide).

Classroom teachers were also randomly assigned to the classes they would teach. The interventions were initiated as the students entered school. The Tennessee STAR research suggested that TAs made little impact upon standards. The analysis of academic achievement consistently demonstrated the advantage of small classes over both regular size classes and regular sized classes with a teaching assistant. Giangreco et al. (2001), DeVault et al. (1977), McBrien and Weightman (1980) and Thomas (1992) have all noted that the research that has been undertaken in this area in the USA has demonstrated that a TAs presence does not generally free teachers for more time with pupils, but rather results in them spending more time away from pupils.

1.4 Conclusion

The current view of TAs in England gained from an analysis of government policy documentation would suggest that they form a relatively homogeneous group. There are clear government expectations of TAs and their role in supporting the school, curriculum, teacher and pupil is clearly defined. Their deployment in schools is not a recent development and it can be traced back over forty years. There are two main issues which emerge. Firstly, can TAs as an occupational group be defined as a profession? If TAs are defined in relation to teachers then we need to examine the extent to which there are similarities and differences between these 'professional groups' and the impact these may have. This will form the basis of the analysis presented in Chapter 3. Secondly, whilst there may be a prescribed view of the role of the TA in government guidance this is based on limited empirical evidence - it is not clear that we know what TAs actually do in classrooms and schools, as opposed to what we are told that they do. In Chapter 2 the thesis will identify and critically analyse the key drivers which have led to the rise in the numbers of TAs: the raising standards agenda, inclusion and Workforce Remodelling.

Chapter 2 Teaching Assistants and Education Policy

2.0 Introduction

We saw in chapter 1 that the government's expectations of TAs prior to the late 1990s had been linked to SEN and to making the working life of the teacher easier. After the 1997 Green Paper the government begins to link TAs overtly with the curriculum through the raising standards agenda and from 2003 they were placed at the heart of workforce reform. This chapter builds upon chapter 1 by analysing the role of the TA in relation to three key policy agendas. The first of these is the development of an Inclusive education system, which led to the movement of TAs supporting learners into mainstream schools. The second is the quest to raise standards of achievement in schools which has seen TAs utilised significantly in relation to the curriculum. Thirdly are the structural changes to schools linked to workforce remodelling which were predicated on greater use of TAs in order to restructure the role of teachers.

In section 2.1 changes to the education system which have led to it becoming more inclusive are documented and the role of TAs is argued to be inextricably linked to these changes. In section 2.2 the focus since the mid-1990s in English schools on raising standards is identified as another driver in the expansion of the TA role. This leads to section 2.3 where workforce remodelling, which was the biggest of the three drivers in increasing the numbers of TAs in schools in England, is examined. This is contrasted with the experience of remodelling in Scotland which provided an evidenced based template upon which to model reform. Section 2.4 provides a discussion of the theory of change management. The approach taken to change management in relation to remodelling by the government is critically evaluated. In section 2.5 the chapter concludes with the conclusion that despite TAs being at the forefront of these reforms in the education system in England they are still a largely unknown sector of the education workforce who warrant further investigation, not least because what they do impacts upon the roles of others in the education workforce. Weiner et al. (1997) have argued that we can identify specific educational discourses prevalent during historical periods. These discourses often reflect prevailing ideologies but they can help us to understand how the political and social

context has affected the language of education, educational policy and educational research. Within the discussion of the three key drivers for the increased deployment of TAs it will be shown how decisions made about TA deployments are related to key contemporary educational and political discourses.

2.1 The Development of an Inclusive Education System

In mainstream schools the increasing number and expanding role of assistants reflects, in part, a growing national and international movement to make educational provision more inclusive and to reduce the potential for marginalising pupils with special needs in separate special schools. In attempting to define the term 'special educational need' it is important to remember that all children can be regarded as having special educational needs at some time in their school career (Beveridge, 1993). The term has been interpreted differently at different times, mainly because it is affected by current social, political and economic drivers, priorities and prejudices. The application of the 1944 Education Act meant that children with special educational needs were categorised according to their 'disability'. Disabilities were defined in medical terms so that pupils were described as requiring special educational 'treatment'. Provision for such pupils (approx. 2% of the school population) took place in separate schools.

The present definition of special educational need is based on the findings of the Warnock Report (DES, 1978). The Report emphasised that understanding special educational needs was of crucial importance for all teachers. It argued that many children in mainstream schools experience difficulties (approx. 20% at some time in their school life) and consequently it is inappropriate to think of them as distinct and separate from those in special schools or to educate them in separate institutions. The 1981 Education Act incorporated many of the recommendations of the Warnock Report. It defined special educational need and provision, outlined the responsibility of ordinary schools in identifying, assessing and providing for children with special educational needs and the rights of parents to take part in the process of assessment and to appeal against any decisions made.

The 1988 Education Reform Act introduced a National Curriculum for all so that all pupils are entitled to a broad and balanced curriculum and should have access to that curriculum, even though a small number of pupils may need adaptations and special arrangements. Guidance on identification and assessment of SEN was provided for schools under a section of the 1993 Education Act the Code of Practice on the Identification and Assessment of SEN (DFE, 1994). The Code of Practice aimed to build upon and extend the principles and practices already existing in the 1981 and 1988 Education Acts. All schools were required to 'have regard' to the Code and this statutory duty was the responsibility of the governing body of the school. The 1996 Act replaced the 1993 Act. It confirmed that schools should 'have regard to the Code' and consequently SEN teaching was now an integral part of every classroom teacher's responsibility, regardless of whether they had specialist training. The link between pupils with special educational needs and additional support staff has been reinforced by the policy of Inclusion (DfES, 2003a). Legislation (Education Act, 1996) and guidance (SEN Code of Practice 2001 and Inclusive Schooling for Children with SEN 2001) with regard to pupils with SEN are commonly referred to as 'the inclusion framework'. The national curriculum has an overarching statutory inclusion statement. It requires teachers to have due regard to three principles that are essential to developing a more inclusive curriculum. These are the setting of suitable learning challenges for all pupils, responding to pupils' diverse learning needs and overcoming potential barriers to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of pupils. Inclusive schools have been defined by OFSTED (2000, p7) as "*one(s) in which the teaching and learning, achievements, attitudes and well-being of every young person matter*".

Traditionally the task of teaching pupils and managing classrooms in mainstream schools has been the responsibility of qualified teachers working on their own with support from senior colleagues. Government initiatives have had a significant impact on classroom practice in mainstream schools and have led to an increasing numbers of staff without a teaching qualification being employed to work alongside teachers in the classroom. The Education Act (1981) introduced the concept of special educational needs and dedicated funding for statemented children to receive additional support from teachers and others in mainstream schools. The Green

Paper 'Excellence for All Children: Meeting Special Educational Needs' (DfEE, 1997), and the follow up document 'Meeting Special Educational Needs a Programme of Action' (DfEE, 1998a) outlined the role of TAs. The Green Paper 'Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change' (DfEE, 1998b) signalled the projected increase in the number of classroom assistants who would provide general support in mainstream schools. Croll and Moses (2003) have indicated that during the 1990s 40% of children with special educational needs were being supported by an assistant and not a teacher in mainstream schools. The Green Paper 'Every Child Matters' (2003a) introduced the concept of the extended school - a school which provided extended services which supported children and young people to achieve the five outcomes associated with the Every Child Matters agenda. The reforms arising from the 'Every Child Matters' (DfES, 2003b) initiative have emphasised that all school staff, including site managers, cleaners and catering staff, play a vital role in promoting children's health and well-being. However, there are limited examples of research into the role TAs have in relation to extended services and how this might affect their role. Some writers have noted how the extended schools initiative could have a negative impact on those who work in schools (Cummings et al., 2005, Wilkin et al., 2003). Cummings et al. (2005, p63) suggested it could affect teachers and teaching assistants, though they did not specify how. There is also crucially no evidence of the effectiveness of TA involvement in extended services.

2.2 Raising Standards

In order to understand the Labour Government's modernisation of public services in the UK, which had a direct impact on the numbers of TAs, employed and upon their work, we need to explore changes to the education system in England which began with Thatcherism. This can be done through exploring the concepts of modernisation, marketisation and tradition centeredness (Jones, 1988). Modernisation of education meant a closer integration of the purposes of education and the need to meet technical and economic needs. A new curriculum was required and was introduced by the Education Reform Act 1988. Increased accountability and monitoring systems were developed signalled by the creation of OFSTED in 1992 in order to monitor the impact and effectiveness of education. Marketisation as a concept was developed through notions of 'parental choice'. Schools were seen as

directly competing and diversity was encouraged. A managerial culture emerged in schools (Jones, 1988). Tradition centeredness (Jones, 1988) is demonstrated in the rhetoric of 'tradition' which defines Conservative discourse on education. It is symbolised by John Major's 'back to basics' campaign. Announced at the Conservative Party Conference (1998) the campaign was intended to focus on issues of law and order, education and public probity, especially 'single mothers'.

However, the rhetoric was also adopted by the Labour government of 1997 which retained many of the policies of the Conservative administration. A key policy retained was the focus on raising standards in education, particularly in literacy and later numeracy. A key element of the strategy was the expectation that from September 1998 all primary schools in England would teach the literacy hour. The National Literacy Strategy was launched in July 1997 by the then School Standards' Minister and overseen by a government Standards and Effectiveness Unit. The Strategy identified that standards of literacy in England had not changed significantly between the end of the war and the early 1990s and that there was a wide variation in performance among primary schools. TAs were not mentioned explicitly in the National Literacy Strategy Framework document (DfES 1997c). However, there was significant guidance to schools on the use of other adults in the classroom and training materials encouraged schools to involve additional adults wherever possible. TAs were included in the National Numeracy Strategy Framework (DfES, 1999) and their role was clearly identified within the framework. Government funding to increase the number of TAs in schools and provide specific training to enable TAs to fulfil their functions in relation to the strategies was put in place. The strategies required increased teacher input and the need for more TAs to support this in the classroom. The strategies began by focussing on the needs of whole classes, then identifiable groups through to the targeting of individual pupils in order to raise attainment. The Literacy and Numeracy strategy evolved into the Primary National Strategy which regarded TAs as central to raising standards (DfES, 2006a).

Whilst the Labour government had retained many of the policies of the Conservative administration, it had also tightened the grip on schools with increased centralisation

and accountability demanded of schools. Ozga (2002) argues that New Labour's modernisation agenda was built upon the drive by previous administrations towards public services becoming more efficient and effective. Jones (1988) argues that New Labour has not gone beyond social democracy into neo-liberalism but has become Post-Thatcherite in its policy orientation. The supply side economy requires active intervention in education in order to ensure employment and social inclusion. Education must be responsive to the needs of its users (stakeholders) with notions of choice and diversity being celebrated. Schools need to respond to the demands of the consumer by providing high standards in education.

For New Labour, partnership working and citizenship participation were important elements of their policy intentions. (Newman, 2001; Ahmad and Broussine, 2003). The education reform undertaken by New Labour was initially linked to some key ideological drivers including the educational discourse and rhetoric of the third way, which envisions a new relationship between the state and citizens, in which the provision of services is organised to ensure accountability and convenience for users. The political commitment to transform public services within a responsible and cost effective fiscal policy and the drive to raise attainment levels amongst particular groups of pupils was to be delivered through the use of TAs within the school system in new ways. However, it is worth reflecting upon the extent to which it was the supposed cost effectiveness of TAs that drove their increased deployment rather than any evidence informed careful analysis of the value of TAs in raising standards.

Reforms in the public services have been assessed in relation to management and leadership, organisational structures and the impact of the market by new public management theorists. Many of the education reforms have increased the authority of managers in the public services with a corresponding loss of power of the professions (Exworthy and Halford, 1999). In relation to education workforce reform there has been "*an altered division of labour and a shifting frontier of control between professional discretion and management prerogative*" (Bach et al., 2004, p4). The promotion of new public management, which has its origins in public choice theory, is linked to the ideal of generic management principles that can be applied within any

area of public life. This however disregards issues concerning employment conditions and occupational roles. For example, the demographic profile of TAs may mean that the employment conditions required by these staff such as flexibility around childcare and family life are unique to this group. Staff working in other sectors of public life may have a different demographic profile and different employment conditions may be required. Recent developments in the field of public management studies have begun to focus on diversity (Ferlie et al., 1996). This is important as it is an acknowledgement by theorists on public management that, what Pollitt (1995, p133) characterizes as a *"shopping basket for those who wish to modernise the public sector"*, needs to be more responsive to the particular needs of each sector within public service and must take account of the demography of the workforce. Only in this way can it ensure management solutions that will enhance the organisation. New public management was adopted by proponents of the 'third way' as it marked a shift from concepts of an 'enabling state' to one of an 'ensuring state' which gave citizens guarantees from the state in relation to its verbalised obligations (Giddens, 2003, p13).

The teaching profession has, historically, been closely aligned to education policy development. The expansion of the welfare state and the development of the professions employed in it can be viewed as a complementary process. The state gained highly qualified and committed employees who in turn benefited from job security and autonomy (Laffin, 1988, p4). However, public choice theory argues that this process may not always be economically, politically and/or socially desirable. In a profession there will be managers who are positioned as the custodians of public services (LeGrand, 1997). As the custodians they have a duty to challenge the values of the professions which may become a barrier to public service reform and increased value for money. LeGrand suggests that they act as *'knaves'* rather than *'knights'*. Any centralised (government led) intervention introduced by managers is likely to be viewed with suspicion by the profession, particularly as some issues such as the curriculum are seen to be exclusively the preserve of the profession, who uphold what is 'right and proper' – they act as *'knights'* (Pringle, 2001, p279). In relation to remodelling, this theory would predict that teachers would be suspicious of the changes being introduced and would see this as an incursion into their

professional remit. Yet at the same time teachers are being asked to also become more managerial in relation to TAs in their classrooms which would place the in the same category as the knaves. This may compromise their sense of professionalism. In chapter 3 an analysis of what it means to be a professional will be developed which will argue that this is a complex territory that those who seek to introduce change into education need to be cognisant of.

Just as LeGrand suggests that the a profession will have a strong sense of what is within its exclusive remit, so Freidson (2001, p12) suggest that a professional group will determine who is qualified to carry out certain tasks and endeavour to prevent others from doing that work; the profession will also seek to control the criteria upon which evaluations of the profession are made. If these features are absent, Freidson uses the term 'semi profession' and argues that the professionalisation project, whereby the profession has power as a group which others cannot ameliorate through their actions, is incomplete. Endeavouring to establish a monopoly of competence over certain areas of knowledge and to exclude other occupations has high importance (Larson, 1977). This inter-occupational competition is a fluid process which shapes occupational roles and status (Abbott 1988). The 'assault on the professions' (Friedson, 2001 p209-210), is designed to reduce the independence and the cost to the state. This then leads to the re-assignment of some tasks to less qualified workers. Hatcher (1994, p55) has argued that the teacher disputes of 1985-86 led to the end of the 'incorporated professionalism' where the views of the profession were incorporated into government policy. Ironside and Siefert (1995) argue that Local Management of Schools and the National Curriculum removed areas of discretion from teachers and saw the beginning of a division of labour within the school as new managers developed. This confined teachers to the delivery of the curriculum only and de-skills teachers who become classroom minders (1995, p185). It could be argued that the introduction of TAs has increased the professionalism of teachers by giving them more control and the scope to delegate. However, it could also be argued that it signals a further division of labour with the most menial tasks being designated to new occupational groups. An alternative view would be to see it as a shift from technical expertise towards generic management skills. Professional staff would be required to develop the skills of communication and teamwork in order

to maintain '*customer relations*' (Dent and Whitehead, 2000, p2) in a new climate of increased competition from the diversified workforce. Gunter sees remodelling as 'a logical development of site-based performance management from the late 1980s where schools were empowered to run their own budgets, and as such could identify needs and employ/deploy staffing in efficient and effective ways (Gunter, 2004, p7). It is within this discourse that the third reason for an expansion in the role of TAs, the remodelling of the school workforce, can be analysed.

2.3 Workforce Remodelling

In 2001 the government commissioned PriceWaterhouseCoopers to study teacher workload. PWC concluded that reducing teacher workload was central to raising standards and proposed an increase in the use of support staff. In response to this the government launched the 'Time for Standards – Consultation on Implementing the National Agreement' (DfES, 2003a). This indicated that teachers valued the support provided by TAs and the benefits of having another skilled adult in the classroom. The report cited evidence from OFSTED Section 10 inspections which indicated that the quality of teaching in lessons with TAs was better than in lessons without them.   The process of modernising the school workforce was known as remodelling and includes the restructuring of the workforce and the creation of new roles within the workforce.

There are two reasons why the school workforce may need to be remodelled. One is linked to the supply of teachers. Ironside and Siefert (1995, p186) have argued that the rise in assistants in the classroom is linked to the shortage of teachers and that the third way in education proposed by New Labour is simply a way of replacing teachers with lower paid TAs. The School Teachers review Body (STRB) (2004) indicated that the achievement of key 'New Labour' objectives may be threatened by the recruitment and retention of staff in the public services and concerns over working conditions and pay. The PriceWaterhouseCoopers (2002) report identified workload as a major reason cited by teachers for leaving the profession. The DfES (2003) also noted specific teacher shortages in a number of key subjects and recognised that over 30 percent of a teacher's working week prior to the National

Agreement was spent on non-teaching activities. This was during a period when 45 percent of teachers were due to retire before 2020 and 1 in 5 newly qualified teachers were leaving the profession before they reached their fourth year of teaching (DFES, 2001b).

The second reason for remodelling the school workforce was linked to the raising standards agenda. Morris (2001, p13) argued that improved recruitment and retention did not always lead to rising standards and when this was the case there is an argument for remodelling the teaching process. This was to be done by developing new roles within education which augmented the role of the teacher. The government argued that teachers should be *"responsible for the most difficult teaching tasks and also for the organisation of other teachers and teaching assistants"* (Morris, 2001, p18). Morris's statement signalled a view of the future where TAs would be *"supervising classes that are undertaking work set by a teacher"* and also *"covering for teacher absence"* (Morris, 2001, p15). The government pledged to increase the number of TAs to 20,000, significantly more than the proposed increase in teachers. The Government, in its 1998 and 2001 Green Papers set out its intention to increase substantially the number of trained TAs in primary and secondary schools. Between 1999 and 2002 the Government made available £350 million through LEAs to recruit an additional 20,000 full-time equivalent TAs. Indeed the number of TAs (FTE) rose by 15,100 to reach 148,500. Similar increases in the total number of support staff (FTE) which rose by 25,400 to reach 268,600 in January 2005, reflected increases in the number of people employed in administrative, technician and other support roles (DfES, 2005a).

Workforce remodelling was at the heart of the government's change agenda in maintained schools. The National Remodelling Team (NRT) was established by the DfES to provide a change management programme in a form appropriate to schools' needs. The Director of the NRT described remodelling as *"the glue which binds other initiatives together"* (Collarbone, 2004). The NRT describe remodelling as a self-directed approach that places the school in control of its own change agenda. This presupposes that schools must formulate unique solutions to common problems and

that one size doesn't fit all. It works in close liaison with the Workforce Agreement Monitoring Group (WAMG). WAMG is a partnership of organisations representing employers, the government and school workforce unions. They are responsible for monitoring the implementation of the national agreement and supporting schools in workforce remodelling. WAMG comprises the Association of School and College Leaders (ACSL), the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), DfES, GMB, the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), the National Employers' Organisation for School Teachers (NEOST), the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT), the Transport and General Workers' Union (T&G), UNISON, and the Welsh Assembly Government. This 'social partnership' was a departure from traditional employer / employee relationships in education. It rejects the traditional union approach to adversarial employer-employee bargaining which are seen as confrontational. Instead an approach is used which seeks to solve problems, find common ground and identify win / win solutions. As Stevenson et al (2007, online) note:

> *"For teacher unions that have been largely frozen out of the policy debate for many years the prospect of a voice in policy has a clear attraction. Unions that have signed up to the workload agreement and subsequent remodelling reforms can point to a degree of influence with government, and corresponding results in terms of claimed improvements in pay and conditions"*

The government presented workforce remodelling as a tool that would enable schools to think creatively and flexibly about ways to introduce sustainable and beneficial changes in employment patterns. The National Agreement signed in January 2003 between the DfES, Welsh Assembly Government, local authority employers and some school workforce unions aimed to remodel the school workforce and free teachers to focus on teaching represented a consensus on principles relating to tackling teacher workloads and raising standards in schools.

However, not all unions signed the agreement. The National Union of Teacher refused to sign the agreement as they disagreed with the principle of allowing TAs to take responsibility for whole class teaching:

> *"The NUT has refused to abandon the principle that classes should be taught by qualified teachers. The NUT has argued that we need more teachers and that teaching assistants are needed to assist not replace teachers. Other teachers' organisations have decided to sign, 'promote and promulgate' the agreement"*.

> (NUT, 2003)

The agreement included a reform of support staff roles and administrative arrangements in schools. The agreement envisaged a further increase in the number of support staff in schools and an expansion of the roles they fill. It set out that schools should be in a position to recruit at least 50,000 additional support staff during the Parliament. The Agreement also indicated that the remuneration of support staff should reflect their level of skills, training and responsibilities. It also signalled the creation by the Teacher Training Agency of a new 'super teaching assistant' role that headteachers could integrate into their school organisations. The National Agreement on School Workforce Reform aimed to clarify the regulations and guidance of the respective roles of school support staff and teachers. The *"National Agreement …paved the way for radical reform of the school workforce to raise standards and tackle workload"* (DfES, 2003a, p3).

Enshrined in the remodelling agreement was a promise of joint action to help every school in England raise standards and tackle workload issues. This action was to take account of the different circumstances in each school. The National Agreement outlined a three year implementation schedule for reform of the school workforce. The reforms were intended both to raise standards and to tackle teacher workload as it was *"not possible to address one part of this equation without addressing the other"* (DfES, 2003a, p3). The Agreement sought to achieve progressive reductions in teachers' overall hours through changes to the teachers' contract to ensure that

teachers and headteachers do not routinely undertake administrative and clerical Tasks; that they have a reduced burden of cover for absent colleagues in addition to guaranteed planning, preparation and assessment time within the school day, to support their teaching individually and collaboratively; that those with leadership and management responsibility have a reasonable allocation of time to fulfil those responsibilities, and that teachers they have a reasonable work/life balance. Phase one completed in 2003 identified that teachers should not undertake 24 of the 25 tasks relating to administrative and clerical duties. Appendix 1 is taken from the National Remodelling Team website and shows how the tasks have been incorporated into School Teachers' Pay and Conditions (2003). Phase one also saw the allocation of time in support of the leadership and management responsibilities of all teachers and the commitment to supporting a *'reasonable'* work/life balance. Phase Two, completed by 2004, saw the commitment to limiting cover for absence provided by teachers to 38 hours, with a view to further reductions. Phase Three, completed by 2005, introduced guaranteed planning, preparation and assessment (PPA) time for teachers, equivalent to 10% of a teacher's normal timetabled teaching time and the introduction of new arrangements which meant that teachers were not required to invigilate external examinations. Implementation of the agreement would lead to a:

> *"shared vision of an education system where staff quality, motivation and deployment will help ensure the most effective approach to teaching and learning and the achievement by all our pupils of their full potential"*

(DfES 2003, p7).

It has been argued that many of the 25 tasks could fall into the remit of a TA as described by the government (see section 1.3). Similarly, the implementation of PPA time has had an impact upon the management of teacher timetables. All teaching staff now have an allocation of time away from the classroom to carry out planning, preparation and assessment but Primary schools were allocated only 1% (approx) on top of their existing budgets' to fund PPA time. However as the school budget is mainly comprised of staffing costs many primary schools have faced budget difficulties (CASENET 2003). TAs began to provide the cover for PPA. The difficulty

of reconciling the need for highly trained staff to ensure continuity of teaching and learning for all pupils with budget difficulties was one reason why the National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT) chose to withdraw from the National Agreement in March 2005 (Curtis, 2005). Stevenson et al (2007) have identified that the social partnership and the closer relationship with government may *have* affected the ability of the unions to defend their members as they have lost some of their independence.

The policy statements from government are optimistic about the potential of workforce remodelling and the use of TAs at a time when research evidence from Scotland (The McCrone Report, 2001a) and from the United states (STAR, 1989) was suggesting that TA deployment was not the panacea to the problems of the education system. The Agreement asserted, on a limited evidence base, that:

> *"Support staff working alongside teachers, have already contributed to significant improvements in the quality of teaching and learning and the efficient functioning of their schools. Over the coming years, we shall see new developments, enhancing opportunities for training and career progression in many different roles, and extending the range of what support staff can do in classrooms".*

> (Clarke, 2003, p1).

The Agreement was about looking at the role currently played by support staff and identifying ways in which that role can be extended in order to raise standards. However, in the intervening seven year period there has been little evidence about the impact of TAs. This is most noticeable in relation to the HLTA status. Some limited research seems to imply that the impact of obtaining HLTA Status for the individual candidate had been most strongly felt in the affective domain (Bedford et al.2005). Affective learning is about gaining new perceptions (e.g., self-confidence, responsibility, respect, dependability, and personal relations). However, this study was based on the views held by 23 non-randomly selected individuals and their headteachers. Therefore the most that can be claimed is that these individuals

believed there were positive impacts on their self-efficacy which might be expected to have a positive effect on the outcomes of their work. Other small scale studies have been carried out (Dunne et al., 2008; Cable et al., 2004; Lowe and Pugh, 2007; and Kerry, 2005). The National Joint Council for Local Government Services Report (2003) reports an under-utilisation of better qualified support staff in the management of other staff, pastoral roles, recruitment, induction, staff development and mentoring, despite the potential of the HLTA role being promoted. This begs the question of what it is that HLTAs might do that is different to what other TAs do?

Despite the huge change in the nature of the school workforce in England, it is not possible to describe the roles actually taken with much certainty given the limited amount and small scale of research that has so far been reported. The one significant piece of research which has been undertaken is the DISS study undertaken by Blatchford et al. (2009) for the DfES. The research used factor analysis to identify different types of support staff and indicated that there were seven types of support staff of which TAs were one group. However, by adopting this classification, which excluded some key members of staff who some schools classify as TAs, such as bilingual support staff, the study presented data based on TAs as an homogenous group. This ignored possibly significant differences in types of TA and their deployment and was unable to differentiate between TAs and HLTAs

Workforce remodelling in the education sector mirrors other Government public service professional reforms, where there has been a conscious breakdown in the strict autonomy of the professional. The movement towards a para-professional teamwork approach has been exemplified in the emergence of the nurse practitioner who works at an advanced practice level, undertaking some of the duties previously undertaken solely by the doctor (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2007). Similarly, the Higher Level Teaching Assistants was to be capable of a broad range of roles at an advanced level, including aspects of work previously undertaken by teaching staff, such as planning, teaching and assessing whole classes, or the management of all

pupils with Special Educational Needs, the SENCO[5] role. The DfES (2006) argued that Teachers and higher-level teaching assistants were not interchangeable and that accountability for the overall learning outcomes of pupils rested with that pupil's assigned qualified teacher. However, as Stewart (2003) has argued, remodelling, more specifically the deployment of people undertaking previous teacher duties, is a potential means of reducing education costs and solving teacher recruitment problems by employing unqualified learning support workers to teach. To ensure the quality of this newly created career level, the HLTA Status was awarded only to those who had been assessed against the HLTA Professional Standards (HLTA, 2003), modelled on the professional teaching standards. The first of the HLTA Status awards were made in April 2004, however there is little evidence that the promised raising of status and increased remuneration materialised. Some small scale studies have indicated some benefits to being a HLTA (Bedford et al, 2006) whereas others have identified limited effects (Hammersley Fletcher and Lowe 2010, Hancock et al 2010).

Workforce remodelling in England was not without precedent in other parts of the United Kingdom, A comparative, evidence-based remodelling process, the 'Classroom Assistant Initiative in Scottish Primary Schools' was launched by the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) in 1999. In 1998, the Classroom Assistant Initiative was launched as a pilot programme following from the McCrone Report (2001b) which recommended that teachers should be primarily engaged in teaching and other education related work, rather than tasks that others could do equally well. The initiative was one of a number of initiatives that aimed to raise standards of attainment in Scottish schools. The purpose of the initiative was to achieve a ratio of one adult for every 15 pupils in Scottish primary schools, measured across education authorities. There are parallels here with the Tennessee STAR project (1989) which had also recommended smaller class sizes. However, the Scottish government was going to secure the lower ratio by deploying additional classroom assistants, rather than teachers as the STAR project indicated, The new classroom assistants were to join other non-teaching staff in schools and undertake

---

[5] SENCO – Each school is required by law to have a SENCO.

a range of administrative and support for learning tasks under the direction of classroom teachers. An implementation group recommended specific changes to teachers' duties and working time. In England this was carried out with changes to teachers' employment contracts.

In January 2000 the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) began a two-year evaluation of the Classroom Assistant Initiative. The key findings of the evaluation were that approximately 4400 classroom assistants (3900 FTEs) had been appointed with most primary schools having at least one classroom assistant. Those without, were for the most part, very small schools with fewer than 10 pupils. The government was able to report significant progress towards the class size target. Most authorities reported no shortage of suitable applicants for classroom assistant posts. Successful appointees were usually women aged between 35 and 44 years, who had previously worked in schools as parent helpers, special needs auxiliaries or playground supervisors. Support for teachers and pupils was the main focus of the role, but many assistants also undertook some whole school administrative and supervisory duties. The majority of classroom assistants who responded to the evaluation were satisfied with their jobs, their hours and conditions of work, but approximately half were dissatisfied with the salaries they received. By the end of the evaluation most authorities employed assistants for 25 hours per week for between £5 and £6 pounds per hour. However, as will be shown in chapter 6, headline figures of pay rates per hour can disguise pay inequities.

The range and accessibility of training opportunities for classroom assistants improved over the course of the evaluation, but was not uniform across Scotland. An unspecified number of classroom assistants received little or no formal training. However, most believed school-based on-the-job support was the most helpful form of development. Approximately a quarter of all assistants reported that they would like to undertake teacher training in three to five years' time. We shall see in chapter 4 that there are multiple professional development opportunities for TAs in England but that equally this approach has proved problematic.

Education authority representatives, headteachers and classroom teachers felt that the most important contribution of classroom assistants was their flexibility in supporting both teachers and pupils. Many indicated that having an extra adult in the class was instrumental in 'freeing up' teachers and was therefore very important. The evaluation argued that attainment in Scottish primary schools had improved since the Classroom Assistant Initiative was launched. Classroom assistants were widely perceived to contribute to raising pupil attainment by enabling teachers to teach more effectively, and through their own work with individuals and groups of pupils. However, in the context of multiple policy initiatives aimed at raising attainment it was not possible to quantify the specific contribution of classroom assistants to the improvement.

Similarly, in England it has been difficult to find studies which show a relationship between TAs and improved standards. Indeed the DISS (Blatchford et al, 2009) study has suggested that TAs can have a detrimental impact upon the attainment of some pupils. This found that most classroom assistants spent more time supporting pupils, keeping them on task, providing additional support and reinforcement, and supervising them in a wide range of activities. However, classroom assistants were perceived to be relieving teachers of many routine tasks and this support made a positive impact on teachers' perceptions of their workload. This finding was later echoed by the DISS study (ibid) where teachers reported liking TA support.

The McCrone Report (2001a) identified that Teachers in Scotland reported being uncertain about how best to balance the allocation of classroom assistants' time between routine tasks and support for pupils and cited this as a source of dissatisfaction, usually because the classroom assistants preferred to spend more time with pupils rather than undertake administrative duties. Schools reported finding it difficult to make time available for teachers and classroom assistants to discuss and plan their work together. Despite having this information little thought was given in the remodelling of the English workforce to finding time for teachers and TAs to work together and there is still a dearth of training for teachers on how to work with additional staff in the classroom. Perhaps more worryingly the Scottish study

identified many concerns about the deployment, pay and conditions of the Classroom assistant workforce. In January 2006 the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), announced a formal investigation under section 57 (1) of the Sex Discrimination Act into the role and status of classroom assistants in Scottish primary schools. The findings (EOC 2006) highlight the female dominated make-up of classroom assistants, the broad range of duties involved in freeing teachers' time to teach and supporting and encouraging learning and the low levels of pay (£497-£832 a month) awarded to those involved in this type of work. The EOC noted that the skills involved in the work of classroom and pupil support staff are amongst those associated with women's traditional domestic and caring role in society and are historically undervalued in the workplace. This aspect of the evaluation was also not heeded by the government in England. As we will see in chapter 6 pay for TAs is low in England with little evaluation of what the role actually entails.

2.4 Managing Change

The increased number of support staff in schools and the structural reforms to be imposed on schools through workforce remodelling were substantive changes. In order to understand the impact of the changes brought about by workforce remodelling it is necessary to first look at how change in organisations can be effected.

The leadership and management of change is fraught with difficulties and tensions. As Garrett (2005) states change may be desired, imposed, unwanted, planned, unplanned, evolutionary or systematic but will involve disruption to the systems in place. In schools triggers for change can be as a result of external pressures, such as government policy or advice, or from internal pressures, such as the appointment of a new senior manager. Change can be either shallow or deep and the nature of the change management task will alter according to the level of change required (Collins, 1998). For example strategic change is likely to involve deeper levels change than an administrative adaptation to the way things are processed. In addition organisations may implement a number of change initiatives simultaneously at the different levels. In relation to workforce remodelling we can see that this is an

externally imposed strategic change for schools. More importantly the delivery of this change rests upon the restructuring of the work of both teachers and TAs and their respective involvement in this process.

'Participative change management' (Pascale et al., 1997) is a theory that sees the importance of involving 'every last employee' in the process of change. In this way all participants feel some ownership of the changes taking place and therefore engender their support. Whilst this may be seen as a laudable stance to take Dunphy and Stace (1990, 1996, 2001) point out that participative strategies are time-consuming as conflicting views can surface that are difficult to reconcile. They suggest that where organisational survival depends on rapid and strategic change, dictatorial transformation may be both necessary and appropriate. In relation to workforce remodelling we have seen the use of participative change theory being used to describe a process which may or may not be participative as an experience (Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe, 2005). Government documentation in relation to the change process urges school leaders to involve all staff. Yet this process was to be completed in a given time. The impact of the changes to school teachers pay and conditions (STRB, 2004) meant that school leaders may not have had the luxury of being able to use participative strategies which require time and communication (Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe, 2005).

Another approach to change is 'project management' (Hussey, 1998; Kotter, 1995a; Ulrich, 1998 and Eccles, 1994) which is based upon the concept of the project 'life-cycle'. This cycle typically involves the identification of a problem, gathering and analysing data, generating solutions and selecting the most appropriate, planning the implementation, implementing, testing, monitoring and evaluating. This presents the change process as a rational sequence of discrete and identifiable steps. Therefore they offer an explicit framework for planning. Collins (1998) referring to these as n-step guides argues that such guides fail for three reasons. First, they offer universal, simple prescriptions that do not take into consideration the unique circumstances of the organisation. Second, they do not take into account the complex and chaotic aspects of the change process. Finally, they do not encourage a critical perspective

with regard to what is being changed, the outcomes of the change and differences in the exercise of power. Pettigrew (1973, 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1988), another critic of n-step guides also cautions against simple explanations for change arguing that other related factors – individual, group, organisational, social and political – influence the nature and outcomes of change. Burnes (2000) cautions that there can be no simple recipe and argues instead for an approach based on the wide range of choices in change implementation. A project management approach to workforce remodelling may have been the most pragmatic choice for school leaders (Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe 2005). It can be argued that the project management approach simply delivers changes in processes in schools and this is problematic in relation to workforce remodelling. As Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe point out:

> *"In order to gain the full benefits from the remodelling process the changes in process seem less important than the opportunity it offers for staff to communicate and consider school practices"* (p72).

Both participative change and process based approaches require effective communication to be in place before change can happen. As Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe (2005) noted in their research TAs were often marginalised as a result of not being part of effective communication pathways in schools. ;

A third way of analysing change is the 'processual / contextual theory' (Langley, 1999; Pentland, 1999 and Denis et al., 2001). Proponents of this theory claim that it is necessary to understand how the substance, context and processes of organizational change interact to generate the observed outcomes. Pettigrew argues that the unit of analysis should be the process of change in real time. It is necessary to pay attention to the flow of events and see change as dynamic. There is also a need to pay attention to the wider context in which change takes place. This context has three dimensions. The internal context includes the structure and culture of the organisation, which influence patterns of behaviour and attitudes towards change initiatives. The external context is similar but lies outside of the organisation. In

addition past and current events and experiences condition both current and future thinking. Pettigrew also argues that the main management problem is to legitimize change proposals in the face of competing ideas. The management of change is thus equated with 'the management of meaning'. The main strengths of this processual/contextual approach are the recognition of the complexity of change, drawing attention to the interaction between a range of factors which shape the nature, direction and consequences of it and the recognition of change as a process with a past, a present and a future. Nevertheless this can be a view that presents change as over-complex and unmanageable and the people involved in the change as lacking in agency and at the mercy of wider social and organizational forces. Dunphy and Stace (1990, 1996, 2001) advocate a contingency model of change recommending using the approach best fitted to particular contexts and circumstances. They identify four levels of change management (see figure 2.1), fine tuning, incremental adjustment, modular transformation and corporate transformation and four categories of change leadership style, collaborative, consultative, directive and coercive.

This is a helpful model for analysing change in relation to workforce remodelling. It recognises the importance of context and leadership styles on the process of change. However, what is clear is that workforce remodelling may have been charismatic or even dictatorial transformation rather than participative evolution because of the time constraints brought about by the STRB (2004), and depending upon the skills of the schools leader may have been subject to dictatorial and or coercive direction from above. This approach is a considerable move away from the NRTs vision of the process as being based around *"understanding and managing change"* and requiring a 'fundamental alteration in mindset' (NRT, 2001). It still leaves the problem however of how staff have been involved in this process

Figure 2.1 Levels of Change Management

Scale of Change			
Fine tuning	Incremental adjustment	Modular transformation	Corporate transformation
Type 1 - Collaborative Participative evolution (Use when the organization needs minor adjustment to meet environmental condition; where time is available, and where key interest groups favour change)		Type 2 – Consultative Charismatic transformative (Use when the organization needs major adjustments to meet environmental conditions, where there is little time for participation, and where there is support for radical changes)	
Type 3 - Directive Forced evolution (Use when minor adjustments are required, where time is available, but where key interest groups oppose change)		Type 4 - Coercive Dictatorial transformation (Use when major adjustments are necessary, where there is no time for participation, where there is no internal support for strategic change, but where this is necessary for survival)	

Source: Adapted from Dunphy and Stace (1990)

As far back as 1993, Day et al. were arguing that school teachers having to review long held assumptions and practices were anxious about coping with future requirements and the organisation of new knowledge, and were struggling to adapt and survive. Workforce remodelling which draws upon all three theories of change management and has the potential to involve quite radical change, involves consideration of the school workforce and what this means for individuals

Whittington and Mayer (2002) argue that 'adaptive reorganization', the ability to redesign structures frequently, is critical to organisational performance particularly in

a period of rapid and frequent change. Moreover not only do organisations need to be flexible enough to cope with regular change, they also need to be able to marry the issues related to the people working within the organisation with the organisational structures and systems. This is easier if the organisation has adopted a culture where change is welcomed, where human resource policies are supportive and where there are appropriate management styles in operation. Lewin (1951) argued that change is a necessary part of shifting from a current position to a new position but that once reached practice should be consolidated and stabilised. Many organisations now face a position of 'high-velocity, adaptive reorganization' which is an environment where turbulent external conditions are translated into a complex stream of initiatives (Eisenhardt and Bourgeois, 1988; Buchanan, 2000b). Such reorganisation affects employee's work, the organisation's design, resource allocation, and organisational systems and procedures. The justification for this is argued to be a continuous attempt to improve performance. Within such an environment there are however dangers of initiative decay, where the benefits of previous change are lost as the organisation moves on to deal with fresh initiatives, a criticism levelled by the British National Health Service Modernization Agency (2002).

Another problem is that initiative fatigue sets in lowering enthusiasm for and commitment to more change. Initiative decay is widespread and affects all organisational levels including management (Buchanan et. al., 1999). Abrahamson (2000) presents a compelling argument for *'painless change'* based on 'dynamic stability' which simply means redesigning existing practices and business models. He goes on to argue that in order to change successfully organizations should avoid changing all the time because this generates cynicism and burnout. Morgan (2001, p3) describes the contemporary workplace as '*one continual change initiative'*, in which change fatigue is rampant and (like Abrahamson) argues for '*a quieter, more evolutionary approach to change'*. Rapid change can also have psychological consequences. As early as the seventies Toffler (1970) argued that the rate of change was out of control, and that society was doomed to a massive adaptational breakdown. He argued that the stress and disorientation that change induced in

individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time period was unhealthy. He described this as 'future shock'.

The way individuals respond to change is complex. One approach to understanding responses to change comes from studies of the ways in which people cope with traumatic personal loss. Kubler-Ross (1969) argued that individuals deal with loss by moving through a series of stages, each characterized by a particular emotional response. The five typical stages include denial, anger, an attempt to bargain as a way of mitigating the loss ('what if I do it this way?'), depression and finally acceptance. Garrett (2005) discusses a seven stage model involving Immobilisation, Minimisation, Depression, Acceptance/letting go, Testing out, Search for meaning and finally Internalisation. She points out that different people take differing times to pass through each stage and that it often takes longer than expected. Whilst such models can help organisations understand the cycle of coming to terms with change it is important to realise that different people will be at different stages at different times. In addition detecting where in the response cycle a person may be helps in the provision of appropriate guidance and support. Buchanan et al. (1999) found that over 60 per cent of managers said that people in their organizations were suffering from initiative fatigue. In a second study (Doyle et. al., 2000) just under half of respondents claimed that the pace of change was causing middle management 'burnout'. This may not be surprising when considering that with each change people have to spend time learning new tasks, implementing new systems and procedures, developing new knowledge, using new skills and behaviours, and all of this typically under time pressure because the organization cannot stop functioning whilst this happens.

Change can imply experimentation and the creation of something new or it can mean discontinuity and destruction. Change may be resisted because it involves confrontation with the unknown and loss of the familiar. Bedeian (1980) identifies parochial self-interest, misunderstanding and lack of trust, contradictory assessment of a situation and a low tolerance for change as the four common causes of resistance to organisational change. Eccles (1994) has expanded the possible

sources of resistance to include thirteen factors however, what is important is the way in which resistance to change is managed. Kotter and Schlesinger (1979) identify six techniques for managing resistance including education and commitment, participation and involvement, facilitation and support, negotiation and agreement, manipulation and co-optation and implicit and explicit coercion. They suggest that these techniques can be used to advantage depending upon the likely reactions of those involved and on the long-term implications of solving the problem in that way. For example whilst it may be the case that an organisation is generally participative and supportive in its approach, there may sometimes be circumstances where manipulation and coercion are appropriate.

The NRT argued that remodelling relied on the involvement and participation of the entire school community (NRT, 2001) and revolved around a change process. Understanding and managing change was viewed as a key part of the school remodelling and it involved a 'fundamental alteration in mindset' (NRT, 2001). The change process promoted by the NRT was based on techniques and experience gained in business and education that were said to be successful in remodelling pilot schools (ibid). Though we should note that Gunter (2005) has been critical of the government for failing to heed the lessons learned from the 'pathfinder' projects, carried out prior to remodelling. The NRT argued that for a change programme to be successful and sustainable there must be a compelling reason to change, a clear vision for the future and a coherent plan for getting there (NRT, 2001). Each school was to configure a 'School Change Team' which had a remit to introduce remodelling through using a five stage process (Appendix 2). In order to enter into such a programme it was recommended that a school 'change team' should contain representatives from all staff levels within the school and should be willing to consider the political, emotional and practical factors associated with each prospective change. It was also recommended that schools engage with a 'critical friend', to give an outside perspective and additional insight on the changes proposed. This does, however, pre-suppose support both from within and external to the school in the effort to reform. However, research from Hammersley-Fletcher and Lowe (2005) illustrated that remodelling has happened irrespective of staff involvement in the process. As Fullan (2001) notes the change *process* is not

change. Change is highly personalised. Educational change initiatives require the support of those (teachers and TAs) who are invited to implement them, otherwise the change fails. The negative effects of educational change initiatives can occur when new practice replaces established practice, where there are multiple changes to implement simultaneously or when timescales are contracted. (Churchill, Williamson and Grady, 1997). Campbell and Neill (1994) have identified that the impact of externally imposed change can be the de-skilling and de-professionalisation of teachers and (Williamson and Myhill (2008) note that work intensification brought about through educational reform may run counter to teacher professional engagement in change. Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) warn of the need to consider the impact of restructuring teachers' work 'from above' if teachers' professional lives are to be enhanced, whilst Lawn and Grace (1987) highlight the importance of giving teachers time for 'systematic reflection about the nature of their own occupation and the nature of their work'. Similarly, Goodson (2003) asserts that the denial of teachers' perspectives rejects their key role in the implantation of policy, change or curriculum. Within the debate about teachers' responses to the remodelling process little attention has been paid to the perceptions of TAs. It can be argued that TAs, as an occupational group, have undergone significant restructuring of their work. Given the importance of TAs in delivering the previous Government's inclusion, raising standards and remodelling agendas the analysis presented in this thesis suggests that the arguments for avoiding imposed change on teachers may also be applicable to TAs.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how TAs have been positioned to play a central role in Government reforms in relation to Inclusion, Raising Standards and Workforce Remodelling and the significant increase in the number of people employed as part of the support staff within schools over the last ten years. However, there is still a lack of clarity over what it is that TAs actually do in the classroom and their role in relation to the wider school workforce. Gunter (2004) has noted that the main issue is not the employment of such staff but the allocation of resources that will enable schools to appoint, train and develop these staff appropriately. A more detailed discussion of the role of professional development for TAs will follow in chapter 4.

There is a more significant issue that this chapter has raised. TAs are central to the development of the education workforce yet, because of their current role and status, they may have not played a meaningful part in shaping and defining their new role. Indeed the process of creating that new role for TAs has itself been problematic because the process of change is itself problematic. We have begun to explore the importance of self in relation to workforce remodelling in that responses to change vary with individuals and we have looked briefly at the arguments pointing to problems if teachers roles are restructured without them taking an active role, as has been the case with the remodelling agenda. In the next chapter this thesis will explore competing concepts of professionalism and argue that the occupational status of TAs should be analysed in terms of their professional status in relation to teachers.

Chapter 3 Professionalism

3.0 Introduction

We have so far identified what TAs are expected to do and outlined the role they are expected to play in relation to the Government's agendas on inclusion, raising standards and workforce remodelling. As noted in chapter 2, these initiatives have been implemented with little regard to TAs views. It has been argued that teachers can become deskilled in the face of externally imposed change (Campbell and Neill 1994) and this may lead to de-professionalisation. This process may also apply to TAs who have experienced externally imposed change through remodelling and may also become deskilled and de-professionalised in the same way as teachers. However, this proposition presupposes that it is appropriate to classify TAs as a profession and below we address this issue.

Section 3.1 presents a discussion on terminology in order to clarify the nature of a profession and a professional. In sections 3.2 to 3.4 the three main theories of professions are critically analysed- trait theories (3.2), economic theories (3.3) and sociological theories (3.4). In section 3.5 the extent to which professions are desirable is evaluated. In section 3.6 the process through which someone develops a professional identity is discussed. In section 3.7 the professional status of teachers is critically evaluated and in section 3.8 the professional status of TAs is analysed in the light of the previous sections' analysis.

3.1 What is a profession?

The term 'profession' has many meanings and is used in a variety of contexts. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 1997 Vol. XII, p572) states:

> *"The occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow. A vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in an art upon it. Applied Spec. to the three learned professions of divinity, law and medicine, also to the military professions".*

This definition links profession with occupation. It also raises the issue of knowledge and its application. It uses the example of only three professions to assist in defining the concept. These are the church, the law and the medical professions. O'Day, (2000) has identified that the oldest identified professions were the church, the law and the medical profession. She argues that the common defining feature was a calling or vocation to serve God and their fellows. They differed from other Christians only in providing a service that required literate education and training. The three occupations shared a common background in the reformed Christianity and social humanism of the Reformation and the Renaissance. This was acquired in the grammar schools and universities. Members of these professions took their places in a hierarchical society according to their family connections, access to patronage, education and innate ability, as individuals rather than members of an occupational elite. O'Day uses evidence gained from primary sources such as the journals of those in the three professions in the period from 1400 – 1700AD. She argues that the people who became members of the law, the church and medicine did not do so in order to make a living, they were already wealthy. For them the professions were more about occupying their time. O'Day does not believe that the three professions were self-conscious groupings. They were simply a way for people who shared similar interests and passions to meet together in an ad hoc way. They did not establish themselves with regulations. O'Day argues that exclusive clubs and societies gradually emerged but professionalism as an institutional process with privileged associations and legal enforcement did not appear until the nineteenth century when there was a rise in technology and occupational specialization and other bodies beginning to claim "professional" status. However, this can be challenged.

Hoyle (1975 p.315) argued that we could explore what it meant to be a professional by distinguishing between 'professionalism' which he identified as:

> "*those strategies and rhetorics employed by members of an occupation in seeking to improve status, salary and conditions*".

and *'professionality'* – the knowledge, skills and processes that teachers use in their work. Evans (2008, p28) has developed this idea and her definition of professionality sees it as:

> "*an ideologically, attitudinally, intellectually and epistemologically based stance on the part of an individual, in relation to the practice of the profession to which s/he belongs, and which influences her/his professional practice*".

Hoyle (2008, p291) has suggested that there are two conceptions of what a professional could be; extended or restricted:

> "*A restricted professional was construed as a teacher for whom teaching was an intuitive activity, whose perspective was restricted to the classroom, who engaged little with wider professional reading or activities, relied on experience as a guide to success, and generally valued classroom autonomy. An extended professional was construed as a teacher for whom teaching was a rational activity, who sought to improve practice through reading and through engaging in continuous professional development, who was happily collegial, and who located classroom practice within a larger social framework*".

Within this conception, professionalism is the plural of individual's professionality. Evans (2008, p.29) describes professionalism as:

> "*professionality influenced practice - that is consistent with commonly held consensual delineations of a specific profession and that both contributes to and reflects perceptions of the profession's purpose and status and the specific nature, range and levels of service provided by, and expertise prevalent within, the profession, as well as the general ethical code underpinning this practice*".

For Evans professionalism has three core components; behavioural, attitudinal and intellectual. The behavioural component relates to what practitioners actually do at work. The attitudinal component relates to the attitudes they hold about their work and the intellectual relates to what they know and understand about what they do.

Figure 3.1 A Model of Professionalism

```
                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Professionalism   │
                    └─────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────┬──────────────────┐
  ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐
  │ Behavioural │   │ Attitudinal │   │ Intellectual│
  └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘
  ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐
  │  Processual │   │  Perceptual │   │ Epistemologic│
  └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘
  ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐
  │  Procedural │   │  Evaluative │   │ Rationalistic│
  └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘
  ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐
  │  Productive │   │ Motivational│   │ Comprehensi │
  └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘   └─────────────┘
  ┌─────────────┐                     ┌─────────────┐
  │  Competenc  │                     │  Analytical │
  └─────────────┘                     └─────────────┘
```
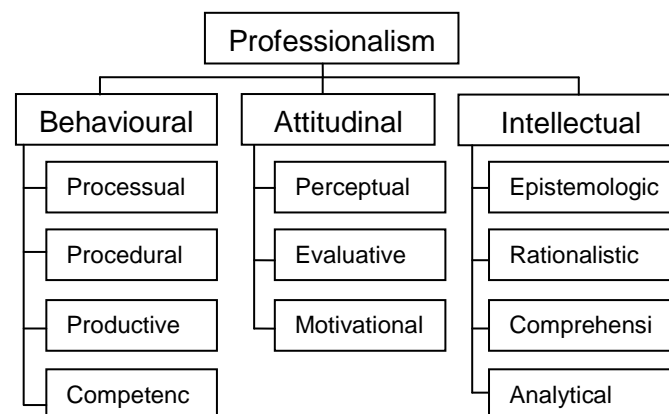
Source: Adapted from Evans (2010)

Professional development therefore enhances a person's professionality within each of these three components. To ignore some or to focus too much on others leads to what Evan's (2010, p15) calls *"componential reductionism"* So what we are describing when we talk of a profession is a collective grouping of individuals. Those individuals demonstrate professionality which leads to an outward show of extended or restricted professionalism. However, this still leaves a problem, how do we recognise a distinct profession?

3.2 Defining a Profession 1 - traits

"'Of all sociological ideas, one of the most difficult to analyse satisfactorily is the concept of a profession".

(Millerson 1964, p1)

Initial theorists in this area tended to adopt a 'trait' approach to defining professionalism. They identified the key traits that a member of a given profession should have. If an individual possessed these traits they were a professional. One such approach was that put forward by Flexner (1915) in a report on medical education in the United States and Canada. This set out the procedural practice in medical school education for many decades. It identified that a member of the medical profession would exhibit the following characteristics:

- a professional possesses and draws on a store of knowledge that is more than ordinary

- a professional possesses a theoretical and intellectual grasp that is different from a technician's practice

- a professional applies theoretical and intellectual knowledge to solving human and social problems

- a profession strives to add to and improve its body of knowledge through research

- a profession passes on the body of knowledge to novice generations, for the most part in a university setting

- a profession is imbued with altruism

Similarly, Larson (1977, p208), examining the historical development of professions in the UK and USA, conceptualised the 'professional project' and identified the following as characteristics of a profession:

"…professional association, cognitive base, institutionalized training, licensing, work autonomy, colleague "control" code of ethics…"

This approach is still in evidence amongst contemporary theorists. Rich (1984 p 8-11) lists seven characteristics of a profession. A profession:

- requires a high degree of general and systematized knowledge,

- requires a long period of specialized intellectual training,

- is characterized by work that is essentially intellectual,

- provides a unique social service,

- controls its standards of entrance and exclusion,

- develops and enforces a professional code of ethics, and

- grants practitioners a broad range of autonomy.

Similarly, Pavalko (1988) describes certain qualities that are attributed to professions:

- A unique knowledge base justifying the claim to special expertise

- A long training period requiring specialised knowledge and indoctrination into the occupational subculture

- Relevance of work to social values

- A service versus a profit motivation

- Occupational autonomy. The profession is self-regulating and self-controlling. Only members of the profession judge and certify who is competent to practice

- A strong sense of commitment and loyalty to the profession

- A strong sense of common identity resulting in a significant subculture

- A code of ethics and system of norms that are parts of the subculture, reinforcing motivation, autonomy and commitment

Pavalko argues that because of these attributes, professions are perceived to exhibit high quality work which justifies public respect and trust.

Boone (2001) argues that professions are based on scientific and philosophical facts acquired through scholarly endeavour. Individuals who enter a profession do so for reasons that distinguish them from other work or vocations. They understand that their work renders a unique public service with a scientific or philosophical basis

and/or body of knowledge that requires an extended period of academic and hands-on preparation. Professions are also based on specialized skills necessary for the professional to perform the public service. This matches the earlier views of Burbules and Densmore (1991) who identified the characteristics of a profession as:

- professional autonomy;

- a clearly defined, highly developed, specialized, and theoretical knowledge base;

- control of training, certification, and licensing of new entrants;

- self-governing and self-policing authority, especially with regard to professional ethics;

- a commitment to public service.

Pratte and Rury (1991), in a succinct definition identify the importance of status and remuneration in their list of the characteristics of a profession:

- remuneration,

- social status,

- autonomous or authoritative power,

- service.

Turner (1993, p14) would argue that this last aspect is a key element of professionalism:

> *"The professional is motivated by service to the community rather than by the anticipation of an immediate material reward; altruistic values predominate over egoistic inclinations".*

The problem with trait theories is that, whilst allowing us to identify a group and say that they are professional because the members of the group exhibit certain characteristics may be too simple in enabling us to understand the subtleties of

professionalism in contemporary society. Pratte and Rury's (1991) list of attributes for a profession could arguably be applied to any number of occupational groups. It all depends upon our definition of their notions of 'service'.

3.3 Defining a Profession 2 – the economic approach

An alternative way to understand professions, professionals and professionalism is to utilise an economic conceptualisation. Whereas a trait theory would simply see a professions as a group of people sharing the same skills, abilities , qualifications etc; and a sociological definition would see professions as resulting from the way society is structured and organised, an economic definition sees them as a function of the market. The economic conceptualisation suggests that professions regulate economic activity in contexts which are problematic for the 'free market' and are there to act as a collective regulator of economic activity (Adnett 2006). For a free market to be efficient certain conditions need to be satisfied. When these conditions are not fulfilled then a different form of organising economic activity might become more effective.

In a "free market" there is an exchange of property rights based on private contracting that is subject to legal sanction. This suggests that individual decision-making autonomy exists, while the possibility of legal sanctions suggests the importance of individual accountability. To move away from the free market implies non-autonomous, complex contracting and non individual policing. Examples include unions, cartels and professional bodies. They all involve collective contracting and/or non-autonomous decision making.

If we explore this argument in relation to education we can see that teachers do not contract with the state as individuals but form professional associations which contract with the state on their behalf. This can be seen in the involvement of the Teacher Unions in the School Teacher Review Body which determines pay and working conditions. Teachers do not have autonomy; they are bound by national policy which is shaped by collective groups rather than individuals. So why would

each party want this to be the case. Clearly for governments there is a need for control over the education market to ensure that consistency exists across sites of delivery. It would be difficult to individually contract with over ½ million teachers and identify what education they should offer and for how much remuneration they should receive. There are also advantages for teachers. They can gain better working conditions, remuneration and protection through their professional associations.

Whilst some have argued that professionalism is simply a mechanism of the market place others have argued that it attempts to correct market failures. In education, the existence of so many individual teachers creates a problem for government, because they have access to a form of power. This power consists of information – which is held by one party and not the other. It is an asymmetrical relationship. Asymmetric information prevents the specification of complete employment contracts. In education teachers and their stakeholders are in an asymmetrical information relationship because of the complexity of their role. Adnett and Davies (2003) building upon the analyses of Dixit (2002) and Burgess and Ratto (2003) have identified that the complexity of education results in agency problems. First there are multiple outputs, many of which cannot be measured precisely. This makes it difficult to identify an individual' teacher's effort or effectiveness. Secondly, there are multiple stakeholders (parents, pupils, governors, employers, taxpayers and government) who have diverse preferences concerning the weights to be attached to these outputs. This makes it difficult to identify criteria for evaluation because each stakeholder will have a different perspective. These perspectives may be complementary or in opposition. Thirdly, the agents are in part motivated by professional and public service considerations (Francois 2000). Fourthly, schooling utilises a 'customer-input technology' in that students educate themselves and each other and the quality of provision therefore depends partly upon the ability of the intake as a whole. Schools can therefore substitute more able students for less teacher effort or effectiveness and still maintain a given level of average student attainment. This complexity also means that teachers' contracts are incomplete because of the level of discretion in this work that this complexity inevitably supports. This means monitoring and regulation may be difficult to achieve. Within such a

system it would be relatively easy for those holding the superior information to exploit their stakeholders. The presence of asymmetric information means that the market has to create another way of protecting participants from exploitation. This is done through a process whereby professionals are assisted in acquiring and keeping the trust of their stakeholders through the adoption and enforcement of a code of ethics. Matthews (1991) sought to examine the economic rationale for traditional professional labour market behaviour. He noted that a characteristic of professional labour markets is an explicit or implicit code of ethical behaviour based upon shared values. He believed that this was linked to the presence of asymmetric information and externalities.

Externalities are defined as third party (or spill-over) effects arising from the production and/or consumption of goods and services for which no appropriate compensation is paid. In education teachers produce goods, such as references for both pupils and colleagues. These are used in the market as screens for decision-makers in relation to employment or access to further education opportunities. This may lead the teacher into conflict with the consumers of their service – parents and pupils. For example; a teacher may indicate that a place on a course at another institution should be denied to a pupil because of the pupil's history of attendance. This would be appropriate and is what the other institution would expect from the teacher. However, this may cause conflict with the consumer (the parent and pupil) who want to gain access to another institution to study. A code of conduct can cover acceptable behaviour in the face of this conflict.

Adnett (2006) has identified a third element which needs to be considered in relation to this argument. Drawing on the work of British and North American research (Sammons et al., 1995 and Reynolds et. al., 1996) which indicates that effective schools tend to have teachers who share a unity of purpose and collectively exhibit consistency of practice and a high degree of collegiality and collaboration, he notes that the *"overall effectiveness of schools depends in part on the ability of teachers to work together to produce local public goods"* and that this type of school culture *"appears to be particularly important in achieving targets"* (Adnett 2006, p149).

Teamwork plays a fundamental role in enabling the effective sharing of information, resources and expertise and in reinforcing key messages and enforcing agreed policies. Teamwork also plays a key role in the process whereby professionals are assisted in acquiring and keeping the trust of their stakeholders through the adoption and enforcement of a code of ethics ensures that the market can protecting participants from exploitation.

Asymmetric information and externalities lead to moral hazard problems for professionals. A moral hazard can be defined as the risk that one of the parties in a transaction may not have entered into it in good faith i.e.; a teacher may be open to bribes in return for better references or grades. Professional self-regulation has a policing effect and prohibits practices which can create this moral hazard, applying sanctions when these rules are broken. Traditional professionalism relies upon shared objectives and intrinsic motivation. Professionalism is a form of 'maximand-morality' (Matthews 1991) – the optimum moral purpose of the profession prevents inertia and lack of effort. A desire for public service may also motivate behaviour (Francois, 2000), along with the desire for peer-esteem. Maximand-moralities can produce a stable code of conduct. Processes are generated which reinforce the norms.

The model of the survival of altruistic behaviour developed by Eshel et al; (1998) can be used to explain the dynamic stability of this model of professional labour markets. The model proposes three groups of agents – altruists who are willing to contribute to the public good, 'egotists' who are unwilling to contribute to the public good and 'hooligans' who will try to gain something by imposing costs on their colleagues. Following a code of conduct or ethical guidelines can be viewed as a cost to professionals which is an investment in the provision of a local public good for their colleagues. New professionals learn what modes of behaviour to follow, and then imitate successful dominant altruistic behaviour. This preserves the survival of such behaviour over time. Where such behaviour dominates other altruists will primarily enjoy the benefits of such altruistic behaviour.

However, an economic analysis which depends upon the need for a code of conduct and ethics may not be appropriate. Teaching does not yet possess the extensive credible regulatory mechanisms found in law and medicine (Adnett 2003). The regulatory body for teachers took a significant period of time to be created and was only launched in 2000. As the 'Teaching and Higher Education Bill (DfEEc 1998 para 4 & 5) identified:

> *"It is over 130 years since the first moves were made towards a General Teaching Council. Bills were drafted for Parliament in the late nineteenth century"*.

The General teaching Council for England was launched in September 2000 and acts as the independent professional body for teaching in England. It is required to regulate the conduct and competence of teachers in the public interest. Registration with the GTC is mandatory. Teachers' employers (including supply agencies) must refer to the Council when they have ceased to use the services of a registered teacher because of misconduct or incompetence. Cases of unacceptable professional conduct, which includes criminal conviction, are referred to the GTC by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). They may decide to take their own action to bar or restrict a teacher where the safety and welfare of children is at risk, or public confidence in the profession would be compromised. Members of the public can also make referrals about teachers' conduct. Each GTC panel can take a series of actions which include:

- the issuing of a reprimand;
- to make a teachers' continued registration subject to meeting specified conditions (a Conditional Registration order);
- to suspend from the Register, with conditions if appropriate, for a period of up to two years (a Suspension Order)
- To prohibit eligibility for registration (a Prohibition Order).

But does a profession need to be regulated in order to be called a profession? There may be shared professional standards and a common collegiate ethos which could stand in place of a regulatory framework. A very strong commitment to schools

(Marsden 2000), which is stronger than the commitment found elsewhere in the public (Marsden and French, 1998) and private sectors (1998 BERR Workplace Employee Relations Survey) has been noted, which may remove the need for a regulatory framework. Teachers' professionalism is sensitive to the strength and character of the local teacher community (Talbert and McLaughlin 1996). Teachers who participate in strong professional communities have higher levels of professionalism as measured by their technical culture, service ethic and professional commitment. Where the 'collegiate ethos' is strong standards of professionalism are relatively high. (Adnett 2003)

3.4 Defining a Profession – the sociological approach

Sociologists have also worked to provide a definition of a 'profession'. Early sociological definitions of professions defined them as a special category of occupations possessing unique attributes that are seen as functional to the wider society (Carr-Saunders 1928; Goode 1960). Indeed Carr-Saunders and Wilson argued that professionalism was a good thing for society:

> '…the growth of professionalism is one of the hopeful features of the time. The approach to problems of social conduct and social policy under the guidance of a professional tradition raises the ethical standard and widens the social outlook".

> (Carr-Saunders, 1928, in Vollmer and Mills 1966, p9)

The first major sociological study of the professions was carried out by Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933, p491):

> "We have found that the application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, acquired as the result of prolonged and specialised training, is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professions".

This definition remained unchallenged until the early 1960's. Millerson (1964, p4) identified that a profession involved:

> *"a skill based on theoretical knowledge - The skill requires training and knowledge - The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test - Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct - The service is for the public good - The profession is organised".*

Millerson's analysis goes further than that provided by Carr-Saunders and Wilson by asking questions concerning the types of professional organisation, how they are formed and what structure they take. He also examined educational requirements and codes of conduct. However both the Carr-Saunders and Wilson and Millerson studies were based upon a methodology that asked the professions to define themselves. There was no evaluation of self interest, motivation or power.

In response to this we can identify two further broad sociological explanations of professions. A Marxist analysis focuses on the social relations of production. Professions are viewed as either a means of articulating the state and fulfilling the functions of capitalism (Poulantzas 1975), or as being subject to proletarianization and de-skilling, gradually losing status and power (Braverman 1974). A neo-Weberian approach focuses on market conditions, viewing society as an arena where competing groups struggle with the state and each other to gain power and status. Occupations are segmented with a diversity of wants and needs. These form an occupation's experience of professionalization. The struggle for control is facilitated through social closure which was identified by Weber as the action of social groups, who restrict entry and exclude benefit to those outside the group in order to maximize their own advantage. (Bilton et al., 1996 p 669). This is employed by professional groups to defend their privileged position (Parkin 1979; Friedson 1970). Both approaches emphasize the role of conflict and struggle and the need to achieve and consolidate professional status.

Johnson (1972) has advanced a neo marxist conceptualisation of power where the main focus is on the relationship between the producer and consumer of professional services. In a study which looked at both UK and US professions, Johnson argues that the division of labour (occupational specialisation) creates varying degrees of social distance between the producer and consumer. He argues that professionalism is one form of occupational control that is used to impose a relationship. It assumes that one person will be dominant because of their professional status. A profession is not an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation (Johnson, 1972 p45). He also goes on to redefine professionalisation as an inevitable historical process, common to all professions, rather than a process that particular occupations undertake of their own volition. Hanlon (1998) has also identified the role of conflict and argued that "*professionalism is a shifting rather than a concrete phenomenon".* Professionals are "*those groups commonly thought of as professional by the lay public, academics, the professionals themselves and so on"* (ibid p45). These groups , rather than homogeneous are in conflict with each other. He argues that one of the key schisms between the groups rests upon whether the view is of *"social service"* professionalism whereby the profession exists for the good of society or of *"commercialised professionalism"* with an emphasis on management. The latter has arisen as a need for greater accountability in an era when trust between society and the professions has broken down (Hanlon, 1998).

It could be argued that teachers and TAs are two such groups in conflcit with one another in an era of commercialised professionalism in education. The Government, has lost trust in the teaching profession. It has created a centralised managerialist education system and imposed a new group of workers (TAs) who are in conflict with the exisitng workers (teachers). Johnson (1972) exemplifies a 'power approach' to the professions. He recognised the explanatory weaknesses of previous definitions and his perspective resulted in a paradigmatic shift in the field of research (MacDonald, 1995). However some were beginning to ask whether research was looking at the right question given this focus on power relationships. Hughes (1963, cited in MacDonald 1995 p6), a key sociological theorist, is quoted as identifying that he had:

"passed from the false question 'Is this occupation a profession?' to the more fundamental one 'what are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people'".

Abbott (1988, p1) argues that *"professionalization was at best a misleading concept, for it involved more the forms than the contents of professional life"*. Abbott's work is focussed on the contents of professional work. It is this specialist knowledge, and claims to this knowledge by various competing occupational groups, that form the basis of the professional work. Abbott argues for a *'systematic view of professions'* (Abbott, 1988 p2). Abbott argues that to understand the professions they must not be considered separately but together as they co-exist in a systematic relationship. This approach would seem to be helpful when considering whether or not Teachers and TAs are professions as they do exist together within the workplace and are dependent upon one another in their work. However, it also rests upon TAs being classified as a profession. As an analysis of professions in relation to education it also ignores what Adnett (2006) has termed 'asymmetry'. Teachers have a position of asymmetry in relation to TAs. Teachers' work is not dependent upon the Teaching Assistant, schools can and do manage without TAs. The converse is not true. TAs are dependent upon teachers for their work.

Sociological criticisms of a purely economic conceptualization of the market (White 1981) argue that context must be taken into account. This perspective argues that economic behaviour cannot be understood without an account of the cultural context in which economic transactions occur. For example within a market, gender may have an impact on the ownership and control of property. In Saudi Arabia, the cultural context denies women the ownership of property which distorts the market. The effects of context can be more subtle. It can be argued that this is the case in education in relation to the context of gender. The alignment between working hours and childcare within the education market will skew the staffing profile in favour of those with childcare responsibilities. If culturally these are women, then women will

dominate the market. The need to have employment that is of limited duration will also keep the salary costs down.

Recognizing the context is important for an analysis of markets for professional services where professional reputation and trust play an important role (Dietrich and Roberts 1999). Dietrich and Roberts (1999) have used both sociological and economic approaches to analyse professionalism. They argue that power is a key defining factor but note that it is conceived of differently in each discipline. In economics power is defined in relation to market structures. The power perspective in sociology is concerned with a profession's ability to access and maintain power in order to lay claim to professional status. They argue that, to explain the function of professions, power must be understood in both structural (economic) and processual (sociological) senses

As a structural construct power can be held by individuals, groups or organisations (Pfeffer 1992). Power can be an embedded property of structures, it can be a property of individuals or it can be the property of relationships. Pfeffer (1992) has argued that power should be seen as a property of an individual's role within an organisation. He identifies nine sources of this structural power which we divide into control points and community points. Control points identify ways in which a role in an organisation provides opportunities to control its activity. They include:

- Formal position and authority in the organisation structure

- Position in the organisation's communication network

- Access to and control over information and other resources

- The centrality of own position to the organisation – The extent to which all other positions in the organisation relate to your position

- Authorised role in resolving critical problems and in reducing uncertainty

- Opportunity to cultivate allies and supporters

Community points identify ways in which an individual's relationships with others in the community create a platform for the exercise of power such as:

- The pervasiveness of one's activities in the organisation

- Being irreplaceable

- Degree of unity within your section (lack of internal dissent)

This perspective is helpful for understanding power in schools. The power of a headteacher is a function of the role that they are generally expected to play within the organisation of a school. Variation in the power of headteachers in different schools reflects variation in their roles within the organisational structure of their schools. According to this perspective power is distributed when a headteacher devolves aspects of any of the control points. For example, the appointment of a Bursar changes the heateacher's power by devolving access to information about the budget. Power is also distributed when a headteacher becomes less central to the organisational community. Pfeffer (1992) has also suggests that power can be a property of individuals' attributes such as:

- Energy, endurance and physical stamina

- Ability to focus energy and avoid wasteful effort

- Sensitivity and ability to read and understand others

- Flexibility in selecting varied means to achieve goals

- Personal toughness; willingness to engage in conflict and confrontation

- Ability to 'play the subordinate' and 'team member' to enlist the support of others

This conceptualisation suggests that power is not necessarily associated with hierarchical positions or roles within the school. Power can also be seen as a property of relationships within an organisation. French and Raven's (1958) typology of power in organisations combine structure and personal attributes. Their 'relational' view proposed five bases of power:

Legitimate Power - refers to power of an individual because of the relative position and duties of the holder of the position within an organization. Legitimate Power is formal authority delegated to the holder of the position.

Reward Power - depends upon the ability of the power wielder to confer valued material rewards.

Coercive Power – depends upon the ability to apply negative influences onto others.

Expert Power - an individual's power deriving from the skills or expertise of the person and the organization's needs for those skills and expertise. This type of power is specific and limited to the particular area in which the expert is trained and qualified.

Referent Power - refers to the power or ability of individuals to persuade and influence others. It's based on the charisma and interpersonal skills of the power holder.

The first three categories might be regarded as 'structural' in Pfeffer's terms. However, French and Raven's typology moves beyond a purely structural view of power to a processual understanding of power. It requires us to consider ways in which the control points are exercised. From this perspective the extent to which each point of control leads to power depends on the skill with which control is exercised. The fourth and fifth categories emphasise personal attributes, but they recognise that the power generated by those attributes depends on the relationships between the individual and the community. There is a second, important difference between Pfeffer's typology and the categories suggested by French and Raven. Whereas the sources of power in Pfeffer's typology are presented as cumulative, the categories of power in French and Raven's typology may be mutually exclusive. For example if you use coercive power you reduce opportunities to use referent power. Power therefore can be seen as the ability (real or perceived) or potential to bring about significant change, usually in people's lives, through the actions of oneself or of others. Power is:

"The capacity of individuals to overcome resistance on the part of others, to exert their will and to produce results consistent with their interest and objectives".

(Buchanan and Huczynski 2004 p 828)

Power operates both relationally and reciprocally. To control others, one must have control over things that they desire or need. However, there is also a measure of reverse control. For example, the headteacher and Governors have considerable power over TAs because they control the number of hours worked, salary etc; However, the TA holds some reciprocal power: they may resign, alter their productivity, have time off, join a union etc; As such there is a shifting balance of power between parties in a given relationship. To examine the nature of power in a relationship we need to analyse and identify the relative strengths of each party. There may be an equal or unequal balance of power and the balance itself may be stable or subject to change. In order to understand power it is important to analyse other relationships between the parties in a power relationship. For example; a Headteacher may have power over a TA as an employer. This may impact upon the TAs opinion of the power exerted by that person. Were they to meet in a relationship that was not based upon employment the TA might not describe the Headteacher as a powerful person. Power' closely resembles "influence", however we can make a distinction between influence as a more general concept, and power as intended influence.

Dietrich and Roberts (1999) also note that the environment within which professions operate is not static and that professionals, through their individual behaviour, shape the social context. This means that it is important to analyse why some occupations have professional status within an historical context. To do this Dietrich and Roberts (1999) explore nursing. On the surface, nursing would seem to meet the requirements of being a profession. If we use Pavalko's (1988) criteria we can see that there is *a unique knowledge base used which justifies the claim to special expertise* – nursing is a graduate entry occupation because of the level of this

knowledge. It has a *long training period requiring specialised knowledge* and there is a significant element of work based training which may enhance *indoctrination into the occupational subculture.* Few would argue that the provision of effective healthcare is a core *social value* and nursing has had an image of dedicated workers who do it for the love of the job rather than the remuneration; clearly *a service versus a profit motivation.* Nurses are viewed as having *a strong sense of commitment and loyalty to the profession.* Nursing has a regulatory body, and *code of ethics* and hence *occupational autonomy.* It is *self-controlling* in that only qualified nurses can *judge and certify who is competent to practice.* We can also see that there is considerable information asymmetry (Matthews 1991) between nurse and patients. However, the professional status of nursing is often questioned (Parkin 1995; Salvage 1988) and nurses do not have the same professional status as doctors. The emergence of professions requires an economic rationale. Once a profession has emerged the ability to maintain and develop professional status involves social recognition. Nursing was unable to achieve this shift to core professional status due to the inability of the occupation to gain social recognition as a profession, despite its existing economic rationale. Parkin (ibid) has argued that this was linked to the existence of several occupational groups in nursing (geriatric, paediatric etc) which all laid claim to the same professional territory. This resulted in tension and power struggles which undermined nurses' claims to a unified professionalism. TAs may also have many different sub groupings (Special Needs TAs, Learning mentors etc ;) which may affect their ability to be recognised as a distinct profession. Indeed the problem may be compounded for TAs given the historical development which led to a multiplicity of job titles and job roles.

A dynamic approach to professional organization was also recognized by Wilensky (1964). He described a "process of professionalization". This involved the following stages:

- the establishment of the activity as a full-time occupation
- the establishment of training schools and university links
- the formation of a professional organization
- the struggle to gain legal support for exclusion
- the formation of a formal code of ethics.

Nursing would appear to have gone through this process. However, as we have noted above, the power struggles identified by Parkin (1995) mean that this process was interrupted. Wilensky identified that minor deviations from this common process were caused by power struggles and has argued that professions can try to shortcut this approach by adopting elaborate codes of ethics or setting up paper organizations, prior to the formation of an institutional or technical basis for the profession. Using Dietrich and Robert's (1999) analysis, this is an attempt to gain a sociological rationale before the economic rationale has been established. Wilensky suggests that these attempts are doomed to failure, being characterized by *"opportunistic struggle for the rewards of monopoly rather than a natural history of professionalism"* (Wilensky 1964 p157). We have seen so far in this chapter that there are several competing ways in which to conceptualise professions. There is no precise and unique definition available to us. The adjective 'profession' is merely a title claimed by certain occupations at certain points in time. It is important therefore to recognise why occupations seek professional status. Is professionalism desirable?

3.5 Are professional bodies desirable?

A strong attack has been launched on professionalism. The link between agency, asymmetrical information and externalism that is played out in the power relationship between professionals and stakeholders, has led some to argue that professionals can be exploitative (Friedman 1962). Professionals can use compliance with their professional code as an excuse for not behaving in the interests of their employers or client base. Samuel (2000) in his lecture to the World Bank claims that *"professional self-regulation, has robbed consumers of sovereignty".* He asserts that *"Self-regulatory practices that have developed essentially to serve the interests of service providers".* Samuels is arguing that professional processes have come to *"serve the interests of service providers".* Professional bodies have a dual responsibility, firstly, to the market. In education this is a duty to schools and their stakeholders. Secondly, they have a duty to their members. Ethically they cannot attend to the needs of their members if it means a cost to the market. Because of the desire for public service which motivate behaviour (Francois (2000). However, this can place tension on the professional body. Self interest and social responsibility are congruent. It can be argued that there has been a backlash against professionalism.

Part of the backlash against professionalism is linked to the economic realities of the market. Those with power secure better working conditions and salaries. The rise of unionism in response to exploitation of workers by the marketplace brought with it a strong Marxist conflict model for resolving disputes which is difficult to resolve in market vs. member disputes. Professional bodies may need to act as de facto trade unions to secure maximum benefit for members. This is a role which sits uncomfortably with professionalism because professionals themselves tend to view themselves and their actions as being 'for the public good' as sociological conceptions of professionalism imply.

3.6 Becoming a professional – developing an identity

Hall (1968 p33) has argued that becoming a professional occurs on two levels. The structural level, which encompasses formal educational and entrance requirements for entry into the profession but also at an attitudinal level, such as the individual's sense of "a calling" to the field. People entering a profession experience change externally, which is in the requirements of the specific career role, and internally, which is in the subjective self-conceptualization associated with the role (McGowan and Hart 1990). This self-conceptualization can be viewed as professional identity. Professional identity is created through a social learning process that includes the acquisition of specific knowledge and skills required in the profession. This professional socialization and development also includes the assimilation of new values, attitudes, and self-identity components (Hall, 1968; McGowan and Hart 1990 and Watts, 1987). For instance, as a professional, teachers acquire specific knowledge and skills in such areas as behaviour management and interpersonal skills as well as an ability to use computer technology and alternative assessment techniques (Roden and Cardina, 1996 and Gettys and Holt, 1993). However, this seems to neglect the values, attitdes and self identity elements of professionalism as outlined above. Jacox (1973 cited in Cohen, 1981 p14) argues that the professional socialization of an individual comes about through critical experiences where the procedures and rules experienced trigger the construction of a professional identity:

"Professional socialization is the complex process by which a person acquires the knowledge, skills, and sense of occupational identity that are characteristic of a member of that profession. It involves the internalization of the values and norms of the group into the person's own behaviour and self conception"

It is also recognized that there may be differences between the idealized version of the profession, as portrayed to novice professionals, and the real work practised by the existing members of the profession (Melia, 1987). Part of the socialization is about individuals developing an understanding of what it actually means to be a professional (Cohen, 1981) and developing from the 'ideal' they perceive the profession to be or that is presented to them during the pre-structural phase. Adams et al. (2006) suggests that the process is, to some extent, dependent on the existence of role models who exert influence on the cognitive stages of professional socialization, allowing for the development of professional identity. Role models may come from the workplace or from training institutions. The level of professional identity may be directly correlated to the professionalism of the role models that surround someone in their early career. The knowledge derived of the profession from whichever role model the new entrant to the profession has contact with, as well as the student's own experiences, is central to professional socialization and identity development (Cohen, 1981). The Theory of Work Adjustment (Dawis and Lofquist 1984) emphasizes the concept of correspondence, which is defined as the degree to which the individual and the environment meet each other's requirements In terms of the individual's requirements, correspondence refers to the match between the individual's needs and the demands made by the work environment. (Dawis & Lofquist 1984). Person-environment fit has been shown to have positive outcome implications for individual health and adaptation (Moos, 1987), job involvement (Blau, 1987 p 30), job satisfaction and tenure (Bretz and Judge 1994), organizational commitment (Meglino et al; 1989) and work attitudes (Smart et al; 1986). Both theoretical frameworks indicate that individuals who can fit in with an environment that meets their needs will thrive professionally. This raises the question of how far TAs fit in the environment of the school which has been dominated by teachers.

3.7 The Professional Status of Teachers

As a result of recent government interventions in education our understanding of teacher professionalism is undergoing review and reconstruction (Woods 2002). *'Few professionals talk as much about being professionals as those whose professional stature is in doubt'* (Katz cited in Etzioni 1969). Lawn (1988) has noted that the issue as to whether teaching is a profession are longstanding. Woodward (2001) has noted how in 2001 the Office of National Statistics' classification, the scale used for sociological research in England, downgraded the occupational role of teachers from the top category of 'higher managerial and professional' to the one below, 'lower mangerial and professional'. Recent government policy has been to set out what professionalism means in relation to teachers. The stated aim has been to:

> *"restore teaching to its rightful place as one of Britain's foremost professions…recognising the need for a stepchange in the reputation, rewards and image of teaching, rasising it to the status of other professions such as medicine and law".*

(Blair, 1999)

Proposals to 'modernise' the profession through workforce remodelling were set out in the policy document 'Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change' (DfES, 2001b). This modernisation is built upon the drive by previous administrations towards public services becoming more efficient, economic and effective (Ozga, 2002). This professionalism is based on accountability and measurement and mirrors attempts to raise standards witnessed in other countries (Apple, 1996). Recent government policy towards teachers in respect of professionalism has been to create a series of professional standards that would indicate a government acceptance of trait theories in relation to professionalism (Hoyle, 1995). The TDA (2007) indicates that the professional standards are statements of a teacher's professional attributes, professional knowledge and understanding, and professional skills. They are to provide clarity of the expectations at each career stage and to bring coherence to the professional and occupational standards for the whole school workforce. However, the implied assertion that the previous provision had been not been coherent was not evidenced. The framework of standards is arranged in three interrelated sections

covering professional attributes, professional knowledge and understanding and finally professional skills. The TDA state that all teachers have a professional responsibility to be engaged in effective, sustained and relevant professional development throughout their careers and all teachers should have a contractual entitlement to effective, sustained and relevant professional development throughout their careers. However, we can also see the descriptors of professionalism being used by Government as resting within the economic conceptualisation – part of the means by which the market seeks to control the work of teachers. Indeed, Gunter sees remodelling as 'a logical development of site-based performance management from the late 1980s where schools were empowered to run their own budgets, and as such could identify needs and employ/deploy staffing in efficient and effective ways' (Gunter 2004 p7). Stewart (2003) has argued that remodelling is a means of reducing education costs whilst solving teacher recruitment problems by employing unqualified staff to teach, thus enabling a smaller qualified teacher workforce become focused on expert teaching, planning and pupil assessment. This requires a significant shift in the makeup of the school workforce.

It has been argued (Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996) that the introduction of the national curriculum was a critical point in the deprofessionalisation of teachers. Prior to the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) there was no prescription to schools regarding curriculum content or pedagogic practice (McCulloch, 2000). The ERA itself stressed that it was "*the birthright of the teaching profession and must always remain so, to decide on the best and most appropriate means of imparting education to pupils*" (National Curriculum Council, 1990). However, by 1998 *"the time has long gone when isolated unaccountable professionals made curriculum and pedagogical decisions alone without reference to the outside world"* (DfEEa 1998, p14). The government was to introduce a National Literacy and Numeracy strategy that specified both the content and pedagogic practice to be followed.

It has been argued that workforce remodelling has led to an intensification of teachers work. The pressure of external accountability and the 'low trust' between the government and teachers (Troman, 1996; 2000), has a negative impact upon

teachers' conceptions of professionalism. The means of external accountability, OfSTED, target setting etc; have been perceived by teachers as symptomatic of the low regard in which they are held by government, the media and the public (Webb et al 2004). Some have argued that it is modernisation and the current climate that have had an effect on recruitment to the profession, retention and morale (Dadds, 2001; Hayes, 2002; Richards, 1999).   Day (2000) has noted that in the debates around modernisation teachers' voices have been ignored resulting in deprofessionalisation or "technicization of teachers' work (Day, 2000 p110-111).

The argument that teachers are being deprofessionalised should however be treated with caution. Studies point to 'modernisation' being responsible for an enhanced professionalism in relation to the secondary curriculum (Helsby, 1996) and autonomy in relation to primary school leaders (Bell, 1996). Helsby and McCullough (1996 p 69) cited in Day (1997) argue that we should be:

> "*taking into account the question of agency and the spaces in which teachers are able to create to exert their professionalism in curricular matters..the differences in personal experience and career histories…. which affect confidence are a key factor in teacher professionalism"*.

Talbert and McLaughlin (1996 p127) argue that "teachers' professionalism, considered in terms of generic criteria for professional work and authority, is highly variable and contingent upon the strength and character of local teacher community".

Alternative conceptions of teacher professionalism have been put forward. These are views about the nature of professionalism that recognise the importance of context. Nixon et al. (1997) have identified an 'emergent professionalism' that places the emphasis on the need for the creation of alliances between parents, pupils and tecahers and continuing reflection and learning throughout a teachers career to react to context. Similarly, Hargreaves (2000) has argued for professionalism based upon democratic collaboration. Part of the problem is that the concept of 'professionalism'

has been used both by both sides. Teachers have used the concept to argue for increased autonomy and the state has used it to define its expectations of the workforce. (Lawn and Ozga, 1981). Codd (1995), has provided two alternative conceptions of teaching which mirror the professionalism debate.

Table 3.1 Conceptions of Teaching

	Technocratic – Reductionist	Professional - Contextualist
Role Model	Skilled Technician	Reflexive Practitioner
Criterion of Good Practice	Competence	Integrity
Pedagogical Aim	Attainment of specific learning outcomes	Development of Diverse human capabilities
Administrative Context	Efficient management (hierarchical)	Professional Leadership and collaboration
Type of Motivation	Extrinsic	Intrinsic
Form of Accountability	Contractual Compliance	Professional Commitment

Source: After Codd (1995 p 27) - Cited in (Whitty et al; 1998)

Codd is outlining the competing discourses. On the one hand there are those who see teaching in the professional-contextualist framework where teachers take other practitioners as their role models and work in a spirirt of collaboration. They are commited to their role, posess integrity and are intrinsically motivated to play their part in the development of humanity. This is contrasted with the technocratic-reductionist framework whereby teacher professionalism is defined in terms of competence and the attainment of outcomes in compliance with contractual obligations. Competent, skilled technicians (teachers) are seen as extrinsically motivated and thrive within structures that are hierarchical and efficient Workforce remodelling has defined teacher professionalism in terms of competence through the

professional standards for teachers (TDA 2009, p3 online). These standards *"clarify the professional charecteristics that a teacher should be expected to maintain".* In addition it is made clear that teachers should comply with the requirements of the School Teachers Pay and Conditions Document (ibid p2). However, it could be argued that this compliance and competence framework has stifled the development of teachers professionality, as envisaged by Evans (2010), by forcing them into competence performativity. In addition to this, they have seen the core role they carry out – directly instructing learners – being passed to TAs through PPA arrangements tied to their contracts. As identified in chapter 2, workforce remodelling has also changed the nature of the TAs' role in the education system. Whilst the debate rages in relation to the professionalism of teachers, there is little research evidence regarding the occupational status of TAs and whether or not workforce remodelling has changed this.

3.8 The Professional status of Teaching Assistants

As outlined in chapters 1 and 2, the DfES regards TAs as central to the modernisation and remodelling of the education workforce. If it is dependent upon the recruitment, training and development of TAs then we need to secure an understanding about how this can be supported. It is important to understand how the TAs role status is defined. Are they a profession? Trait theories defining professionalism would seem to indicate that TAs are indeed a profession. Let us return to Millerson's (1964, p4) definition of a profession which:

> "*involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge - The skill requires training and knowledge - The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test - Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct - The service is for the public good - The profession is organised".*

Millerson here argues that a profession can be identified as one which requires a person to be trained and also have underpinning knowledge to enable them to carry out the job. Once in the profession they will follow a code of conduct and will act to serve the public. They will also be organised as a professional group, not just within

the organisation but across organisations. The underpinning knowledge and training required is usually demonstrated by passing a test that is recognised, as an entry criteria for the profession. If an occupation does not require training which leads to a competence based test then it is not a profession. TAs, on an initial examination, would appear to meet Millerson's (1964) criteria. There are 'National Occupational (DfES 2006c)' for TAs which lead to recognised qualifications. Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) status is conferred upon TAs who can demonstrate competence against a core set of work related standards. The work carried out by TAs contributes to the public good of education and TAs have access to professional bodies. However, TAs are not required to obtain qualifications. Anyone can carry out the work of a TA. Similarly, whilst there are informal organising bodies for TAs there are no regulatory or statutory bodies.

What about other trait theories? Against the classifications put forward by trait theorists such as Rich (1984) and Pavalko (1988) we can see that TAs provide a unique social service but as noted above anyone can carry out the role of a TA. There is no control over standards of entrance and exclusion and no code of ethics, TAs are not obliged to enter into any training let alone that which requires a high degree of general and systematized knowledge and is 'intellectual' in nature. Many TAs demonstrate a strong sense of commitment and loyalty to the profession and have a strong sense of TA identity. Their work has the 'social values' element as many TAs are employed in their own local communities. They are not a 'profit motivated' profession with salaries often being lower than those obtainable in other occupations. They also have a unique knowledge base of supporting children which could be used to justify a claim to special expertise. However, TAs do not require a long training period or indoctrination. They do not have a code of ethics or occupational autonomy. TAs are not self-regulating and self-controlling. A similar picture emerges when we apply Burbules and Densmore's (1991) characteristics and those by Pratte and Rury (1991).

Larson's (1977) examination of the historical development of professions in the UK and USA conceptualised the 'professional project' – the process by which a group of

people turn or are turned by others into a profession. If we use the definition for a profession identified by Larson we see that TAs are undergoing this 'professional project'. A clear cognitive base is being developed for the work of TAs which is manifested in occupational standards and recognised institutionalised training routes. *National Occupational Standards for Learning, Development and Support Services for Children, Young People and Those Who Care for Them* (DFES, 2006b), outlines the National Occupational Standards, Qualifications Framework. The Qualifications Framework consists of a catalogue of units including three specialist strands. In relation to 'licensing' (Larson, 1977), the Assessment Strategy includes details of the occupational competence required for assessors and internal verifiers and defines the roles of others who may be involved in the assessment process. In relation to the 'code of conduct' (Larson, 1977) the standards are underpinned by a 'Value Base' providing a statement of values which should be adhered to by all those working with children, young people and their carers. The value base was developed in consultation with practitioners and the as yet informal 'professional associations' (Larson, 1977). Changes to the duties TAs' are allowed to undertake as a result of workforce remodelling also mean that they have 'work autonomy' (Larson, 1977), albeit of a limited nature.

However Johnson's (1972) argument that professionalism is one form of occupational control that is used to impose the definition of a relationship on the client may be useful in describing the relationship between TAs and professionalism. A profession is not an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation. Developing TAs' professionalism is simply a way to exert control over them. This would indicate that we should view the professionalism of teachers and TAs alongside the debate surrounding the deprofessionalisation of teachers.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter definitions of professionalism have been explored and it has been noted that traditional "trait" conceptualisations have their limitations but that they are capable of being used by some to define what being a professional might mean as a forms of controlling the occupational group.Professionalism is a tool for the exertion

of power. If we adopt a professional /contextualist view of teaching we find that the definition of professionalism required moves away from traits towards a series of orientations towards work that define what it is to be a member of the particular professional group. This may mean that different occupational groups will have different understandings of what it is to be professional. TAs professional identity must be analysed in relation to teachers professional identifty which as we have seen is under threat. Indeed it may be that the promotion of TAs as a professional group is itself part of the power relationship between teachers and the state. By creating a new group of professionals the state may undermine the established professional group. This may leave them feeling vulnerable and could act to make them work harder to protect their job role. The next chapter will discuss the role of CPD, qualifications, remuneration and job satisfaction as key indicators of professionalism. It will be argued for TAs the inter-relationship between these elements is complex and at the heart of whether or not TAs can be identified as a profession.

Chapter Four - Indicators of Professionalism

4.0 Introduction

This thesis seeks to identify how TAs are deployed in the primary sector. Part of a TAs deployment includes the extent to which they are utilised with regard to the skills that they hold – skills which can be gained through professional development activity. This chapter builds upon chapter 3 by exploring some of the traits that have been linked to the concept of professionalism. It takes four key aspects: continuing professional development (CPD), remuneration, qualifications and engagement with the role (evidenced through job satisfaction) as indicators of professionalism. The ways in which each of these impact upon teachers and TAs is then explored. This will provide the basis upon which the question of whether or not TAs are a profession can be addressed through the empirical work. Section 4.1 provides an overview of what continuing professional development is and why it matters in the formation of a professional group. The type of CPD available and data on TA CPD activity is examined in section 4.2. Parrallels will be drawn between the type and extent of CPD activities available for teachers and those for TAs and a model of effective CPD will be advanced. It will be shown that engagement by TAs in CPD does not necessarily equate with professionalism in the same way that it might for a teacher. In section 4.3 TAs remuneration is considered as an indicator of professionalism. The pay structure of TAs and teachers is explored. The analysis will demonstrate that whilst teacher pay has been the cause of much debate and linked to the concept of teacher professionalism no such links are in place for TAs. Chapter 3 identified the role of qualifications in trait theories of professionalism; in section 4.4 the thesis will explore the impact of qualifications on professional status. There are no formal requirements for TAs to obtain qualifications for their role. This ommission may be significant as it raises the question of how important is their role in schools if it requires no formal qualifications. The literature explored here suggests a clear positive correlation between qualifications and earnings, however this pattern is not observed for TAs, again rasising questions about their professional status. Research also frequently finds a strong correlation between qualifications and job satisfaction. If TAs are over or under-qualified they may experience lower rates of satisfaction. Satisfaction with the job can be used as a proxy measure for engagement with job role and is explored in section 4.5. This latter again builds upon the analysis

presented in chapter 3 where the link between professionalism and altruism was introduced. In the conclusion (section 4.6) it will be argued that all of these indicators play a crucial role in helping to decide if an occupational group can be described as a profession. Further information on specific aspects of the indicators will be developed further in chapters 6 and 7 where they have been used to develop testable hypothesis.

4.1 Continuing Professional Development

This section will explore what we mean by continuing professional development, the range and types of CPD on offer to TAs and teachers and argue that access to CPD is not by itself an accurate indicator of professional status. As we have seen in chapter 3.2 , trait theorists would argue that ongoing professional development is a key defining feature of a profession, a view also supported by Earley (2005) Continuing professional development (CPD) has become the accepted term within education to cover ongoing training and development (Earley, 2005). But what is CPD? CPD was defined by the government in 1972 (DES 1972, section 2.2) as:

> *"the whole range of activities by which teachers can extend their personal education, develop their professional competence and improve their understanding of educational principles and techniques".*

Bolam (2000 p267) has refined this definition arguing that:

> *"CPD embraces those education, training and job-embedded support activities engaged in by teachers, following their initial certification, and headteachers. Such activities are aimed primarily at adding to their professional knowledge, improving their professional skills and helping them to clarify their professional values so that they can educate their students more effectively".*

Bolam (1993 p112 cited in Earley, 2005) identifies that there are three key types of professional activity that are engaged in under the heading of CPD. 'Professional

Training' such as short courses, workshops etc that impart practical information and or a skill. 'Professional Education' which takes the form of long courses and secondments which place the emphasis on research and theory and 'Professional Support' activity that aims to develop performance. CPD is viewed by Bolam as an ongoing process which builds upon initial training and will incorporate each of these three types of activity. Some activities will be more relevant to a teacher at certain times than others and will therefore be prioritised by that teacher. Bolam is implying that CPD for teachers is largely self directed; however, this may not be the case. Whilst teachers, through the annual performance management process, can request CPD, this does not mean they automatically receive it. Usually when it is linked to the school's development priorities and budgets are favourable, teachers' are allowed to undertake CPD activity. Few TAs receive this annual performance management and so do not have the ability to self direct CPD in the same way as teachers. Madden and Mitchell (1993) surveyed 20 professional bodies and identified that 14 of them had a policy on CPD. In defining CPD, Madden and Mitchell (1993, p12) relate it to the needs of a range of stakeholders. They argue that CPD takes place:

> *"according to a plan formulated with regard to the needs of the professional, the employer and society".*

This definition is helpful in identifying the importance of the context in which CPD takes place. Rapkins (1996) has identified that CPD can be used as a sanction. Rapkins has noted that it is more likely to be used as a sanction by the older established professions and regulatory bodies to ensure that professionals meet a duty of care or legal requirement. If individuals do not meet mandatory and compulsory requirements to undertake CPD, then such non-compliance will result in sanctions. Sanctions could include a compulsory requirement for the individual to become updated within a specific time limit. Failure to comply may lead to expulsion from the profession. The professional body monitors compliance with requirements. Rapkins argues that a primary reason why professional bodies and employers have imposed mandatory/compulsory CPD is that in many cases those that need it most are least likely to engage in it voluntarily. However, there is a danger that CPD

simply becomes a documenting activity: bureaucratic and expensive. There is also a danger that employers may abdicate CPD responsibility to the professional body. An alternative conceptualisation is to view CPD as a benefits model, more likely to be adopted by the new or developing professional bodies (Madden and Mitchell, 1993) whose members are likely to follow a CPD approach which is voluntary in nature and encourages good practice. Here the professional body offers support by issuing guidelines, but the CPD undertaken by members raises the profile and status of the professional body. A problem with this model is that members need to share the CPD vision. The success of a voluntary policy relies on the self-motivation of individuals. Again the employer may abdicate responsibility and fail to give support in terms of time and funding. O'Sullivan, (2003) suggests that responsibility for CPD can be owned by a multiplicity of organisations, all who have differing agendas which may not necessarily be mutually compatible. The key stakeholders in the professional development of teachers are:

- Statutory/Regulatory organisations that have a legal responsibility to protect the public. In education this role would be fulfilled by the General Teaching Council.

- Professional Associations / Unions

- Employing organisations that need to recruit develop and retain a highly skilled workforce in order to remain productive and competitive. This would include Local Authorities.

- Individual professionals, who need to plan, undertake and evidence CPD which meets the needs of current practice and future career development.

- Academic Institutions, who need to demonstrate public accountability, develop commercial models and provide conceptual knowledge.

Not included in O'Sullivan's list of stakeholders is the government. In 2001 the government launched a strategy for professional development of teachers (DfES, 2001c, p3). The strategy defined CPD as:

> *"any activity that increases the skills, knowledge or understanding of teachers and their effectiveness in schools".*

However, this focus on CPD was not new. The James Report (DES, 1972) identified the need for further professional development for teachers and stressed the importance of in-service education and training (INSET). Schools were seen as needing a 'professional tutor' to coordinate INSET activity. At the time of this Report professional development was largely viewed as being the responsibility of the individual teacher (Oldroyd and Hall, 1991). This Report raised awareness of the need for CPD within Local Education Authorities and CPD became a priority in the education system in general (ibid). The government have acted as significant stakeholders in this process with much CPD over the last 20 years being centrally funded and used to retrain teachers so that they can deliver on government intiatives and reforms (Earley and Bubb, 2004). Tomlinson (1993) has idenitified the early 1980's as a key turning point when INSET shifted from serving the needs of individual teachers to meeting the perceived needs of schools and the system.

The idea that CPD is integral to a teachers career has been promoted by the General Teaching Council. The '*Teachers' Professional Learning Framework'* (GTC 2003, p6) identifies a personal entitlement to professional development throughout a teacher's career and identifies that this should not be solely linked to their school's targets. It is stressed that teachers need the oppportunity to:

- Have structured time to engage in sustained reflection and structured learning

- Create learning opportunities from everyday practice such as planning and assessing for learning

- Develop their ability to identify their own learning and development needs and those of others

- Develop an individual learning plan

- Have school-based learning, as well as course participation, recognized for accreditation

- Develop self-evaluation, observation and peer review skills

- Develop mentoring and coaching skills and their ability to offer professional dialogue and feedback

- Plan their long-term career aspirations

The GTC argued that CPD opportunities for teachers should be based upon three sets of priorities (see Figure 4.1). They should be individually focussed, school focussed and local / nationally focussed. Jones (2003, p38) notes that:

> *"teachers require a career long entitlement to professional development opportunities with clear opportunities for teachers at different stages of their careers".*

Individually focussed activities would concentrate on the teacher's own needs and would be self identified as supporting career objectives or professional development. School focussed activities would be targeted at the requirements of the school that employs the teacher and related to the school development plan. Nationally focussed activities would meet the demands of national and or local initiatives. The DfES baseline study (Hustler et al. 2003) identified that the principal drivers of CPD activity over the preceding five years had been school and national development needs and that these had taken precedence over individual needs. This can be linked to Codd's (1995) conceptions of teaching discussed in chapter 3. It could be argued that CPD for teachers has been construed within the technicist conception which has deprofessionalised them. It could be further argued that this has been a deliberate government strategy as it seeks to control the teaching profession in order to correct market asymmetries (Dixit, 2002, Burgess and Ratto, 2003 and Adnett and Davies 2003).

It is significant to note, that the TAs are still barely mentioned within the government literature on CPD in schools. The government portal for CPD makes no mention of the needs of TAs in relation to CPD (DfES 2006d) . The DfEE *Induction Training File* noted that appraisal and performance review work for schools in 2000 still related only to teaching staff (DfEE 2000b). Guidance to school leaders in relation to TAs is found on the Teaching Assistants portal and is not described as CPD but as 'training' (DfES, 2006d) although the *Performance Management Guidance for Governors* does recognise that professional development 'should also be available to teaching

assistants' (DfEE 2000c p5). The exclusion of the group, in relation to CPD advice from the DfES, raises the question as to the value placed upon TAs in schools.

Figure 4.1 Continuing Professional Development Framework for Teachers
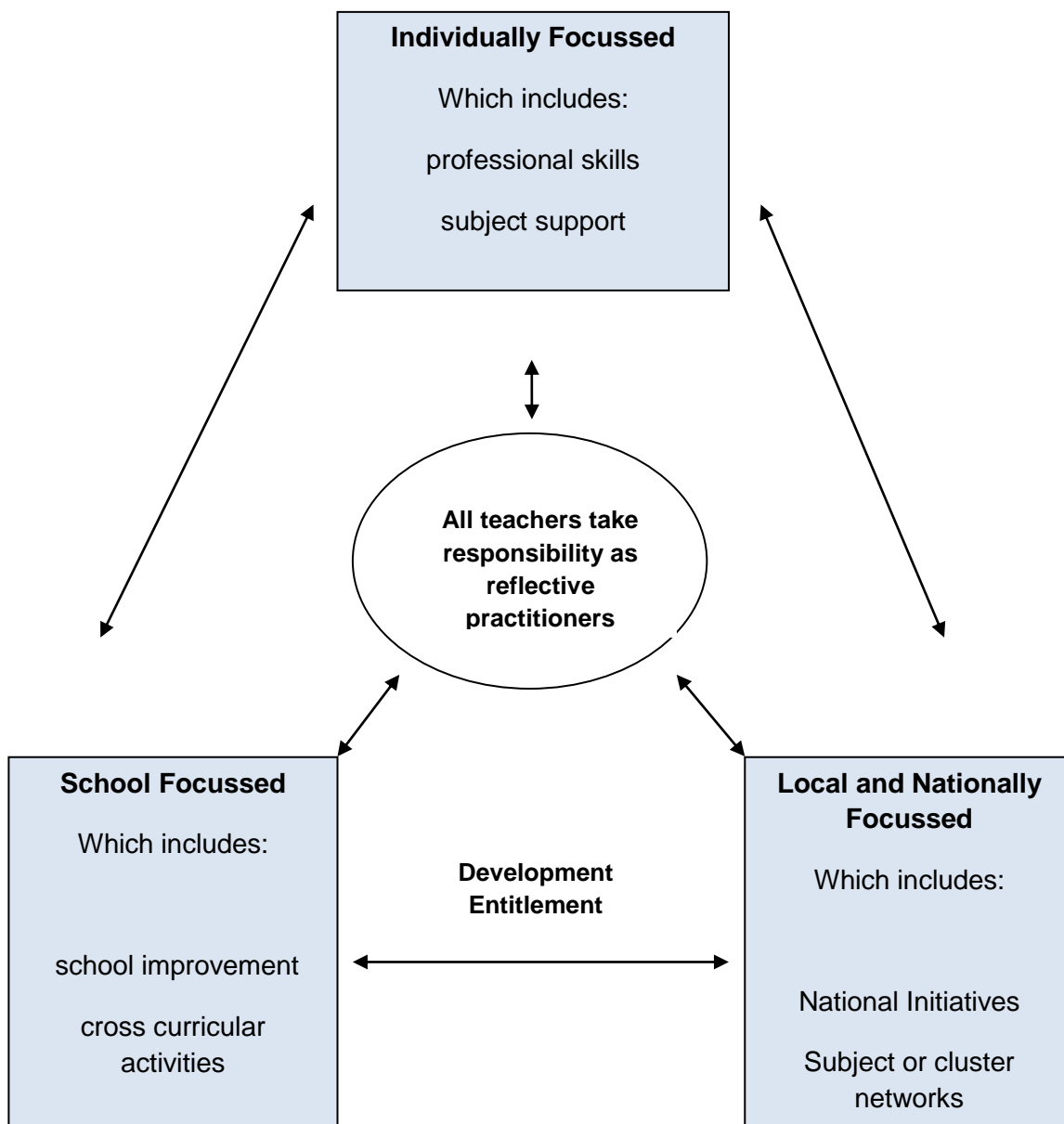
Source: Jones, 2003 p37

4.2 CPD for Teaching Assistants

Management theories epitomised by authors such as Senge (1990) have supported the practice of employers actively developing all employees who work in an establishment, which in turn contribute to the organisation's overall effectiveness. The importance of staff development in promoting school improvement and effectiveness has been clearly signalled (Reynolds et al., 1996; West-Burnham and O'Sullivan, 1998). However, despite increases in the number of TAs and various commitments to training, their conditions of service and arrangements for training and development remained variable. Inglese (1996) has previously identified this weakness in relation to Special Educational Needs support staff. Penn and McQuail (1997) in a study into the reasons why few men enter childcare identified the need to improve and develop local training, employment and career pathways for all staff employed in support work with children. Hancock et al. (2002) noted that although there was a lot of training potentially on offer to assistants, provision was uneven and there were issues related to course equivalence and quality control. Earley and Bubb (2004) noted that:

> *"Traditionally teachers and support staff have been treated very differently within schools…other adults working in schools were often taken for granted, marginalised or, in some cases, totally ignored".*

> (Earley and Bubb 2004, p105)

This was despite a plethora of qualifications being available. In 2005, the DfES noted that there were 600 different qualifications available to support staff in England and that most schools were uncertain about how these qualifications interrelate or met the needs of specific roles (DfES, 2005). The School Workforce Development Board (SWDB) was established in 2003 to engage with partners to develop a sector qualifications strategy to guide development of standards and qualifications for the wider school workforce. The SWDB had a three year strategy which aimed to support rationalisation and updating of existing qualifications, and the development of new qualifications and national occupational and professional standards. Its strategic objectives for 2006-09 were to:

- support schools to develop new ways of training and deploying their support staff

- create a framework of standards and qualifications to enable schools to develop the potential of all support staff

- extend training opportunities to meet the development needs of support staff

This training strategy was to be informed by, and be compatible with, the development of an integrated qualifications framework for the wider children's workforce and aligned with the standards for teachers. The sector qualifications strategy for the school workforce intended to recognise existing skills and knowledge developed in particular roles, enable support staff to build up a portfolio of units and qualifications allowing transferability of roles across the school and wider children's workforce; lead to more focused training and development opportunities in the future; provide a foundation for increased status and fair reward, and be compatible with the integrated qualifications framework. The SWDB identified the need for clear career pathways that supported specialisation in teaching and learning, SEN, information and communication technology (ICT), behaviour management, vocational education, literacy and numeracy, and other priority areas. In this respect it was building upon the observation by OfSTED (2002, p15) that:

> *"although the training teaching assistants often undertake is related to the school's needs…it is seldom based on any systematic identification of the teaching assistant's own needs".*

The DfES (2002) argued that TAs needed basic training in behaviour management, child protection, special educational needs and disabilities and working with pupils who have english as a second language. To prepare them for this the DfEE in the '*Teacher Assistant File - Induction training for TAs'* (2000) set out four days of training which were to be accessed by each TA. The SWDB building upon this introduced a general induction course which was delivered through local authorities in 2003.

The SWDB published its interim plan, 'Building the School Team in March 2005. The plan set out a range of activities to improve training and development opportunities for support staff. The SWDB (2006) noted that significant numbers of support staff were engaged in training. This data is summarised in Figure 4.2

More recent figures indicate significant amounts of training being undertaken. NfER for the TDA (2008) report that 75% of support staff receive training, as does an unrelated survey from Unison (2009, p38). However, the latter report notes:

"Although this sounds good news, the figures do not say much about the amount and the nature of training provided".

Figure 4.2 Support Staff Engaged in Training 2005
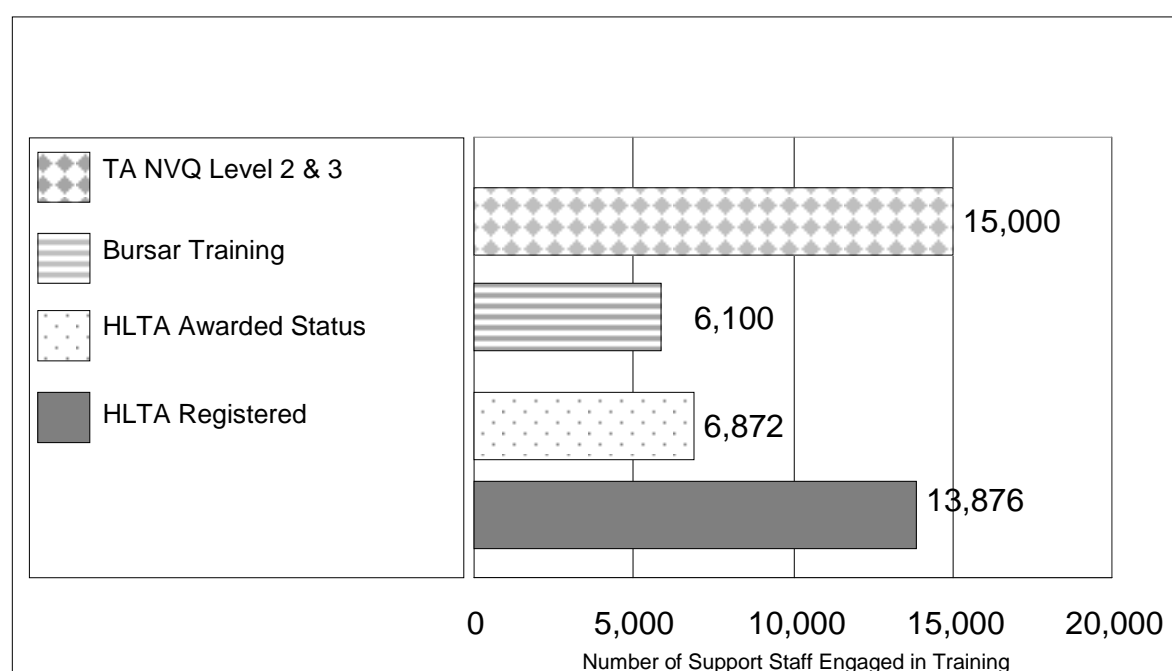
Source: SWDB 2006

By 2005, a new generic vocational qualification, the Support Work in Schools qualification (SWiS), had been developed with the help of the Learning and Skills Council (LSC). This unit based qualification, benchmarked to national standards and

fully accredited in England and Wales, is available at levels 2 and 3. Higher level teaching assistant (HLTA) status was introduced with a discrete training programme. Between April and December 2005, 5,432 people registered for the Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) programme. By 2008, TDA were reporting over 21,000 HLTAs (http://www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/h/hltas_2008.pdf) Accessed on 10/01/10). There are currently specialist HLTA routes in mathematics, science and food technology. However, HLTA status does not necessarily lead to promotion or a rise in salary, an issue this thesis empirically investigates in Chapter 7. Wallace (2005) argued that those with HLTA could gain more managerial duties such as Assistant Special Needs Co-ordinator; however, research from NfER (2008) has indicated that many HLTAs carry on their original duties due to a lack of funded job vacancies. The programmes introduced by the SWDB were building upon a tradition of qualifications having been available to TAs with varying degrees of relevance and opportunities for progression. These included qualifications for TAs which pre-date the national occupational standards and national qualifications framework, and qualifications in related areas such as early years and play work, some of which are accredited to the national qualifications framework and some of which are not. Qualifications for specialist TAs (STA) were launched in the late nineties to train serving TAs in primary schools in the knowledge and skills necessary for assisting qualified teachers and supporting learning in reading, writing, numeracy and related skills at Key Stage 1 Level of the National Curriculum (DfES, 2005b). However TAs might have found it problematic to understand what these courses contained and what level they were at given that the qualification content and academic level were dependant on which training provider ran the STA course. For example; The Open University Specialist Teaching Assistant Course (STAC) rated as a 60 credit point / HE level 1 (Certificate level) qualification (Employers' Organisation 2004). However Local Authority Courses were often unaccredited yet carried the same title.

When TAs engage with CPD they are most likely to undertake an NVQ – National Vocational Qualification - at either Level 2 or Level 3. The national occupational standards for TAs were approved in 2001. The national occupational standards were developed by the Local Government National Training Organisation (LGNTO) which was, at the time, part of the employers' organisation for local government. The level

2 NVQ for TAs was designed to be applicable to TAs who were new entrants to the occupation and/or whose responsibilities at work were limited in scope. The NVQ required the achievement of seven units of competence from the national occupational standards. There were four mandatory units that had to be achieved. In addition, each candidate was required to achieve three further optional units. The four mandatory units had a focus on equipping the TA to help with classroom resources and records; help with the care and support of pupils, provide support for learning activities and to provide effective support for colleagues. The optional units allowed the TA to develop experience in working with the curriculum and behaviour management. The level 3 NVQ for TAs was designed to be applicable to experienced TAs and/or those whose working role called for competence across a varied range of responsibilities. At this stage the TA had to demonstrate competence against a series of standards in all areas of school support work. It is perhaps not surprising that TAs having gained level 3 qualifications would seek higher levels of professional development. However, this was not to be HLTA status. Some chose to undertake a Foundation Degree. These are employment-related higher education qualifications designed to recognise specialist technical knowledge and skills. They are developed in conjunction with employers and are awarded by universities.

Training and development for TAs has recently begun to be addressed by the Training and Development Agency (TDA, 2009) – the body which has responsibility for the CPD of teachers. The TDA has been charged with the development of a curriculum framework which will allow support staff to become qualified to, or working towards a level 3 qualifictaion (DfES, 2009). What is interesting in the proposals currently being circulated for discussion via the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) is the lack of recognition within the framework of HLTA or Foundation Degrees. This may be the first indicator from government that the level of qualification required for the work carried out by TAs does not need to exceed level 3. It also leads us to question what value a TA should ascribe to obtaining HLTA status and a Foundation Degree and raises the interesting issue of what should be done with those who have achieved such qualifications.

We can see that TAs can now gain, in principle, access to professional training and education as defined by Bolam (1993). Their professional development needs are determined at national level and WAMG acts to represent TA interests. In this way the national strategy for TAs is broadly similar to that of teachers. However, there are some key differences. The first of these is the lack of a single professional body representing the interests of TAs. For teachers this function is carried out by the GTC. Their lack of single body means that national level agreements on the terms and conditions of employment that affect TAs, such as recommended pay scales and the qualification framework, are not necessarily translated into practice in schools. Despite high take-up of training and development, TAs still have limited opportunities to make formal progress in their careers through such activities. A study by Dunne et al. (2007) indicated that age and school sector are more significant factors in determining promotion prospects for TAs than having a higher qualification.

Professional training, undertaken away from the workplace and education are, as Watkinson (2003) notes, not enough. TAs also need to be incuded in relevant school based CPD:

> *"they also need time, resources and facilities to prepare just like teachers…..they need training to do the job properly, they should be monitored and evaluated. They should have job security and career propsects and be a visible part of the whole school staff team…..They should have similar access to and assistance with course attendance and expenses given to teachers….They need a voice, recognition and valuing".*

> (Watkinson 2003, p30)

TAs require access to professional support as defined by Bolam (1993). Such professional support largely takes place in the workplace. This makes CPD integral to the professional role being carried out, as envisaged by the GTC (2003) in relation to teachers. Similarly, Jones (2003) argues that CPD should be a career long entitlement that should meet national, school and individual needs. However, as

Unison (2009) note only 40% of support staff have appraisals and half reported barriers to professional development, such as the lack of awareness of who to ask for related information in the school. Similar findings were identified by NFER (2008). Blatchford et al. (2009) note that for support staff as a whole there was broad satisfaction with training and development. This study also noted that two thirds of staff attended school based training and development. However, the study also noted that TAs were generally less satisfied. It may be the lack of professional development that explains this together with the finding by Dunne et al. (2008) that TAs with foundation degrees experience disillusionment regarding their professional status and career progression. The Blatchford et al. (2009) study does point to an interesting finding in relation to the training teachers have in relation to working with support staff. They report that three-quarters of teachers have never had any specific training or development to help them work with support staff. The study also pointed to the growing numbers of teachers with a remit to provide staff development for support staff. A similar finding emerges from the small scale study conducted by Wilson and Bedford (2008).

In chapter 3 we saw that access to training (CPD) was a key feature of trait theories of professionalism. We have also seen the current CPD content offer made to TAs is broadly similar to that made to teachers in that it is intended to address national needs. However, CPD can be driven both by the individual and by the system. When it is driven by the government to meet national agendas, as Codd's (1995) technicist conceptualisation of teaching suggests, then it can be used as a form of occupational control (Johnson 1972). But, CPD is also integral to Codd's wider conceptualisation of a 'professional'. In this conception however, the teacher is seen as an autonomous agent determining their own CPD. This is where the key difference between TAs and teachers lies in relation to CPD. Within the current structure of CPD in schools teachers have an annual performance management system where they can at least put forward their own professional development needs. The issue of whether they are met has already been highlighted in this chapter. TAs rarely get this opportunity as no parallel performance management systems exist for support staff. There is an additional difference between teachers and TAs related to pay differentials. It could be argued that teachers earn enough to

fund their own professional development, therefore even when the school does not fund CPD they can choose to pay for themselves. TAs earn substantively less and therefore do not have this option available to them. In the next section differences in TA and teacher pay and the impact of this upon professional recognition will be addressed.

4.3 Pay

Another indicator of professionalism prevalent in the literature (see chapter 3) is remuneration, where it has been illustrated that being a professional is linked to receiving higher rates of pay. There is currently no national agreement on TA pay. Guidance is issued by the National Joint Council for Local Government Services, but it is left to individual councils and schools to determine the exact pay ranges. The current pay scales for TAs in England are illustrated in table 4.1

Table 4.1 Current Pay Guidance for TAs – Annual Salaries for Full Time Employees (2009)

Role Type	Scale point	Lower Pay	Upper Pay
Classroom Assistant	4 – 11	£11,961	£13,703
Teaching Assistant	11 – 13	£14,587	£15,291
Teaching Assistant	14 - 17	£15,570	£16,663
HLTA	18 – 21	£16,991	£18,937

Source: National Joint Council for Local Government Services (2009)

TA pay can range from £11,961 to £16,663. For those employed as HLTAs (see chapter 3) pay can rise to £18,937 per annum. However, the number of TAs with HLTA status does not equate to the number of HLTA paid positions available. Governors do not have to pay TAs with HLTA status on this upper pay spine. This means that some TAs with HLTA status are denied access to the HLTA pay spine. Further, there is no guidance provided on the relationship between qualifications and

pay. In one school a TA with a Level 2 qualification may earn more than a TA with a Level 3 qualification employed in another school.

Table 4.2 Teacher Pay Scale 2009

Pay Scale for Classroom Teachers (Main scale) 2009	
Scale Point	*Annual Salary England and Wales (excluding London) £*
1 - 6	21,102 – 30,842
Upper Pay Spine U1 – U3	33,412 – 35,929
Excellent Teacher	38,804 – 50,918
Advanced Skills Teacher	36,618 – 55,669
Leadership	36,616 to 102,734

Source STRB 2009

As can be seen in table 4.2 teachers' pay, in the same year, begins at £21,102 and rises to £30,842 in annual increments. Teachers can apply to go through a 'Threshold' demonstrating exemplary practice and earn between £33,412 rising in three increments to £35,929. Additionally, a teacher may be awarded extra pay for a 'Teaching and Learning Responsibility' (TLR). The TLR signifies undertaking sustained additional responsibility for the purpose of ensuring the delivery of high-quality teaching and learning and for which the teacher is made accountable. A teacher can hold two TLRs. The annual value of a TLR1 must be no less than £7,158 and no greater than £12,114; the annual value of a TLR2 must be no less than £2,478 and no greater than £6,057. There are further opportunities for progression into the Advanced Skills Teacher, Excellent Teacher and Leadership pay spines.

There is also an unqualified teacher pay scale (see table 4.3). This can be used by schools to pay people to teach a class who lack the formal teacher training

qualification. TAs covering a class teacher's absence could be offered this pay spine if a school chose. However, it is mainly used to employ people on employer-based initial teacher training programmes. Such programmes are particularly popular with TAs who wish to train to teach as they require no break in employment to study.

Table 4.3 Unqualified Teacher Pay Scale 2009

Pay Scale for Unqualified Teachers from 1st September 2009	
Scale point	*Annual Salary England and Wales (excluding London) £*
1	15,461
2	17,260
3	19,058
4	20,856
5	22,655
6	24,453

Source STRB 2009

Clearly, teachers earn more than TAs. Pay does appear to segregate the two roles which might lead to the conclusion that teachers are professional and earn more, whilst TAs are not. What is iniquitous is the arbitrary nature with which the pay scales are applied. Whilst teachers have a statutory pay scale from which schools rarely deviate, TAs are afforded no such protection. As will be demonstrated in chapter 7, pay for TAs is further compromised by factors such as unpaid work and a weaker contractual status in schools (such as part-time working). However, it is common practice in the labour market is to equate pay to relative qualifications held. Higher qualifications are required to become a teacher, therefore their remuneration is greater. In the next section we explore this argument.

4.4 Qualifications - Do qualifications make a difference?

One of the defining traits of a profession, as we have seen, is qualifications. These are often required to gain entry to the profession (Larson 1977, Rich 1984, Pavalko 1988, Burbules and Densmore 1991, Pratte and Rury 1991) and are usually qualifications at a higher level which require 'scholarly endeavour' (Boone 2001, p4). As noted above, there is currently a plethora of qualifications available to TAs, including those at degree level, but no formal requirement to obtain specific qualifications for the role. This seems to indicate that we cannot use qualifications as an indicator of whether TAs are professionals. However, this does not mean that qualifications are not important when exploring TA professionalism. The contextualist view of professionalism described by Codd (1995) argues that we need to move away from traits towards the '*professionality'* that Evans (2008 describes (see chapter 3.1) which defines what it is to be a member of the particular professional group. Qualifications may be an important element of those orientations which are then rewarded with higher pay rates. In the wider labour market there is generally a clear positive correlation between qualifications and pay (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004, Trostel et al, 2002). ONS data (2008) shows that in Quarter 2, 2008, average gross weekly earnings for those employed full-time across all sectors of the labour market, ranged from £695 for those qualified to level 4 or above, £500 per week for those with a level 3 qualification, whilst those with no qualification were typically earning £350 per week (figure 4.3). However, it has been found that not all investment in education yields greater pay rates and there are significant variations between sectors and qualifications, with more vocational qualifications often yielding little or no premium (Dickerson and Vignoles, 2007).

Blatchford et al. (2009) reported that the most support staff had qualifications below GCSE. In this study 60% reported that they did not require specific qualifications in order to be appointed to their post and 45% were not required to have previous experience. This data may disguise differences for TAs and indeed Blatchford et al. (ibid) do note a tendency for higher qualifications for those working directly with pupils. TAs who regard themselves as professionals may be more willing to engage in gaining a qualification and may also be rewarded with higher pay.

Figure 4.3 Average Earnings by Qualification (gross weekly pay)
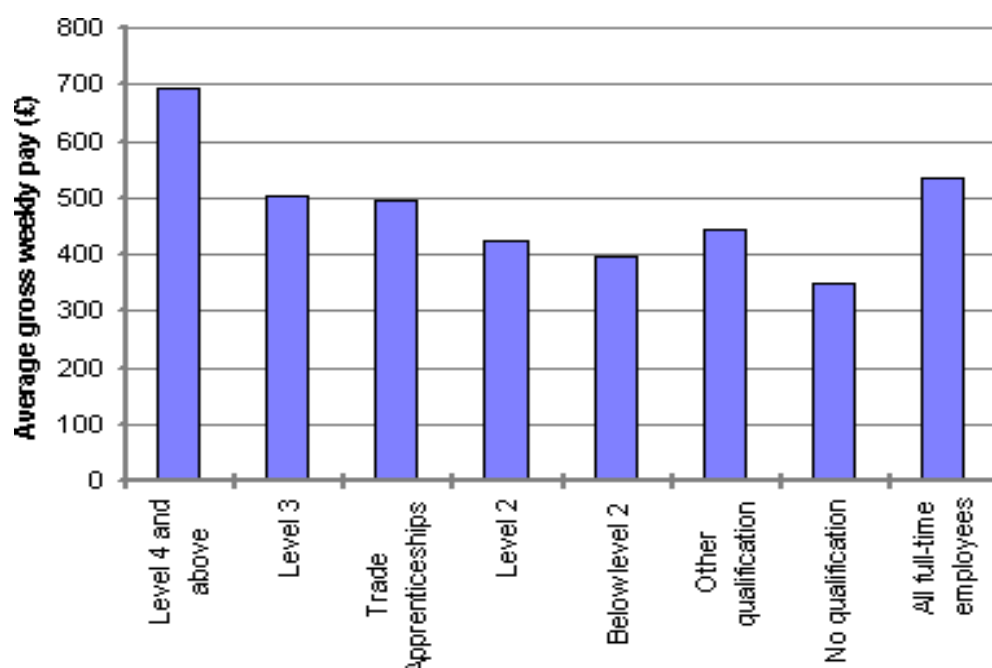
Source: DCSF (2007):
www.dcsf.gov.uk/trends/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.showChart&cid=1&iid=3&chid=15

In a profession we would normally expect to see a clear relationship between level of qualification and rates of pay. This qualification premium is referred to as a return to investment in further schooling or training. For teachers, as members of a graduate level profession, we see a return to earnings for graduates of 12% over the life course (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2005). However, as we will see in chapter 7 there are studies which suggest limited returns to earnings from post-initial teacher training qualifications. There is also limited empirical data about the returns to earnings for vocational qualifications in the education sector. This thesis goes some way to addressing this. However, it also means we must seek to explore what other factors may impact upon TA professionalism. The next section explores satisfaction as a key indicator of professionalism.

4.5 Satisfaction

We saw in Chapter 3, that Turner (1993, p14) downplayed the impact of material reward on professionals' satisfaction, arguing instead that professionals were:

"motivated by service to the community … altruistic values predominate over egoistic inclinations".

If TAs are a profession then we might expect to see that they too are not motivated primarily by pay. Indeed, Blatchford et al. (2009) note that the wider group of support staff report a high level of satisfaction with their role; that is the extent to which they feel appreciated by their school and with their employment contracts.

Clark (1992) and Warr (1999) have noted that people typically rank job security and job interest higher than pay and hours of work when surveyed about their work. Similarly, access to and participation in CPD is also found to be ranked highly and Jones et al. (2008) have noted the positive impact of training on job satisfaction. Siebern-Thomas (2005) and Bauer (2004) also found that job satisfaction tended to be higher where there was better access to workplace training. Studies have also found a strong correlation between qualifications and satisfaction. Generally, those with higher qualifications were more satisfied. However, as Vieira (2005) has noted there is a danger of negative job satisfaction particularly when an individual is over–qualified for one's job.

The Blatchford study (2009) identified that lower levels of satisfaction were more often found among TAs. This study attempts to understand what the reasons for this might be. Is low satisfaction due to a lack of access to CPD, poor working conditions or low pay as some writers seem to suggest, or, is it linked to their qualification level? This leads us to ask two further related questions; what level of qualification is it appropriate for a TA to hold given the nature of their work role and what happens when a TAs' qualifications exceed this? Both of these questions are addressed in chapter 7.

4.6 Conclusion

The key indicators of professionalism identified in chapter 3 have been discussed as they relate to teachers and TAs. It has been shown that the two occupational groups have very different experiences. In relation to continuing professional development it appears that TAs have access to training opportunities and increasingly to education, through engagement with higher education awards such as Foundation Degrees, but they do not get the professional support that teachers experience. Teachers' pay scales outstrip those of the TA however this difference may be justified by the significantly higher levels of qualifications on the part of teachers. TAs also appear to suffer from a lack of alignment between their qualification levels and pay. This may lead, as Dunne et al. (2008) suggest, to 'disillusionment', but it may also be an indicator of extreme altruism or their lack of bargaining power.

TAs therefore, occupy a curious position, they are sometimes identified as professionals and may share some of the features of a professional group. However, if TAs are professionals then should they not;

- receive remuneration related to their qualification level as other professional groups?
- work within a statutory or regulatory framework that protects their interests?
- be explicitly recognised as a professional group for what they can do to support teaching and learning in schools?
- have the same access to professional development as do other professional groups?

Yet there are equally strong arguments that they are not professionals, which may lead us to question current government policy in relation to their deployment and development;

- what is the impact on pupils of having TAs whose professional role is ill defined and or not formally recognised?
- are we training TAs beyond that required for their role?
- what is the impact of current approaches to TAs' training and development in relation to workforce remodelling?

In order to address these questions within the overarching research questions of this research programme this thesis now turns to empirical analysis. In chapter 5 the methods used in this analysis are outlined.

Chapter 5 Methodology and Method

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter the methods used to gather data in order to answer the research questions are outlined. This research had two underpinning strands. Firstly, it aimed to analyse the demographic characteristics of a group of TAs, explore how they were deployed within the primary sector and whether the latter was in accordance with current government expectations. It also sought to explore what determined their pay and level of job satisfaction. Secondly, it sought to understand the perceptions of roles held by TAs, and those they work with. A careful consideration was required to decide which methodological approach to adopt. Neither a purely quantitative nor purely qualitative methodology alone would yield the data required to answer these research questions, therefore a mixed methods approach was utilised. Whilst a quantitative study would have allowed answers to questions about the inter-relationships between variables, it would not have enabled the thesis to grapple with the perceptions of professionalism held by teachers and TAs. That required a qualitative approach.

In this chapter the mixed methods methodology is explained and justified in section 5.1. In section 5.2 details of the sampling method are provided. In section 5.3 an overview is presented of the specific methods used and each of these is critically analysed and justified in relation to the research questions. In section 5.4 details of the strategy underlying the analysis are outlined. In section 5.5 ethical issues in relation to the study are discussed. The chapter is concluded in 5.6

5.1 Methodology

What mattered most in the design of this research was methodological coherence. Morse et al. (2002 Online) note that the purpose of methodological coherence is to ensure *"congruence between the research question and the components of the method".* That is the method should match the question and the data should match the analytic procedures. That is the research ought to utilise the most effective

methods for gathering data about the phenomena. As Scott and Morrison (2006, p153) explain:

"Methodology is the theory (or set of ideas about the relationship between phenomena) of how researchers gain knowledge in research contexts and why. The 'why' question is critical since it is through methodological understanding that the researchers and readers of research are provided with a rationale to explain the reasons for using specific strategies and methods in order to construct, collect and develop particular kinds of knowledge about educational phenomena".

This thesis asks questions about what it is to be a professional within education and whether TAs are developing a professional identity. To answer these questions the thesis examines the characteristics of a group of TAs from across the West Midlands Government Region and analyses their deployment within the primary sector. The analyses seek to explore whether TAs are an homogenous group, as the existing literature and government policy implies or whether, from the deployment data, a typology of TAs can be derived. It also examines the factors which determine TA's remuneration and satisfaction. As such it draws upon statistical data. These data are not open to interpretation and therefore required the researcher to create a way of gathering data that was value free, valid, reliable and capable of generalisation (Bryman 1998). This led to a methodology that was quantitative in nature.

By reliability we are asking to what extent we can trust that the research if replicated would always yield the same results. In quantitative research one of the ways that reliability is compromised is through the use of poorly worded questionnaires, where questions could yield very different answers upon replication. This often arises due to ambiguity in the way the question is phrased or through the use of too specialist language which respondents may not understand. Validity is a different but related concept. It refers to the extent to which the methods measure that which they purport to measure. If a measure is unreliable it will not be valid. However, we can have a reliable question that does not have validity. This often occurs when trying to find a

direct correlation between two items. For example, if we wanted to find out what made a difference to the quality of pupils' academic attainment we could gather data about TA to pupil ratios. If it was found that pupils with a TA made more progress we could claim that TAs made a significant difference to the quality of pupils' education. However, an assessment of 'quality' in relation to pupils' academic attainment would require the use of many other measures, such as the quality of the teacher, the number of hours spent with a TA, whether the school had been in a specific OfSTED category etc.

Some of the research questions could not be 'tested' using a quantitative approach and therefore qualitative approaches were also used. By using two research strategies the range of information was increased, without compromising the depth of study (Robson 1993, p169). As Burke Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p15) identify:

> *"researchers and research methodologists need to be asking when each research approach is most helpful and when and how they should be mixed or combined in their research studies. We contend that epistemological and methodological pluralism should be promoted in educational research so that researchers are informed about epistemological and methodological possibilities and, ultimately, so that we are able to conduct more effective research……Taking a non-purist or compatibilist or mixed position allows researchers to mix and match design components that offer the best chance of answering their specific research questions"*

This research accepts this assertion of the value of a 'non-purist', mixed method design. Others have rejected the methodological split between qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Connolly (2007, p4) argues that the *"crude and simplistic"* division of the two methodologies is *"unable to capture the realities of social life"* (ibid). Hammersley (1992) has identified how the two methodologies are often presented as polar opposites. Similarly, Burke Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p14) note that the purists themselves promote this view:

"Both sets of purists view their paradigms as the ideal for research, and, implicitly if not explicitly, they advocate the incompatibility thesis (Howe, 1988), which posits that qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, including their associated methods, cannot and should not be mixed".

Utilising a mixed methods approach allows for triangulation of data whereby the various aspects of different sources of data are brought together to maximise understanding of the research topic (Patton, 1990). Gorman and Clayton (1997) argue that the use of more than one technique increases the scope, depth, and 'accuracy' of a study. Triangulation is defined in Cohen and Manion (1994, p 233) as employing "two or more methods of data collection" which aim to address the research question from more than one standpoint. They suggest that:

"exclusive reliance on one method…may bias or distort the researcher's picture of the particular slice of reality she is investigating".

The research methods literature generally refers to triangulation within a methodological stance, i.e. qualitative or quantitative. Quantitative methods are often held to be synonymous with positivism which argues that the goal of knowledge is to describe phenomena that can be observed and measured. Quantitative "purists" (Burke Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, p14) argue that social observations should be treated in the same way that physical scientists treat physical phenomena. From this standpoint, the observer is treated as separate from the phenomena to be observed and the research is regarded as objective. This means that the outcomes of research can be determined reliably and validly. Educational researchers therefore should *"eliminate their biases, remain emotionally detached and uninvolved with the objects of study, and test or empirically justify their stated hypotheses"* (ibid).

However, there are problems with reliance on quantitative methods. Counting things presumes that we are clear about what they are: it assumes the definitions are unambiguous. However, what if there is uncertainty about what to count? How can

we establish whether it makes sense to treat two things as the same? For example, this thesis explores professionalism and what it is to be a profession? We have seen in chapter 3 that the meaning of this term is far from clear. We can investigate this question using qualitative methods to establish whether categories are meaningful in relation to the thinking and behaviour of participants in a situation. As there are problems in distinguishing between correlation and causation in statistical methods it is useful to check for direction of causation by using qualitative, fine grained data. In order to gather data to answer the research questions (see Preface), quantitative data alone is not enough. Another problem in quantitative analysis is linked to the simple model it assumes of cause and effect. Even if we can be sure about the validity of the categories we are measuring it is difficult to distinguish between correlation and causation. Just because X goes up when Y goes down this does not mean that X goes up because Y goes down. The causation might run the other way or the movement in both X and Y might be caused by Z.

Qualitative "purists" reject the quantitative paradigm. They argue that multiple-constructed realities exist, that research is value laden, and therefore subjective, and that simple cause and effect cannot be determined. They reject the notions of validity and reliability because of their association with the concept of objectivity. Qualitative "purists" argue that reality is socially constructed and it is therefore not meaningful to assert that research can 'observe' reality in a neutral way.

Qualitative analysis approaches causation from the point of view that people do things because of the way they see things. The researcher needs to understand how participants in the study see things and how this, in their view, explains what they do. However, there are limitations associated with a qualitative methodology. What participants tell us is subject to social acceptability bias and therefore may not represent what they actually think. It is also difficult to gather sufficient qualitative data to be able to generalise from the results to a larger population.

A mixed methods approach to the collection and analysis of data supports triangulation and helps to demonstrate validity and reliability of the data collected (Cohen et al., 2007). Where this multi-method approach is undertaken, there are a number of possible outcomes for the research and these are clearly defined by Brannen (2005, p176) as:

"Corroboration: The 'same results' are derived from both qualitative and quantitative methods

Elaboration: The qualitative data analysis exemplifies how the quantitative findings apply in particular cases

Complementary: The qualitative and quantitative results differ but they generate the same analysis

Contradiction: Where qualitative data and quantitative findings conflict".

Despite the paradigmatic differences between qualitative and quantitative research there are some similarities. Sechrest and Sidani (1995, p78 cited in Burke Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, p15) point out that both methodologies:

"*describe their data, construct explanatory arguments from their data, and speculate about why the outcomes they observed happened as they did".*

All research in the social sciences represents an attempt to provide warranted assertions about human beings (or specific groups of human beings) and the environments in which they live and evolve (Biesta and Burbules, 2003 cited in Burke Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, p15). Dzurec and Abraham (1993, p 75) suggest that:

 "the objectives, scope, and nature of inquiry are consistent across methods and across paradigms"

5.2 The Dataset

The theoretical population, i.e. all Teaching Assistants in primary schools, is large as this thesis has illustrated. It was important therefore to adopt a sampling strategy which ensured that those eventually included in the research were representative of the total TA population. There are numerous formula driven approaches to determining sample size (see Borg and Gall 1979, Moser and Kalton 1977 and Ross and Rust 1997). These tend to be related to calculations of sampling error and confidence levels. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007, p95) have tabulated one such formula which recommends that 383 respondents would need to be included for every 100,000 of the actual population if random sampling were to be used. Random sampling is advocated when there is thought to be significant heterogeneity in the population. However, if this approach had been applied to this thesis, responses from approximately 1000 TAs would have been required. Clearly, this was not in the scope of this study. Sample size can be, and was, constrained by "*cost – in terms of time, money, stress, administrative support, the number of researchers and resources*" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007, p93). Given its sample size the results derived from the study need to be treated with some caution: it is possible that patterns observed with this group of TAs might not be replicated elsewhere. For example, the geographic area contained within this study is not a large conurbation such as London, Greater Manchester or Birmingham. It may be that different deployment patterns may be found in these areas. Borg and Gall (1979, p194) suggest that for correlational research a sample size of no less than 30 is required and for survey research a sample is needed of no less than 100. The sample for the quantitative element of the study was derived from an accessible population of 142 TAs studying a university Foundation Degree for Teaching Assistants, thus meeting Borg and Gall's (ibid) criteria and ensuring that it was appropriate to use techniques of analysis. In total 195 questionnaires, representing the total number of primary TAs on the Degree were issued with a return of 139. This represents a 73% response rate. This is very high. The research methods literature generally assumes a much lower response rate. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p263) indicate that first response to a questionnaire is typically 40%, which can be improved by a further 20% if a follow up letter is sent. However, respondents may have felt obliged to return the questionnaire as it was being issued by the university at which they studied. The researcher was aware of this and made it clear that completion of the

questionnaire was not linked in any way to their studies. Facilities were also made available for questionnaires to be returned to a convenient location and were then collected by the researcher, thus obviating the need for postal returns which may have affected response rate.

The sample consisted of Teaching Assistants from 11 Local Authorities from the West and East Midlands, the North West and Welsh. Drawing on such a diverse geographical region ensured that TAs would come from different types of schools and may have had different experiences as a TA. This sample was 'opportunist', in that the sample was highly accessible to the researcher. This 'opportunist' sampling is recognised in the literature as being both practical and efficient (Robson, 1993; Bell, 1987). However, it may have its limitations. It is recognised that the TAs in the sample were engaged in a programme of higher education and hence it could be argued that they were not representative of TAs as a whole. It could be argued that they were more likely to be committed to their career or were more aspirational than other TAs, perhaps looking towards a teaching career, as they were engaged on additional study in their own time.

The sample for the qualitative enquiry tried to ensure that detailed evidence was gathered about the full range of TAs and school sites. The qualitative data was gathered to triangulate the quantitative data. It sought to check whether the categories suggested by analysis of the quantitative data made sense in the lived experience of the participants and how the patterns identified in the analysis should best be interpreted. Thus the sampling strategy sought to ensure that the schools were representative of those in the larger population. As the research base covered a large geographical spread careful consideration of the case study sites was required. A stratified sampling technique was selected using the data gathered from respondents in the quantitative study. Stratifying the sample involves dividing the sample up into groups. This method was chosen to illuminate diversity within the data-set (Robson, 1993). Using geographical location and school size to determine the groups theoretically led to a possible 9 groups of school in which to investigate the role of the TA. Geographical location and school size were chosen as categories

in order to explore whether either impacted upon the ways in which schools utilised TAs. Both were identified in the literature as important variables in potentially explaining pay and satisfaction so choosing them for the qualitative data sample allowed for triangulation of the statistical findings to take place. The dataset revealed the following school types in the dataset (see Table 5.1). One category was not represented in the data set. This was the large rural school.

Table 5.1 Schools in the survey

	Rural	Semi Rural / Semi Urban	Urban
Small - Maximum 1 form entry	X	X	X
Medium - Varied 1 or 2 form entry	X	X	X
Large - Minimum 2 form entry	No schools	X	X

The schools selected reflected the range of schools in the quantitative study. The majority of TAs in the survey support in urban and semi urban schools. It was therefore decided to select two urban schools, two semi rural schools and one rural school. The five chosen school sites are outlined in Table 5.2

Table 5.2 Schools in the Qualitative Dataset - Overview

School	School Size	Geographical Location
1	Small (NOR = 155)	Urban
2	Small (NOR 166)	Semi Rural
3	Medium (NOR = 199)	Rural
4	Medium (NOR = 239)	Urban
5	Large (NOR = 415)	Semi Rural

Research carried out within each of the schools was focussed on the available population. This meant it was those TAs working in the school at the time of the researcher's visit, the teachers working with the TA and the school's CPD coordinator. In total 6 TAs, 2 of whom were on the Foundation Degree, 8 teachers and 5 CPD coordinators formed the sample. Table 5.3 identifies the sample.

Table 5.3 School Sample

School Number and Type (taken from table 5.2)		TA (Identifier number)	Works with Teacher (Identified Numbers)
1	U	1	2
2	SR	10	3
		11	2,4 & 5
3	R	12	13
4	U	15	16
5	SR	18	17

5.3 Methods

In this section a rationale for using each method is provided with an overview of the advantages and disadvantages of the methods employed. The methods chosen included;

1. Questionnaire – to TAs

2. Interviews - these took place with:

   o TAs

   o Teachers who worked with the TA in the school

   o CPD Leader in each school

3. Work Diary – One TA in each school

All of the research instruments used were subjected to a pilot in order to test effectiveness in providing data to address the research questions. The main research questions and the methods used to obtain data are outlined in table 5.4

Table 5.4 Research Questions and Methods Map

Research Question Key questions in BOLD	Quantitative Methods		Qualitative Methods		
	Questionnaire TA	TA Diary	Interview TA	Interview Teacher	Interview CPD leader
1 - How are TAs deployed within the primary sector?	X	X	X	X	X
1A - What are the key demographic characteristics of TAs?	X	X			
2A –- Patterns of deployment – are there distinct job role types?	X	X	X	X	X
3A - Is the accepted TA job classification an accurate reflection of practice?	X	X	X	X	X
4A - What is the relationship between TA characteristics and remuneration?	X				
2 - How do TAs perceive their role?		X	X		
2A - What is the relationship between job role type and the perception of the TA role held by TAs and the teachers they work with?		X	X	X	X
2B - What determines TAs job satisfaction?	X	X	X		
3 - How do teachers and TAs define 'a profession' and 'professionalism'?			X	X	X
3A - Are Teaching Assistants being treated as a professional group within schools?	X	X	X	X	X
3B - Do the ways in which teachers perceive the role of the TA impact upon the way their development is supported through CPD?	X	X		X	X

X Denotes main data source   X Denotes supplementary data source

5.3.1 Questionnaires

In order to gather data about TA characteristics and deployment a questionnaire was used (Appendix 3). The questionnaire was the preferred method as it would yield quantitative data related to the research area that was unavailable elsewhere. A questionnaire is a way of asking questions without personal interaction (Morgan and Saxton 1991). They allow the researcher to collect information from often large groups of people and are useful for generating numerical data (Wilson and MacLean 1994). Questionnaires can provide a broad picture and because the questions used are the same, it is easy to make comparisons (Lowe 2006). A questionnaire has the advantage of being systematic and making sure that every participant is posed the same questions. However they also have their drawbacks. They can take a considerable amount of time to develop, they need to be piloted and may need refining before use and may provide information that fails to capture an accurate picture of a situation because of the limited flexibility of response (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000). Lowe (2006) has noted the difficulties associated with questionnaire-based research from design stage to implementation. This includes issues around typographical elements of a questionnaire, the difficulties of questionnaire dissemination and the requirement to provide respondents with sufficient information about a research project to enable them to make an informed choice about taking part. Response rates to questionnaires can be low, but as noted earlier this was not an issue in relation to this research.

It is important to understand the different types of questions that can be used in a questionnaire. They can be categorised into two broad types - open and closed. A closed question can usually be answered fairly quickly, e.g. 'Are you a TA?' and usually generate one word responses. An open question requires more thought and encourages various responses, e.g. "Why did you become a TA?" (Lowe 2006). The majority of the data were collected in the form of closed questions which required participants to draw upon knowledge. This was chosen in order to be able to quantify the results and because these questions only have a small number of possible answers to enable comparison to be made more easily across the sample. As Cohen et al. (2007) argue, they are easier to interpret and quicker to code because they are to the point. The use of this technique also allowed the data to be subjected to

statistical analysis using SPSS. Some open ended questions were included which required respondents to evaluate their role and also to test understanding. These were used as a lead into the interview questions. Responses to these questions were analysed in order to identify any similarities or recurring responses. The questionnaire was very helpful in the initial stages of the research, as the process of designing a 'formal' research instrument meant that the research problem had to be clearly articulated at an early stage (Busha and Harter 1980, Patton 1990). Concentrating on the development of the questionnaire and the preliminary analysis of returns also facilitated the design of the qualitative research instruments used.

5.3.2 Interviews

In order to gather data about personal attitudes to professionalism and to understand how TAs and teachers worked together it was necessary to conduct interviews. In each school semi-structured focused interviews were used to gather information, these provide:

> *"a conversation between interviewer and respondent with the purpose of eliciting certain types of information from the respondent".*
>
> Moser and Kalton (1971, in Bell 2005, p157)

Interviews were conducted with the school's professional development coordinator (CPD leader), a Teaching Assistants and the teachers they worked with. This was designed to understand the relationships between TAs and their teachers. The CPD leader was interviewed in order to find out if TAs and teachers received different treatment in relation to professional development in the school.

Moser and Kalton (1971), Wiseman and Aron (1972) and Maccoby and Maccoby (1954) describe an interview as a two-way process, a conversation with the aim of collecting information for the interviewer. The data gathered from the interview is not necessarily meant to be quantified (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Bell (2005) suggests that as a research tool interviews have advantages and disadvantages.

The key advantages being they are an adaptable method of data collection and allow follow-up questions to be asked to clarify and probe responses. However, she states that the interview can be time consuming for both parties, be subjective and open to interviewer-bias and have the inherent danger that respondents may say what they think an interviewer wants to hear. Despite these drawbacks Lankshear and Knobel (2006) believe the interview is the best means of discovering opinions, beliefs and values. This is important for this research. Views on what a profession is and what it means to be a professional are such types of data. Similarly, it was important to explore what opinions TAs, teachers and CPD leaders had on what TAs did in their job role. Bell (2005, p157) states, interviews *can "often put flesh on the bones of questionnaire responses".* Also interviews are more revealing as they contain non-verbal responses, such as body language, and tone, inflection and emphasis of voice that provide more information. This *provides "a richer access to the subject's meaning……."* (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p129)

A semi-structured interview is one where *"questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers"* (May 2001, p123) and a focused interview is defined by Merton and Kendal (1946) as one in which *the "actual interview is focused on the subjective experience of the people who have been exposed to the situation"* (Cohen and Manion 1994, p289). Interviews were recorded. Recording can create difficulties as Moyles cautions*; "a microphone in evidence in the centre of the table is unlikely to be forgotten easily by subjects, with a consequent risk of compromising the validity of the data collected"* (cited in Coleman and Briggs, 2007, p183). However, she goes on to argue that *"the benefits of having video and audio data, particularly when it comes to analysis, outweigh any disadvantages"* (ibid). All participants were made aware that the researcher was recording the discussion.

The interview questions sought to explore the research questions in a systematic way (Appendix 4, 5 and 6). All respondents were asked the same questions in the same sequence. The interview was divided into three sections. During the first section to probe understanding of the roles of TAs and teachers questions were

asked to elicit what each thought the others role entailed. Additionally they were asked what happened in their classrooms in relation to teaching (including the curriculum, planning and assessment decisions) and managing behaviour. It was important to find out if TAs had the same role as teachers beyond the classroom, so questions were asked about roles in relation to school-wide decision making. Respondents were also asked to identify if they thought their roles would change to assess whether recent policy reforms were still working through in the school. In the second section of the interview respondents were asked about their views of professionalism, their own professional identify and each other's professional status. In the final section of the interview questions were asked about access to, and experiences of, professional development in the school.

Morgan and Saxton (1991) identify six different types of questions, which we might class as open questions which stimulate thinking;

- Questions which draw upon knowledge (Remembering)
- Questions which test comprehension (Understanding)
- Questions which require application (Solving)
- Questions which encourage analysis (Reasoning)
- Questions which invite synthesis (Creating)
- Questions which promote evaluation (Judging)

The questions used in the interviews incorporated each of these elements. Some questions simply sought to test respondent's knowledge and understanding of the ways in which school policy operated. Some questions, particularly those linked to defining professionalism and identification of the respondent's own view of their professionalism or otherwise, required them to make judgements or employ reasoning. Careful design of the questions to match the question type to the type of data required enhanced the validity of the research. Minor amendments were made following a pilot of the questions in a school not used in the final research.

Once complete the full interviews were transcribed. Moyles (2002) suggests that transcription can be time consuming and may require clerical support. She goes on to suggest that this can be avoided by 'sampling' rather than transcribing the whole of the interview. However, the researcher would have to weigh the benefits of reducing the time frame for transcription against the loss of valuable data not originally identified and therefore not included in the sampled data used for further analysis. For this research all interviews were transcribed.

5.3.3 Workplace Diaries

One of the research questions sought to analyse whether what TAs did in their role was in line with government guidance and policy linked to the role. In order to test this it was necessary to find out what TAs did at work. The questionnaire had asked which of the 25 tasks (DfES, 2003a) the TAs undertook and asked them to indicate the frequency of the tasks. By using a workplace diary it was possible to triangulate this data with data gathered from TAs at work. Workplace diaries have been used in similar studies to capture the work of TAs (Blatchford et al., 2009, Gunter et al., 2005). Within this study TAs in each of the schools were asked to complete a workplace diary (appendix 7) listing activities carried out in one working week. The diary utilised, with permission, the previous workplace diary used by Szwed (2005) in her exploration of workforce remodelling. The diary used a simple coding system which piloting indicated was manageable by TAs.

5.4 Analysis

The data gathered from the questionnaires was subjected to analysis using SPSS. Two forms of analysis were used, exploratory analysis in order to generate descriptive statistics about the sample and confirmatory analysis, to specifically test hypotheses related to TA pay as an indicator of professionalism. Exploratory analysis is an inductive approach used when the researcher wishes to examine data without preconceptions. It is a useful way of exploring data in order to generate hypotheses. This was necessary in order to determine what variables should be further explored (Tukey 1977). Exploratory data analysis uncovers statements or hypotheses for confirmatory data analysis to consider. Confirmatory analysis, works

from a specific hypothesis. It seeks a definite answer to a specific question – in this case the determinants of TA pay. The precise method used for the confirmatory analysis is outlined in chapter 6 in order to aid the reader's understanding of the techniques involved.

The data gathered from the interviews (transcriptions) was subjected to what is termed by Scholfield (1995, p214) as *"interjudge reliability"*, that is using a second body to ensure agreement to enhance validity. The transcripts were then subjected to post-coding in order to present the raw data in a form, headlining the main themes, ready for analysis and comparison. Coding has been defined by Kerlinger (1970) as *"the translation of question responses and respondent information to specific categories for the purpose of analysis"* (cited in Cohen and Manion 1994, p286). Classifications for coding were derived from the pilot of the questionnaires. They were not used exclusively in order to allow for the possibility for new themes and ideas to emerge. This allowed the researcher to use the transcripts, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) suggest, generating natural units of meaning which are then classified and ordered into a structured narrative which illustrates the interviews contents and can then be interpreted.

5.5 Ethical Considerations

Cohen (2000, cited in Coleman and Briggs, 2002) has identified a number of ethical issues that might arise throughout the research process. These include anonymity, sample selection and bias, information to participants, data storage and dissemination of findings. The anonymity of participants was maintained by assigning a unique number for the identification purposes of the researcher. This ensured that no one individual could be identified. There was no inducement to participate in the research. The focus of the research was clearly explained and the option to refuse to participate was given to participants. Data pertaining to any individual was only available to the individual and remains confidential. In fulfilment of the Data Protection Act (1998) the hard data was stored responsibly and electronic data was password protected. Access to the data was limited to the

researcher and the University. Participants were informed about procedures for dissemination of results.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that by using a mixed methods approach it is possible to design an investigation which can reliably and objectively quantify the current patterns of deployment and demographic characteristics of a group of TAs. It can also gather data which reveal perceptions of professional role and professionalism which may impact upon patterns of deployment. Care must be taken when generalising the data as the dataset has some bias. However, the design of the research has sought to maximise opportunities to triangulate data which enhances validity. Methods have been carefully designed, taking account of ethical issues and have been piloted to ensure that they will achieve the desired results. By using exploratory analysis it has been possible to generate descriptive statistics about the sample. These are examined in chapter 6. It has also been possible to explore the dataset in order to generate specific hypothesis. From this exploration of the data several hypothesis have been generated. These are subjected to confirmatory analysis and data from interviews and work diaries has been used to develop the analysis further. These latter analyses are presented in chapter 7.

Chapter 6 Characteristics of TAs – Survey Results

6.0 Introduction

Remodelling of the education workforce is partly dependent upon the quality of the recruitment and training of TAs. In order to support this process we need to secure a better understanding about the TA workforce, such as who they are; what they do and how this is perceived by those they work with. This chapter analyses the characteristics of TAs in the study. Factor analysis of the dataset has been conducted and from this four distinct TA job roles were identified. These job roles are then used to explore patterns of deployment. However, this chapter goes beyond simply describing how TAs work. It also presents data about how TAs, and the teachers they work with, define their professional identity within the current educational context and explores similarities and differences in relation to these four job roles.

The chapter has been structured so that the reader is initially given an overview of the characteristics of all TAs in the study. The data have been grouped into three categories. In section 6.1 human capital characteristics are analysed. The quantity and quality of human capital is an important concept in the analysis presented in this and the following chapter. It typically includes the knowledge and skills attained through education and training (Mincer 1958). In this study it includes their age, qualifications (both vocational and general) and length of experience in role. These are important aspects to consider in relation to workforce remodelling which may require TAs to undertake new roles in the workforce. In section 6.2 employer-related characteristics are analysed. This category contains information about the size, geographical location and governance of schools in which the TAs work. Information is also provided about access to appraisal, training, job contracts and union membership. These data, together with the human capital characteristics are likely to be important in the understanding of the determinants of the deployment of TAs. In section 6.3 job role related characteristics are analysed. This category contains information such as the route taken into the job of TA and their job title. Differences

between this sample and previous research on TAs are identified in order to assess whether these differences are due to changes over time or bias in the samples.

In section 6.4 the analysis of job roles is undertaken. This begins with data presented from the interviews which illustrates the different perceptions held by teachers, TAs and CPD leaders with regards to their roles and responsibilities. However, it will be seen that we can detect some differences in TA's responses which leads us to hypothesise that there may be different 'types' of TA. A brief outline of the two methodological choices available when undertaking in depth analysis is provided and then in section 6.5 the results of a factor analysis of job roles are presented. In section 6.6 the results of a cluster analysis of job roles are presented. Four distinct roles for TAs are identified form these analyses, providing our typology of TA job roles. In sections 6.7 – 6.10 each of the four distinct TA job role types is critically analysed using the qualitative dataset. Section 6.11 presents the conclusions to this chapter.

6.1 Who are the TAs? - Human Capital Characteristics

Of the 139 The TAs in the sample all are female and tend to be between the ages of 35 - 44 (52% of the sample). Less than 10% were either at the younger end of the spectrum (19-24 years) or towards the older end (Over 55). Similar findings were reported by Blatchford et al. (2009) who showed that the majority of support staff in their survey were female and over 36 years of age. However, it is worth remembering that this latter study relates to support staff as a whole and may not be representative of TAs.

All of the respondents in this study had a general qualification level of 2 or above. The general level of qualification for the study group was high – 70.5% have a general qualification above Level 3. The majority (80.5%) of TAs in this study also hold a vocational qualification. A Level 3 qualification is held by 39% of these Teaching Assistants. The NNEB award was held by 15% and 14.5% hold a Level 2 qualification. HLTA Status is reported as a qualification and is held by 9% of TAs in

this study. Higher level (Specialist Teaching Assistant and Foundation Degree) qualifications are held by 3% of the respondents. The average level of qualifications held by these TAs is much higher than previous studies would indicate. The higher levels reported in this survey may also be linked to the respondents' specific academic profile: they were all enrolled on a Foundation Degree. In itself the Foundation Degree does not require formal academic qualifications as entry is based upon employment in the vocational workplace and vocational qualifications. However, it is acknowledged that it may have skewed the data on qualifications held. In their study of the UK labour market qualifications, Dickerson and Vignoles (2008) in a study using Labour Force Survey (LFS) for 2000 to 2004, note that only 33% of women in England have higher level qualifications, defined as those over Level 3 with just 9% of women holding a vocational qualification at Level 3 or above.

Most respondents (46.8%) have been in post for less than 4 years. Cumulatively 89% have been employed as a Teaching Assistant for less than 10 years. The number of Teaching Assistants who have been in post for 11-15 years is only 7%. This pattern is likely to reflect the recent growth in the number of TAs identified in chapter 2.

6.2 Employer-Related characteristics

The majority of Teaching Assistants support in urban and semi-urban schools and 40% (approx) work in a school with fewer than 250 pupils. Teaching Assistants are evenly deployed across the primary curriculum: 35% work across year groups, 30% are deployed in Foundation Stage and KS1. The majority (89%) work in the state sector with 10% being employed in church controlled schools and the remainder deployed in the private sector. A significant number of respondents (41%) work full-time (over 37 hours per week). Figure 6.1 illustrates the work pattern for the TAs in terms of reported actual hours worked, given as we discuss below, the prevalence of 'voluntary' unpaid work this frequently exceeds their contracted hours. Cumulatively 69% report working over 20 hours and 81% report working over 16 hours, 3% work between 16 and 19 hours per week and 16% work less than 16 hours per week which would entitle them to access state benefits in addition to paid employment.

82% of Teaching Assistants in the study work in a paid capacity for over 37 weeks per year. This would indicate that they hold full year rather than term time contracts.

Figure 6.1 TAs Working Hours (actual)

Hours Worked (in school) per week
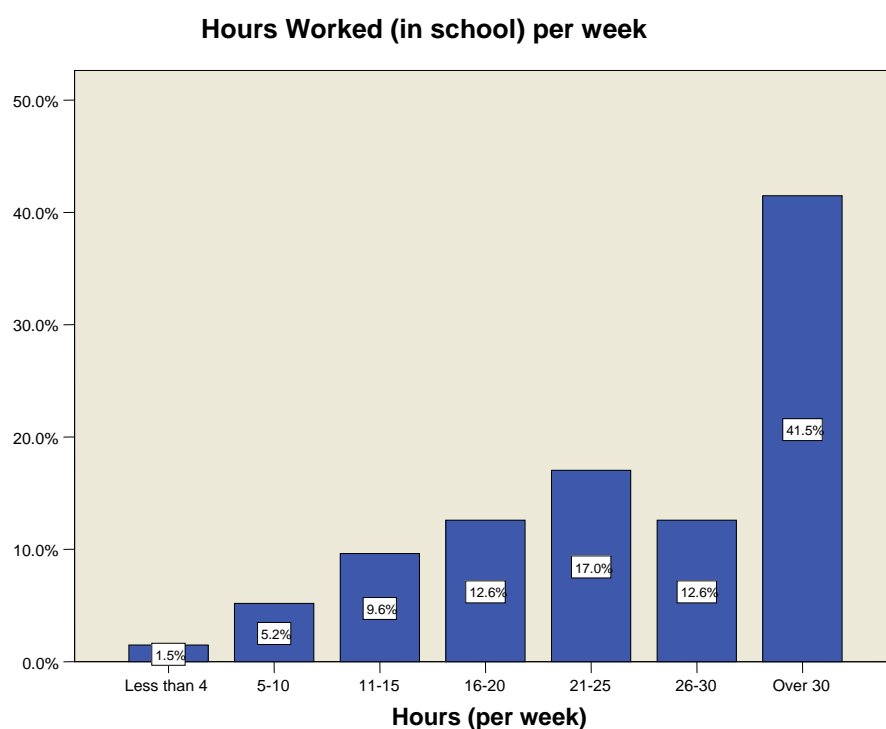
In addition to holding substantial paid positions many Teaching Assistants (54%) report working between 5-10 hours in an unpaid capacity (see figure 6.2), with 54% of this group report undertaking these positions for over 37 weeks per year. A similar finding emerged from the Blatchford et al (2009) which noted that the 'goodwill of support staff was vital to their deployment in schools'. 20% do up to 10 hrs paid in this additional job. This corresponds with data reported by the DISS study (Blatchford et al; 2009).

The additional jobs undertaken by TAs, in either a paid or unpaid capacity, range from clerical to more manual jobs. A significant number of the sample are holding a second job role - 33% have a role as a lunchtime supervisor. This means that they

also work during their lunch break supervising children. Other roles also involve working with children, with 7% reporting that their additional role is associated with behaviour, whilst 13% have a librarian role. Only 7% report that they have a clerical role and 20% identified another role in school but did not specify what this was.

Figure 6.2 Unpaid Hours Worked in School

Voluntary Hours Worked in School (per week)
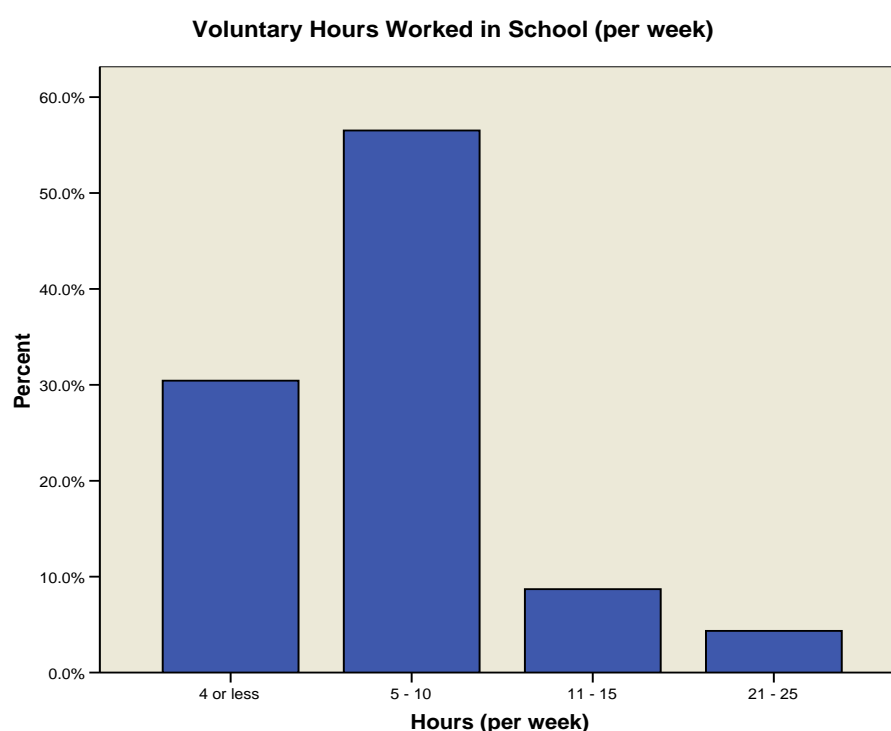
However, despite their presence and considerable amounts of time spent in school, TAs are not normally involved in wider school life. 75% report no involvement with any school group. Of the 25% that report some involvement, half of the activity is associated with being a school governor, with 6% involved in school change teams.

76% of Teaching Assistants have a job description, whilst 2% report not knowing whether they have a job description and 22% report no job description. 59.5% of respondents report having access to appraisal, in 51% of these cases this was undertaken by the Head teacher. A further 36.5% of these were appraised by the Deputy Head Teacher, a Key Stage Manager or the schools SENCO. 10.5% reported appraisal by an undisclosed person. In only 2% of case was appraisal

carried out by a Professional Development Coordinator. Just under three-quarters of all appraisers were female.

Whilst just over 50% of respondents have had some form of training since they began working as a TA, only 11% listed attendance at more than three courses in the previous 12 months. Figure 6.3 illustrates that the majority of the training they had received in this twelve month period was vocational with 41% being subject specific. Only 4% of respondents indicated that they regarded the training as personal development, that is, something they had chosen for themselves and were specifically interested in. These figures are much lower than those reported by Blatchford et al. (2009) and may again illustrate the problems with the assumption of the DISS study that 'support staff' are an homogenous category in their report.

Figure 6.3 Training Undertaken by TAs in the Previous 12 Months
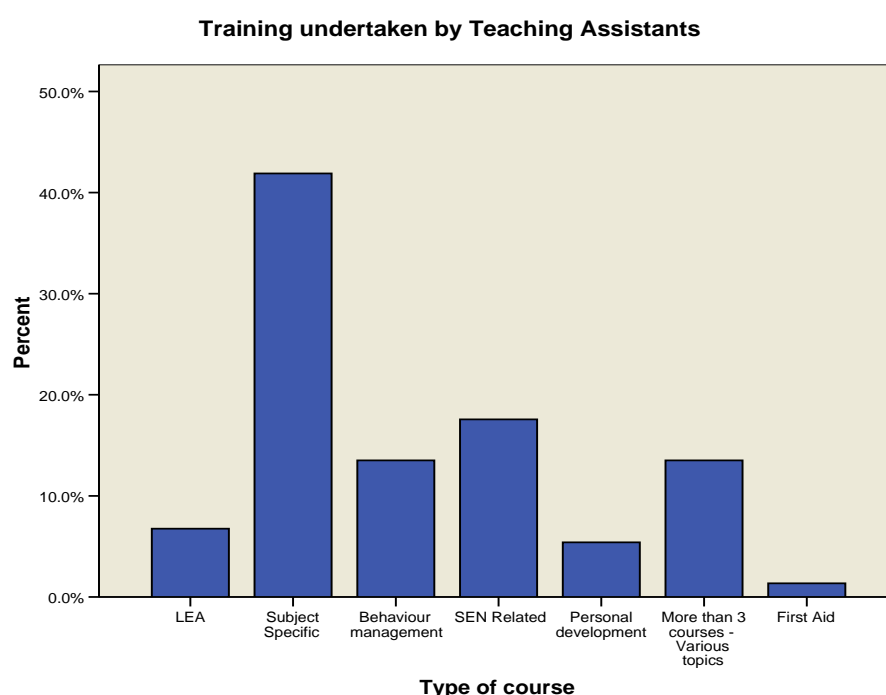
In 50% of cases it is the head who suggests participation in training. 54% of respondents said their school did have a specific CPD policy for Teaching Assistants, though 38% did not know and 8% identified that the school did not have

a policy. Union membership is high with over 66% reporting membership, 70% of these belong to UNISON. Only a small proportion of respondents belong to a professional body. These were reported as being the Professional Association of Nursery Nurses (PANN) and British Institute for Learning Disabilities (BILD).

The majority of Teaching Assistants (72%) are paid less than £1000 per month. Only 5% earn above £1400 per month. In chapter 7 a detailed analysis of the relationship between pay and job role will be provided.

Figure 6.4 TAs Pay

Monthly Pay (Gross)
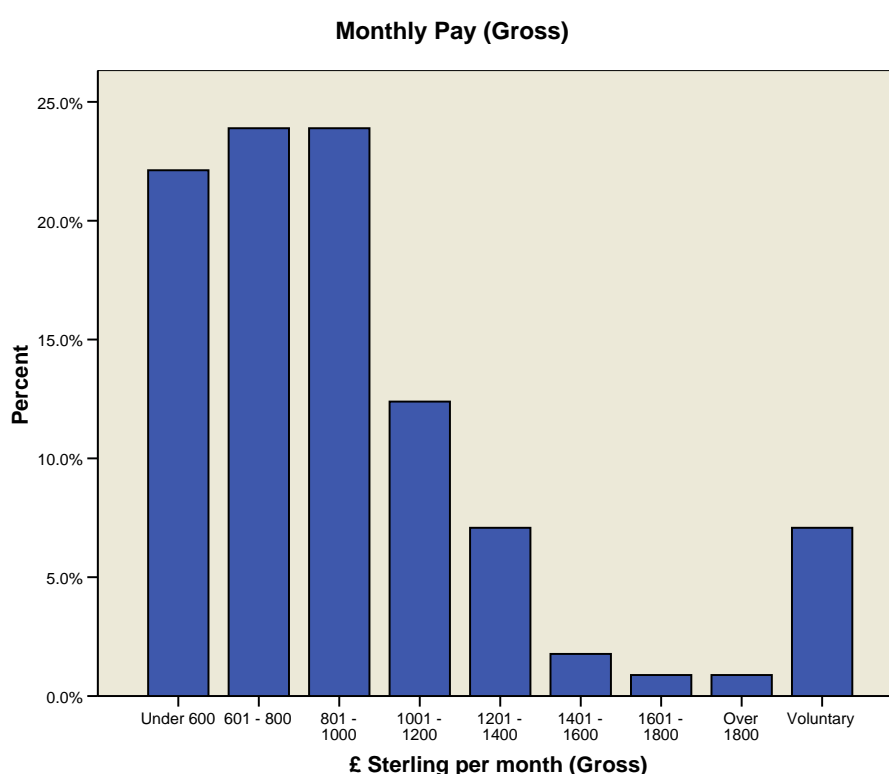
6.3 Job role related information

The majority of respondents (58%) are called Teaching Assistants. However, as Table 6.1 demonstrates many of the earlier titles identified in chapter 2 are still in use.

Table 6.1: Job Title of Respondents

Nomenclature	% of Respondents
Teaching Assistant	58
Learning Support Assistant	14
NNEB	8
Higher Level Teaching Assistant	4
Special Needs Support Assistant	2
Non teaching Assistant	2
Other	8

Despite the small proportion of respondents who held HLTA status, which as we saw in chapter 2 was intended to identify those who could cover for teachers during their planning, preparation and assessment time, 48% of respondents are carrying out this job role. For the majority of these (64%) this accounts for less than 4 hours per week of their time. A further 29% of those covering PPA time do so for between 5-10 hrs per week. The majority of all respondents (75%) report being satisfied with their job, with only 15% report being unsatisfied and the other 10% report being neither satisfied or dissatisfied. The DISS study (Blatchford, 2009) similarly noted that support staff were, in general, satisfied with their job, however they noted less satisfaction in their sample related to pay and training and development opportunities.

6.4 Job Role Analysis
In addition to exploring the demographic characteristics of the TAs, the analysis sought to explore the perceptions of a small group of representative TAs and the

teachers and CPD they worked with. These were interviewed to find out what they thought about their own and each other's job roles. A significant difference between teachers and TAs in relation to describing the role of the teacher was that the former also described their role in terms of being an educator. There were no major differences between teachers, they talked of being:

" The key provider for the children's learning" (T4)

"preparing children for the future" (T7)

"instructing them and teaching them…Helping the children learn" (T8)

"progress their learning" (T5).

CPD leaders' responses were in line with those of the teachers:

"my function is to lead them [children] on educationally but I mean we are talking socially, academically, as well as other things emotionally. We do lots of things to prepare them for life ahead really" (T3).

TAs often described their role in terms of care for the children:

"it is definitely more with supporting the children as opposed to helping out the teacher (TA10)

"do whatever I can to help" (TA18)

*"supporting them, providing for them in the way – you know they all have
ways of doing things. It's a bit like a husband and wife type thing really" (TA1).*

TAs identified the key role of teachers in planning and were able to articulate where
they thought this came from irrespective of their job role:

"they are obviously following a plan" (TA1)

"they have the national guidelines" (TA10)

One sequence of questions sought to ascertain the extent to which TAs were
involved, outside of their classroom role, in the activities of the school. These were
termed 'school wide' activities in the question. In chapter 2 we saw that workforce
remodelling was intended to be an inclusive process so it was reasonable to assume
that TAs would be involved in school change teams. However, whereas teachers
understood the term 'school wide' most TAs did not. Only one TA understood the
term. When the question was rephrased to ask if they were involved in staff meetings
all identified that they did not attend these. They were unable to explain why:

*"Maybe it's because we don't go to staff meetings but I feel we are bottom of
the pile. Never been asked I don't suppose and um staff meetings are at the
school on a Monday night and I don't work Monday afternoons. I think if I did
work Monday afternoons I might actually think oh that's interesting I might go.
But basically I have never been asked to go, we do have our own TA
meetings um where we can air views and get told information. But I do think
that sometimes we are forgotten. I don't think it's intentional at all I think it is
just that they deal with it in the meetings and because we are not there they
don't think to pass it on"(TA11).*

*"I don't really know why we are not in staff meetings. It's just never happened"
(TA10)*

Teachers noted TAs' absence from staff meetings too:

"They don't come to staff meetings um because they generally work on mornings here and it probably comes down to the fact that we are on a salary and they are paid per hour" (T5)

"the majority of things like that, policies and things would be discussed in staff meetings where it would just be a group of teachers and senior management teams discussing them" (T13).

Not all teachers felt TAs should attend. One school CPD leader, who was also the headteacher, did not see including them as manageable;

"because they have all got different times. Some leave at 3 'o' clock some work mornings….they all work at different times" (T14).

All of the schools were reported as having a mechanism for gaining TAs' views which was articulated by the TAs:

"We would be asked for our opinion ….if we said anything it would be taken on board …because I mean assistants are just as easily able to come up with good ideas as a teacher" (TA1)

None of the teachers had problems with the term "school wide". TAs tended to concur in the view that teachers did have a role to play in school wide decisions as did the teachers:

"I do think I have an important part to play because we all get together, we all discuss things, as I say the management team and we make the decisions"(T8).

The area where teachers appeared to have the biggest input into school wide decisions was in relation to the curriculum:

"my area is ICT and P.E ….So there I make decisions …what we are going to have on the curriculum. What we are going to do and how to adapt it" (T2)

"With the curriculum and all the new changes with the literacy and numeracy strategies we have been in on that. There are some things you know you will never be able to impact on that's money and staffing where you have no say as a class teacher" (T7)

TAs all recognised that for teachers there were external judgements made about effectiveness:

"teachers are under a lot of scrutiny from every direction really. They have got the government telling them they should be doing this and they have got other local councils saying you have got to do that and then at the other end they have got to do parents and as we all know, if something goes wrong the buck stops here. There is no leeway to making mistakes. So I think they have to evaluate themselves all the time. They have to be looking, and they deliver and then the look at the books at the end of the day for marking and say 'well that really didn't work or I didn't get my point over or they didn't understand so I have to do it again but look at a different way of doing it. So in that way they have got to evaluate and every time they are marking their books they are looking at what they have and haven't managed to do" (TA10)

Teachers shared similar views. They discussed the impact of their actions on children as a key determinant of whether their actions had been effective:

"*The children have achieved the outcome and if they are happy. If they are smiling at the end of the day and they have enjoyed themselves I don't think there is anything more. If they have enjoyed themselves, had fun and*

169

achieved then that is fine. If it is not the way you had planned it to be as long as they have done it and they are smiling and they go home happy it doesn't matter" (T2)

"It's just by outcome really it's about looking at the children's work, it is about talking to them" (T7)

"You can see if it is the right thing if the children are involved, if they are keen, if they're listening and if they're taking part in the activities" (T8)

All teachers cited experience as being the way they knew 'how' to do their jobs:

"Personal experience ... and not being afraid of having a go. You just go for it…and if it doesn't work you just adapt it and that's what a good teacher does" (T2),

"experience and talking to different members of staff" (T5)

"gut reaction, instinct of being a natural teacher" (T8).

Networking and observation of other practitioners was part of this experience:

"Obviously, you learn how to teach from other people and other schools but you just build on it don't you and adapt it a little" (T5)

"Just from doing it for the last few years and to a certain degree some of the guidelines that come, they tell you at what stage they need to be" (T7)

"training courses, seeing examples of good practice at other schools, going to special needs meetings and discussing with other colleagues, looking at assessments, looking at folders of evidence and that sort of thing. So you get your ideas and say 'that is good I like that system let's bring it back to what we are doing at school' or 'let's have a look at what we are doing here and see if there is an area that we can improve" (T8)

It is clear from this data that teachers and TAs share some perceptions about their respective roles. It can also be seen that a role delineation is present. Teachers carry the responsibility for the education of the children, most often associated with planning and engagement in the wider life of the school. TAs are subordinate to the teacher and take direction from the teacher, perhaps as envisaged by the DfES 2003 (see chapter 2). However, this analysis classifies all TAs as homogenous yet as table 6.2 reveals a closer inspection of the data in relation to two questions points to subtle differences between TAs' responses.

TA 10 provides much fuller answers to the questions which demonstrate a greater awareness of the education system. This seems to suggest that TA 10 may be very different from TA 1. However an analysis of their backgrounds (for further details see table 6.7) reveals that both are aged 35 – 44. Both have been TAs for less than 10 years and have full-time contracts and both have a Level 3 qualification. However, their responses indicate that they are subtly different. Whilst both are called TAs they may have very different job roles. In the next section of this chapter the specific job roles of all 139 TAs in the survey are analysed, in order to see if there are job role differences between TAs.

Table 6.2 TA Sample Responses

Question	TA 1	TA10
How do teachers know what to do?	*"they are obviously following a plan"*	*"they have the national guidelines" "teachers are under a lot of scrutiny from every direction really. They have got the government telling them they should be doing this and they have got other local councils saying you have got to do that and then at the other end they have got to do parents and as we all know, if something goes wrong the buck stops here. There is no leeway to making mistakes. So I think they have to evaluate themselves all the time. They have to be looking, and they deliver and then the look at the books at the end of the day for marking and say 'well that really didn't work or I didn't get my point over or they didn't understand so I have to do it again but look at a different way of doing it. So in that way they have got to evaluate and every time they are marking their books they are looking at what they have and haven't managed to do"*
What is the role of the TA?	*"supporting them [the teachers], providing for them in the way – you know they all have ways of doing things. It's a bit like a husband and wife type thing really"*	*"it is definitely more with supporting the children as opposed to helping out the teacher"*

The survey used in this research asked TAs to indicate how frequently they performed each of the 24 tasks (see chapter 2) that policy indicated should be transferred from teachers to TAs. TAs' answers to these questions can be used to investigate patterns of response that may provide evidence for identifying distinct roles undertaken by TAs. Two kinds of analysis are possible. First, factor analysis investigates the extent to which correlations between TAs' responses allow the identification of combinations of roles that are frequently associated with each other.

For example, it was found that 'record keeping' was highly correlated with 'inputting pupil data' and these tasks might together be described as 'routine data management' or perhaps 'low level clerical'. An advantage of factor analysis here is that in identifying a set of variables that are highly correlated it provides an indication of the breadth of a particular role type and this helps the researcher to choose between alternative descriptors of a role or factor. However, factor analysis does not allow the allocation of a particular teaching assistant to a particular sub-group. If we take, for example a case where factor analysis has identified a four factor solution as the most appropriate way of distinguishing between combinations of variables (in this case the 24 tasks). This does not mean that there are four sub-groups. It could be that there are just two sub-groups which can be distinguished from each other by the extent to which members of each sub-group tend to 'lead' on to each of the four factors. Conversely there might be more than four sub-groups, as there is scope for more than four possible combinations of loading on to the constituent factors. To investigate the extent to which it is meaningful to allocate each TA to a different sub-group it is appropriate to use cluster analysis. In the next section the data is systematically analysed using factor analysis. This is followed by a systematic analysis of the data using cluster analysis.

6.5 Factor Analysis

Before conducting factor analysis it is necessary to investigate whether there is sufficient correlation between the variables (responses regarding the 24 tasks) to (a) treat the responses as belonging initially to one complete set and (b) to justify an investigation of factors (grouping tasks together) within this set. The Cronbach's Alpha calculated from the responses of all TAs to all the 24 tasks was .903, indicating that the sample as a whole was reliable. Two tests were undertaken to evaluate the suitability of the data for factor analysis. The Keiser-Meyer-Oklin value was 0.819, exceeding the minimum recommended value of 0.6 (Kaiser 1970, 1974) and the Bartlett's test of sphericity (Bartlett 1954) reached statistical significance, being below 0.0001. These tests supported the factorability of the correlation matrix. The form of exploratory factor analysis that was used was maximum likelihood under

oblique rotation using varimax rotation. This method was chosen to allow for possible non-linearities in the data. Analysis revealed the presence of three factors with eigenvalues exceeding 1.9, explaining 27.6 percent, 8.8 percent and 6.7 percent of the variance respectively. A fourth factor, with an eigenvalue of 1.9 explained a further 5.8% of the variance. The scree plot (Figure 6.5) suggests to clear break between three, four and five factor solutions.

Figure 6.5 Scree Plot
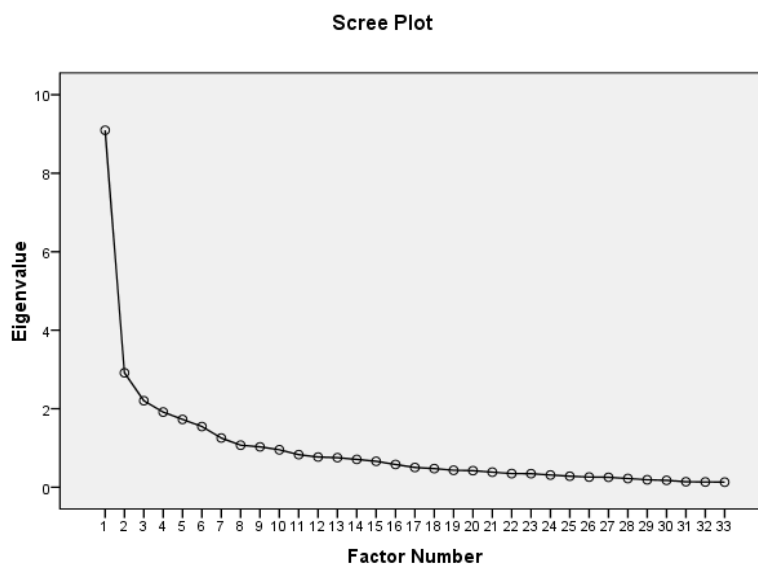
The factor loadings for a three and factor solutions (with loads of below .3 omitted are presented in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. In the three factor solution the tasks are separated into groups that can be labelled: general TA duties, covering a class and specialist supporting activities. In the four factor solution the 'general administration' role is divided between tasks most associated with an enhanced role such as 'information management' and tasks which might be described as more general such as 'low level clerical'.

This more fine-grained solution appears reasonable given the grouping of tasks that it suggests. TAs undertaking the enhanced role will have significant administration responsibilities and would typically need to demonstrate competency in ICT. They may also have responsibility for whole class lesson planning and teaching small groups. This role does not normally include covering PPA time, so it does not incorporate the role of class cover supervisor. TAs undertaking the general teaching support role do generally cover PPA time and undertake planning responsibilities for whole class groups. This group do not usually undertake any administration support tasks. This role therefore more closely equates to that of the cover supervisor. TAs undertaking the general TA role will not generally have teaching responsibilities. Their work is largely confined to low level administration tasks. This group could be categorised as 'helping out' in the way a parent helper would assist in schools. TAs undertaking the specific teaching support role will typically have responsibility for teaching single pupils or small groups. This role would equate to the role of the specialist SEN TA. The Cronbach Alpha figure for Factors 4 is a little low, but since these are calculated from short Likert scales these figures are within an acceptable range (Pallant 2007).

Table 6.3 Three Factor Solution

Task	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Collecting money		.348	
Chasing absences			
Bulk photocopying	.472		
Copy Typing	.367		
Producing standard letters	.592		
Producing class lists	.543		
Record keeping and filing	.634		
Classroom display			
Analysing attendance figures	.359		
Processing exam results	.474		
Collating pupil reports	.574		
Administering work experience	.382	.346	
Administering teacher cover	.358	.611	
ICT Trouble shooting / minor repairs	.630		
Commissioning new ICT equipment	.457		
Ordering supplies and stocks	.647		
Stocktaking	.623		
Cataloguing , preparing, issuing, maintaining equipment and materials	.619		
Minuting meetings	.570		
Coordinating and submitting bids	.410		
Seeking / giving personnel advice	.617		
Managing pupil data	.737		
Inputting pupil data	.628		
Planning a lesson for a single pupil	.344		.692
Planning a lesson for a small group		.424	.402

Planning a lesson for a whole class	.382	.670	
Teaching a single pupil			.867
Teaching a small group		.829	
Teaching a class		.495	.377
Supporting learning -single pupil			.528
Supporting learning -Whole class		.375	
Supporting learning -Small group			.360
Covering for a class / PPA cover / cover for staff absence		.727	

Table 6.4 Four Factor Solution

Task	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Collecting money			.629	
Chasing absences				
Bulk photocopying	.358		.571	
Copy Typing			.346	
Producing standard letters	.557			
Producing class lists	.438		.531	
Record keeping and filing	.570		.345	
Classroom display			.509	
Analysing attendance figures	.363			
Processing exam results	.447			
Collating pupil reports	.559			
Administering work experience	.354	.333		
Administering teacher cover	.344	.600		
ICT Trouble shooting / minor repairs	.573		.357	
Commissioning new ICT equipment	.475			
Ordering supplies and stocks	.644			
Stocktaking	.618			
Cataloguing , preparing, issuing, maintaining equipment and materials	.551		.349	
Minuting meetings	.586			
Coordinating and submitting bids	.427			
Seeking / giving personnel advice	.631			
Managing pupil data	.704			
Inputting pupil data	.608			
Planning a lesson for a single pupil	.408			.737
Planning a lesson for a small group		.513		.414

Planning a lesson for a whole class	.402	.698		
Teaching a single pupil				.829
Teaching a small group		.810		
Teaching a class		.493		.339
Supporting learning -single pupil				.530
Supporting learning -Whole class		.343		
Supporting learning -Small group				.372
Covering for a class / PPA cover / cover for staff absence		.694		
Cronbach's Alpha for this Factor	.88	.82	.76	.73

Four Factor Solution Varimax Rotation, Principal Components

Total factor score variables (factor 1 - 4) for each person based on the identification of the items in each factor, were added in as new variables. Since there are more items in some factors than others and as a matter of good practice in preparation for cluster analysis, these were normalised:

(Factor x - Mean of Factor x) / SD Factor x

This produced four new variables showing a normalised factor score for each factor for each person. Table 6.5 shows the variables and the mean and standard deviations of summed factor scores.

Table 6.5 Mean and Standard Deviations of Summed Factor Scores

Descriptive Statistics					
Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Factor 1	140	32.00	60.00	52.91	6.85
Factor 2	140	13.00	32.00	24.97	4.67
Factor 3	140	10.00	24.00	20.09	2.90
Factor 4	139	4.00	15.00	8.64	2.87
Valid N (listwise)	139				

Table 6.6 outlines the specific work tasks associated with each factor. At this point it should be noted that not each task is weighted equally.

Table 6.6 Roles associated with each factor:

	Tasks	Role Type
Factor 1	Photocopying, Standard letters, Class lists, Record keeping & filing, Analysing attendance, Processing exam results, Pupil reports, Administering work experience and teacher cover, ICT repair and commissioning, Ordering supplies, Stocktaking, Cataloguing, Minuting meetings, Coordinating and submitting Bids, Personnel advice, Managing and Inputting pupil data, Plan a lesson (single pupil and whole class), Teach a lesson (single pupil and whole class)	Enhanced TA Role
Factor 2	Administering work experience and teacher cover, Plan a lesson (small group and whole class), Teach (small group and whole class) Support a lesson (whole class), Cover for PPA	Cover Supervisor
Factor 3	Collect money, Photocopying, Copy typing, Class lists, Record keeping, filing, Display, ICT repairs, Cataloguing , preparing and issuing equipment, general assistance to pupils	General TA
Factor 4	Plan a lesson (single pupil and small group), Teach a lesson (single pupil and whole class), Support (single pupil and small group)	Specific Support TA

6.6 Cluster Analysis

Clustering techniques have been applied to a wide variety of research problems (see Hartigan 1975). *K*-means cluster analysis was undertaken in order to produce a smaller number of combinations of the original. This is the most suitable form of cluster analysis as it enables a specified (*k*) number of clusters to be specified. The *k*-means method will produce exactly *k* different clusters of greatest possible distinction. It assumes that the best number of clusters (*k*) is not known *a priori* and must be computed from the data. Within this method you start with 2 groupings and gradually increase until the addition of new groups stops moving individuals around form one group to another. A k-means cluster analysis (Table 6:7) showed that four clusters could be identified from the dataset. Each cluster groups a set of individuals with a particular pattern of scores across the four factors.

Table 6.7 Cluster Solution

Final Cluster Centres				
	Cluster			
	1	2	3	4
Factor1 normalised	.56	-1.39	.58	-.42
Factor 2 normalised	.44	-1.40	.71	-.40
Factor 3 normalised	.53	-.92	.57	-.78
Factor 4 normalised	-.63	-1.01	1.09	.41

The data suggest that there is systematic variation in the type of role that TAs carry out and it is therefore possible to define four TA roles based upon the relative importance of the four main types of role in their normal work. This leads to a typology of TA support roles:

- Enhanced TA role
- Cover Supervisor role
- General TA role
- Specific Support TA role

Based upon their information provided respondents were assigned to each cluster as outlined in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Number of cases in each cluster

Number of Cases in each Cluster		
Cluster	R1 Enhanced TA role	45
	R2 Cover Supervisor role	26
	R3 General TA role	39
	R4 Specific Support TA role	29
	Valid	139
	Missing	3

The job roles (hereafter referred to as R1, R2, R3 and R4) identified through cluster analysis were used to explore the qualitative data obtained in phase two of the research and, in the following chapter, quantitative analyses of TA's pay and job satisfaction. As explained in the previous chapter, in total seven TAs were interviewed from five schools. Table 6.9 gives an overview of the characteristics of the TAs interviewed.

It can be seen that as a group they largely correspond to the general population. The majority are between the ages of 35 - 44 and have less than 10 years experience. All but one holds a contract. All but one had access to training in the previous 12 months. Two of the five were studying for a Foundation Degree and four had a minimum TA qualification at level 3. One had a level 2 qualification. One TA had an additional job in the school. It was possible to position each of the TAs within one of the four job roles identified above.

We can see that the R1 and R4 are being carried out by the TAs who were studying for the Foundation Degree and that both of these TAs only had one main job. This contrasts sharply with those TAs carrying out R3. Two of the three in this category had part-time jobs, one had no contract and one had received no training in the previous 12 months. None of the respondents in this category were studying for an FD. The TA with the combined R2/3 job role was the least qualified of the group but received an enhanced salary for part of her job. She was also the oldest person interviewed and had the longest length of experience. This raises the question of whether the role was assigned to her because of these factors. However, this TA also had the longest working day of all respondents. In effect her working day began at 9am and continued until 3.30pm as she had an additional job in school which covered the lunch hour. The next section outlines fully the job roles as experienced by the TAs in this study.

Table 6.9 General overview of the TAs interviewed

TA No:	School type	Age	Length of service	Highest Qualification as TA	Contract	Access to Training in last 12 months	FD?	Additional job?	Role Type Identified	Related to Teacher
10	SR	35 - 44	<10 yrs	L3	FT	Y	Y	N	R4 (in Y6)	3
11	SR	45 – 54	>10 yrs	L2	FT	Y	N	Y	R2 with R3	2,4&5
12	R	35 – 44	<10 yrs	L3	No (PT)	Y	Y	Y	R3	13
15	U	35 – 44	<10 yrs	L3	FT	Y	Y	N	R1	16
18	SR	35 – 44	<10 yrs	L3	PT	N	N	N	R3	17
1	U	35 – 44	<10 yrs	L3	FT	Y	N	N	R3	2

6.7 Type R1 –Enhanced TA Role

The TA (TA15) who most closely fits this role type was found in an urban school working in Key Stage 2. When asked to define the role of the TA she identified she was;

"there to support the teacher but hasn't got a responsibility for the class".

The support was for lessons in the core subjects. She went on to clarify her role further by saying that it was about:

"support [ing] teaching and learning through carrying out a lot of the tasks that the teachers are no longer required to do which is more of an admin role".

These tasks that teachers no longer have to do included:

"the filing, some of the record keeping, collecting them [records] in, it is mainly the keeping of the class records".

This TA had an input into planning and was expected to closely follow the teacher's planning when working independently:

"[The teacher] asks for input into what they are doing …..[we] have planning in advance… a weekly overview with everything on that we are covering".

For this TA knowledge about the job came from vocational training:

"TAs are NVQ trained …we have got a very high standard across the board"

6.8 Type R2 – Cover Supervisor

Only one TA in the study, TA11, in a semi-rural school, had this role type. However this was part of a split job role. Her main role was analogous to the R3 (Low level administration role) supporting teachers in the rest of the school. Typically this work

meant supporting small groups in the classroom. The TA would be told what to do by the teacher:

> *"the teacher in the classroom might say to me 'I want you to work with these children on this topic".*

In addition to her TA work this person was also a lunchtime supervisor and for two afternoons per week she was an R2 TA. She was very clear about the difference between the two roles:

> "*As a TA, I do what the teachers ask me. And as a cover supervisor I am in the class on my own teaching".*

This TA received a higher rate of pay for the R2 element of her role. She defined the role of the cover supervisor as:

> *"To take the class in place of the teacher following the middle term plans, the weekly plans and to deliver the national curriculum… I am given my planning and I work out what I am going to do and when I am going to do it".*

This role required a close working relationship with the teachers whose PPA time was being covered:

> *"you obviously report back to the teacher if there are any problems. The teacher tells you of anything you need to know about the children".*

This TA had considerable autonomy in relation to this role:

> *"I am given the medium term plan at the beginning of the term. Their previous planning and the resources and I pick out what is needed to be done, deliver it in my way".*

This TA mainly covered History, Geography and R.E lessons but had covered other subjects as well. This TA had high level ICT skills which she used to enhance her teaching role:

> "if I find something interesting on the internet and I think the children will benefit from doing it, I book and ICT slot and do it"

This TA spent significant amounts of time on planning for the cover supervision role:

> "I probably [do] an hours planning for each subject".

This equated to 4 hours of planning per week with the acknowledgement that:

> "it can be less obviously depends on if you completed everything from the week before".

This is a significantly different role from simply doing what the teacher says. However, despite planning for a considerable amount of time this TA was planning in a different way to the teacher. She did not use the resources available that her teacher and others in the study reported using such as QCA schemes of work or the National Curriculum. She was unaware of these documents. Instead she tended to use internet resources:

> "I Google it".

She amended her planning and activities in light of the children's response in the classroom. Her role in assessment was to mark the work and use questioning to check that children understand. This was then communicated verbally to the teacher who remained accountable for the formal assessment. Her knowledge and understanding of the cover supervisor role had been gained through observation of teachers and her TA training. However this had only been to level 2. She had no

specific training to carry out the role of cover supervisor. However this TA felt that the cover supervisor role had more status. As she said to be a TA:

"you don't necessarily have to be qualified".

She was aware that there was a school co-ordinator for the subjects she taught but had limited liaison with her. Significantly she had not been involved in decision-making around a change in the RE curriculum. This was partly because she did not attend staff meetings or INSET and had:

"never been asked I don't suppose and um staff meetings are at the school on a Monday night and I don't work Monday afternoons…I do think that sometimes we are forgotten"

6.9 Type R3 – General TA Role

Three TAs in the study could be classified using this job role type. The first, a TA in an urban school (TA 1) described her role as:

"a bit like a husband and wife …. You can think ahead of what they might want"

The second TA12, working in a rural school, described a working day as follows:

"she will have sorted it out on the board and the books will be out so that will be ready for me to start otherwise you have to work in the reading corner. Sometimes a little bit of photocopying has to be done but not very often …um then we have some time on the floor and I gather the lower ability around me and try and keep them on task because we have got some really um difficult ones in the group who can't focus so it is keeping them on task and checking that they are listening and recapping for them. Explaining anything they need and a bit of crowd control as well and then when we get down to the activities I will usually be working with them….I do ELS [Early Literacy Support] at 11.30 that I have just started last week…I do reading….I do lunch time supervisor duties and in the afternoons it is generally topic work"

The third, TA18, working in a semi-rural school described her role:

> *"I only do three hours so part of my time is helping out with music. I consider my role as support to the teacher. I do my best for the children".*

None of these TAs had any involvement in planning and they did not consider that their role was teaching. These TAs had learned about their role form observing the teachers they worked with or from gaining experience on the job. They talked about measuring their work by how the children reacted to them or feedback obtained from the teacher. Despite the low-level work they were engaged in these TAs were qualified to the same extent as other TAs. All had TA specific training to Level 3. They had also undertaken one day training in a variety of topics; behaviour (TAs 1, 12 18), Makaton[6] (TA 12) Writing (TA12, 18). The fact that these TAs were undertaking specific training in such areas may indicate a possible progression route into Type R4 roles.

6.10 Type R4 - Specific Support TA role

Only one TA in the study had a job role which corresponded to this type. This TA (TA 5) was employed to support a pupil with special educational needs in key stage 2 in a semi-urban school;: *"I work with her [child] and the children in her group supporting and backing up what the teacher is teaching…. they don't always understand what she [the teacher] is saying as she is saying it so I'm there to almost interpret what she is saying if they don't understand it…that's what I do the majority of the time".*

For this TA this role brought with it a deeper relationship with the teacher and the children in the class:

---

[6] Makaton is a language programme which can be used as either a systematic multi-modal approach to teaching of communication, language and literacy skills or a source of functional vocabulary for both the person with communication needs and those they interact with. The signs used with the Makaton programme in the UK are from British Sign Language (BSL).

"it's more of that one to one relationship with the teacher and there is more of a rapport with the children because I am in there more which is nice".

The TAs' qualifications for the role were not different to the TAs in any of the other job role categories. Like the other TAs she did not attend staff meetings because she was not contracted to do so. She had also been on several one day training events. This TA had a significant role in planning in relation to the child she supported:

" [the teacher] will say this is what is planned today and I say well she [the child] is not going to be able to do that at that level or I will help the teacher say what I think that child is capable and how to push that child"

This TA felt that whilst she did not deliver to the class in the way the teacher did there was some element of direct teaching involved with the child she supported:

"the teacher delivers but I am almost an interpreter …because it doesn't go straight in at that level…you have to explain every sentence".

This TA did not support the child for the full school week, only the morning sessions. To help the teacher and the child the TA had been asked to create a bank of work for the child to complete in the afternoon:

"there is an IEP involved so the teacher said… 'can you set up a file so if I need to I can just go to that file to take out the next work that is ready'.

For this TA this meant that she had a role in planning the curriculum for the child she supported. She also undertook a significant role in the assessment of the child's learning:

"we [TA and teacher] will go through it together.....and work out where we are coming from, where we want to be and where we will move them on from there"

This TA tended to take the lead in this relationship and described the role as:

"quite involved".

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the characteristics of TAs in the dataset and shown ways in which they are similar or different to the TAs sampled in earlier studies. It has then used factor and cluster analyses to derive a typology of TAs which suggested that there were four types of TA within the dataset. The types identified were: an enhanced TA role (R1) which was carried out by 32% of the respondents, a cover supervisor role (R2) carried out by 19% of respondents; a general TA role (R3) undertaken by 28% of the sample, and a specific support TA role (R4) undertaken by 21% of the sample. In order to triangulate the data the role types were then applied to the qualitative data. It was found that all of the TAs interviewed could be classified using the role types. Qualitative data has been presented to 'tell the story' of each type of TA, exploring patterns of deployment, training and development and views of professionalism held by each group. However, simply describing the dataset does not allow us to fully explore the relationships that may be contained within it. Some important questions remain unanswered. Most notable amongst these is what determines a TAs' particular deployment in each of the four roles? Is this a function of the personal characteristics of the individual TA which determines what role they end up being deployed in or is it a result of factors beyond the TA, such as the location of the school? In chapter 7 two particular issues are explored. The first is in relation to pay rates. We have seen that there is a lot of variation in TAs' pay so this research attempts to investigate the factors determining TAs' pay. Despite low rates of pay the majority of respondents (75%) report being satisfied with their job, the second investigation therefore addresses what factors determine the job satisfaction of TAs.

Chapter 7 - Understanding the determinants of TAs' wages and satisfaction levels

7.0 Introduction

This thesis has sought to investigate whether or not TAs are a profession. To answer this question it has analysed TA's employment and deployment patterns. In chapter 6 the key characteristics of the TA respondents to a questionnaire were examined and a typology of TA roles advanced. However, if we are to fully answer the questions posed in the preface, we also need to understand the impact of the typology of TA roles on two of the indicators of professionalism identified in chapter 4, namely pay and job satisfaction.

This chapter has been divided into two parts. In section 7.1 findings in relation to wages in the sample are presented and two earnings functions models are investigated. The first a human capital model of wage determinants uses parameters typically found in the study of wages in orthodox labour economics. This approach is extended by model two which incorporates a broader job role model of wage determinants. In section 7.2 a regression model is developed to examine the determinants of TAs satisfaction as reported in the data.

A related study on support staff in schools was undertaken by Blatchford et al. (2006) for the DfES. However this study classified all TAs as a single discrete group, thus ignoring the possible importance of differences in types of TA and their deployment. In the previous chapter factor Analysis of the questionnaire dataset revealed distinct TA roles and these have been incorporated into the analysis reported below. The Blatchford study also applied an earnings function model, but to the whole class of support staff. This did not include some important elements related to key policy initiatives (in particular workforce remodelling) such as the impact of vocational qualifications above level 2 which, as noted above, were advocated in recent policy. It also ignored elements typically included in other earnings functions models, such as the impact of volunteering, which many TAs undertake according to the analysis presented in the previous chapter. Satisfaction

levels are simply reported in the Blatchford study (ibid), whereas the analysis reported in this chapter seeks to model the factors associated with different levels of TA satisfaction.

Section 7.1 The determinants of TAs' Wages

7.1.0 Introduction

The data from the questionnaire indicate large variations in TA's hourly rates of pay study. The majority of TAs (72%) in the sample were paid less than £1000 per month. The average TA respondents' gross pay per hour is £7.09, with a range from £2.24 – £23.35 per hour actually worked. It could be pointed out that this average pay is significantly above the national minimum wage, however these figures disguise a significant proportion of TAs who earn substantially less given their reported hours of working, 29 respondents (21% of the study) reported earning less than £5.00 per hour. The average effective hourly pay for this group was £2.82. Surprisingly, 68 respondents (49% of the study) reported being paid less than the, then, current national minimum wage rate[7]. The average pay rate per hour for this group was £4.20.

This is significantly below that reported by Blatchford et al. (2009) who found that support staff earned on average £9.71 per hour. We have noted that the Blatchford study does not explore variations in pay between types of support staff, so it may be that higher salaries for administrative staff are raising the average in that study.

The hourly pay rate discussed above and used in the later analysis is not the same as pay rate per contractual hour. The distribution of the data is presented in figure 7.1. The SD of 3.04 indicates that approximately 99.74% of all possible observations

---

[7]With a few exceptions, all workers in the UK aged 16 or over are legally entitled to be paid a minimum amount per hour. This is regardless of the kind of work they do or the size and type of company. The rate is reviewed every year, and any increases take place in October.

http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Employment/Employees/Pay/DG_10027201

lie within 3 standard deviations of the mean (Field 2005). Field and Hole (2003), cited in Field (2005), note that outliers bias the mean and inflate the standard deviation. It is therefore important to detect them in a dataset. A box plot of the variable hourly pay revealed that there were no outliers in this dataset and that the data has a bell-shaped distribution. The data has a skewness of -0.005 and a Kurtosis of -0.7.

Figure 7.1 Distribution of TAs Wages (effective hourly wage)
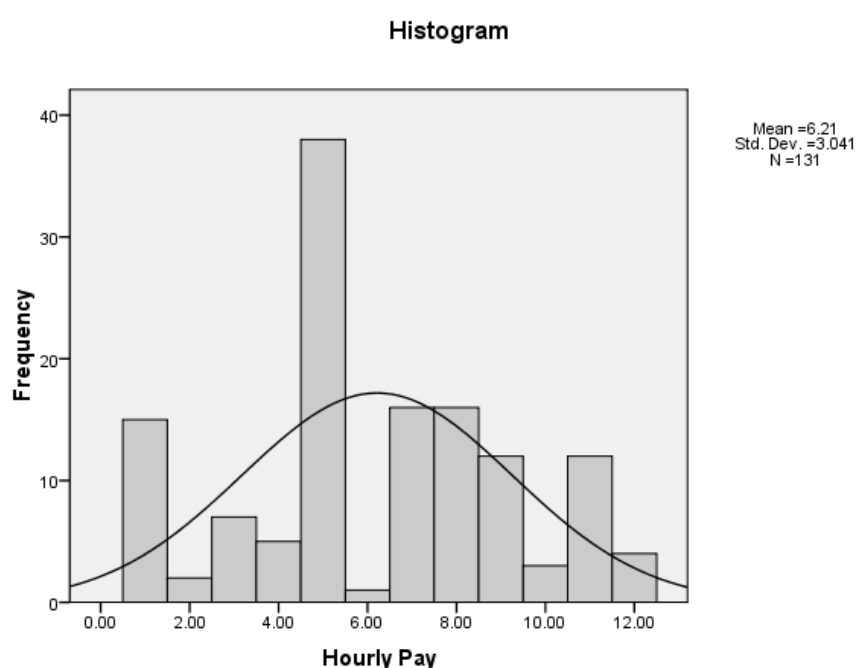
Below we seek to explain this large pay variation within the sample. The analysis undertaken is based upon the Mincer (1958) earnings function model. This model, outlined in greater detail below theorises that a worker's productivity determines her wage rate and that productivity in turn depends predominantly on human capital variables such as qualifications and experience. Information on the wage gain from a particular qualification, expressed as a rate of return to additional education, is hypothesised to enable individuals to determine which type of education or training investment will give them the highest future gain in wages. It can also be used by policy makers to identify the priority areas for investment by the state. This model presupposes a competitive labour market where workers receive wages reflecting

their potential productivity. The following analysis assesses how appropriate this model is to explain the pattern of TA's wages in our sample.

The analysis below presents evidence on the value of qualifications for TAs as reflected in the wage premiums or rates of return that these qualifications attract. If wages reflect individual productivity, then these differences in returns also give an indication of the impact of qualifications/skills on worker productivity. According to this model, relative returns also indicate the relative demand for and supply of TA qualifications, since a high return implies a high demand by employers and/or a low supply by TAs for that qualification, while a low return implies low demand and/or high supply of that qualification. The results can thus be interpreted as providing an indicator of employers' relative demand for skills in this sector of the education workforce. It could also provide policy-makers with the information they need to identify where employers value such qualifications and where they do not.

7.1.1 Mincer's Earnings Function

Rather than view labour as an amalgam of homogeneous workers, labour economics conventionally views it as a conglomeration of heterogeneous individuals (Polachek 2007). As such, each worker differs in terms of potential productivity. Worker productivity can be enhanced at this individual level through motivating workers to personally invest in developing their human capital. Human capital is an important concept in economics. It refers to attributes or assets that individuals may have, from which they cannot be separated. Such forms of human capital include the knowledge and skills attained through education and training. Mincer (1958) was the first to employ the term in his work to model earnings distribution. Mincer treated schooling as an investment opportunity. By assuming individuals invest up to the point where investment costs just equal the present value of expected schooling gains, he obtained an econometric specification leading to the earnings function formula. He was able to account for up to 60 percent of the variation in U.S. annual earnings for adult white men with this function, with relatively high rates of return to human capital attributes being estimated. The model assumes that individual investments in human capital raise earnings and ease deprivation, with even low-ability workers benefiting

from increased educational and training opportunities. Heckman et al. (2003) however note that the standard Mincer earnings function neglects some major determinants of actual returns, such as the direct and indirect costs of schooling, length of working life, and uncertainty about future returns at the time schooling decisions are made.

The Mincer earnings function yields two important empirical implications. First, it argues that earnings levels are related to human capital investments. This means that on average and other things being equal, the more human capital investments an individual makes the higher his or her earnings. Assuming the market rewards productivity, higher earnings should reflect the higher actual productivity of those with more schooling. Second, earnings functions are typically concave. Earnings rise more quickly for the young, then earnings growth tapers off midcareer. This means for those continuously attached to the labour market, earnings rise at a decreasing rate throughout one's life until depreciation exceeds new human capital accumulation. It follows that at any point in time an individual's lifetime earnings can be depicted as a concave function of labour market experience.

7.1.2 A Human Capital Model of TAs Wage Determinants

According to the theory outlined above, if the labour market for TAs behaves as a competitive one then the Mincer earnings function should be able to explain the pattern of TAs' wage differences. Those TAs who have more human capital should receive higher pay. General qualification level, vocational qualification level and length of occupational experience should all be predictors of their pay. The first regression analysis - a 'Human Capital Model of Wage Determinants' is based upon the orthodox earnings function model outlined above, where vectors are organised in terms of human capital variables and employer-related variables.

7.1.3 Method

A Mincerian (Mincer, 1974) earnings function which controls for individual and workplace characteristics has been used. For a full description of variable definitions see table 7.1 Thus, an equation of the form;

$$Ln\ W_i = f\ (H_i,\ E_i)$$

has been used where W_i is hourly wage; H_i is a vector of human capital variables and E_i is a vector of employer-related variables which may account for differences in hourly wage. The dependant variable is the logarithm of hourly earnings, computed as weekly earnings divided by the number of hours usually worked per week. This is the effective wage rate and not the contractual wage rate.

Table 7.1 Variable Descriptions - Model - $LnW_i = f(H_i, E_i)$

Dependent variable	
Wages (Hourly Pay)	Amount earned per reported hour worked. Calculated: Monthly gross salary reported in a pay range where the median point has been used / reported hours worked

Human Capital Variables (H_i):

General Qualification Level 3+	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with holding a qualification at level 3 and above[8]
Vocational Qualification Level 3+	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with holding an vocational qualification at level 3 and above
TA Age / Age squared	Continuous Variable
Length of TA Experience	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working for more than 4 years as a TA

Employer Related Variables (E_i)

School Sector – Public vs. Private	Variable where 1 is equated with working in the public sector
Union Membership	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with union membership
Size of workplace	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working in an organisation with 250+ pupils
Geographical Location	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working in an urban environment
HPWO (proxy measure job description)	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having a job description
Volunteering	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with volunteer activity
Route into profession (proxy measure of labour force continuity / interruption)	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with a planned career as a TA

---

[8] In England qualifications are referred to using the National Qualifications Framework. A levels, AS levels, NVQ3 etc; are all examples of a Level 3 qualification on the NQF.

7.1.4 Specification - Human Capital Vector

Within this vector four specific variables have been included;

- General qualification variables (section 7.1.4.1)
- Vocational qualification variables (section 7.1.4.2)
- Length of experience as a TA and experience squared (section 7.1.4.3)
- Age of TA and age squared

7.1.4.1 General Qualification Variables

Schooling rates of return have been measured for literally dozens of countries and over many years. One survey by Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) contains rate of return estimates for over 70 countries spanning more than 25 years. Another by Trostel, Walker and Woolley (2002) contains estimates for 28 countries. Their sample suggests a worldwide rate of return per extra year of schooling of the order of 4.8 percent for men, and 5.7 percent for women. There is some cross country variation in the estimated rates of return: the highest estimate (19.2 percent for females in the Philippines) is ten times higher than the lowest estimate (1.9 percent for females in the Netherlands). The UK is amongst those countries with the highest returns, estimates suggest a 12.7% return to earnings from schooling for men and a 13% return to earnings from schooling for women. Rates of return tend to be (but are not always) slightly higher for women, especially in developed economies, and are often higher in less developed countries. Not only are schooling levels and wages positively correlated, but some studies have suggested that schooling directly enhances worker productivity as hypothesised in the human capital model (Griliches 1963, 1964: Kumbhakar 1996). Generalizing these results to economic growth, Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1999) find that the higher a population's average educational attainment, the higher the country's level of output and material living standards.

The UK government has indicated that it wishes to maximise economic growth, productivity and social justice (Leitch 2006). The Leitch Report recommends that the UK should aim to be a world leader in skills by 2020, hence retaining its place in the upper quartile of OECD countries. To do this it must continue to increase its investment in education and training. However, it has been shown that not all

investment in education and training yield high or even positive returns to earnings (Dickerson and Vignoles 2007). Therefore it is important; assuming that the labour market is efficient in rewarding differences in workers' potential productivity, for a country to know which qualifications will yield the largest effect.

7.1.4.2 Vocational Qualification Variables

Dickerson and Vignoles (2006) explored the returns to vocational and academic qualifications (as categorised by the five levels of the National Qualifications Framework - NQF). Until recently, UK evidence on the rate of return to education has been largely based on estimates of the average return to different types of qualifications across all jobs and sectors. Recently there has been a national policy emphasis on developing vocational qualifications. However, the evidence suggests that such qualifications have low or even negative labour market returns, particularly those below level 3. This appears to be especially evident for National Vocational Qualifications (Dearden et al., 2004b; Dickerson, 2005, McIntosh, 2004). The evidence suggests that lower level vocational qualifications often have a minimal impact on individuals' wages.

Yet as Dickerson and Vignoles (2007) identify, there are different values accorded to qualifications in different sectors. Dickerson and Vignoles's study (ibid) has begun to explore the differences between employment sectors. There is currently no sector skills council for TAs in England. However, there are two sector skills councils related to education where comparisons can be made; these are Lifelong Learning UK and Skills for Care and Development. Table 7.2 indicates the difference in estimated returns to qualifications for these sectors, where the comparator is no qualification. This illustrates that having an academic qualification at levels 2 and 3 in both the sectors makes a very significant contribution to earnings. We can also see that having a level 2 or 3 vocational qualification is associated, other things being equal, with a much smaller, though still significant, earnings premium.

Table 7.2- % Returns to Earnings by Sector Skills Council

Qualification level	Academic or vocational	Lifelong Learning UK	Skills for Care and Development
Level 2	Academic	62	34
	Vocational	7	12
Level 3	Academic	41	15
	Vocational	12	13

The comparator group is having no qualification.

Source: Adapted from Dickerson and Vignoles 2007, p:25

Jenkins et al. (2007) estimate that individuals working in skilled occupations earn a positive significant average return to NVQ2. For females, there are positive significant marginal returns to NVQ2 in personal service (6%) and sales occupations (3%) and for males in skilled (7.5%), process/machine operative (3.5%) and elementary occupations (4%). For females with NVQ2 as their highest vocational qualification, there is a positive (marginal) wage return in the following sectors: distribution (2%), public admin/education/health (4%) and other services (8%).

As noted in chapter 6, the general level of qualification for the TAs in this study is high, with 70.5% of respondents in this study having a qualification at level 3 and above compared to the average of just 33% of women in England (Dickerson and Vignoles 2008). What is significant about this data is the level of pay TAs are willing to accept given their earnings potential in the market that their qualification levels would indicate they are capable of achieving. ONS data (2008) shows that in Quarter 2 2008, average gross weekly earnings ranged from £695 for those qualified to level 4 or above to £500 per week for those with a level 3 qualification. Those with no qualification were typically earning £350 per week. The average gross pay for those with a level 3 qualification was £13.51 per hour (see figure 7.2). This is £6.42 more than the average pay rate per hour for TAs in the survey.

Figure 7.2 Average Earnings by Qualification (gross weekly pay) – ONS (2008)

Source: DCSF:

http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/trends/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.showChart&cid=1&iid=3&chid=15
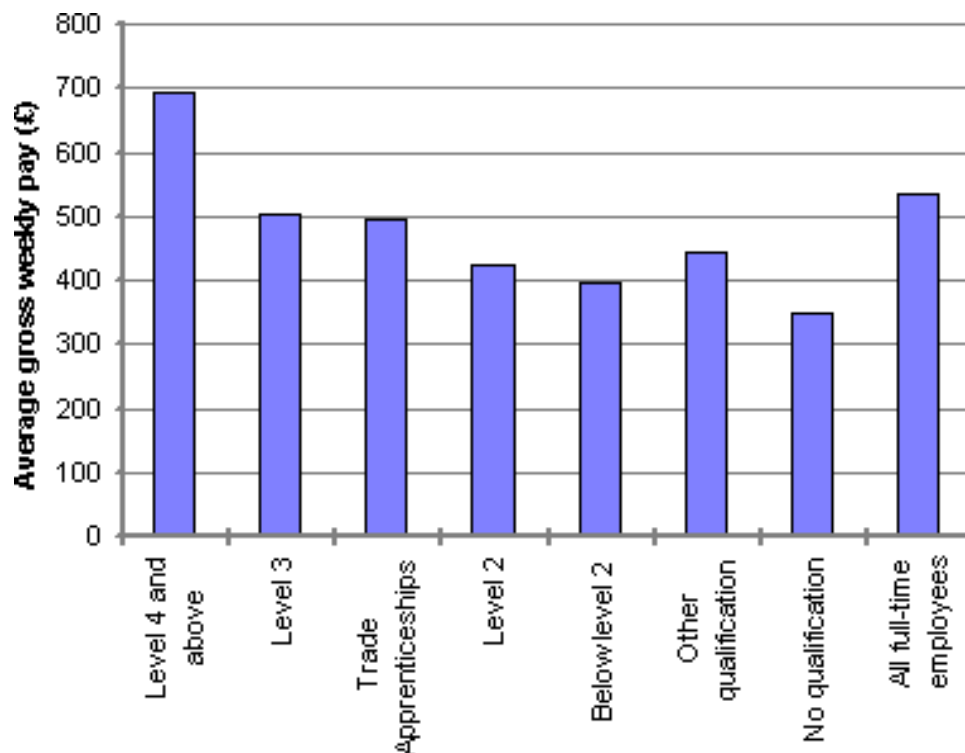
7.1.4.3 Experience and age variables

As explained above, Mincer's model makes specific predictions about wages in relation to age. Individuals invest in education when young, producing an age-earning wage profile that is upward sloping and concave. We would expect to see TAs in the middle of the age distribution earning more than those both younger and older. Differences in wages can also arise because of differences in human capital accumulated through relevant experience (Serneels 2008). Therefore we should expect to see that those TAs with greater experience of the role receive a positive return to earnings. Relying on qualifications, age and experience outcomes as measures of potential productivity, has limitations, particularly for women (Becker, 1962 and 1964). This is because women tend to experience broken career trajectories. These are not likely to be primarily the result of deficits in human capital but may be a product of rational economic decision–making:

"In human capital theory, people rationally evaluate the benefits and costs of activities, such as education, training, expenditures on health, migration, and formation of habits that radically alter the way they are. The economic approach to the family assumes that even intimate decisions like marriage, divorce, and family size are reached through weighing the advantages and disadvantages of alternative actions. The weights are determined by preferences that critically depend on the altruism and feelings of duty and obligation toward family members"

(Becker 1992)

7.1.5 Specification - Employer Related Vector

Within the employer-related vector five specific variables have been added into the model to enhance the explanatory power of the model. These variables are;

- School Sector – Public vs. Private (section 7.1.5.1)
- Union Membership (section 7.1.5.2)
- Size of workplace (section 7.1.5.3)
- Geographical location (section 7.1.5.4)
- Holding a job description – as a proxy measure for the presence of high performance workplace practices (section 7.1.5.5)

7.1.5.1 School sector – Private or Public

There is some evidence (Lucifora and Meurs, 2006) suggesting that women in less-skilled employments receive a higher wage in the public sector, even after adjusting for their productivity-related characteristics. However they go on to argue that despite higher rates of pay in the public sector for women we still need to acknowledge that the gender pay gap is highest for low salary women earners in that sector and argue that differences in unobserved characteristics may be more important for these employees. Recent UK studies indicate that there has been a rise in pay in all public sector occupations (with the exception of the armed forces) relative to the private sector (Makepeace and Marcenaro-Gutierrez 2006).

7.1.5.2 Union membership

This is also much evidence that, other things being equal, workers in trade unions receive a higher wage than similar workers who are not members. The key aim of unions is to maintain and improve the terms and conditions of work of their members (Blanchflower and Bryson 2007). They largely do this through collective bargaining, their success being dependent upon their bargaining power. For example, where workers are able collectively to withdraw labour they are thought to have enhanced bargaining power (Freeman and Medoff 1984; Blanchflower et al. 1990). Further bargaining power is enhanced or reduced according to what proportion of the workforce they represent (Forth and Millward 2002). Where the vast majority of workers in a sector or organisation are covered by a union, and where the employer cannot seek other workers outside of the organisation or sector easily, the union has enhanced bargaining power (Blanchflower and Bryson 2007). There are several union wage effects in addition to pay bargaining. Unions can limit downward wage pressures. They can also compress the wage distribution, raising the relative pay of less skilled workers (Blanchflower and Bryson 2004); they can exert a 'threat' effect whereby non-union employers raise their wages to avoid the unionization of their workforce (Rosen 1969, Freeman and Medoff 1981, Fraber 2003); they can limit worker entry to the union sector as a result of wage increases (Blanchflower and Bryson 2007); they can impact on employee fringe benefits and their presence often lengthens job tenure (Blanchflower and Bryson 2007). In addition to the union specific wage differential there is also, as noted above, a specific public sector differential. A major difference between the public and private sectors in Britain is the nature of the wage setting process. For example, there are considerable disparities in the extent of trade union representation in wage negotiations, the presence of wage setting boards in the public sector (including one for teachers), and the presence of incentive pay schemes across the sectors (Chatterji and Mumford 2007).

7.1.5.3 Size of workplace

The phenomenon that large employers pay higher wages than small employers, for workers with similar productivity-related characteristics, has long been documented (Moore 1911; King 1923) and subsequently confirmed by Mellow (1982), Oi (1983),

Brown and Medoff (1989), Mayo and Murray (1991) and Pedace (2008). Two common interpretations of this differential are that either workers in larger organisations need to be compensated for their greater alienation or that the higher monitoring costs in large organisations makes it efficient for them to pay a wage premium to deter shirking. Our model seeks to test whether the same is true in relation to school size and wages.

7.1.5.4 Geographical location of workplace

Lanksford et al. (2002) in a study of American schools noted that teachers' salary differentials vary across regions. More significantly they have noted that salaries paid to urban teachers tend to be slightly lower than those paid to those in suburban areas. This may be because of a 'natural sifting' effect that sees the best teachers moving away from urban areas. Lanksford et al. argue that more qualified teachers seize opportunities to leave difficult working conditions and move to more appealing environments. Teachers are more likely to leave poor, urban schools and those who leave are likely to have greater skills than those who stay, thus in a market system they would command higher wages. It may be that a similar effect can be seen in relation to TAs. An alternative hypothesis that is tested by the inclusion of this variable into the model is monopsony. This refers to market conditions where a single buyer dominates and as a result has the power to set the price of the commodity. Nurses and teachers, who share many common demographic and deployment characteristics such as a high level of feminization, unionization, salary structures, and qualification requirements, are frequently identified as working within monopsonistic systems (Sullivan, 1989; Hirsch and Schumacher, 2005, Sohn 2008). This is particularly evident for nurses in relation to rural vs. urban employment (Pan and LaVonne 2008). It is argued that rural workers, especially mothers, face greater monopsony as a result of not being able to travel to urban areas where there are more potential employers and therefore may receive lower wages than their urban counterparts. This model directly tests if TAs in rural areas, where there are fewer schools, receive lower wages, other things being equal, than their urban counterparts with a greater choice of employing schools.

7.1.5.5 Holding a Job Description - as a proxy measure for high performance workplace practices

Holding a job description is included in the regression as a proxy measure of organisational effectiveness. For Baldamus (1961) the organisation of production revolves around an administration process by which the employee's effort is controlled by the employer. Those schools that have provided job descriptions may represent organisations that have significantly more control over their employees and therefore greater efficiency. There is a growing body of literature which explores the impact of High Performance Workplace Organisations (HPWO) on employee pay (Handel and Levine 2004). HPWO is a summary term which has been used to describe a range of workplace practices designed to improve labour efficiency (Applebaum and Batt 1994). Such practices may include the greater use of quality and training programmes, such as Investors in People, and the restructuring of workplaces. HPWO by increasing the productivity of their workforces through organisational changes, human capital incentives or increased used of output-based pay, are expected to result in higher pay profiles. This model therefore test whether TAs employed in HPWO receive higher pay

There are two key difficulties with the use of the HPWO as an indicator and determinant of pay, both concerned with measurement. The first issue is what do we measure? Several theorists have put forward models that attempt to link the relationship between human resource activities in relation to HPWO and outcomes. Guest (1997) links HPWO practices to financial outcomes whereas Delery and Shaw (2002) make the link between HPWO practices and firm performance. The second difficulty in this area concerns how to measure HPWO, should measures look for the presence or absence of a feature, such as a training programme (Handel and Gittleman, 2004), or should they look at measures of penetration of a feature within an organisation (Osterman, 2000; Black, Lynch and Krivelyova 2004)? This goes some way to explaining why clear findings have been difficult to detect in the literature. For example, Handel and Gittleman (2004) find no impact of HPWO on wages, whereas Applebaum et al. (2000) have detected a positive influence. When trying to measure the impact of the organisation on wages there are therefore three difficulties; how do we identify an organisation that could be characterised as a

HPWO; which measure do we adopt to examine the link between wages and HPWO practices; and how do we measure the impact of those practices on wages? The first question when applied to education raises added levels of difficulty. It is difficult to identify financial outcomes for a school as Guest (ibid) would recommend. Similarly, performance is difficult to measure as Delery and Shaw (ibid) recommend. What should be measured, academic performance as indicated by examination results or the long term impact of the education received on future employment of the individual? Becker et al. (1997) have presented an alternative typology where the relationship is made between the HPWO practices and market value. This is presented in figure 7.3

Figure 7.3 How HPWO impact on Market Value Adapted from Becker, Huselid, Pickus and Spratt (1997) in Boselie and Van Der Wiele (2002)
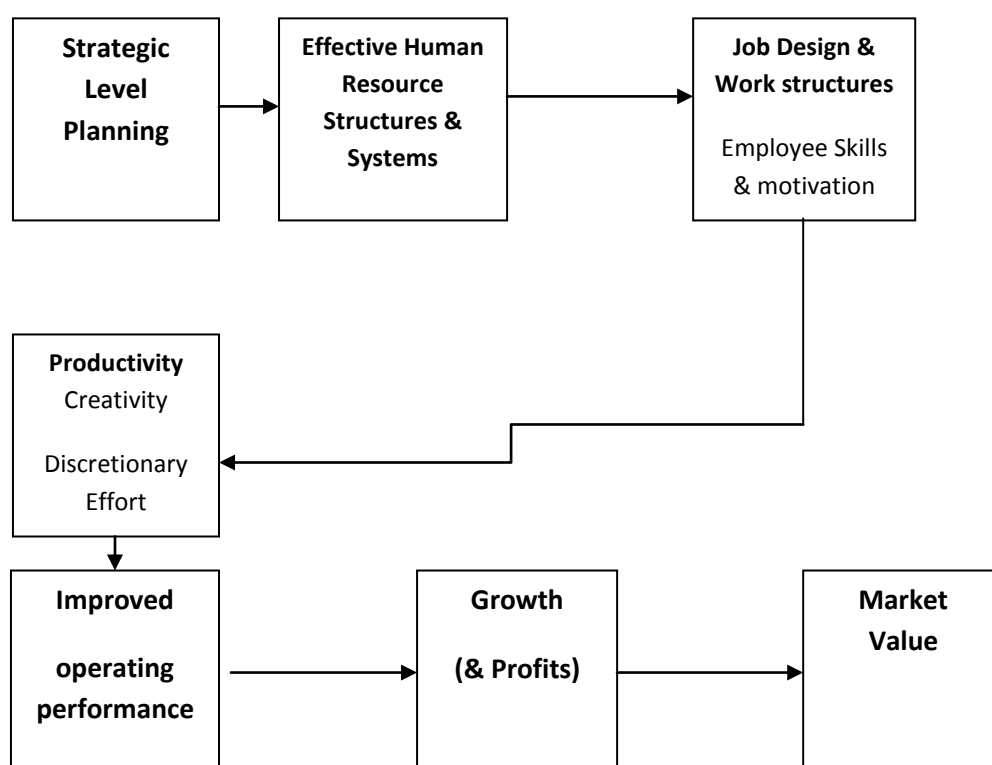
This model makes the link between organisational strategy and market value. The strategy determines the practices used within the organisation, this in turn influences

employee thinking and motivation. Job design and work structures affect productivity, creativity and discretionary effort which then affect performance leading to growth of the organisation and greater market value.

This may be a useful model when considering the relationship between the organisation and wages for TAs employed in schools. Those schools with the characteristics of a HPWO would, according to this model, secure greater market value which may be evidenced through recognition by parents resulting in recruitment to the school. A healthy number of pupils recruited to the school on a consistent basis mean a stable school budget. This allows for a more stable staffing situation, with greater chances of promotion, and secure and more generous contracts for TAs.

The next challenge is to identify whether an individual school is a HPWO. Again the Becker et al. (ibid) model is useful. Job design in the context of the model refers to the deliberate crafting of a job role. We have seen this in relation to Workforce Remodelling (PWC 2003) where Local Authorities have undertaken job evaluation of support staff roles. Additionally schools have used these job evaluations to design job specifications for their TAs. It would be reasonable therefore, to use the holding of a current job description by a TA as a proxy measure for the presence of HPWO. This then answers our third challenge in this area and follows the Handel and Gittleman (2004) approach.

7.1.6 Results - $\text{Ln } W_i = f (H_i, E_i)$

The overall level of fit of the model (Table 7.3) is fairly typical for a Mincer earnings function, suggesting that there is a lot of 'noise' in the form of missing variables and the importance of luck and inertia. In relation to the human capital variables vector included in the regression age had no impact on hourly pay, but age squared had the anticipated significant negative coefficient. Higher educational qualifications and having more experience as a TA both had no significant effect on hourly wage,

indeed the coefficients in both cases were negative. Of the employer-related vector variables two are significant at the 10% level. Being in an urban geographical location had a significant (Sig .066) positive impact on hourly wages, consistent with the monopsony model discussed above. Holding a job description as a proxy measure for working in a high performing workplace organisation has a significant (Sig .063) positive impact on pay. This is here interpreted as the presence of HPWO having a positive effect on productivity and hence on pay.

Table 7.3 Results from Regression Model Ln W_i = f (H_i, E_i)

Dependent Variable: Log of earnings - computed as weekly earnings divided by the number of hours usually worked per week.					
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1 (Constant)	2.163	.650		3.328	.001
General Qualification Level 3 +	-.178	.125	-.132	-1.429	.156
TA Qualification Level 3 +	-.003	.114	-.002	-.026	.979
TA Age	-.012	.099	-.011	-.119	.905
Age squared	**-.041**	**.013**	**-.298**	**-3.148**	**.002**
Length of TA Experience	-.492	.517	-.424	-.952	.343
TA Experience squared	.094	.147	.290	.640	.523
School Sector Private	.185	.484	.033	.382	.703
Union Membership	.015	.139	.010	.110	.913
Size of Workplace	.092	.120	.067	.763	.447
Geographical Location - Urban	**.242**	**.130**	**.168**	**1.859**	**.066**
HPWO (proxy for Job description)	**.274**	**.146**	**.168**	**1.880**	**.063**

R value = .470 R^2 = .221   Adj R^2 = .148

The Human Capital model assumes that the labour market is a competitive market. However, it may be that this is an erroneous assumption in the particular context studied in this research. Instead it may be the weakness of trade unions and the

dedication of TAs means that their employers can avoid paying the 'going rate'. Alternatively it may be that there other factors associated with employment as a TA that impact upon their earnings and are not accounted for within the first model.

7.1.7.0 Job Role Model of Wage Determinants

The second model – a 'Job Role Model of Wage Determinants' is an augmented hybrid. In addition to the human capital and employer-related variables, an additional vector is added that looks at the impact of job role on hourly wages.

7.1.7.1 Method

This additional vector tests whether job role factors impact separately upon wages. Thus, an equation of the form;

$$LnW_i = f\ (H_i,\ E_i,\ J_i)$$

has been used where W_i is hourly wage; H_i is a vector of human capital variables, E_i is a vector of employer-related variables and J_i is a vector of role variables which may account for differences in effective hourly wage.

7.1.7.2 Specification

Variables present in the model are outlined in table 7.4. Variables within the Human Capital and Employer related Vectors have already been identified. Included within the Job Role vector are;

- Unpaid work (section 7.1.7.2.1)
- Route into job- as a proxy measure of labour force continuity and interruption (section 7.1.7.2.2)
- Job title (section 7.1.7.2.3)
- Job role type – identified from factor analysis

Table 7.4 Variable description Model - $LnW_i = f(H_i, E_i, J_i)$

Dependent Variable:

Wages (Hourly pay)	Amount earned per reported hour worked. Calculated: Monthly gross salary reported in a pay range where the median point has been used / reported hours worked

Human Capital Variables (H_i):

General Qualification Level 3+	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with holding a qualification at level 3 and above[9]
Vocational Qualification Level 3+	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with holding an vocational qualification at level 3 and above
TA Age / Age squared	Continuous Variable
Length of TA Experience	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working for more than 4 years as a TA

Employer Related Variables (E_i)

School Sector – Public vs. Private	Variable where 1 is equated with working in the public sector
Union Membership	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with union membership
Size of workplace	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working in an organisation with 250+ pupils
Geographical Location	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working in an urban environment
HPWO (proxy measure job description)	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having a job description

Job Related Variables (J_i)

Unpaid work	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with volunteer activity
Route into profession (proxy measure of labour force continuity / interruption)	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with a planned career as a TA
Job title	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having the word teacher in the job title
Job Role Factor Analysis 1	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out a high level administration support role
Job Role Factor Analysis 2	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out a general teaching support role
Job Role Factor Analysis 3	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out a low level administration support role
Job Role Factor Analysis 4	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out a specific pupil / small group support role

---

[9] In England qualifications are referred to using the National Qualifications Framework. A levels, AS levels, NVQ3 etc; are all examples of a Level 3 qualification on the NQF.

7.1.7.2.1 Unpaid Work

Within the study 53% of TAs report working between 5 - 10 hours per week on average in a voluntary capacity each week. Prouteau and Wolff (2006) have noted that volunteers frequently receive a positive wage premium, that is, they receive a higher pay for paid work than those in work who do not 'gift' additional hours to their employers. Similarly, Day and Devlin (1997) in a Canadian study noted that for men there was a positive return to earnings for voluntary activity of 11%, though for women there was no such return. Day and Devlin suggest that it is because men and women undertake different types of voluntary activity which are rewarded differently by the market place. Freeman (1993) has identified that volunteers tend to be people with higher earnings potential and/or greater demands on their time; that is they tend to be employed, married people with families, who are aged between 35 and 53. They also tend to be better educated and from the professional and managerial classes. There is also a tendency for them to be women. Clearly there are some similarities with Freeman's findings and the sample in respect of age, gender and demands upon time. Freeman's research found that women's hourly pay is negatively correlated with voluntary activity. This model tests whether this is the case in relation to the sample. Prouteau and Wolff (2006) have also identified a difference in earnings from volunteering according to whether the worker was in the public or private sector. For the latter, volunteering had a negative impact on earnings. As the sample contains workers in both the public and private sector this model also tests whether there is a negative impact on those who volunteer in the private sector.

7.1.7.2.2 Route into Job - as a proxy measure of labour force continuity and interruption

The human capital explanation of earnings has tended to argue that women's weaker labour force attachments is a major reason why they earn less than men. Given women's greater probability of career interruptions it is argued that, even given the same characteristics, they will choose different jobs requiring different human capital investment from men (Mincer and Polachek, 1974; Polachek, 1975, 1981). These explanations claim that women do not expect to work continuously because they often have other responsibilities that prevent them from doing so. This disadvantages them in the workplace and forces them to seek jobs requiring less

effort (Becker, l985). Women choose jobs requiring smaller investments in human capital and hence receive lower earnings. The jobs selected by women will offer lower returns to experience, but also carry smaller penalties for labour force interruptions (Blau and Ferber 1990). Because women expect to spend substantial amounts of time out of the labour market, they are willing to accept lower rewards for experience in return for lower depreciation rates during periods of work interruption. It may be for this reason that women are thought to be less concerned with professional progress and intellectual challenges, more with comfort, flexible hours and a pleasant work environment (Applebaum and Koppel, 1978; Daymont and Andrisani 1988; Filer 1985). This model uses the career entry route as a proxy to test whether planned entry to a career indicates higher returns to earnings for TAs. It is expected that the impact of this variable on pay will be positive with higher wages being received by those TAs who have planned to have a career as a TA.

7.1.7.2.3 Job title

Job evaluators consider the nature of various job classifications within an organisation and ascribe values to them in terms of salary scales (Hills 1987 and Treiman 1979). Hornsby, Benson, and Weslowski (1989) examined the effect of job titles on job evaluation results and found that title status significantly influenced ratings. Smith et al. (2005) also found that job title has an impact upon job evaluation results. The survey data revealed that the TAs in this study are known by a variety of job titles. In chapter 1 we saw that in 2003 (DfES 2003) the government identified that all support staff working with children should be known using the 'preferred' term of Teaching Assistant. However, as we saw in chapter 4, there has also been an attempt to place support roles into a hierarchy. In 2007, TDA introduced standards – 'Supporting Teaching and Learning in Schools'. The standards are applied to support roles in the following way;

- National Occupational standards - for those supporting teaching and learning in schools

- Professional standards - for Higher level teaching Assistants

- Professional standards - for teachers.

This element of the model seeks to test the hypothesis that TAs with the term teaching in their job title receive a higher rate of pay than others. With the job role vector, (made up of specific job related variables such as unpaid work (see section 7.1.7.2.1), the route into job as a proxy measure of labour force continuity and interruption (see section 7.1.7.2.2) and job title (see section 7.1.7.2.3), the route into the profession and the job roles identified from factor analysis in chapter 6 were added into the regression model.

7.1.8 Results - $LnW_i = f(H_i, E_i, J_i)$

Table 7.5 Model Summary - $LnW_i = f(H_i, E_i, J_i)$

R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
.706	.498	.383	.58027

R^2 is a measure of the variability in the outcome as determined by the predictors. We can see that 49.8% of the total variance in TA pay has been 'explained'. The Adj R2 indicates how well the model generalises. The value of the Adj R2 is .383. This means that the model after the introduction of all predictors can account for 38.3% of the variance in TA pay and can be generalised to a larger population. The numbers of TAs carrying out each job role were sufficiently large enough to take any of them as the omitted category in the regression. When the model was modified by omitting other job role categories the main findings remained robust. The job role category omitted for the regression was Job Role 2, the category containing the fewest number of TAs.

As Table 7.6 shows, the introduction of job related vectors into the model negated the impact of the HPWO, and the impact of working in an urban environment on pay. Age squared continued to have a significant negative coefficient. The route into the profession had a significant, but only at the 10% level, positive impact upon pay. Of the job role variables introduced into the model four proved to be statistically significant. Job title is a significant indicator of pay having, as expected, a positive

return for TAs who have the word 'Teaching' in their job title (Sig .016). TAs who have undertaken unpaid work do receive a higher pay rate, other things being equal, (Sig .014), As compared to those undertaking Job Role 2, those classified as undertaking Job Role 1, the enhanced TA role, earn more and those classified as Job Role 4, the specialist support TA role, earn less. The R squared values associated with the model indicate that it has, as expected, greater explanatory power then the previous one.

Table 7.6 Results from regression Model $LnW_i = f(H_i, E_i, J_i)$

Coefficients[a]						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model JR 2 Omitted		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.405	.881		.460	.647
	General Qualification Level 3 +	-.014	.145	-.009	-.094	.925
	TA Qualification Level 3 +	-.100	.139	-.068	-.718	.475
	TA Age	.088	.107	.077	.826	.411
	Age squared	-.049	.014	-.368	-3.380	.001
	TA Experience squared	.058	.158	.178	.368	.714
	Length of TA experience	-.140	.571	-.119	-.245	.807
	School Sector Public vs Private	.594	.472	.118	1.258	.212
	Union Membership	-.103	.152	-.068	-.678	.500
	Size or Workplace	-.002	.144	-.001	-.012	.991
	Geographical location	-.268	.164	-.156	-1.632	.107
	HPWO (proxy measure Job description)	.187	.151	.116	1.235	.221
	Unpaid work) - Volunteering	.472	.187	.224	2.521	.014
	Route into profession	.253	.145	.172	1.739	.086
	Job title	.233	.094	.230	2.472	.016
	Factor Analysis Factor 1 High Admin Role	.032	.011	.413	2.876	.005
	Factor Analysis Factor 3 Low Admin Role	-.029	.035	-.108	-.804	.424
	Factor Analysis Factor 4 Teaching Role Specific	-.066	.024	-.284	-2.708	.008
a. Dependent Variable: Log of earnings						

7.1.9 Summary

The findings from these wage regressions indicate that TAs, whilst exhibiting some characteristics typically found in the general employment population may also be significantly different. The model is robust. In all of the regressions, including those where other job role categories were omitted to test the model, productivity-related variables have no influence. Therefore, the standard Mincerian Model to explain wages is not particularly helpful when trying to explain the wages pattern for this group, suggesting that they are not paid on the same basis as other workers in the labour market. The poor explanatory power of the human capital variables is perhaps the most surprising finding. There is no return to earnings from acquiring general or vocational qualification at level 3. This contrasts for example with those in the Lifelong Learning Sector and Care and Development Sectors who do see returns to earnings from qualifications at this level (e.g.; 41 and 15 percent respectively for general qualifications at level 3). This finding for TAs contradicts most empirical work (e.g. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004, Trostel et al. 2002) and orthodox theory (Griliches 1963, 1964: Kumbhakar 1996). The regression is, however, consistent with the evidence cited of other research for the UK (Dearden et al., 2004b; Dickerson, 2005, McIntosh, 2004) that vocational qualifications have zero or even negative returns. However, in the case of TAs it may be that their weak bargaining power and the lack of a career ladder means that their earnings are not related to their productivity. There is no evidence of a return to earnings from experience as Serneels (2008) suggests. TAs with more experience do not receive higher pay rates.

None of the employer-related vector variables has an impact upon hourly pay. The geographical location in which the TA works is not a predictor of pay with no evidence that those working in urban locations receive a pay premium compared to their rural counterparts. The sector the TA is employed in does not have an impact, this runs counter to the expectation of Makepeace and Marcenaro-Gutierrez (2006) and Luciflora and Meurs (2006) that working in the public sector produces a greater return to earnings. Union membership does not affect pay. If one of the key aims of unions is to maintain and improve the terms and conditions of work for their

members (Blanchflower and Bryson 2007) then unions representing TAs clearly have a way to go. This is even more pertinent given the dominance of the union sector by one union (Unison). The regressions provide no evidence to support the assertion that employer size impacts upon wages. TAs in larger schools did not receive higher pay as previous work referred to above would suggest. Organisational effectiveness also does not appear to impact upon pay. Being in a HPWO as Handel and Levine (2004) suggest does not confer a positive wage effect for TAs. However, it is worth remembering that none of these studies looked explicitly at educational settings, so we may be seeing a sector–specific or indeed an occupation-specific effect.

Prouteau and Wolff (2006) suggest that additional unpaid work in the public sector has a positive impact upon pay. This study confirms this and the results of this study therefore run counter to the suggestions by Day and Devlin (1997) and Freeman (1993) that women see no return to earnings from volunteer work. There is some suggestion from these results that a TA's route into the job has an impact upon pay, with those making an explicit plan to become TAs earning a premium. This study indicates that TAs see no return to earnings from any investment they may make in relation to the human capital variables of qualifications and experience. This suggests that employers are largely free to determine TA pay without any reference to the usual productivity related characteristics. A significant element in explaining TA pay is job title. Those with 'Teaching' in the title of their job role saw this impact positively on their pay. This study supports the empirical work of Hornsby, Benson, and Weslowski (1989) who also note that job title has a significant positive impact upon pay because it changes the way other people respond to you. It may be that those with 'teaching' in their job title are perceived differently to other TAs. The teachers they work with, who appraise them and ultimately appoint them may confer greater status on TAs with teaching in their title and may reward them accordingly, an effect that teachers are indirectly having upon TA pay. There is some evidence that different job roles are rewarded differently. In comparison with the omitted category (Job Role 2) and other things being equal, those undertaking Job Role 4, these included specific teaching support roles often associated with SEN support, received significantly lower pay. However, those categorised as employed in Job

Role 1 (high level administration), as expected, received higher earnings than those undertaking Job Role 2.

Section 7.2 The determinants of TAs' job satisfaction

7.2.0 Introduction

Despite the relatively low rates of pay identified in section 7.1, the majority of respondents (75%) report being satisfied with their job, with only 15% report being unsatisfied. Similar reports of high satisfaction levels have been provided by Russell et al. (2005) and more recently by Blatchford et al. (2009). This section seeks to test therefore what factors impact upon job satisfaction for TAs.

What individuals get out of a job is referred to by economists as the 'utility' of their work and is frequently taken as a measure of satisfaction. Underlying most economic theory is the assumption that people do things because doing so generates net increases in their utility. Frey and Stutzer (2002) argue that reported subjective well-being is a satisfactory empirical approximation to individual utility. Clark (1999) has noted that people typically rank job security and job interest higher than pay and hours of work when surveyed about their work. Warr (1999) provides a useful overview of the literature which points to the need to go beyond the characterisation of jobs simply by pay and hours of work associated with them, but also by job and workplace features like: promotion and other career prospects; job security; job content, and interpersonal relationships. Recent empirical literature on job satisfaction has studied different dimensions. These include gender (Clark, 1997), wage growth (Clark, 1999), comparison income and unemployment (Clark and Oswald, 1994, 1996) and job matching (Belfield and Harris, 2002).

7.2.1 Method

Clark and Oswald (1996), use the following function to model an individual's utility from work – their job satisfaction. They start with a general model of utility;

$$U = U \ (U_{wi}, \ U_{vi})$$

where U_{wi} is utility from work and U_{vi} is utility derived from other sources. Following Clark and Oswald (ibid) this regression expresses job satisfaction from work as;

$$JS_{wi} = U_{wi} \ (H_i; \ E_i; \ J_i \ , Y)$$

In this regression Y is the effective hourly pay of the TA derived from the sample. Usually it is assumed that job satisfaction increases with wages (Grind and Sliwka 2004). Human capital characteristics are captured by the vector H_i, employer-related characteristics are subsumed in the vector E_i and job role characteristics are subsumed in the vector J_i (see table 7.7).

The dependent variable in this model is satisfaction – that is TAs reporting to be satisfied with their job in the survey. Question 24 of the survey asked TAs to describe their satisfaction with their job as a TA. Five possible responses were possible. These were re-coded as follows, with the value 1 indicating a positive satisfaction:

Very satisfied, Satisfied, Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied   = 1

Unsatisfied, Very unsatisfied   = 0

Sys Missing   =Sys Missing

Recoding satisfaction in this way enables the regression to be run as a binary logistic regression. Logistic regression is a form of multiple regression but it has an outcome variable that is a categorical dichotomy (Field, 2005) and predictor variables that can be either continuous or categorical. It enables researchers to predict which of two categories a person is likely to belong to given certain other information. A number of dummy variables were created to test the hypotheses presented in the specification. These can be found in appendix 9

Table 7.7 Variable Description Models $JS_{wi} = U_{wi}(H_i, E_i, J_i, Y)$

Dependent Variable:

Satisfaction	Dummy variable - TAs reporting satisfaction

Human Capital Variables (H_i)

TA Age / Age Squared	Continuous Variable
Length of TA Experience / TA Experience Squared	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working for less than 4 years as a TA or more than 20 years
General Qualification below Level 3	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with holding a qualification below Level 3 or no qualification[10]
TA qualifications below Level 3	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having a TA qualification below Level 3 or no TA qualification

Employer Related Variables (E_i)

HPWO (proxy measure job description)	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having a job description
Size of workplace	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with working in an organisation with less than 250 pupils
Training	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having experienced on the job training in the last 12 months
Access to Appraisal	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with having an appraisal in the previous 12 months

Job Related Variables (J_i)

Job Role Factor Analysis 1 – Enhanced TA Role	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out the enhanced TA role
Job Role Factor Analysis 2 – Cover Supervisor	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out the cover supervisor role
Job Role Factor Analysis 3 – General TA Role	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out the general TA role
Job Role Factor Analysis 4 – Specialist Support Role	Dummy variable where 1 is equated with carrying out the specialist support role

---

[10] In England qualifications are referred to using the National Qualifications Framework. A levels, AS levels, NVQ3 etc; are all examples of a Level 3 qualification on the NQF.

7.2.2 Specification – Human Capital vector

Within the Human Capital Vector general and TA-related qualifications and length of experience variables have been included. It is interesting therefore to explore if they impact upon job satisfaction. We have noted above that some researchers (Turner 1993, Clark 1992 and Warr 1999) have noted that people rank job interest higher than pay.

7.2.2.1 General and TA qualifications

There is a body of literature which indicates a strong correlation between qualifications and satisfaction (see section 4.5). Skill mismatch occurs when the employee is either over or under-skilled for the role they are asked to carry out which in turn affects their satisfaction. Vieira (2005) has noted that job dissatisfaction is particularly associated with over–qualification, whilst Gardner and Oswald (2002) have noted that average job satisfaction scores decline with education across a range of jobs. They found that those with the highest levels of job satisfaction had no qualifications, whilst those educated to degree level had the lowest levels of job satisfaction. Clark and Oswald, 1994, 1996) note that education does have indirect beneficial effects upon job satisfaction because of greater pay, but it is also associated with greater hours of work, which reduce satisfaction. These patterns have been noted for both men and women. Hersch (1991) found that over-educated workers were less satisfied than appropriately educated workers and in a later study (Hersch 1995) that over-educated workers received less on-the-job training, but were more likely to be promoted.

As noted earlier in this chapter, TAs on average posses a relatively high level of general qualification, when compared to the national workforce (Dickerson and Vignoles 2008). It is hypothesised that TAs with general and occupational-related qualifications at Level 3 and above are less satisfied than their counterparts without such qualifications. In the case of general qualifications this is because TAs become over-qualified for the role. If this hypothesis is proved it would indicate that many of the job roles of a TA do not utilise the skills and knowledge acquired at Level 3. In the case of TA vocational qualifications a different argument might apply. They could be over-qualified for the role of TA, as with general qualifications. However, it could

also be that they are poorly deployed and end up being asked to carry out a job role that asks for a lower level of vocational skill. A TA with a qualification ay or above level 3, who is asked to carry out a low level task such as cleaning up after children have been painting, may become unsatisfied with their job. If this is correct we should also see that different qualification levels are associated with different probabilities of TAs being satisfied. .

7.2.2.2 Impact of Age and Experience

Clark, Oswald and Warr (1992) have noted that research suggests that job satisfaction increases linearly with age (e.g. Doering, Rhodes and Schuster, 1983; Glenn, Taylor & Weaver, 1977; Warr, 1992) and that observed age differences in overall job satisfaction are greater than those associated with gender, education, ethnic background or income (Clark, 1993; Weaver, 1980). However, there is some empirical evidence that the relationship between age and job satisfaction is U-shaped, declining at a moderate rate in the early years of employment (which is taken to be the same as age) and then increasing steadily up to retirement. Herzberg et al. (1957, p5) suggest that: *"In general, morale is high among young workers and tends to go down during the first few years of employment with a low point being reached when workers are in their late twenties or early thirties. After this period, morale climbs steadily with age".* This U-shaped pattern of satisfaction was also reported by Handyside (1961) Weaver (1980) and O'Brien and Dowling (1981). This regression tests the hypothesis that TAs in the middle of the age range of the sample will be less satisfied than those who are younger or older. However, this hypothesis assumes that workers enter the workplace as young people and remain in that workplace. TAs in the survey may not reflect this profile. Therefore in the regression length of experience as a TA has also been used to test this hypothesis, with those with low levels of experience and those with high levels of experience as a TA being theorised to be more satisfied, thus testing the U-shaped prediction.

7.2.3 Employer-Related Characteristics Vector

Within the employer-related characteristics vector three specific variables have been included;

- Job description – as a proxy measure of a High Performing Workplace Organisation (HPWO)

- Training

- School size

7.2.3.1 Job description / Appraisal –proxy measures of a HPWO

Bauer (2004) has noted that workers in HPWOs tend to experience greater job satisfaction. This positive effect is attributed to the greater opportunities of workers to be involved in flexible and responsive organisations where they experience increased autonomy over how and when to perform their tasks, and increased communication with co-workers. Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, and Kalleberg (2000), Bailey, Berg, and Sandy (2001), Freeman and Kleiner (2000), and Freeman, Kleiner, and Ostroff (2000) find significant positive effects of being involved in HPWOs on worker's well-being. Godard (2001) has similarly found that the moderate use of HPWO practices can increase employees "belongingness", empowerment, task involvement, job satisfaction, esteem, commitment, and citizenship behaviour. This model tests the hypothesis that TAs with a job description (used as a proxy measure for a HPWO) experience the positive benefits of the HPWO and therefore have higher levels of satisfaction than those in non HPWOs. The regression also tests whether TAs who have had access to appraisal, another proxy for HPWOs, in the previous 12 months experience greater levels of satisfaction.

7.2.3.2 Training

Jones et al. (2008) have noted the positive impact of training on job satisfaction. Siebern-Thomas (2005) found that job satisfaction tended to be higher where there was access to workplace training. In the case of this sample it can be argued that all of the TAs are engaged in general academic up-skilling as they are all engaged on a Foundation Degree. This allows them the opportunity to move employers to seek greater satisfaction should they wish. This regression tests Siebern-Thomas' (2005) hypothesis by exploring whether TAs who have access to on the job training experience greater levels of satisfaction than those who do not.

7.2.3.3 School Size

There is evidence to suggest that the size of an organisation can affect job satisfaction. García-Serrano (2008) identified that working in a large firm (over 500 employees) significantly reduces job satisfaction when no controls for working conditions and the structure of work are included in the multivariate analysis. Similarly, Idson (1990) identified lower levels of job satisfaction in larger firms which he attributed to the inflexibility of the work environment. According to Stafford (1980) in larger workplaces there will be a greater average level of dissatisfaction because larger firms are characterised by higher capital intensity where employers attempt to achieve a higher utilization rate of their capital, constraining workers in their freedom to determine the pace of work, when they work, etc., thereby yielding a greater regimentation in the work environment and lower overall worker satisfaction.

In England the average primary school size was recorded as 224 pupils by the Primary review group (Riggall and Sharp 2008) and 239 was the published figure by the DCSF (http://www.everychildmatters.gov.uk/ete/agencies/primaryschool/). As all TAs are working in primary schools we would expect those working in the average sized organisation to have similar levels of satisfaction in the sample, other things being equal. It may be that there are differences in school size which impact upon satisfaction levels. For the purposes of this regression the figure of 250 has been used to delineate between cases. The hypothesis argues that those who work in large schools, those with over 250 pupils, may be similar to those people working in large organisations in that they may experience loss of control over their working environments. This arises as a result of the breakdown in relationships between people in the organisation. Fowler and Walberg (1991) have found that the size of the school is a physical characteristic that may either support or block school improvement. In particular it can lead to negative effects upon student participation and attendance which affect overall satisfaction in the school. Bryk and Thum (1989:26) found that the effects of school size on absenteeism and dropout were substantial, *"but mostly indirect, acting to either facilitate (in small schools) or inhibit (in larger schools) the development and maintenance of a social environment".* Several researchers have found that a small size tends to promote a sense of community in the school (Barker and Gump, 1964; Bryk and Driscoll, 1988; Pittman

223

and Haughwout, 1987). Hobbs (1989) has noted that in a small school a principal can make the best use of the staff by deploying them in creative ways i.e. job sharing, flexible working. This can often be popular with employees and increase their satisfaction with work. Gottfredson (1985) examined the effects of school size on school disorder. She found that large schools tend to be characterized by a lack of communication between teachers and administration and confusion regarding school policies. This can lead to school disorder because *"teachers lose confidence in the administration and feel ineffective"* (p41). The same argument can be advanced for TAs. This model therefore tests whether TAs employed in a small school, report higher levels of satisfaction as the literature would suggest.

7.2.4 Job Role vector

Within this vector the four job role typologies generated from factor analysis have been utilised (For further details on the construction of these typologies see chapter 6)

- Enhanced TA role
- Cover Supervisor role
- General TA role
- Specialist Support role

This regression tests what the impact of these job role typologies is on satisfaction. There are few studies that specifically look at the job satisfaction of those working as TAs. Murray (1999) specifically looked at the dynamics between professional and paraprofessional Library Staff job satisfaction. He found that while both types of staff were basically satisfied with their jobs, there were significant differences in levels of satisfaction in several areas. Professionals were significantly more satisfied than paraprofessionals in the areas of enjoyment of the work itself, appreciation and recognition from peers, promotion, pay, and overall satisfaction. TAs work in parallel to teachers and can therefore be described as having a paraprofessional role. This regression tests whether the pattern found by Murray might be repeated with TAs in that the role type held may affect level of satisfaction. Job Role 2 (Cover Supervisor) is the omitted category.

7.2.5 Results - $JS_{wi} = U_{wi}(H_i, E_i, J_{i,}, Y)$

Table 7.8 Model Summary - $JS_{wi} = U_{wi}(H_i, E_i, J_{i,}, Y)$

-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
29.333[a]	.216	.564

We can assess the fit of the logistic regression model by exploring the log-likelihood which is based on summing the probabilities associated with the predicted and actual outcomes (Tabachnick and Fidell 2001 cited in Field 2005). A large log-likelihood statistic indicates a poorly fitting statistical model. The log likelihood for this model is 29.333 suggesting that the model can be used to predict satisfaction.

The regression shows that within the Human Capital characteristics vector $H_{i,}$ no variables are linked to satisfaction. The regression indicates that for TAs there is no correlation between qualifications and satisfaction. TAs who are qualified at Level 3 or above in either general academic and/or vocational respects do not report lower levels of satisfaction as predicted. The argument that job satisfaction is related to age is also not supported by the model. Neither is there evidence for a U shaped distribution. In the regression results, length of experience as a TA is also not correlated with satisfaction. Within the employer-related characteristics vector this regression sought to test the hypothesis that TAs with a job description and appraisal, both used as proxy measures for a HPWO, experience the positive benefits of the HPWO and therefore have higher levels of satisfaction. However, the results indicate that there is no evidence that being in a HPWO impacts positively on job.

Table 7.9 Results From Regression Model $JS_{wi} = U_{wi} (H_i, E_i, J_{i,}Y)$

	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
TA age	1.447	1.582	.837	.360	4.250
TA Age squared	-.075	.163	.212	.645	.928
TA Length of Experience	14.764	5951.196	.000	.998	2582306.120
TA Experience squared	3.546	1983.732	.000	.999	34.667
General Qualifications Level 3 and above	-8.045	8869.131	.000	.999	.000
TA Qualifications Level 3 and above	-.458	1.521	.091	.763	.632
HPWO (proxy measure – job description)	-.135	1.297	.011	.917	.874
Size of Workplace	-2.303	1.769	1.695	.193	.100
Training	3.621	2.504	2.091	.148	37.373
Access to Appraisal	22.245	3031.626	.000	.994	4.578E9
Job Role Factor Analysis 1 – Enhanced TA Role	.273	.173	2.475	.116	1.313
Job Role Factor Analysis 3 – General TA Role	-1.057	.664	2.535	.111	.348
Job Role Factor Analysis 4 – Specialist Support Role	-.219	.300	.531	.466	.804
Effective wage logged	-.385	1.312	.086	.769	.681
Constant	-6.700	11900.613	.000	1.000	.001

Whilst none of our variables have a statistically significant effect, at normal confidence levels, on the probability of a TA being satisfied, the training variable does have the expected positive sign and the size of school the expected negative sign. Also there is some weak indication that those TAs classified as Job Role 1

were more likely to be satisfied than those in Job Role 2, whilst those in Job Role 3 were less likely to be satisfied than those in the comparator group.

7.2.6 Conclusion

There are several key findings that come out of the analysis presented above. The models utilised to examine the determinants of TA's pay and job satisfaction have been based upon established theories. However it has been demonstrated that the standard Mincerian Model is not helpful when trying to explain the pattern of wages for this group. The findings from the wage regression indicate that TAs, whilst exhibiting some characteristics typically found in the general employment population may also be significantly different. Similarly the typical satisfaction models as presented by Clark and Oswald (1996) do not prove particularly helpful in identifying determinants of TAs' job satisfaction. The inability of these models to fully account for the variations in the data is interesting and demonstrates that TAs may not be typical of other groups of workers, or more importantly may not be treated by their employers in the same way as other workers. Indeed, the lack of any relationship between their pay and level of job satisfaction may indicate that employers are not put under pressure by TAs to raise their pay levels, even when they acquire more qualifications.

A number of key findings emerge;

Wages specific (other things being equal)
- Voluntary work is associated with a higher pay rate
- Job title matters – Those with teaching in the title earn more
- Geographical location makes no difference to pay
- Those with Job Role 1 (Enhanced TA role) on average receive higher pay than those in Job Role 2 (Cover Supervisor role)
- Those with Job Role 4 (Specialist support role) on average receive lower pay than those in Job Role 2 (Cover Supervisor role)
- Qualifications produce no return to earnings – a key finding in relation to government policy. This may indicate over-skilling in the workforce as it

demonstrates low employer demand for the skills or that the employer does not have to pay for the additional skills due to the willingness of the TAs to provide it for free or their inability to exercise bargaining power.

Satisfaction Specific

No variables in the model significantly impact upon satisfaction.

Related to both

- Job role variables are significant factors when trying to identify predictors of pay but not satisfaction
- There are no returns to qualifications (either general or vocational) in respect of pay or satisfaction. This may indicate a low employer demand as the result of a saturated market, a poor role / skills match generally in relation to TA roles and indicate that current government policy is not well directed with regards to the schools sector in this respect

Chapters 6 and 7 have examined how TAs are deployed in the primary sector and how they, and those they work with, perceive their role. Findings from these chapters will next be critically analysed in relation to the main research questions surrounding professionalism in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8 – Are TAs a profession?

8.0 Introduction

In this final chapter the thesis returns to the three central questions posed,

1. How are TAs deployed within the primary sector?
2. How do TAs perceive their role?
3. How do teachers and TAs define 'a profession' and 'professionalism'?

Section 8.1 discusses the key findings from this study, summarising what has been ascertained about the characteristics of TAs and their patterns of deployment. It explores the relationship between job role type and the perception of the TAs' role held by TAs and the teachers they work with. It shows that there are subtle differences in the ways in which teachers and TAs describe their respective roles which are linked to role type. Further, it critically evaluates the extent to which TAs are being treated as a professional group within schools. It will argue that the ways in which teachers and TAs perceive the TA role, impacts upon the way a TA's development is supported through CPD. It rejects the currently accepted TA job classification as an accurate reflection of practice and argues that a fourfold typology of TA roles is a more appropriate way in which to begin to think about this group of employees. It also summarises the factors that appear to contribute to TA remuneration and satisfaction.

In section 8.2, the five key contributions of this thesis to the knowledge base are summarised. The policy implications of this study are outlined in section 8.3 along with a series of recommendations for developing practice in relation to TA employment and deployment. In section 8.4 a review of the study identifies the limitations of the study design. This is followed in section 8.5 with ideas for future research in the field. In section 8.6 there is a personal reflection on how the process of undertaking the study has impacted personally and professionally on the researcher. The final comments, in section 8.7, bring this thesis up to date following recent political changes and indicate the uncertain future TAs now face.

8.1 Main Findings

Classrooms in England have long had additional adults within them, supporting the work of the teacher and supporting the pupils. Despite the large number of these adults employed in schools and the fact that they are not recent additions to the workforce, there is little known about them. Where extensive empirical work has been undertaken (DISS 2009) it has largely accepted that TAs are an homogenous group. However, it is important to identify that the evidence base upon which many assertions about the deployment and impact of support staff have been based is limited. Crucially, this absence of evidence impacts upon government policy, though Gunter (2005) argues that when empirical evidence has been available it has frequently been ignored.

This weak evidence base and the assumption that TAs are an homogenous group are problematic. The latter ignores potentially significant differences in types of TA and their deployment. Chapter 1 traced the historical development of the role of the TA, charting the changing nature of the role and the debate about what such post holders should be called. The starting point for this research programme was therefore to identify *who* and *what role within a school* we are referring to when we use the term 'Teaching Assistant'. The *who* is relatively easy to ascertain. TAs in other studies have tended to be white females between the ages of 25 and 40, and indeed the TAs in this study mainly belonged to these categories. In this study they largely worked in small state schools that were either urban or semi-urban schools and they were evenly deployed across the primary curriculum.

'*What role within the school*' is more difficult to answer as prior to 2003 the development of TA roles was ad-hoc. It could be argued that the employment conditions of TAs are *still* ad hoc. Within this study there is significant variation between TAs in terms of their contractual hours and rates of pay. Job descriptions, appraisal and professional development are not available to all. In addition a significant number work in an unpaid (voluntary) capacity or have a second job role. This is despite the fact that the key initiatives of the previous government; the 'Raising Standards' agenda, Inclusion and Workforce Remodelling, saw the *planned*

utilisation of support staff to help deliver policy. Recommendations for the deployment of TAs were made and new groups of TAs (HLTAs) were developed who could allow teachers to leave their classrooms to undertake PPA activities (DfES, 2003a). With this came a programme of training and development for TAs and the language of professionalism was applied to this group. This research programme has explored the impact of these initiatives on TA deployment and the understanding of the TA role held by TAs and the teachers they work with. Despite the fact that the government identifies both the teacher role and TA roles as professional (DfES, 2000a), we saw in chapter 2 that professionalism is applied differently to each group and that the way schools deploy TAs can illustrate the ways in which teachers and TAs define the latter's role.

Chapter 3 illustrated that the concept of professionalism is contested, with three main theoretical ways of defining professionalism being identified. Trait theories simply see a profession as a group of people sharing the same skills, abilities, qualifications etc. The sociological definition sees professions as resulting from the way society is structured and organised. Finally, an economic definition sees them as a collective regulator of economic activity and led us to question whether professionalism was beneficial and if so to whom. Each of these theories can be used to analyse the status of TAs.

Sociological theories draw our attention to the structure of society in which the profession must exist. Hall (1968) has argued that becoming a professional occurs at two levels: the structural level encompassing formal educational and entrance requirements and an attitudinal level - *"a calling"* (ibid, p33) to the field. In some ways this reflects Evan's (2010) definition of professionality. The lack of a formal entry route into the role would seem to suggest therefore that at the structural level there is no TA profession. However many TAs in did exhibit attitudes consistent with a 'calling' or a 'service' motivation. TAs also seem to go through the social learning process, identified by Hall whereby they acquire specific knowledge, skills, new values, attitudes , from the teacher they work with. TAs tend to copy and mimic the teachers they work with rather than adopt their own professional identity.

We saw that we needed to understand the question about TA professionalism within the current historical, political and social context. Stevenson and Tooms (2010) have argued that there is a need to connect the 'up there' of policy with the 'down here' realities of school leadership. Education is a political activity framed within a political environment. As such it is shaped by the values of the system. Stevenson and Tooms (2010) cite the example of the school principal in 1950s Alabama who was considered to be effective if the school was kept segregated. They argue that there is a rhetoric of school leadership which seeks to normalise the values of the current education system. These values are those of the current political landscape. Today's school leader must be effective at managing a budget and deploying resources ruthlessly to ensure outcomes for every child are raised – even if this means choosing to ignore some of the social inequities such policy pursuance might create, such as the poor employment conditions some TAs in this study experience. It may be that the values and practices of the school leaders in this study have been shaped by the values implicit in the policy of workforce remodelling – a driver towards marketisation in which labour itself is a disposable or accruable commodity. This leads us towards more economic conceptualisations of professionalism.

This research has also identified that the role of the TA is linked inextricably to the role of the teacher and therefore we must see the issue of TA's professionalism as linked to a much wider debate about teacher professionalism in the light of the policy initiatives discussed in chapter 2. However, there is a key difference between the two groups. Teachers' work is not dependent upon the TAs. Schools can and do manage without TAs. The converse is not true. TAs are dependent upon teachers for their work and schools need teachers. As a result of government interventions in education, our understanding of teacher professionalism is undergoing review and reconstruction. What this study suggests is that teachers still retain a strong sense of professional identity, largely derived from trait based theories which predicate qualifications, training and social status as the basis for professionalism. Current government policy towards teachers in respect of professionalism has been to create a series of professional standards that would indicate a government acceptance of trait theories in relation to professionalism (Hoyle, 1995). However, we can also see the descriptors of professionalism being used by Government as resting within the

economic conceptualisation – part of the means by which the market seeks to control the work of teachers. This echoes Johnson's (1972) concept of 'occupational control' whereby TAs can be seen as part of a strategy to change the professional role of teachers.

An important aspect of professionalism and professional identity identified in chapter 3 was access to continuing professional development (CPD). In chapter 4 it was argued that current training for TAs and teachers follows a competency based approach, which itself is based on a trait theory of professionalism. According to the DfES 2003a) significant numbers of support staff are engaged in training. NfER for the TDA (2008) report that 75% of support staff receive training, as does a survey by Unison (2009). This study has shown that for TAs in this study, such figures may be a little high. Just over 50% of respondents have had training but this means just under 50% have not. This thesis argues that the lack of knowledge that teachers and CPD leaders have about TAs is a limiting factor to the emergence of TA professionalism. The picture in relation to policy on CPD is patchy, with only 54% of respondents identifying that their school had a specific policy and approach to their professional development. However, a further issue must be to question whether current models of professional development for TAs are effective given the changing demands placed upon their role in the current educational context.

Underpinning CPD activity there needs to be a rigorous appraisal mechanism. Without appraisal training needs remain unidentified and unprioritised. This is of particular issue when CPD leaders are making judgements about access to training. For teachers appraisal and performance management are a right. Unison (2009) note that only 40% of support staff have access to an appraisal, though this study indicates that for TAs the appraisal rate may be slightly higher. CPD leaders do act as gatekeepers to TAs' CPD in the same way that they also act as gatekeepers to teachers' CPD. The issue is linked to the relative importance placed on each group of workers by CPD leaders in the face of a limited budget. This was reflected in the opinions about the dispensable nature of TAs in the case study schools. The fact that TAs are often viewed as dispensable means that they can be deployed in an ad hoc way with little

thought to how their qualifications or experience can be best utilised. A greater understanding of the types of TAs that schools can deploy based on the typology generated by this research may begin to enable a more precise use of TAs in schools. This in turn requires that the teachers they work with are given more information about TAs and be prepared to work with them in more flexible and creative ways in classrooms. Time will be required to undertake this which means that new employment practices would need to be considered in some schools.

In order to understand more about TAs, this research required a rigorous empirical analysis of TA roles as they are actually carried out in primary schools. Chapter 5 outlined the methodology and methods used to gather data. A mixed methods approach was utilised incorporating a qualitative element discussed below and a quantitative study to ascertain statistical information about the current role of TAs in order to examine whether there are any discernible patterns of deployment. The activities TAs carried out as part of their job role were subjected to factor and cluster analyses in order to identify inter-relationships and test whether the role of the TA was as homogenous as the literature implied. This was presented in chapter 6.

The majority of respondents were called Teaching Assistants but there were still 42% of the study holding different titles. There was no direct correlation between the title of the role held and the work carried out. However, as we saw in chapter 7 there is some suggestion that having 'teaching' in the job title has a positive effect on pay. What emerged from the data was confirmation that a fourfold typology of TA roles could be ascertained (see table 8.1).

Table 8.1 A Typology of TA Job Roles

Role Type	Tasks Associated with Role	% of TAs holding job role in this study
Enhanced TA Role	Photocopying, Standard letters, Class lists, Record keeping & filing, Analysing attendance, Processing exam results, Pupil reports, Administering work experience and teacher cover, ICT repair and commissioning, Ordering supplies, Stocktaking, Cataloguing, Minuting meetings, Coordinating and submitting Bids, Personnel advice, Managing and Inputting pupil data, Plan a lesson (single pupil and whole class), Teach a lesson (single pupil and whole class).	32
Cover Supervisor	Administering work experience and teacher cover, Plan a lesson (small group and whole class), Teach (small group and whole class) Support a lesson (whole class), Cover for PPA	19
General TA	Collect money, Photocopying, Copy typing, Class lists, Record keeping, filing, Display, ICT repairs, Cataloguing , preparing and issuing equipment	28
Specific Support TA	Plan a lesson (single pupil and small group), Teach a lesson (single pupil and whole class), Support (single pupil and small group)	21

The sample for the study were all engaged in study for a Foundation Degree so we might expect that more would hold the Enhanced TA role. However, this is not the case and indeed the study has shown that, contrary to orthodox labour market theories, there is no relationship between job role and qualifications. This research has identified that TAs are not an homogenous group and therefore any research predicated on this is unlikely to capture the full complexity of their role or be able to represent the subtle inter-relationships in relation to deployment and role type.

However, perceptions of professionalism and the enactment of each job role could not be 'tested' using a quantitative approach. A qualitative approach based on case studies of TA, teacher and CPD leaders in schools was used to examine the ways in

which TAs, and the teachers they work with, understand the role of the TA and the ways in which TAs work.

We have seen that from previous research and official publications a picture emerged of the TA in relation to pupils where they were to provide specific support to enable them to access the classroom learning. Such a definition of the role would seem to fit with job role 1 (Enhanced TA role) and job role 4 (Specialist support role). However, the role in relation to individual pupils is not evident for those with job role 2 (Cover supervision) or for the general TA role (job role 3). Indeed the general TA role appears to be the most limited, with the TA preoccupied with classroom maintenance tasks.

The DfES (2000) argued that TAs should further support the teacher by dealing with behaviour management issues and indeed the qualitative data indicates that TAs undertake this role. They do follow the teacher's lead in relation to behaviour management. Such adherence to DfES guidance may limit the extent to which they can grow professionally. The development of a professional identity (Hall, 1968, McGowan and Hart, 1990, Watts, 1987) could be particularly problematic for TAs with differing views to the teacher, as it may bring them into conflict with the teacher. In an unequal power relationship they repress their own professional practice in order to mimic that of the teacher they work with.

This study has shown that TAs are planning and delivering taught sessions which runs counter to the guidance from DfES (2000) on their deployment. TAs in job roles 1, 2 and 4 are undertaking extensive contact with some groups of pupils and had a distinct pedagogical role. Teachers are identified by DfES, 2000) as being the ones who manage the TA's workload making assessments of the TAs competence . They take the lead in developing a relationship with the TA and have a responsibility to provide TAs with information as deemed appropriate. However, this research demonstrates that few teachers have an awareness of the training and development the TAs they work with have received. This thesis has demonstrated that TAs are

largely excluded from wider school life, often because of the contractual basis on which they are employed. Few liaise with external agencies or are given the opportunity to develop external links. These latter findings run counter to the DfES's (2000) suggestions.

What this research has also demonstrated is that the deployment of TAs has been linked to workforce remodelling and the New Labour project. A key part of school remodelling was the change programme and the advancement of change through a representative school 'change team' (NRT, 2001). In this study, only 6% of the TAs in the survey indicated that they were part of school change teams. This is hardly representation as envisaged by the NRT. The evidence from the qualitative study also indicates a lack of engagement with staff meetings, which leads us to question to what extent even the limited involvement of TAs in change teams was mere tokenism.

Whilst some changes may have been shallow, others have been structurally deep. Ironside and Siefert (1995) have argued that the rise in assistants in the classroom is linked to the shortage of teachers and that the third way in education, proposed by New Labour, is simply a way of replacing teachers with lower paid TAs. The role of the Cover Supervisor in this study illustrates this point, where PPA has led to the teaching of the History curriculum in the school by someone with few qualifications, no subject knowledge or pedagogic skills. However, closer analysis reveals limited evidence for this viewpoint within this study, as all of the case study schools employed a full complement of teachers. Teachers, TAs and CPD leaders saw *teachers* as fundamental to schools, it was the TAs that all three groups saw as *dispensable*.

In chapter 3 we saw that a defining element of professionalism, in all three competing theories, was remuneration. This thesis sought to provide a more fine grained analysis of the factors associated with TA pay. Two earnings functions models were advanced; the first was a model used within orthodox labour economics

to study wages. It is common practice that pay is related to relative qualifications held. General qualification levels, vocational qualification levels and length of occupational experience should all have a positive impact on productivity and hence on TAs' pay. This model proved to have little explanatory power, indicating that the differences in the effective pay of TAs were not systematically related to their human capital. Model two incorporated a broader range of variables by adding an additional job role vector of variables. This amended model proved to be more helpful at identifying the determinants of TA pay. Of the job role variables introduced into the model four proved to be significant, indicating that it is within this vector that the greatest indicators of pay are to be found. Other things being equal, job title is a significant indicator of pay, having a positive return for TAs who have the word 'Teaching' in their job title. TAs who undertake unpaid work on average receive a higher pay rate. In terms of our four preferred job roles then in comparison with Job Role 2 (Cover Supervisor), other things being equal, those classified as Enhanced TA role (Job Role 1) earn more and those undertaking the Specialist Support role (Job Role 4) earn less per hour actually worked. The findings from the wages regression indicate that TAs, whilst exhibiting some characteristics typically found in the general employment population may also be significantly different.

Linked to the analysis of wages are the findings from the satisfaction regression. We see an interesting point of difference between accepted orthodox theory and the experience of TAs in relation to job satisfaction. Conventionally it would be expected that with increased pay comes increased satisfaction. TAs in the survey reported low levels of pay, yet also reported being satisfied with their job. It was necessary therefore to try to identify the variables associated with greater satisfaction. A binary logistic regression model was developed to explain TAs level of satisfaction. This utilised an orthodox model (based on Clark and Oswald 1996) to analyse TAs utility from work – their job satisfaction. As before this model used human capital, employer related and job role related characteristics. However, the regression results found little evidence that these characteristics had an influence on the level of satisfaction of TAs. The analysis suggested that human capital characteristics did not affect the probability of TA responding that they were satisfied. TAs who are qualified at Level 3 or above in either general academic and/or vocational respects

do not report lower levels as satisfaction as predicted. There is currently a plethora of qualifications available for TAs, including those at degree level, but no formal requirement to obtain qualifications for the role. This research has shown that there is no relationship between qualifications and job role which raises a key question - if qualifications are not needed to be a TA or are not linked to specific TA job roles what is the value of the qualifications? This can be explained by the ad hoc development of the role over time, as illustrated in chapter 1 and may, in turn, explain why there is no guidance provided on the relationship between qualifications and pay by the government. The assertion that job satisfaction is related to age is not supported by the model. Neither length of experience as a TA nor access to training are associated with higher levels of satisfaction and none of the job role variables has a significant impact. Crucially pay does not impact upon satisfaction. This has the effect of creating a mutually reinforcing system where the uncoupling of satisfaction from pay effectively means that employers do not need to reward TAs for investing, for example, in their qualifications. Irrespective of how much they pay them, the TAs appear to be satisfied with their job roles. This creates inertia, and a vicious circle where TAs' pay can be driven down to the lowest level.

Wilensky (1964) identified a "process of professionalization" which involved the following stages,

1. the establishment of the activity as a full-time occupation
2. the establishment of training schools and university links
3. the formation of a professional organization
4. the struggle to gain legal support for exclusion
5. the formation of a formal code of ethics.

If we apply this model to TAs we see that as yet they do not meet the criteria for recognition as a profession. This study has demonstrated that there are different TA roles and different unrelated deployment patterns. There are still fundamental issues related to contracts and remuneration that remain unresolved, meaning that TAs fail the first of Wilensky's tests. We can see the emergence of a formalised education

pathway for TAs, but until this becomes the normal way for someone to become a TA and becomes related to remuneration it is difficult to see what value it adds to gaining professional status. A similar picture emerges in relation to the third element of the model. There is some unionism and professional organisations exist but as before they are unrelated to job role. Perhaps even more tellingly the unions themselves are multi-worker bodies and are not discrete organisations that serve the interest of one group of workers in the way that the teacher unions do. The fourth and fifth elements are not yet present in relation to TAs. Wilensky has argued that professions can try to shortcut this approach by adopting elaborate codes of ethics or setting up paper organizations, prior to the formation of an institutional or technical basis for the profession. Using Dietrich and Robert's (1999) analysis, this is an attempt to gain a sociological rationale before the economic rationale has been established. However, we do not see any evidence for this amongst TAs. If TAs are professionals then they ought to receive remuneration related to their qualification level as other professional groups, work within a statutory or regulatory framework that protects their interests, be explicitly recognised as a professional group for what they can do to support teaching and learning in schools and have access to professional development as do other professional groups. On all four of these counts TAs fail to classify as a professional group.

This thesis argues that there are different TA roles and that some of these roles carry with them significant pedagogical responsibilities. We have seen that there are significant numbers of well-qualified TAs who may be occupying roles for which they are over skilled. Equally, it is possible for TAs to occupy pedagogical roles with limited qualifications which raises questions about their impact on pupils. The most fundamental issue may not be whether TAs are a profession rather, why is there an inability to utilise them effectively. Related to this is the other key issue related to their terms and conditions of employment. TAs are generally well-qualified yet see no reward for their human capital investments, this suggests that they have little bargaining power and that their employers are able to unilaterally determine their pay.

8.2 Key contributions of this thesis to the knowledge base

This thesis set out to answer questions about a specific group of workers whose role in schools has increased both in number and scope as a result of specific government policy. It sought to identify information about the characteristics of this group and to try to find explanations for patterns that emerged from the data. It also sought to add to our understanding of what it is to be a profession and try to identify whether we could see a profession emerging in the TA role. The key contributions this research has made are discussed below.

Firstly, this thesis adds to and extends <u>knowledge of the characteristics of TAs in primary schools</u>. The literature review indicated that they were an important element of government policy in education and also identified that much of what we currently 'know' about TAs is not based upon rigorous empirical evidence. Hence, one of the key purposes of this research has been achieved. By utilising a mixed methods approach this study has obtained a wealth of data bout the characteristics of a group of TAs and the circumstances in which they are employed and deployed.

However, as this thesis has also demonstrated that the role of the TA coexists, and therefore must be understood, alongside that of the teacher. Therefore, the second contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes is <u>to strengthen our understanding of the inter-relationships between TAs and teachers</u>. The thesis has shown that power dynamics between the two groups operate, but that this is often negotiated at classroom level. Further, these relationships are often based on a dynamic of inequality. This has led to different TA roles being enacted which differ from the policy guidance. However, it must also be recognised that part of the reason for the emergence of different TA roles may be the *lack* of knowledge teachers have about the TAs who work in their classrooms. This leads us to conclude that changes to guidance need to be made to ensure more effective TA deployment.

The literature review noted that CPD for TAs had been strategically planned by government to meet policy. However, it also revealed that there are few systematic

studies into the CPD experiences of TAs. The third contribution to knowledge of this thesis lies in what it brings to <u>our understanding of how CPD for TAs operates in schools.</u> TAs in this dataset had uneven access to CPD. More worryingly, it has illustrated that CPD leaders do not know enough about TAs to make informed judgements about their professional development needs. CPD leaders therefore may act as unintentional gatekeepers through their lack of knowledge. Fundamentally, it has shown that the decisions about CPD in schools are often related to school priorities and available finance. When TAs are considered dispensable, their professional development needs may not be fully met.

The analysis of TA characteristics has enabled the fourth contribution to knowledge of this thesis. <u>The identification of four discrete TA job roles in primary schools</u> is a major step forward in understanding what TAs actually *do* in schools. This significantly moves beyond other empirical studies that have been, or are currently being, undertaken and enables a more fine grained analysis of the role to be carried out.

Such an analysis proved to be most revealing in relation to the fifth contribution to knowledge. Variables which impact upon TA pay have been identified as doing unpaid work, becoming a TA as part of a planned career and the job role held. The identification that not all TA job roles are equally rewarded is fundamental. Having an enhanced TA role (job role 1) has a positive impact on pay whereas having job role 4 (specialist support role) has a negative impact, despite the fact that this role may involve obtaining additional qualifications. This thesis has identified that there has been <u>an uncoupling of the factors normally associated with pay and satisfaction at work, leading to a mutually reinforcing relationship between pay and satisfaction which generates inertia and has the effect of negatively disadvantaging TAs.</u>

8.3 Policy Implications / recommendations for developing practice

There are three key policy implications of this research. The first is the need to accept that TAs are not an homogenous occupational group. This means that the government needs to stop referring to TAs as a single category and recognise the differences in deployment patterns and job role types that schools are using, so that more effective use can be made of a relatively highly skilled sector of the schools workforce.

The second key policy implication is to establish a clear career pathway for TAs that takes account of their different job roles. It is recommended that this pathway takes account of qualifications and is progressive offering TAs the chance to develop a career. Such a pathway might see TAs beginning with job role 3 (general TA role) and then progressing to job role 1 (enhanced TA role). Those who wished could then further specialist to job role 4 (specialist support TA) or could take on job role 2 (cover supervisor role). In table 8.2, a career pathway is proposed based upon the data obtained in this study. This pathway should be progressive in relation to qualifications and remuneration, a clear finding of this research is that this is not the case at the present time.

Of course, such a typology of a career pathway based as it is on the quantitative data utilised in the factor analysis is not perfect and raises some questions. Should a specialist support TA also have administrative duties? Should only general TAs do 'display' work etc. However, it does provide a starting point for discussion about what the typology should look like and may force policy makers to better clarify what role they envisage for TAs.

Table 8.2 A Career Pathway for TAs based upon the Typology of TA Job Roles

	Job Role	Administrative Tasks	Pedagogical Tasks	
Qualifications increasing in level	**General TA Role**	Basic Tasks e.g. Collect money, Photocopying, Copy typing, Class lists, Record keeping, filing, Display, ICT repairs, Cataloguing , preparing and issuing equipment	General assistance to pupils	**Pay Increasing**
	Enhanced TA Role	More Advanced Tasks e.g. Standard letters, Attendance, Processing exam results, Pupil reports, Administering work experience and teacher cover, ICT commissioning, Ordering supplies, Stocktaking, Cataloguing, Minuting meetings, Coordinating and submitting Bids, Personnel advice, Managing and Inputting pupil data	Plan a lesson - (single pupil and whole class) Teach a lesson - (single pupil and whole class)	
	Specialist Support Role		Plan a lesson (single pupil and small group) Support (single pupil and small group) Teach a lesson (single pupil and whole class)	
	Cover Supervisor	Administering work experience and teacher cover	Support a lesson (whole class) Plan a lesson (small group and whole class) Teach (small group and whole class) Teach a class - cover for PPA	

The final policy implication is perhaps the most important and is based on the observation that TAs are not yet considered to be indispensable by schools and indeed may be the first group to be cut in times of economic difficulty. The government needs to clearly signal that schools require TAs in order to deliver their education priorities. To facilitate this government and unions need to work together

to regulate the employment conditions of TAs at the national level in the same was as they do for teachers. This would lead to a national pay scale and conditions of employment.

There are several other recommendations for developing practice that follow from this research. These can be implemented irrespective of whether the typology of TAs is accepted and are linked to raising awareness of the TAs' contributions within schools. Most important is to train teachers to better work with additional adults in their classrooms. Many of the teachers interviewed in this study had a poor understanding of who their TAs were or what they could do to support the pupils in the classroom. This could, in part, be addressed through initial teacher training programmes. Secondly, CPD leaders need to be trained to recognise the professional development needs of TAs and to provide relevant professional development opportunities. Thirdly, school leaders need to have their awareness raised of the TA's role in order to better plan TA deployment. This could mean for example, matching the type of TA appointed, using the job role typology, to the specific job role requirement in the school. They should also have more training on the need to embed the characteristics of HPWO in their schools which should ensure that TAs have job descriptions, access to appraisal etc. If the above policy recommendations were in place there would be a need for national guidance to support school leaders in this process.

8.4 Limitations of the study

Within the limitations of a single researcher who was also working full-time, this research has been carried out in accordance with ethical guidelines, been completed within an appropriate time span and has delivered some key contributions to the knowledge base. Moreover the methodology and methods employed have ensured that the study could be replicated. However, there are some recommendations that future researchers wishing to replicate this study should consider. The first of these lies with the sample. As outlined in chapter 5, the sample for this study was drawn from TAs undertaking a foundation degree. The researcher accepts that this may have resulted in some bias in the reported data. The fact that the qualitative data

triangulated findings gives reasonable assurance that it did not skew the findings of this study. The first recommendation is therefore to increase the representativeness of the survey by including TAs not engaged in further study. A second recommendation would be to increase the sample size in order to enhance the validity of the statistical data. This was a relatively small scale quantitative study and whilst it is reasonable to assume that anything over 100 is a suitable number for such a study, a greater number would have been preferable. Finally, researchers should add observation as a method. Whilst conducting interviews and using a survey gathered reported work patterns there was no way to triangulate these other than through the TAs' work diaries. These gave no insight into how teachers worked with the TAs.

8. 5 Future research

The above limitations indicates that the results of this research programme should be interpreted with caution and further investment in data and analysis should be undertaken to secure a better understanding of this specific group of workers and also to secure an understanding of how the models of wage determinants and satisfaction advanced here can be applied to other occupational groups. Perhaps of most importance is to explore in greater depth the fourfold typology of TAs particularly in relation to the ways in which these types of TA role interact with teachers, the ways in which CPD impacts upon each of the roles and the ways in which the roles are impacting upon pupils. Indeed it is this fine grained analysis that was called for by Blatchford (2009) when relaying the findings from the DISS study. This study has in some way begun the process of providing that analysis and seems a good place to begin additional work which would further add to the body of knowledge.

8.6 Reflection on how the process of undertaking the study has impacted personally and professionally on the researcher.

There have been several learning points for the researcher. Professionally, the PhD has supported my job role in Higher Education. I have developed key skills in relation

to designing, critically investigating, analysing, evaluating and reporting on research projects which have enabled me to successfully bid for TDA and NCSL small scale research projects. I have developed my statistical analysis skills and can now use SPSS and indeed have felt competent enough to teach other post-graduate students on a Masters degree programme how to utilise such software. My PhD has provided me with the opportunity to work collaboratively with colleagues in other HEIs and to present work at national and international conferences. I have begun to develop a published output (see appendix 10). Personally I have learnt perseverance and dogged determination. Throughout the process I have been struck by the observation that the more I know the less I understand about my discipline. This is not a negative, it is the not understanding that keeps us searching for answers and that drives research forward and which leads us to critically engage with the world.

8.7 Final Observations

On May 11th 2010 a new Conservative / Liberal Democrat Coalition government took office in England. The public are warned that information available on education websites such as Teachernet may not reflect current government policy, but that all statutory guidance and legislation continues to reflect the current legal position. Therefore, it must be assumed that current policy in relation to TAs remains the same as described in this thesis. However, there are some policy indicators in the context of which the future employment and deployment of TAs must be considered. Most notable are the problematic economic circumstances in the UK, which have led to a review of all government spending and calls for a reduction of 20% in each government department and the fact that the coalition government is ideologically different from the previous government.

Early indications in relation to education ideology see an increasing marketisation in education with the expansion of Academies and introduction of Free Schools. Academy status can be requested by schools with an 'outstanding' rating from Ofsted. Free Schools can be set up by a wide range of proposers, including charities, universities, businesses, educational groups, teachers and groups of parents. Free schools will have the same legal requirements as academies. Both are

publicly funded independent schools. As such, they have greater freedoms including freedom from local authority control, freedom from following the National Curriculum, the ability to change the lengths of terms and school days and, more worryingly for TAs and teachers, the ability to set their own pay and conditions for staff, It could be argued that TAs are already in this position and it therefore remains to be seen how this policy will further impact on TA pay and conditions of employment.

Perhaps most worrying are the cuts being made and linked to the spending review that are impacting upon TAs. On July 5th 2010 the Department for Education informed Local Authorities that it was removing the grant to train HLTAs. This means that those wishing to obtain HLTA status must either fund the training themselves or schools must pay. But as Unison noted;

> *"The TDA is pushing the burden of responsibility on to some of the lowest paid people in schools. There is no way teaching assistants, many of whom earn a term-time only wage of £7 per hour can fund their own training."*

> (Christine McAnea, Head of Education, Unison, cited in The Independent Newspaper 6th July 2010)

Given the finding of this research that qualifications bring little return to TAs earnings, there is some doubt that TAs will be willing to invest. Further, we have seen that TAs are considered to be dispensable in schools when school finances are limited. It may be that the current economic circumstances may lead to a significant reduction in the number of TAs. Whether this is, as John Bangs (Assistant Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, cited in The Independent Newspaper 6th July 2010) *"the first step in the elimination of the job (of teaching assistant"* remains to be seen.

References

Abbott, A. (1988) *The Systems of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor.* Chicago: The University of Chicago

Abrahamson, E. (2000) 'Change without pain' *Harvard Business Review* Vol 78 no. 4, pp75-9Adams, K., Hean, S., Sturgis, P. and Macleod-Clark, J. (2006) 'Investigating the factors influencing professional identity of first-year health and social care students' *Learning in Health and Social Care* Vol 5 (2), pp55-68

Adelman, C., Kemmis, S., and Jenkins, D. (1980) 'Rethinking the case study: Notes from the second Cambridge conference' in H. Simons (Eds.) '*Towards a science of the singular'.* Norwich: CARE

Adnett, N.J. (2006) 'Reforming Teachers' Pay: Incentive payments, collegiate ethos and UK policy' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* Vol 27, pp145–157

Adnett, N. and Davies, P. (2002) *Markets for Schooling: an economic analysis*. London: Routledge

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

Appelbaum, E., and Batt, R. (1994) *The New American Workplace.* Ithaca NY: ILR Press

Appelbaum, E. and Koppel, R. (1978) '*Is part-time work a successful resolution to the role conflicts of working mothers?'* Paper presented at the Ninth World Congress of Sociology Uppsala Sweden 1978

Appelbaum, E., Bailey, T., Berg, R. and Kalleberg, A.L. (2000) *Manufacturing Advantage: Why High Performance Work Systems Pay Off*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press

Arnold, J. (1997) *Managing Careers into the 21st Century.* London: Chapman

Bach, S., Kessler, I., and Heron, P. (2006) "Changing job boundaries and workforce reform: the case of teaching assistants". *Industrial Relations Journal Vol 37 (1),* pp2-21

Bailey, T., Berg, P., and Sandy, C. (2001) "The Effect of High-Performance Work Practices on Employee Earnings in the Steel, Apparel, and Medical Electronics and Imaging Industries". *Labor Relations Review Vol 54 No 2A*, pp776 - 805

Baldamus, W. (1961) *Efficiency and Effort.* London: Tavistock Publications

Barber, M. and Brighouse, T. (1992) *Partners in Change: Enhancing the Teaching Profession* (IPPR Education in the Capital). London: Cassell

Barro, R and Xavier Sala-i-Martin (1999) *Economic Growth.* Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press

Bartlett, M.S. (1954) "A note on the multiplying factors for various chi square approximations". *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol 16 (Series B),* pp296-298

Barker, R. G. and Gump, P.V. (1964) *Big School, Small School*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press

Bauer, T.K. (2004) "High performance workplace practices and job satisfaction: evidence from Europe". *IZA Discussion Paper No. 1265*

Becker, G. (1964) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education.* New York: Columbia University Press

Becker, B.E. (l985) "The Allocation of Effort, Specific Human Capital, and the Differences between Men and Women in Earnings and Occupation". *Journal of Labor Economics Vol 3 No 1 Pt 2*, pp533-58

Becker, B.E., Huselid, M.A., Pickus, P.S. and Spratt, M.F. (1997) "HR as a source of shareholder value: research and recommendations". *Human Resource Management Vol 1(36)*, pp39-47

Bedeian, A.G. (1980) *Organization Theory and Analysis.* Fort Worth: Dryden Press

Bedford, J., Goddard, G., Obadan, F., and Mowat, P. (2006) "How Gaining Higher Level Teaching Assistants impacts on the teaching assistant's role in English Schools". *Management in Education Vol 20 (1),* pp6-10

Bell, D. (1973) *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society.* London: Heinemann

Bell, J. (2005) *Doing your research project: a guide for first-time researchers in education, health and social science* 4th ed. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Belfield, C., and Harris, R.D.F. (2002) "The Effects of Education and Training on Job Satisfaction among Graduates". *Applied Economics* Vol 34, pp367-371

BERR (1998) *Workforce Relations Survey.* Available at: http://www.berr.gov.uk/employment/research-evaluation/wers-98/index.html Accessed on 23/05/08

Beveridge, S. (1999) *Special Educational Needs in Schools* (2nd edition). London: Routledge

Black, S.E., Lynch, L. and Krivelyova, A. (2004) 'How Workers Fare When Employers Innovate. Industrial Relations' *A Journal of Economy and Society Vol.43 No. 1*, pp 44-66

Blair, T. (1999) 'Quality is a key to progress' *Times Educational Supplement 19th September 1999*

Blanchflower, D.G., Oswald, A.J. and Garrett, M.D. (1990) "Insider Power in Wage Determination". *Economica Vol 57 No. 226*, pp143-70

Blanchflower, D.G. and Bryson, A. (2004a) "What effect do unions have on wages now and would Freeman and Medoff be surprised?" *Journal of Labor Research Vol XXV(3)* pp383-414

Blanchflower, D.G. and Bryson, A. (2004b) *Union relative wage effects in the United States and the United Kingdom* Proceedings of the 56th Annual Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association pp133-140

Blanchflower, D. and Bryson, A. (2007) "The Wage Impact of Trade Unions in the UK Public and Private Sectors". *IZA Discussion Papers 3055*

Blatchford, P., Bassett, P., Brown, P., Martin, C., Russell, A. and Webster, R. (2007) "The deployment and impact of support staff in schools- Findings from Strand 1 Wave 2" *Research Report RR005.* London: DCSF

Blau, G. L. (1987) "Using a person-environment fit model to predict job involvement and organizational commitment". *Journal of Vocational Behavior Vol 30*, pp240-257

Blau, F.D. and Ferber, M.A. (1990) "Women's Work, Women's Lives: A Comparative Economic Perspective". *NBER Working Papers 3447*

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C., and Tight, M. (1996) *How to Research.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Bolam, R. (1993) "Recent Developments and Emerging Issues" in General Teaching Council (1993) *The Continuing Professional Development of Teachers.* London: GTC

Boone, T. (2001) "Constructing a Profession". *Professionalization of Exercise Physiology Vol 4(5),* pp1099-5862

Bowerman, B.L., O'Connell, R.T. (1990) *Linear Statistical Models: An Applied Approach* (2nd Ed). Duxbury: Belmont CA

Boyd-Zaharias, J. and Pate-Bain, H. (1998) *Teacher aides and student learning: Lessons from Project STAR.* Arlington VA: Educational Research Service

Brannen, J (2005) "Mixing methods: the entry of qualitative and quantitative approaches into the research process". *International Journal of Social Research Methodology Theory and Practice*, *2(2),* pp93–109

Braverman, H. (1974) *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Monthly Review Press

Brennan, M. (1982) "Small Groups in the Classroom". *Study of Society, Vol 13,* pp1

Broussine, M.A. (2003) "The UK Public Sector modernisation agenda - reconciliation and renewal?" *Public Management Review Vol 5 Issue 1*, pp 45 -62

Brown, C. and Medoff, J. (1989) "The Employer Size Wage Effect". *Journal of Political Economy Vol 97 No 5*, pp1029-57

Bretz, R. D., and Judge, T. A. (1994) "Person-organization fit and the Theory of Work Adjustment: Implications for satisfaction, tenure, and career success". *Journal of Vocational Behavior Vol 44*, pp32-54

Bryk, A. and Driscoll, M. (1988) *The high school as community: Contextual influences and consequences for students and teachers.* Madison: University of Wisconsin National Center on Effective Secondary Schools

Bryk, A.S., and Thum, Y.M. (1989) "The Effects of School Organization on Dropping out: An Exploratory Investigation". *American Educational Research Journal Vol 26*, pp353-383

Buchanan, D.A., Claydon, T. and Doyle, M., (1999) "Organization development and change: the legacy of the nineties". *Human Resource Management Journal Vol 9 No2*, pp20-37

Buchanan, D.A., (2000) "*The lived experience of high velocity change: a hospital case study".* Paper presented to the American Academy of Management Conference, Symposium on Strategy as Dynamic and Pluralistic Toronto August 2000

Buchanan, D. and Huczynski, A. (2004) *Organizational Behaviour - An Introductory Text* (5th Ed). London: Prentice Hall

Burbales, N. and Densmore, K. (1991) "The limits of making teaching a profession". *Educational Policy Vol 5(1),* pp44-63

Burgess, S. and Ratto, M. (2003) "The Role of Incentives in the Public Sector: Issues and evidence". *Oxford Review of Economic Policy Vol 19 (2),* pp285-300

Burnes, B. (2000) *Managing Change: A Strategic Approach to Organizational Dynamics* (3rd Ed). Harlow: Financial Times/Prentice Hall

Burnham, L. (1988) *The Teaching Assistants Handbook*. London: Heinemann

Busha, C.H. and Harter, S.P. (1980) *Research methods in librarianship: techniques and interpretation.* London: Academic Press

Burgess, S. and Ratto, M. (2003) "The Role of Incentives in the Public Sector: Issues and evidence" *Oxford Review of Economic Policy Vol19 (2),* pp285-300

Butt, G. and Lance, A. (2005) "*Modernisation, school improvement and the role of the teaching assistants".* Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association September 2005

Butt, G.W., and Gunter, H. (2007) "Workforce, workload and work life balance: the initial impacts of modernization in English Schools" in Butt, G.W. (Editor), Gunter, H. (Co-Editor) (2007) *Modernizing schools: people, learning and organizations.* London: Continuum

Byrne, D. (2002) *Interpreting Quantitative Data.* London: Thousand Oaks

Eyres, C. and Collins, J. (2004) "Inclusive Teaching Assistants". Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association September 2004

Cameron, D. (2005)   Available at: http://www.conservatives.com/tile.do?def=news.story.page&obj_id=123429&speeches=1 Accessed on 05/06/07

Campbell, R.J. and Neill, S.R. (1994) *Primary Teachers at Work*. London: Routledge

Carr-Saunders, A. M and Wilson, P.A. (1933) *The Professions.* London: Frank Cass and Company

Cattell, R. B. (1966). 'The Scree Test for the Number of Factors' *Multivariate Behavioral Research* Vol 1(2), pp245-276

Chatterji, M. and Mumford, K. (2007) "*Wage Determination in the UK Private and Public Sectors: A Preliminary analysis using WERS 2004*" presented at the Royal Economic Society's 2007 Annual Conference at the University of Warwick April 2007

Churchill, R., Williamson, J. And Grady, N. (1997) "Educational Change and the new realties in teachers work lives". *Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher education Vol 25(2),* pp141-159

Clark, A.E. (1997) "Job satisfaction and gender: Why are women so happy at work?". *Labour Economics Vol 4(4),* pp341-372

Clark, A.E., (1999) "Are wages habit-forming? Evidence from micro data...The macroeconomics of happiness". *Review of Economics and Statistics Vol 85*, pp809-827

Clark, A.E. and Oswald, A.J. (1994) "Unhappiness and Unemployment". *Economic Journal Vol 104*, pp648-659

Clark, A.E. and Oswald, A.J. (1996) "Satisfaction and Comparison Income". *Journal of Public Economics Vol 61*, pp359-381

Clark, A.E., and Oswald, A.J., (2002) "A simple statistical method for measuring how life events affect happiness". *International Journal of Epidemiology Vol 31(6),* pp1139 - 1144

Clark, A.E., Oswald, A.J. and Warr, P.B. (1996) "Is Job Satisfaction U-Shaped in Age?" *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology Vol 69*, pp57-81

Clarke, C. (2003) *Speech to the new Headteachers conference at the National College for School Leadership* 13/11/03

Clayton, T. (1990) "Welfare Assistants: Are they Equipped for their Role?" *Support for Learning Vol 5(4)*, pp193–198

Clayton, T. (1993) "From domestic helper to `assistant teacher' - The changing role of the British classroom assistant". *European Journal of Special Needs Education Vol 8(1),* pp32-43

Codd, J. (1995) 'Educational reform and the contradictory discourses of evaluation' *Evaluation and Research in Education* Vol 25, pp41-54

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) *Research Methods in Education* (4th Ed). London and New York: Routledge

Cohen, H.A. (1981) *The Nurse's Quest for Professional Identify.* Menlo Park California: Addison-Wesley

Coleman, J. (1966) *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office

Coleman, M. and Briggs, A. (2007) *Research Methods in Educational Leadership and Management.* London: Paul Chapman

Collarbone, P. (2004) *Governors News* April 2004 National Association of School Governors Journal Birmingham available at www.nagm.org.uk/govern-apr04.html Accessed on 24/10/04

Collins, D. (1998) *Organizational Change Sociological Perspectives.* London: Routledge

Cummings, C., Dyson, A. & Todd, L. (2004) *The Evaluation of the Extended Schools Pathfinder Projects.* London: DfES

Dawson, R. (2003b) *Understanding Organizational Change: The Contemporary Experience of People at Work.* London: Sage Publications

Comte, A. (1830-42) *Cours de Philosophie Positive* Vol4/6

Corcoran, M., Duncan, G. J., and Ponza, M. (1984) 'Work experience, job segregation, and wages' in Reskin, B.F. (Ed.) *Sex segregation in the workplace: Trends, explanations, remedies* .Washington DC: National Academy Press

Dadds, M. (2001) 'The politics of pedagogy' *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and practice* Vol 7 (1), pp43-58

Dale, R (1982) Education and the capitalist state: contributions and contradictions in Apple, M.W. (ed) *Cultural and economic reproduction in education – essays on class, ideology and the state* pp127 – 161, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Data Protection Act (1998). London: HMSO

Day, C., Hall, C., Gammage, P. and Coles, M. (1993) *Leadership and Curriculum in the Primary School- the roles of senior and middle management.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd

Day, C., Hall, C. and Whitaker, P. (1998) *Developing Leadership in Primary Schools.* London: Paul Chapman

Day, C. (2000) "Stories of change and professional development: the costs of commitment" in Day, C.F. (2000) *The Life and Work of Teachers.* London: Falmer Press

Day, K.M. and Devlin, R.A., (1997) *The Non profit Sector and Public Policy in Canada* Working Papers 9708e. University of Ottawa: Department of Economics

Daymont, T. and Andrisani, P.J (1983) *'Why Women Earn Less Than Men: The Case of Recent College Graduates'* Proceedings of the 35th Annual Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association Madison WI IRRA 1983

Dawis, R.V. and Lofquist, L.H. (1984) *A psychological theory of work adjustment.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Dawson, R. (2003b) *Understanding Organizational Change: The Contemporary Experience of People at Work. London: Sage*

Dearden, L., McGranahan, L. and Sianesi, B. (2004) 'Returns to Education for the 'Marginal Learner': evidence from the BCS70' *London School of Economics, Centre for the Economics of Education, Discussion Paper* No. 45

De Landsheere, G. (1982) *La recherché experimentale en education.* International Bureau of Education Geneva: UNESCO

DeVault, M.L., Harnischfeger, A. and Wiley, D.E. (1977) Schooling and learning opportunity. Chicago ML: Group for Policy Studies in Education CEMREL

Denis, J.L., Lamothe, L. and Langley, A., (2001) "The dynamics of collective leadership and strategic change in pluralistic organizations". *Academy of Management Journal Vol 44 No 4*, pp809-37

Dent, M. and Whitehead, S. (2002) (Eds) *Managing Professional Identities: knowledge, performativity and the 'new' professional.* London: Routledge

Dickerson, A. (2005) *A study on rates of return to investment in level 3 and higher qualifications.* Department of Trade and Industry: London

Dickerson, A. and Vignoles, A. (2006) *The distribution and returns to qualifications in the Sector Skills Councils.* Sector Skills Development Agency: London

Dickerson, A. and Vignoles, A. (2007) "The Distribution and Returns to Qualifications in the Sector Skills Councils" *SSDA Research Report* 21, Wath-upon-Dearne: Sector Skills Development Agency

Dietrich, M. and Roberts, J. (1997) "Beyond the economics of professionalism" in Broadbent, J., Dietrich, M., and Roberts, J. (1997) (Eds) *The End of the Professions?* London: Routledge

Disability Discrimination Act (1995) London: HMSO

Dixit, A. (2002) "Incentives and Organizations in the Public Sector: An interpretative review" *Journal of Human Resources Vol 37(4),* pp696-727

Doering, M., Rhodes, S.R. and Schuster, M. (1993) *The aging worker: Research and recommendations.* Beverly Hills CA: Sage

Doyle, M., Claydon, T. and Buchanan, D. (2000) "Mixed results, lousy process: contrasts and contradictions in the management experience of change" *British Journal of Management Vol 11*, pp59-80

Dunne, L. , Goddard, G. and Woolhouse, C. (2008) "Teaching assistants' perceptions of their professional role and their experiences of doing a Foundation Degree" *Improving Schools*, *Vol.11 No. 3*, pp239-249

Dunphy, D. and Stace, D.A. (1990) *Under New Management: Australian Organizations in Transition.* Sydney: McGraw-Hill

DES (1972) *The James Report - Teacher Education and Training* Available at: http://www.dg.dial.pipex.com/documents/docs2/james00.shtml Accessed on 11/08/09

DES (1978) *The Warnock Report* London HMSO

DfEE (1988) *Green Paper Teachers: meeting the challenge of change*. London. Stationery Office

DfEE (1990) *Circular 11/90*. London: HMSO

DfEE (1994) *Code of Practice* http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199394/cmhansrd/1994-05-03/Orals-2.html) Accessed on 26/2/07.

DfEE (1997a) *Excellence for All: meeting special educational needs.* London: HMSO

DfEE 1997b) – Dearing Report Available at http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/ncihe/ accessed on 29/5/07)

DfEE (1997c) *National Literacy Strategy.* London: HMSO

DfEE (1998a) *Meeting Special Educational Needs a Programme of Action* London HMSO

DfEE (1998b) *Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change* London HMSO

DfEE (1998 b) *Teaching and Higher Education Bill* London HMSO

DfES (1999) *National Numeracy Strategy Framework* Available at: (http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/primary/publications/mathematics/math_framework/school_organisation/938769   Accessed on 2/06/06

DfEE (2000a) *Guidance on Working with Teaching Assistants.* London: HMSO

DfEE (2000b) *The Teaching Assistant's File: Induction Training For Teaching Assistants.* London: DfEE

DfEE (2000c) Performance *management: guidance for governors.* London: DfEE

DfES (2001a) *Professionalism and Trust – the future of teachers and teaching.* London: HMSO

DfES (2001b) *Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change.* London: DfES

DfEE (*2001c*) *Learning and Teaching: a strategy for professional development.* London: HMSO

DfES (2002) *Valuing Teacher Time, Developing the Role of Support Staff* London DfES

DFES (2003a) *Time for Standards - Raising standards and tackling workload: a national agreement.* London: DfES

DfES (2003 b) *Every Child Matters.* London: HMSO.

DfES (2005a) *School workforce in England.* London: HMSO

DfES (2005b) *Sector qualification strategy for support staff qualifications* Available at: http://www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/t/tda_sqs_for_school_support_staff.pdf Accessed on 3/08/09

DfES (2006a) *Primary National Strategy* Available at: http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/primary/publications/literacy/1163749/pns_nlns122805man_ta.pdf Accessed on 6/07/06

DfES (2006b) *The Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners: maintaining the excellent progress.* London: DfES.

DfES (2006c) *HLTA Professional Standards* Available at: http://www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/h/hltaprofessional_standards.pdf Accessed on 10/01/10

DfES (2006d) Professional Development Portal Available at: (http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/professionaldevelopment/ Accessed on 10/01/10

DcSF (2007) *Statistics on Education* Available at: http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000725/SFR15-2007.pdf Accessed on 4/08/09

DfES (2009) *White Paper 21st century Schools.* London: HMSO

Earley, P. (2005) 'Continuing professional development: The learning community' in Coleman, M and Earley, P (Eds) *Leadership and Management in Education: Cultures, change and context.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Earley, P. and Bubb, S. (2004) *Leading and Managing Continuing Professional Development: developing teachers, developing schools.* London: Sage/Paul Chapman

Education Act 1944. London: HMSO

Education Act 1981. London: HMSO

Education Reform Act 1988 (c. 40) Part I, Chapter I, Section (2) London: HMSO

Education Act 1993. London: HMSO

Education Act 1996. London: HMSO

Eisenhardt, K.M. and Bourgeois, L.J., (1988) "Politics of strategic decision-making in high-velocity environments: towards a mid-range theory"', *Academy of Management Journal, vol. 31, no. 4,* pp. 737-70.

England, P. (1982) "The Failure of the Human Capital Model to Explain Occupational Sex Segregation" *Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 17*, pp 358-370

Erlandson, D.A., Harris, E.L., Skipper, B.L., and Allen, S.D. (1993) Doing Naturalistic Inquiry: A Guide to Methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Eshel, I., Samuelson, L. and Shaked, A. (1998) "Altruists, egotists, and hooligans in a local interaction model". *American Economic Review*, *Vol. 88, no. 1*, pp157-79

Exworthy, M. and Halford, S. (Eds) (*1999*) *Professionals and the new managerialism in the public sector*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Farrell, P., Balshaw, M.H. and Polat, F. (1999) *The Management, Role and Training of Learning Support Assistants*. DfEE Publications Available at: http://www.dfes.gov.uk/research/programmeofresearch/index.cfm?type=0&keywordlist1=0&keywordlist2=0&keywordlist3=0&andor=or&keyword=learning+support Accessed on 23/08/2005

Ferlie, E., Ashburner, L., Fitzgerald, L. and Pettigrew, A. (1996) *The New Public Management in Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Field, A. (2005) *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (2nd Ed.) London: Sage

Field, A. P., and Hole, G. (2003) *How to design and report experiments.* London: Sage

Filer, R. K. (1985) "Male—Female Wage Differences: The Importance of Compensating Differentials," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 38, No. 3*, pp426—37

Finn, J. D., Gerber, S. B., and Achilles, C. A. (2000) "Teacher aides: An alternative to small classes?" in Wang, M.C. and Finn, J.D. (Eds) *How small classes help teachers do their* best (pp 131-173). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Center for Research on Human Development and Education and the U.S. Department of Education.

Flexner, A. (1915) '*Is social work a profession?*' in Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Corrections, 1915 pp576-590

Forster Act 1870 London

Forth, J., and Millward, N. (2002) Union effects on pay levels in Britain, *Labour Economics, Vol. 9*, pp 547-562

Fowler, W.J., Walberg, H.J. (1991) "School size, characteristics and outcomes", *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Vol. 13*, pp189-202

Francois, P. (2000) 'Public service motivation' as an argument for government provision, *Journal of Public Economics* Vol. 78, pp275-99.

Freeman, R.B. (1993) "How much has de-unionization contributed to the rise in male earnings inequality" (pp 133-163) in Danziger, S. and Gottschalk, P. (1993) *Uneven Tides: Rising Inequality in America.* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Freeman, R. B., and Kleiner, M.M. (2000) "Who benefits most from employee involvement: Firms or workers?" *American Economic Review, Vol. 90*, pp219 - 223.

Freeman, R.B., Kleiner, M.M., and Ostroff, C. (2000) "The anatomy of employee involvement and its effect on firms and workers", *Working Paper 8050, NBER*

Freeman, R.B., and Medoff, J.L. (1981) "The impact of collective bargaining: illusion or reality", *Harvard University mimeo.*

Freeman, R.B. and Medoff, J.L. (1984) What Do Unions Do? New York: Basic Books.

French, J.R.P. and Raven, B. (1959) "The bases of social power" in Cartwright, D. (1959) (ed.) *Studies in Social Power*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Frey, B. S. and Stutzer, A. (2002) *Happiness and Economics*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Friedson, E. (1970) *Profession of Medicine*. New York: Dodd, Mead.

Fullan, M. (2001) *The new meaning of educational change* (3rd ed). New York: Teachers College Press

Furnham, A. (1997) The Psychology of Behaviour at Work. Hove: Psychology Press.

Gao, N. (2010) *Exploring the Distribution and Assignment of Secondary School Teachers: Evidence from Florida* paper presented at American Educational Research Association Denver CO; May 2010

Garcia-serrano C, (2008) "Does size matter? The influence of firm size on working conditions and job satisfaction," *ISER working papers 2008-30*

Gardner, J. and Oswald, A.J. (2006) "Do divorcing couples become happier by breaking up?" *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (Series A) Vol. 169*, pp319-336

Garrett, V. (2005) "Leading and Managing Change" in Davies, B., Ellison, L. and Bowring-Carr, C. (2nd Ed) *School Leadership in the 21st Century: developing a strategic approach.* London: Routledge Falmer

Gartner, A., Jackson, V.C., and Riessman, F. (eds.) (1977) *Paraprofessionals in education today*. New York: Human Sciences Press.

Gerber, S. B., Finn, J. D., Achilles, C. M., and Boyd-Zaharias, J. (2001) Teacher aides and students' academic achievement. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Vol 23*, pp123-143.

Genesereth, M. R. and Nilsson, N. (1987) *Logical Foundations of Artificial Intelligence*. San Mateo, CA: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers

Gettys, C. M. and Holt, M. (1993) *Survey assessment of Paedeia teachers perceptions concerning professional staff development,* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Mid-South Educational Research Association, New Orleans, Lousiana, November 1993

Giangreco, M.F., Edelman, S.W. and Broer, S.M. (2001) Respect, appreciation, and acknowledgement of paraprofessionals who support students with disabilities. *Exceptional Children, Vol 67*, pp485-498

Giddens, A. (Ed.) (2003) *The Progressive Manifesto - New Ideas for the Centre-Left*. Cambridge: Polity

Glenn N. D., Taylor P. A. and Weaver C. N. (1977) "Age and job satisfaction among males and females: A multivariate study". *Journal of Applied Psychology Vol. 132*, pp526-528

Glesne, C. and Peshkin, A. (1992) *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. White Plains, NY: Longman

Goode, W.J. (1960) "The profession: reports and opinion". *American Sociological Review Vol 25, No 6*, pp902-914

Goodson I.F. and Hargreaves A. (Ed) (1996) *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London: Falmer Press

Gorbutt, D. (1972) "The new sociology of education". *Education for Teaching Vol. 8 pp3-11*
Gorman, G.E. and Clayton, P. (1997) Qualitative *research for the information professional: A practical handbook*. Library Association: London

Gottfredson, D.C. (1985) *School Size and School Disorder.* Baltimore, MD: Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University

Gray, C., McCloy, S., Dunbar, J., Mitchell, D. and Ferguson, J. (2007) "Added Value or a familiar face? The impact of learning support assistants on young readers". Journal *of Early Childhood Research Vol.5*, pp285

Green, M. (1996) "A constructivist perspective on teaching and learning" in Fosnot, C.T. (Ed.) *Constructivism: Theory, perspectives, and practice* (pp120-141). New York: Teacher College Press

Grund, C. and Sliwka, D. (2003) "The Further We Stretch the Higher the Sky - on the Impact of. Wage Increases on Job Satisfaction" *Bonn Econ Discussion Papers bgse14_2004*

GTC (2003) *General Teaching Council for England (Disciplinary Functions) (Amendment) Regulations 2003* London HMSO

Guest, D.E. (1997) 'Human Resource Management and Performance: A Review and Research Agenda', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *Vol 8 (3-6)*, pp263-76

Gunter, H. (2004) *Remodelling the School Workforce*. Paper presented at the School Leadership and Social Justice Seminar Society for Educational Studies. 4 November 2004.

Gunter, H. (2007) "Remodelling the School Workforce in England: a study in tyranny" *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies Vol 5 (1),* pp1-11

Hammersley, M. (1993) (ed.) *Educational research: current issues*. London: Paul Chapman / The Open University: London

Hammersley-Fletcher, L. and Lowe, M (2005) Remodelling Schools: working through the change agenda – Report to Staffordshire Local Authority Available from Institute for Education Policy Research Staffordshire University

Hammersley-Fletcher, L. and Lowe, M (2010) *"From general dogsbody to whole class delivery - the role of Teaching Assistants in the education of pupils in England"* Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Denver, Colorado, April 30th-May 4th 2010

Hancock and Collins (2005) *Primary teaching assistants: learners and learning.* London: David Fulton Publishers

Hancock, R., Swann, W. Marr, A., Turner, J. and Cable, C. (2002) "Classroom assistants in primary schools: employment and deployment" *ESRC project ROOO237803.* Open University

Hancock, R., Hall, T., Cable, C., and Eyres, I. (2010) 'They call me wonder woman': the job jurisdictions and work related learning of higher level teaching assistants in *Cambridge journal of education* Vol 40 Issue 2 pp 97 – 112

Handel M.J. and Levine, D.I. (2004*),* "The effects of New Work practices on workers", *Industrial Relations, Vol. 43*, pp1 - 43

Handel, M.J. and Gittleman, M. (2004) "Is there a wage payoff to innovative work practices" *Industrial Relations" Vol.43*, *Number 1,* pp67-97

Hanlon, G. (1998) 'Professionalism as Enterprise' *Sociology*, *Vol. 32(1),* pp43-63

Handyside, J. D. (1961) Satisfactions and aspirations. *Occupational Psychology, Vol. 35,* pp213-24

Hargreaves, A. (2000) 'Four ages of professionalism and professional learning' *Teachers and Teaching: History and Practice,* Vol.6 (2) pp151-182

Hargreaves, D. H. (1967) *Social relations in a secondary school.* London: Routledge

Hartigan, J. (1975) *Clustering Algorithms*. New York, NY: Wiley

Hatcher, R. (2007) *System leadership*. Invited paper presented at Standing Conference for Research on Educational Leadership and Management seminar, University of Leicester, 28 February 2007.

Hayes, D. (2002) 'Purpose, power and constraint in the primary curriculum: The Taylor Report' *Education 3-13*, pp5- 11

Heckman, J., Lochner, L and Todd, P. (2003) "Fifty Years of Mincer Earnings Regressions" *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 9732*

Helsby, G. (1999) *Changing teachers work.* OU: press Buckingham

Helsby, G. (1996) Defining and Developing Professionalism in English Secondary Schools. *Journal of Education for Teaching Vol. 22 (2),* pp135-148

Helsby, G. and McCullough, G. (1996) 'Teacher professionalism and curriculum control' in Hargreaves, A. (Eds) (1996) *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London: Falmer Press

Hersch, J. (1991) Male-female differences in hourly wages: The role of human capital, working conditions, and housework," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 44 (4)*, pp746 – 759

Hills, F. S. (1980) "The Relevant Other in Pay Comparisons", *Industrial Relations, vol. 19, no 3*, pp 345-351

Hirsch, B.T. and Schumacher, E.J (2005) "Classic or new monopsony? Searching for evidence in nursing labor markets," *Journal of Health Economics Vol. 24:55*, pp969-989

HMI (1999) Review of Primary Education 1994-98 (1999) London: HMSO

Hancock and Collins (2005) *Primary teaching assistants: learners and learning.* London: David Fulton Publishers

Hancock, R., Swann, W. Marr, A., Turner, J. and Cable, C. (2002) "Classroom assistants in primary schools: employment and deployment" *ESRC project ROOO237803*. Open University

Handel M.J. and Levine, D.I. (2004*)*, "The effects of New Work practices on workers" *Industrial Relations, Vol. 43*, pp1 - 43

Handel, M.J. and Gittleman, M. (2004) "Is there a wage payoff to innovative work practices" *Industrial Relations" Vol.43*, Number 1, pp67-97

Handyside, J. D. (1961) Satisfactions and aspirations. *Occupational Psychology, Vol.* 35, pp213-24

Hanlon, G. (1998) 'Professionalism as Enterprise' *Sociology*, Vol. 32(1), pp43-63

Hargreaves, A. (2000) "Four ages of professionalism and professional learning" *Teachers and Teaching: History and Practice, Vol.6 (2)* pp151-182

Hartigan, J. (1975) *Clustering Algorithms*. New York, NY: Wiley

Hatcher, R. (2007) '*System leadership'*. Invited paper presented at Standing Conference for Research on Educational Leadership and Management seminar, University of Leicester, 28 February 2007.

Hayes, D. (2002) 'Purpose, power and constraint in the primary curriculum: The Taylor Report' *Education 3-13*, pp5- 11

Heckman, J., Lochner, L and Todd, P. (2003) "Fifty Years of Mincer Earnings Regressions" *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 9732*.

Helsby, G. (1999) *Changing teachers work.* OU: press Buckingham

Helsby, G. (1996) Defining and Developing Professionalism in English Secondary Schools. *Journal of Education for Teaching Vol. 22 (2),* pp135-148

Helsby, G. and McCullough, G. (1996) 'Teacher professionalism and curriculum control' in Hargreaves, A. (Eds) (1996) *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London: Falmer Press

Hersch, J. (1991) Male-female differences in hourly wages: The role of human capital, working conditions, and housework," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 44 (4)*, pp746 - 759

Hills, F. S. (1980) "The Relevant Other in Pay Comparisons", *Industrial Relations, vol. 19, no 3*, pp 345-351

Hirsch, B.T. and Schumacher, E.J (2005) "Classic or new monopsony? Searching for evidence in nursing labor markets," *Journal of Health Economics Vol. 24:55*, pp969-989

HMI (1999) Review of Primary Education 1994-98 (1999) London: HMSO

HMI (1996) *Non-teaching Staff in Schools: A Review*. London: HMSO

HMCI (1996) *Annual report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools: standards and quality in education 1995/96*. London: HMSO

Hobbs, D. (1989). *Relationships between school and school district size, educational costs and student performance: A review of the literature*. Unpublished manuscript. Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

Holland, J. L. (1985). *Making vocational choices: A theory of vocational personalities and work environments*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Hoyle, E. (1975) "Professionality; professionalism and control in teaching" in Houghton, V. (Eds) *Management in Education: The Management of Organisations and Individuals (pp 314 – 320)* London: Ward Lock Educational in association with The Open University

Hoyle, E (1995) 'Changing conceptions of a Profession', in Busher, H and Saran, R (Eds) *Managing Teachers and Professionals in Schools* London: Kogan Page.

Hoyle, E. (2008) Changing conceptions of teaching as a profession: Personal reflections in Johnson, D. and Maclean, R. (Eds) *Teaching: Professionalisation, development and leadership (pp 285 - 304)* Dordrecht: Springer

Hughes, E. C. *(1963)* 'Professions' *Daedalus Vol. 92, pp655-668*

Hussey, D., (1998) *Managing Change*. Kogan Page: London

Hustler, D., McNamara, D., Jarvis, J., Londra, M., Campbell, A. and Howson, J. (2003) *Teachers' Perceptions of Continuing Professional Development*, London: DfES.

Idson, T.L. (1990) Establishment Size, Job Satisfaction, and the Structure of Work *Applied Economics Vol. 22,* pp1007-1018

Inglese, J. (1996) "Special teachers? Perceptions of the special expertise required for effective special educational needs teaching and advisory work" S*upport for Learning Vol.11,* pp83-87

Ireson, J, Mortimore, P and Hallam, S, (1999) "Pedagogy in the Secondary School" (pp212 – 231) in Mortimore, P. (Ed), *Understanding Pedagogy and its Impact on Learning*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing

Ironside, M. and Siefert, R.V. (1995) *Industrial Relations in Schools*. London: Routledge

Jenkins, A., Vignoles, A., Wolf, A. and Galindo-Rueda, F. (2003) "The determinants and labour market effects of lifelong learning" *Applied Economics, Vol.35, No.16*, pp.1711-1721

Johnson, T. J. (1972) *Professions and Power*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Johnson, T.J. (1977). "Professions in the Class Structure" in Scase, R. (ed) *Industrial Society: Class, Cleavage and Control (*pp.93-110). London: Allen and Unwin

Johnson, S. and Garland, P. (2004) 'A systematic mapping exercise to show how existing qualifications fit with the proposed career progression framework for school support staff' *DfES Research Report 518.* London: DFES

Jones, K. (1988) *Education.* Cambridge. MA: Harvard University

Jones, M (2003) "Reconciling personal and professional values and beliefs with the reality of teaching: findings from an evaluative study of ten newly qualified teachers during their year of induction". T*eacher Development Vol. 7 (3),* pp 345-61.

Jones, M.K., Jones R.J., Latreille P.L. and Sloane, P.J. (2009) "Training, Job Satisfaction, and Workplace Performance in Britain: Evidence from WERS 2004". *Labour Vol 23,* pp9-175

Kaiser, H.F. (1970) "A second generation Little Jiffy". *Psychometrika Vol.35*, pp401-413

Katz F.E. (1969) 'Nurses' in: Etzioni A, Ed. *The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers* (pp54–77). Free Press: New York

Kennedy, K.T. and Duthie, J.H. (1975) *Auxiliaries in the Classroom: A Feasibility Study in Scottish Primary Schools.* Edinburgh: Scottish Education Department

Kerlinger, F.N. (1970) *Foundations of Behavioural Research.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston

Kerry, T. (2005) "Towards a typology for conceptualizing the roles of teaching assistants" *Educational Review Vol. 57 (3)*, pp374-384

King, W.I. (1923) "The Number of Employees" in *Employment Hours and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression, United States, 1920-1922* (pp22-46). National Bureau of Economic Research

Kolvin, I., Garside, R.F., Nicol, A.R., Macmillan, A., Wolstenholme, F. and Leitch, N.M. (1981) *Help starts here: The maladjusted child in the ordinary school.* London: Tavistock Publications

Kotter, J.R, (1995) "Leading change: why transformation efforts fail", *Harvard Business Review, vol. 73, no. 2*, pp59-67.

Kotter, J.P. and Schlesinger, L.A. (1979) "Choosing strategies for change", *Harvard Business Review, vol. 57, no. 2*, pp106-14

Kubler-Ross, E. (1969) *On Death and Dying.* Toronto: Macmillan

Kumbhakar, S. C. (1996) "Efficiency Measurement with Multiple Outputs and Multiple Inputs", Journal *of Productivity Analysis Vol. 7*, pp 225-255.

Lacey, C. (1977) *Hightown Grammar.* Manchester University Press: England

Lacey, P. (2001) The role of learning support assistants in the inclusive learning of pupils with severe and profound learning difficulties. *Educational Review Vol 53,* pp57-167

Lankford, H, Loeb, S. and Wyckoff, J. (2002) "Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools" *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis 24,* pp37-62

Lee, B. and Mawson, C. (1998) *Survey of Classroom Assistants*, Unison: NFER

Laffin, M. (1995) 'The Public Service', in Laffin, M. and Painter, M. (eds.), *Reform and Reversal: Lessons from the Coalition Government in New South Wales 1988-1995 (pp73- 90).* South Melbourne: MacMillan

Langley, A. (1999) "Strategies for theorizing from process data", *Academy of Management Review, vol. 24, no. 4* pp691-710.

Larson, M.S. (1979) *The Rise of Professionalism.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lawn, M. (1989) 'Being caught in schoolwork: the possibilities of research in teachers' work' in Carr, W. (1989) *Quality in Teaching: Arguments for a Reflective Profession.* Lewes: Falmer Press.

Lawn M. and Grace G. (Ed) (1987) *Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work.* London: Falmer Press

Le Grand, J (1997) Knights, knaves or pawns? Human behaviour and social policy. *Journal of social policy, Vol. 26 (2),* pp149-169

Leitch (2005) *Skills in the UK – the long term challenge – Interim Report* London: Leitch Review of Skills

Lewin, K. (1951) *Field Theory in Social Science*, Harper and Row: New York

LGNTO (2001) *Teaching assistants in schools: the current state of play.* London: LGNTO

LGNTO (2001) National occupational standards for teaching/classroom assistants. London: LNGTO

LGA Local Government Association Research Series in August 2002 *(LGA Research Report Number 34)*

Local Government Management Board (1996) *Survey of Non-Teaching Staff and Volunteers in Primary and Nursery Schools.* London: LGMB.

Lomax, P. (1995) 'Action research for managing change' in Bennett, N., Glatter, R. and Levacic, R. (Eds) *Improving educational management through educational research and consultancy*, Chapman: London

Lowe, M. (2007) *Beginning Research* London: Routledge

Loxley, A. and Swann, W. (1998) "The impact of school-based training on classroom assistants in primary schools". *Research Papers in Education Vol.13*, pp141-160

Lowe, M. and Pugh, J. (2007) Teaching Assistants Perceptions of Power *Management in Education, Vol 21 (4)* pp25-31

Lucifora, C. and Meurs, D. 2006. "The Public Sector Pay Gap in France, Great Britain and Italy". *Review of Income and Wealth Vol.* 52(1), pp43- 59

MacBeath, J., Galton, M., Steward, S., MacBeath, A. and Page, C. (2006) *The Costs of Inclusion: a study of inclusion policy and practice in English primary, secondary and special schools* (Available at http://www.teachers.org.uk/resources/pdf/CostsofInclusion.pdf Accessed on 29/5/07)

MacDonald, K. (1995) *The Sociology of the Professions.* London: Sage

MacGilchrist, B., Myers, K. and Reed, J. (1997) *The intelligent school.* London: Paul Chapman

Madden, C.A. and Mitchell, V.A. (1993) *Professions, Standards and Competence: A. Survey of Continuing Education for the Professions,* Bristol: University

Makepeace, G. and Marcenaro, O. (2006) "The Earnings of Workers Covered by Pay Review Bodies: Evidence from the Labour Force Survey" *Report for the office of Manpower Economics Available at* http://www.ome.uk.com/research.cfm Accessed on 13/05/2010

Marsden, D. (2000) 'Why does performance pay de-motivate? - Financial incentives versus performance appraisal' *Centre for Economic Performance Discussion Paper 476*, London School of Economics

Marsden, D. and French, S*. (1998) 'What a performance: performance related pay in the public services' Centre for Economic Performance Special Report*, July. London School of Economics, London (available at www.cep.lse.ac.uk)

Matthews, R. (1991) 'The Economics of Professional Ethics: Should the Professions Be More Like Business?' *Economic Journal*, *Vol.101*, pp737-50

Mausner, F., Peterson, B., Richard O., and Capwell, D. (1957) Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion *Psychological Services of Pittsburgh, 1st ed.*, pp279

May, T. (2001) *Social Research – Issues, methods and process.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Mayo, J. W. and Murray. M.N. (1991) "Firm Size, Employment Risk and Wages: Further Insights on a Persistent Puzzle" *Applied Economics*, *Vol. 23, No. 8*, pp1351-60

McBrien, J. and Weightman, J. (1980) "The Effects of Room Management Procedures" *British Journal of Mental Subnormality, Vol. 26, Part 1*, pp38-46

McBrien, J. and Foxen, T. (1981) *Training Staff in Behavioural Methods: Instructors Handbook.* Manchester: Manchester University Press

McCulloch, G. H. (2000) *The Politics of Professionalism* London: Continuum

McGowan, K.R., and Hart, L.E. (1990) "Still different after all these years: Gender differences in professional identity formation". *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, Vol. 21*, pp118-123

Mehan, H. (1973) 'Assessing children's school performance' in Dreitzel H.P. (ed) Recent Sociology Vol; 5, Childhood and socialization, London: Macmillan

Melia, K.M. (1987) *Learning and working: the occupational socialisation of nurses*. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd

Mellon, C.A. (1990) *Naturalistic inquiry for library science: methods and applications for research, evaluation, and teaching*. New York: Greenwood

Mellow, W. (1982) "Employer Size and Wages." *Review of Economic and Statistics*, *Vol. 64, No. 3*, pp495-501.

Merton*, R.K. and Kendall, P.L. (1946) The Focused Interview. *American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 51*, pp541-557

Millerson, G. (1964) *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalisation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Mincer, J. (1958) "Investment in Human Capital and Personal Income Distribution", *Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 66 (4),* pp281-302

Mincer, J. and S. Polachek (1974)"Family Investment in Human Capital: Earnings of Women" *Journal of Political Economy*, *Vol. 82(2, part II),* S76-S108.

Moore, H.L. (1911) *The Law of Wages*, London: Macmillan

Moos, R. H. (1987) Person-environment congruence in work, school, and health care settings. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *Vol. 31,* pp231-247

Morgan, N. (2001) *"How to overcome change fatigue*", Proceedings of the Burning Questions 2001 Conference, Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Publishing

Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., and Spiers, J. (2002) "Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods 1* (2), Article 2. (Available from: http://www.ualberta.ca/~ijqm/ Accessed on 02/08/10)

Morris, E. (2001) *Professionalism and trust* - Rt Hon Estelle Morris MP Secretary of State for Education and Skills to the Social Market Foundation. London: DfES.

Mortimore, P., Mortimore, J., Thomas, H., Cairns, R. and Taggart, B. (1992) *The Innovative Uses of Non-Teaching Staff in Primary and Secondary Schools Project: Final Report*. London: Department for Education

Moyles, J. (2002) "Observation as a research tool" in Coleman, M. and Briggs, R.F (2002) (Eds) *Research Methods in Educational Leadership and Management*. London: Paul Chapman

Moyles, J. and Suschitzky, W. (1997) *Jills of All Trades? Classroom assistants in KS1 classes.* ATL

Muijs, D. (2003) 'The effectiveness of the use of learning support assistants in improving the mathematics achievement of low achieving pupils in primary school' in *Educational Research*, *1469-5847, Volume 45, Issue 3*, pp219 – 230

Murray, R.A. (1999) *Job Satisfaction of Professional and Paraprofessional Library Staff at the University of North Carolina*. North Carolina: Chapel Hill

NAHT (2005) Statement of Policy Available at: www.naht.org.uk Accessed on 2/8/09

National Curriculum Council, 1990)

National Remodelling Team Available at www.remodelling.org Accessed on 2/8/09

NCSL (2007) *School Business Managers Baseline Study Interim Report* Available at: http://www.ncsl.org.uk/media-425-31-SBM-Interim-Report-March-2007.pdf Accessed on 4/8/09

Newell, R.W. (1986) Objectivity empiricism and truth. London: Routledge

Newman, J. (2001) *Modernising Governance.* London: Sage Publications.

NHS Modernization Agency (2002) *Improvement Leaders' Guide to Sustainability and Spread*. Ipswich: Ancient House Printing Group

Nisbett, J. and Watt, J. (1984) *Case Study* in Bell, J., Bush, T., Fox, A., Goodey, J. and Goulding, S. (1984) *Conducting Small-scale Investigations in Educational Management*. London: Chapman

Nixon, J., Martin, J., McKeown, P. and Ranson, S. (1997) "Towards a learning profession: changing codes of occupational practice within the new management of education" *British Journal of Sociology of Education Vol.18*, pp5-28

NUT (1998) *Associate Staff Support for Teachers*. London: NUT

NUT (2003) *A price too high*. London: NUT

O'Brien, G. E. and Dowling, P. (1981) "Age and job satisfaction". *Australian Psychologist, Vol.16 (1)*, pp49-61

O'Brien T, Garner P (2001) *Untold Stories: Learning Support Assistants and their Work.* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

O'Day, R. (2000) *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450 - 1800: Themes in British Social History*. Harlow, Essex: Longman

OED (1997) *Oxford English Dictionary* Oxford: Oxford University Press

OFSTED (2000) *Evaluating Educational Inclusion: Guidance for Inspectors and Schools*. London: TSO

OFSTED, 2002, *Teaching assistants in primary schools: an evaluation of the quality and impact of their work*. London: TSO

Oi, W.Y. (1983) "Heterogeneous Firms and the Organization of Production". *Economic Inquiry, Vol. 21* pp147 – 171

Oldroyd, D. and Hall, V. (1991) *Managing Staff Development: A Handbook for Secondary Schools.* London: Paul Chapman Publishing

ONS data (2008) Available at: http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/trends/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.showChart&cid=1&iid=3&chid=15 Accessed on 10/11/09

Osterman, P. (2000) "Work Reorganization in an Era of Restructuring: Trends in Diffusion and Effects on Employee Welfare". *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, vol. 53, no. 2*, pp176-96.

Ozga, J.T. and Lawn, M.A. (1981) *Teachers, Professionalism and Class: A Study of Organized Teachers.* Basingstoke: Falmer Press

Ozga, J. (2002) "Researching Education Policy: Interpreting the Evidence" in Davies, B. And West-Burnam, J. (2000) (Eds) *Handbook of Educational Leadership and Management.* London: Pearson Collins.

Pan, S., LaVonne, A. S. and Geller, J.M. (1997) "Restrictive Practice Environment and Nurse Practitioners' Prescriptive Authority". *Journal of the American Academy of Nurse Practitioners, Vol.9 (1)*, pp9-15

Parkin, F. (1979) *Marxism and Class Theory. A bourgeois critique.* London: Tavistock

Parkin, P. A. (1995) "Nursing the future: a re-examination of the professionalisation thesis in the light of some recent developments". *Journal of Advanced Nursing, Vol.21 (3)* pp561-67

Parry E.M. and Archer, H. (1974) *Pre-school education.* London: Schools Council/MacMillan,

Pascale, R.T., Millemann, M. and Gioja, L. (1997) "Changing the way we change", *Harvard Business Review*, November-December, pp127-39

Pallant, J. (2007) *SPSS Survival Manual.* Maidenhead: Open University Press/McGraw-Hill

Patton, M. Q. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd Ed.).* Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Pavalko, R. (1988*) Sociology of Occupations and Professions* 2nd Edition. Itasca IL: F E Peacock Publishers

Pedace, R. (2008) "Firm Size-Wage Premiums: Using Employer Data to Unravel the Mystery". *Journal of Economic Issues Vol 44 (1)*, pp163-182

Pentland, B.T. (1999) "Building process theory with narrative: from description to Explanation". *Academy of Management Review, Vol. 24, no. 4*, pp711-24.

Penn, H. and McQuail, S. (1997) *Childcare as a Gendered Occupation.* London: Department for Education and Employment

Pettigrew, A.M., (1973) *The Politics of Organizational Decision-Making.* London: Tavistock

Pettigrew, A.M., (1985) *The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in ICI* Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Pettigrew, A.M., (1987a) 'Context and action in the transformation of the firm', *Journal of Management Studies, vol. 24, no. 6,* pp649-70

Pettigrew, A.M. (1987b) *The Management of Strategic Change.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Pettigrew, A.M., (1998) "Success and failure in corporate transformation initiatives" in Galliers, R.D. and Baets, W.R.J. (1998) (Eds) *Information Technology and Organizational Transformation* (pp271-89). Chichester: Wiley

Pfeffer, J. (1992) *Managing with Power: Power and Influence in Organisations.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press

Phillips, D. C. (1987) 'Validity in qualitative research', *Education and Open Society Vol 20(1)*, pp9-24, in Hammersley, M. (1987) (ed.) *Educational research: current issues.* London: Paul Chapman

Pilliner, A. (1973) *Experiments in Educational Research.* Bletchley: Oxford University Press

Pittman, B. and Haughwout, P. (1987) "Influence of high school size on dropout rate". *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Vol. 9* pp337 - 343

Plowden Report (1967) *Children and their Primary Schools Volume 1.* London: HMSO

Pollitt, C. (1995), 'Justification by works or by faith? Evaluating the New Public Management', *Evaluation, Vol. 1(2)*, pp133-154

Poulantzas, N. (1975) *Classics in Contemporary Capitalism.* London: New Left Books

Pratte, R. and Rury, J.L. (1991) "Teachers, professionalism and craft". *Teachers College Record, Vol. 93,* pp59-72

PricewaterhouseCoopers (2001) *Teacher Workload Study* London: DfES

PricewaterhouseCoopers (2005) *The economic benefits of a Degree.* London: Universities UK

Pring, R. (2001) "Managing the Professions: The Case of Teachers" *Political Quarterly, vol.72,* pp278-290

Prouteau L. and Wolff F.C. (2006) "Does voluntary work pay off in the labor market?" *Journal of Socio-Economics, vol. 35,* pp992-1013

Psacharopoulos, G. and Patrinos, H.A. (2004) "Returns to investment in education: a further update". *Education Economics Vol. 12(2),* pp111-134

Rapkins, C. (1996), "Best practice for continuing professional development: professional bodies facing the challenge", in Woodward, I. (1996) (Eds) *Continuing Professional Development: Issues in Design and. Delivery.* London: Cassell

Reynolds, D., Sammons, P., Stoll, L., Barber, M. and Hillman, J. (1996) School effectiveness and school improvement in the United Kingdom. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, vol. 7, (2), pp133-58

Richards, C. (1999) *Primary Education: At a hinge in history.* London: Falmer Press

Rich, J. (1984) *Professional Ethics in education.* Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas

Riggall, A. and Sharp, C. (2008) "The Structure of Primary Education: England and other countries" *Primary Review Research Survey 9/1.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press

Robins, V. and Silcock, P. (2001) The invisible professionals: English school nursery nurses talk about their jobs. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal Vol. 9*, pp23-40

Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research.* Oxford: Blackwells

Roden, J. K. and Cardina, C. E. (1996) "Factors which contribute to school administrators' hiring decisions". *Education, Vol. 117(2),* pp262-267

Roth, W., and Breuer, F. (2003) "Reflexivity and Subjectivity: A Possible Road Map for Reading the Special Issues" Forum Qualitative, Sozialforschung

Rudestam, K. E. and Newton, R. R. (1992) *Surviving Your Dissertation: A. Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process.* London: Sage Publications

Rutter, M., Maughan. B., Mortimore, P. and Ouston, J. (1979) *Fifteen thousand hours: secondary schools and their effects on children*. London: Open Books

Russell, A., Blatchford, P., Bassett, P., Brown, P., and Martin, C. (2005) "The views of teaching assistants in English key stage 2 classes on their role, training and job satisfaction" *Educational Research, Volume 47(2),* pp175-189

Sammons, P., Hillman, J. and Mortimore, P. (1995) *Key Characteristics of effective schools: a review of school effectiveness research*. London: Ofsted

Samuel, G. (2000) Speech to the World Bank Human Development Week Washington DC, Tuesday 29 February, 2000 Available at: http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/dissent/documents/health/samuel_spch.html Accessed on 25/09/03

Schofield, J. S. (1995) "Improving intergroup relations among students" in Banks, J. and Banks, C. (Eds.) *Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 635–645).* New York: Macmillan

Schon, D. (1987) *Educating the reflective practitioner*. London: Temple Smith

Schlapp, U., Wilson, V. and Davidson, J. (2001) "An *Extra Pair of Hands?' Evaluation of the classroom assistants' initiative"* Research Report 104. Edinburgh: SCRE

Schuster, M.R. and Rhodes, S.R (1983) *The aging worker: research and recommendations.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications

Scottish Executive Education Department (2001a) A Teaching profession for the 21stCentury: *The McCrone Report* Volume 1. Edinburgh: SEED

Scottish Executive Education Department (2001b) *A Teaching profession for the 21st Century: Agreement Reached Following Recommendations Made in the McCrone Report*. Edinburgh: SEED

Scriven, M. (1972) "Objectivity and subjectivity in educational research" in Thomas, L.G. (Ed) *Philosophical redirection of educational research* (71st yearbook of the NSSE; pp94-U2) Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education

Senge, P. (1990) *The Fifth Discipline: the art and practice of the learning organisation.* New York: Doubleday

Sex Discrimination Act 1975. London

Siebern-Thomas, F. (2001) "Returns to Education in Germany: A Variable Treatment Intensity Approach". *Economics Working Papers ECO2001/09*

Siebern-Thomas, F. (2005) Job quality in European labour markets, in Bazen S., Luciflora C. and Salverda W. (Eds.), *Job Quality and Employer Behaviour pp31-66.* Basingstoke: Palgrave

Slee, R., Weiner, G. and Tomlinson, S. (Eds.) *School Effectiveness for Whom?* London: Falmer

Smart, J. C., Elton, C. F., and McLaughlin, G. W. (1986) "Person-environment congruence and job satisfaction". *Journal of Vocational Behavior, Vol. 29*, pp216-225

Smith, B., Hornsby, J., Benson, P. and Wesolowski, M. (1989) "What is in a name: The impact of job tides on job evaluation results". *Group Organization Management Vol. 19,* pp112-128

Smithers, A. and Robinson, P (2001) *Factors Affecting Teachers Decision To Leave The Profession.* Centre for Education and Employment: Liverpool University Available at http://www.ttrb.ac.uk/viewArticle2.aspx?contentId=12620 Accessed on 4/8/09

Sohn, K. (2008) "The Monopsony Power in the US Teacher Labor Market" in *The Empirical Economics Letters, 7(6).* Albany, Washington DC: University at Albany

Stafford, F. P. (1980) "Firm size, workplace public goods, and worker welfare" in Siegfried, J.J. (1980) (Eds) *The Economics of Firm Size, Market Structure and Social Performance*, Washington DC: Federal Trade Commission

Standard Occupation Classification (2000). London: HMSO

Stevenson, H. (2007) "Changes in teachers' work and the challenges facing teacher unions" in *Electronic International Journal for Leadership in Learning Vol. 11* [online] Available at: http://www.ucalgary.ca/iejll/vol11/stevenson Accessed on 06/-8/10

Stevenson, H. And Tooms, A. (2010) Connecting 'up there' with 'down here' – thoughts in globalisation, neo liberalism and leadership praxis in Normore, A. (ed) *Advances in Educational Administration: The development, Preparation, and socialization of Leaders of Learning and Learners of Leadership: A Global perspective.* Bingley: Emerald

Stewart. W (2003) *Storm out of blue skies*. Times Educational Supplement. 5 December 2003

Sullivan, D. (1989) Monopsony Power in the Market for Nurses NBER Working Paper No. 3031 Available at: http://www.nber.org/papers/w3031.pdf Accessed on: 02/08/10

SWDB (2006) *Building the School Team: Our Plans for Support Staff Training and ... a Skills Strategy for the Wider School Workforce 2006-09* Available at: http://www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/s/swdb-1yp.pdf Accessed on 11/12/91

Tabachnick, B.G., and Fidell, L.S. (2001) *Using Multivariate Statistics*, Fourth Edition. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon

Talbert, J. and McLaughlin, M. (1996) 'Teacher professionalism in local school contexts' in Goodson, I. and Hargreaves, A. (Eds.) *Teachers' Professional Lives* London: Falmer Press

TDA (2007) '*Teachers Professional Standards' Available at:* www.tda.gov.uk: http://www.tda.gov.uk/Home/teachers/professionalstandards/downloads.aspx Accessed on 25/03/10

TDA (2009) *CPD for the Wider children's workforce in schools'* paper presented by Sue Tate to UCET CPD Committee 5th November 2009

Teachernet (2006) *Guidance to school leaders in relation to Teaching Assistants* Available at: (http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/wholeschool/teachingassistants/ Accessed on 05/07/06)

The Warnock Report (1978) *Special Educational Needs* London: HMSO

Thomas, G. (1985) "Extra people in the classroom – a key to integration?" *Educational and Child Psychology, Vol.2 (3)*, pp102-108

Thomas, G. (1987) "Extra people in the primary classroom". *Educational Research Vol. 29, pp*173-181

Thomas, G. (1991) "Defining role in the new classroom teams". *Educational Research Vol. 33(3)*, pp186-199

Thomas, G., Butt, G., Fielding, A., Foster, J., Gunter, *H*., Lance, A., (2004) *The Evaluation of the Transforming the School Workforce Pathfinder Evaluation Project,* Brief No: RBX03-04. London: Department for Education and Skills

Thorndike, E. L. (1913) *An introduction to the theory of mental and social measurements*, (2nd ed). New York: Teachers College Press

Toffler, A., (1970) *Future Shock.* London: Pan Books

Tomlinson, J. (1993) *The control of education*. London: Cassell.

Toulmin, S. (1982) "The construal of reality: Criticism in modern and post modern" in Mitchell, W. (Ed) *The politics of interpretation (pp99-l 18),* Chicago: Chicago University Press

Treiman, D.J. (1979) *Job Evaluation: An Analytic Review.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences

Troman, G. (1996) "The rise of the new professionals? The restructuring of primary teachers' work and professionalism". *British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.17 (4),* pp473-487

Troman, G. (2000) "Teacher Stress in the Low-Trust Society". *British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 21 No. 3*, pp331-353

Trostel P., Walker, I. and Woolley, .P (2002) "Estimates of the economic return to schooling for 28 countries". *Labour Economics, Volume 9, Number 1,* pp1-16

Tryon, R. C. (1939) *Cluster Analysis.* Ann Arbor; Michigan: Edwards Brothers Inc

Turner B. (1993) "Talcott Parsons, universalism and the educational revolution: democracy versus professionalism". *British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44(1),* pp1–24

Ulrich, D. (1997) *Human Resource Champions.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press

Vieira, J. C., Menezes, A. and Gabriel, P. (2005) "Low pay, higher pay and job quality: empirical evidence for Portugal". *Applied Economics Letters, Vol 12*, pp505–511

Vollmer, H.M. and Mills, D.L. (1966) *Professionalization.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall

Wallace, M. (1987) "A historical review of action research Implications for the education of teachers in their managerial role". *Journal of education for teaching, Vol. 13 (2),* pp 97-115

Wallace, S. (2005) "Being a SENCO Assistant" in Hancock, R. and Collins, J. (Eds) *Primary Teaching Assistants Learners and Learning.* London: David Fulton Publishers

Walker, I. and Zhu, Y. (2003) "Education, Earnings and Productivity: Recent UK evidence", *Labour Market Trends*, *March,* pp145-52

Warr, P.B. (1992) "Age and Occupational Well-Being", *Psychology and Aging, Vol. 7*, pp37-45

Warr, P.B. (1999). *Work, well-being and effectiveness: A history of the MRC/ESRC.* Social and Applied Psychology Unit. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press

Watkinson, A. (1999) The professional development of teaching assistants, *Professional Development Today Vol. 2(3)*, pp63-69

Watkinson, A. (2003) *The Essential Guide For Competent Teaching Assistants.* London. David Fulton Publishers Limited

WAMG (2003) *Effective Deployment Of Higher Level Teaching Assistants To Help Raise Standards* Note 17 Available at: http://www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/w/wamg_guidance17.pdf Accessed on 5/1/09

Watts, R. (1987) Development of professional Identity in Black Clinical Psychology Students, *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, Vol. 18*, pp28-35

Weaver, C.N. (1980) "Job Satisfaction in the United States in the 1970s", *Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 65*, pp364-367

Webb, R., Vulliamy, G., Hamalainen, S., Anneli, S., Kimonen, E. and Nevalainen, R. (2004) "Pressures, rewards and teacher retention: a comparative study of primary teaching in England and Finland". *Scandinavian Journal or Educational Research, Vol.48(2)* pp169-88

West, A. and Pennell, H. (2002) "How new is New Labour? The quasi-market and English schools 1997 to 2001". *British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 50(2),* pp206-224

West-Burnham, J and O'Sullivan, F, (1998) *Leadership and Professional Development in Schools.* London: Financial Times, Prentice Hall

White, M. and Cameron, R.J. (1987). *Portage Early Education Programme: A practical manual.* Windsor: NFER-NELSON.

Whittington, R. and Mayer, M., (2002) *Organizing for Success in the Twenty-First Century: A Starting Point for Change*, London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development

White, H. (1981) "Where do markets come from?" *American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 87(3)*, pp517-47

Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) *Devolution and Choice in Education: The School, the State and the Market.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Wilensky, H. L. (1964) "The Professionalization of Everyone?" *American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXX (2),* pp137-58

Wilkin, A., White, R. & Kinder, K. (2003b) *Towards Extended Schools: A literature review.* London: DfES

Wilson, E. and Bedford, D. (2008) "New partnerships for learning': teachers and teaching assistants working together in schools – the way forward". *Journal of Education for Teaching; Vol 34, No 2*, pp137-150

Wood, E. and O'Sullivan, F. (2008*) Site-level School Business Managers: looking beyond the traditional view of educational leadership* Paper presented at the UCEA Annual Convention, Orlando, Florida, USA Paper Session 7.10: 5.00-6.20 pm, Friday 31st October, 2008

Woods, P. A. (2002) "The reconstruction of primary teachers' identities". *British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.80,* pp89-106

Woodward, W. (2001) "Teachers demoted in class structure". *Times Educational Supplement* March 16th

Wright, C. (1986) "School processes: an ethnographic study" in Eggleston, J., Dunn, D. and Anjali, M. *Education for Some: The Educational & Vocational Experiences of 15–18 year old Members of Minority Ethnic Groups (pp l27-180).* Stoke on Trent: Trentham

Wright, N. (2003) "Principled or 'Bastard' Leadership? A rejoinder to Gold, Evans, Earley, Halpin and Collarbone" in *Educational management and Administration, Vol. 3*

Young, M.F.D. (1971) *Knowledge and control.* London: Collier Macmillan

Zvi Griliches, H. (1963) "The Sources of Measured Productivity Growth: United States Agriculture, 1940-60". *Journal of Political Economy, Vol.71,* pp331-46

Zvi Griliches, H. (1964) "Research Expenditures, Education, and the Aggregate Agricultural Production Function," *American Economic Review, Vol.54 (6),* pp961-74

Appendices

Appendix 1 - The 25 Tasks

	National Agreement list	Annex 5, School Teachers' Pay and Conditions (STPCD) – Tasks no longer required to be undertaken by Teachers
1	Collecting money;	Collecting money from pupils and parents.
2	Chasing absences – teachers will need to inform the relevant member of staff when students are absent from their class or from school;	Investigating a pupil's absence.
3	Bulk photocopying;	Bulk photocopying.
4	Copy typing;	Typing or making word-processed versions of manuscript material and producing revisions of such versions.
5	Producing standard letters – teachers may be required to contribute as appropriate in formulating the content of standard letters;	Word-processing, copying and distributing bulk communications, including standard letters, to parents and pupils.
6	Producing class lists – teachers may be required to be involved as appropriate in allocating students to a particular class;	Producing class lists on the basis of information provided by teachers.
7	Record keeping and filing – teachers may be required to contribute to the content of records;	Keeping and filing records, including records based on data supplied by teachers.
8	Classroom display – teachers will make professional decisions in determining what material is displayed in and around their classroom;	Preparing, setting up and taking down classroom displays in accordance with decisions taken by teachers.
9	Analysing attendance figures – it is for teachers to make use of the outcome of analysis;	Producing analyses of attendance figures.
10	Processing exam results – teachers will need to use the analysis of exam results;	Producing analyses of examination results.
11	Collating pupil reports;	Collating pupil reports.
12	Administering work experience – teachers may be required to support pupils on work experience (including through advice and visits);	Administration of work experience (but not selecting placements and supporting pupils by advice or visits).
13	Administering examinations – teachers have a professional responsibility for identifying appropriate examinations for their pupils;	Administration of public and internal examinations.
14	Invigilating examinations	
15	Administering teacher cover;	Administration of cover for absent teachers.
16	ICT trouble shooting and minor repairs;	Ordering, setting up and maintaining ICT equipment and software.
17	Commissioning new ICT equipment;	[See 16.]
18	Ordering supplies and equipment – teachers may be involved in identifying needs;	Ordering supplies and equipment.
19	Stocktaking;	[See 20.]

20	Cataloguing, preparing, issuing and maintaining equipment and materials;	Cataloguing, preparing, issuing and maintaining materials and equipment and stocktaking the same.
21	Minuting meetings – teachers may be required to communicate action points from meetings;	Taking verbatim notes or producing formal minutes of meetings.
22	Co-ordinating and submitting bids – teachers may be required to make a professional input into the content of bids;	Coordinating and submitting bids (for funding, school status and the like) using contributions by teachers and others.
23	Seeking and giving personnel advice;	[Covered in paragraph 62.11, not in Annex 5.]
24	Managing pupil data – teachers will need to make use of the analysis of pupil data;	Managing the data in school management systems.
25	Inputting pupil data – teachers will need to make the initial entry of pupil data into school management systems.	Transferring manual data about pupils not covered by the above into computerised school management systems.

(http://www.remodelling.org/diff_ver_24t.php, 2005)

Appendix 2 The Change Process

Source: www.remodelling.org/what_is.php

Mobilisation

Creation of a school change team

The whole school workforce is informed

Opportunities and challenges are discussed in general

A Remodelling Initiation document is created

↓

Discovery

Recognition of existing good practice

Issues around workload identified

Readiness for change assessed

Commitment to the process

↓

Deepening

Problem-solving techniques used to understand the scale and scope of the change required.

Often no obvious routes to a solution but clarity about the need for change

↓

Developing

The change team identify the change programme

The change team define a clear vision of the future

↓

Delivery

A plan is developed and the future vision shared with the whole school.

Establishment of a change culture within the school

Appendix 3 Method TA Survey

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information about how teaching assistants are deployed within the sector and whether there are any discernible patterns of deployment specific to the sector such as qualification level, gender etc. You will have access to my report on completion of this project on the Foundation Degree for Teaching Assistants Blackboard VLE. I would however, like to re-enforce the point that no information that identifies the school or yourself as an individual will be available to anyone outside this project.

This questionnaire has been divided into two parts. Part one has twenty four questions and asks you to provide information about yourself. Part two has five questions and asks you to provide information about the place where you work. Most of these questions require you to put a cross in the appropriate box. Please place your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided and hand it to your college tutor.

Q1.Which age group do you fit into? *(please put a cross in the appropriate box)*

19-24 ☐

25 - 34 ☐

35 - 44 ☐

45 – 54 ☐

55 - 64 ☐

Q2. Are you:

Male ☐   Female ☐

Q3. What is your highest level of qualification?

A Level 2 qualification such as NVQ2 / GCSE / GCE O'level / CSE Grade 1-3 ☐

A Level 3 qualification such as NVQ3 / A'level / Access / NNEB / Cache diploma ☐

A Degree ☐

A Post-graduate qualification ☐

Other (Please specify) ---

Q4. What is your highest qualification as a Teaching Assistant?

A Level 2 qualification such as NVQ2 ☐

A Level 3 qualification such as NVQ3 ☐

NNEB / CACHE ☐

STAC ☐

HLTA ☐

A Foundation Degree ☐

No Qualifications ☐

Other (Please specify) ---

Q5. How many hours do you work in school each week on average? (_only include hours that you are paid for_)

4 or less ☐

5 – 10 ☐

11 – 15 ☐

16 – 20 [ ]

21 – 25 [ ]

26 – 30 [ ]

Over 30 [ ]

Q6. Do you have another job in school?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

If you answered No to Question 6 please move to Question 9

Q7. Please tick the most appropriate job description/s for the additional hours identified in Question 6.

Lunchtime Supervisor [ ]

Librarian [ ]

Clerical / Secretarial [ ]

Cover Supervisor [ ]

Behaviour Support [ ]

Other (Please Specify)

Q8. How many hours do you work each week on average on your additional job/s?
(*only include hours that you are paid for*)

4 or less ☐

5 – 10 ☐

11 – 15 ☐

16 – 20 ☐

21 – 25 ☐

26 – 30 ☐

Over 30 ☐

Q9. How many years have you worked as a TA?

Q10. What is your job title?

Q11. How much are you paid as a TA each month (Please indicate the gross figure – before tax and deductions)

Q12. Do you belong to a professional group / organisation such as PANN (Professional Association of Nursery Nurses)?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If you answered Yes please name the Professional Body/ies.

Q13. Are you in a union such as UNISON?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If you answered Yes please name the Professional Body/ies.Union

----

Q14. Are you a member of a school group such as Governors / Well Being Team / Workforce Remodelling / Change Team?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If you answered Yes please name the group

Q15. Does your school have a policy for TA's?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't Know ☐

Q16. Do you have a job description?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't Know ☐

Q17. Have you had an appraisal / job related review / professional development meeting with line manager in the last 12 months?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't Know ☐

If you answered yes to Q17 please complete Q18. If you answered No / Don't Know please go to Question 20.

Q18. Who was involved in this process?

Q19. What is the gender of your line manager?

Male ☐

Female ☐

Q20. Have you been on any training courses/ or accessed any CPD opportunities (such as school based training, visits to other schools) in the last 12 months?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If you answered yes could you please list the courses / training events / CPD opportunities you have attended?

Q21. Do you, as part of your role as a TA, carry out the following tasks?

Activity	Frequency (Please Tick)				
	Daily	**Often**	**Some-times**	**Never**	**Has this Increased over the last 2 years**
Collecting Money					
Chasing absences					
Bulk photocopying					
Copy typing					
Producing standard letters					
Producing class lists					
Record keeping and filing					
Classroom display					
Analysing attendance figures					
Processing exam results					
Collating pupil reports					

Administering work experience				
Administering teacher cover				
ICT trouble shooting / minor repairs				
Commissioning new ICT equipment				
Ordering supplies and equipment				
Stocktaking				
Cataloguing, preparing, issuing and maintaining equipment and materials				
Minuting meetings				
Co-coordinating and submitting bids				
Seeking / giving personnel advice				
Managing pupil data				
Inputting pupil data				
Planning a lesson for a single pupil				
Planning a lesson for a small group				
Planning a lesson for a whole class				
Teaching a single pupil				
Teaching a whole class				
Teaching a small group				
Supporting learning – single pupil				
Supporting learning - whole class				
Supporting learning - small group				
Covering a class- PPA Cover / covering for staff absence				

Q23. Do you cover a class- PPA Cover / covering for staff absence?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If you answered yes to this question How many hours cover do you provide, on average, per week?

Q24. How would you describe your satisfaction with your job as a TA?

Very satisfied

Satisfied

Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

Unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied

Part Two - These questions are about where you work.

Q12. Do you work in:

Foundation Stage

YR

Year 1

Year 2

Year 3

Year 4

Year 5

Year 6

Other *(Please state the specific age group/s you work with)*

Q13. Is your school

Private   State   Church aided

Q14. How many pupils are in your school?

50 or less

51 – 250   ☐

251 – 500   ☐

501 – 750   ☐

751 – 1000   ☐

Q15. Which LEA is your workplace in?

Derbyshire	☐	Staffordshire	☐
Wolverhampton	☐	Dudley	☐
Cheshire	☐	Walsall	☐
Stoke on Trent	☐	Shropshire	☐
Telford & Wrekin	☐	Powys	☐
Leicestershire	☐	Sandwell	☐

Other *(please Specify)*

Q16. Which category best describes the location of your workplace?

Urban   ☐   Semi-urban   ☐   Rural   ☐

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please hand your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided to your college tutor who will forward it to Michelle Lowe at Staffordshire University.

Appendix 4 - Method Teacher Interview Schedule

Thank you for taking part in this interview. I am conducting this interview as part of my PhD research which asks whether Teaching Assistants are becoming a profession. The purpose of this interview is to gather information about what you perceive to be the role of the Teaching Assistant and ways in which it is similar or different from the role of the teacher. I am also collecting information about the range of continuing professional development opportunities available to and undertaken by Teaching Assistants. You will be able to access my PhD upon successful submission via the Staffordshire University Institute for education Policy Research website – www.staffs.ac.uk/iepr I would like to re-enforce the point that no information that identifies the school or yourself as an individual will be available to anyone outside this project. Please could you state your current role in the school for the tape.

How would you define the role of the Teacher?

What is the relationship between the Teacher and a TA?

What decisions do you make in relation to teaching (curriculum/ planning / assessment)?

How often are you required to make those decisions?

How do you decide what to do – what action to take – what helps you to make the decision?

How do you evaluate your decision? How do you know If you have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do TAs make in relation to teaching (curriculum/ planning / assessment)?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do you make in relation to managing behaviour?

How often are you required to make those decisions?

How do you decide what to do – what action to take – what helps you to make the decision?

How do you evaluate your decision? How do you know If you have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do TAs make in relation to managing behaviour?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do you make in relation to school wide decisions?

How often are you required to make those decisions?

How do you decide what to do – what action to take – what helps you to make the decision?

How do you evaluate your decision? How do you know If you have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do TAs make in relation to school wide decisions?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

How do you think the role of the teacher will develop in the next three years?

How do you think the role of the TA will develop in the next three years?

How do you think the role of the teacher will develop in the next three years?

How do you think the role of the TA will develop in the next three years?

Can you give me an example of a professional person?

What makes them professional - How would you define a professional person?

Where on the ONS survey would you place yourself? / why

Where on the ONS descriptors would you place TAs? / why

Tell me about the CPD have you had during the last 6 months

How was this identified? By whom?

Why did you / have you undertaken this CPD?

How has your CPD helped you with your career?

Is CPD managed the same for Teachers and TA's?

What CPD should be available to TA's?

Thank you for taking the time to talk to me.

Appendix 5 - Method PDC Interview Schedule

Thank you for taking part in this interview. I am conducting this interview as part of my PhD research which asks whether Teaching Assistants are becoming a profession. The purpose of this interview is to gather information about what you perceive to be the role of the Teaching Assistant and ways in which it is similar or different from the role of the teacher. I am also collecting information about the range of continuing professional development opportunities available to and undertaken by Teaching Assistants. You will be able to access my PhD upon successful submission via the Staffordshire University Institute for education Policy Research website – www.staffs.ac.uk/iepr I would like to re-enforce the point that no information that identifies the school or yourself as an individual will be available to anyone outside this project. Please could you state your current role in the school for the tape.

 How would you define the role of the Teacher?

What is the relationship between the Teacher and a TA?

What decisions do Teachers make in relation to teaching (curriculum/ planning / assessment)?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do TAs make in relation to teaching (curriculum/ planning / assessment)?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do Teachers make in relation to managing behaviour?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do TAs make in relation to managing behaviour?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do Teachers make in relation to school wide decisions?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do TAs make in relation to school wide decisions?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

How do you think the role of the teacher will develop in the next three years?

How do you think the role of the TA will develop in the next three years?

Tell me about the CPD undertaken by teachers in the school during the last 6 months

Why did they undertake this CPD?

How do you make decisions about teachers CPD?

Who identifies teachers CPD needs?

How is teachers CPD financed?

Who decides which CPD will be approved?

Tell me about the CPD undertaken by teaching assistants in the school during the last 6 months

Why did they undertake this CPD?

How do you make decisions about teachers CPD?

Who identifies teaching assistants CPD needs?

How is teaching assistants CPD financed?

Who decides which CPD will be approved?

Can you give me an example of a professional person?

What makes them professional - How would you define a professional person?

Where on the ONS survey would you place yourself? / why

Where on the ONS descriptors would you place TAs? / why

Thank you for taking the time to talk to me.

Appendix 6 - Method TA Interview Schedule

Thank you for taking part in this interview. I am conducting this interview as part of my PhD research which asks whether Teaching Assistants are becoming a profession. The purpose of this interview is to gather information about what you perceive to be the role of the Teaching Assistant and ways in which it is similar or different from the role of the teacher. I am also collecting information about the range of continuing professional development opportunities available to and undertaken by Teaching Assistants. You will be able to access my PhD upon successful submission via the Staffordshire University Institute for education Policy Research website – www.staffs.ac.uk/iepr I would like to re-enforce the point that no information that identifies the school or yourself as an individual will be available to anyone outside this project. Please could you state your current role in the school for the tape.

How would you define the role of the TA?

What is the relationship between the TA and the teacher?

Can you tell me what you do in your current role?

What decisions do you make in relation to teaching (curriculum/ planning / assessment)?

How often are you required to make those decisions?

How do you decide what to do – what action to take – what helps you to make the decision?

How do you evaluate your decision? How do you know If you have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do Teachers make in relation to teaching (curriculum/ planning / assessment)?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do you make in relation to managing behaviour?

How often are you required to make those decisions?

How do you decide what to do – what action to take – what helps you to make the decision?

How do you evaluate your decision? How do you know If you have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do Teachers make in relation to managing behaviour?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do you make in relation to school wide decisions?

How often are you required to make those decisions?

How do you decide what to do – what action to take – what helps you to make the

decision?

How do you evaluate your decision? How do you know If you have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

What decisions do Teachers make in relation to school wide decisions?

How often are they required to make those decisions?

How do they decide what to do – what action to take – what helps them to make the decision?

How do they evaluate their decisions? How do they know If they have made the right decisions?

To what extent is this changing?

Why is it changing?

Is this change good or bad?

How do you think the role of the teacher will develop in the next three years?

How do you think the role of the TA will develop in the next three years?

Can you give me an example of a professional person?

What makes them professional - How would you define a professional person?

Where on the ONS survey would you place yourself? / why

Where on the ONS descriptors would you place TAs? / why

Tell me about the CPD have you had during the last 6 months

How was this identified? By whom?

Why did you / have you undertaken this CPD?

How has your CPD helped you with your career?

Is CPD managed the same for Teachers and TA's?

What CPD should be available to TA's?

Who is in control of your CPD in relation to:

- **Funding CPD / Providing time for CPD in your work life**

What do you think you will be doing in 3 years time? – will you be a TA?

If yes – why / If no why not?

Thank you for taking the time to talk to me.

Appendix 7 - Method TA Work Diary

Institute for Education Policy Research

Staffordshire University

Faculty of Business & Law

Brindley Building

Stoke Road

Stoke on Trent

ST4 2DE

September 23rd 2007

Research Title

Teaching Assistants – The Development of a Profession

Dear Colleague,

Your school is one of ten case studies where I will be working with members of staff to do an in depth study into the role of the Teaching Assistant. I very much look forward to working with you in gathering your experiences and views on the role.

A key aspect of understanding how the role of the Teaching Assistant is developing in school is by working with you to record the work that you do. I would therefore ask you to complete a diary for the week beginning November 12th. The diary has been designed to be easy to complete and I hope that you will find it an interesting process to be involved in. The diary is confidential and no individual will be identified in the research.

Can I thank you for agreeing to be involved and for taking the time to complete the diary. If you have any questions or concerns please contact me via email at m.lowe@staffs.ac.uk

Yours Sincerely,

Michelle Lowe

Guidance on the Diary

✓ **Please complete the diary for the week beginning 12/11/07**

✓ **Please complete a diary page for every day of the week that you work**

✓ **You should have enough space to record your work but if you need a continuation sheet please contact me**

✓ **Look at the example extract from the diary below to see what information is required. Remember to:**

  o **Record the activity by choosing a code form the list.**

  o **Record the start time and end time for each activity**

  o **Make brief notes to explain the activity**

  o **If the activity is private and you do not want to record it on the diary please use the code XX1**

  o **When the diary is complete please return it in the SAE**

Diary Example

Please complete the diary schedule using the codes attached e.g.

DAY	Activity Code	Time	Notes
Monday	**T2**	9.00 – 10.15	SCIENCE YEAR 6 ON PLANNING NO LESSON NOTES
	N1	10.15-10.30	BREAK
	S2	10.30 – 11.15	SUPPORTING DYSLEXIC PUPIL YEAR 4
	S3	11.15 -12.00	SUPPORTING SMALL GROUP LITERACY YEAR 4
	M1	12.00 – 12.30	SUPPORT STAFF MEETING
	W1	12.30 – 1.30	LUNCHTIME SUPERVISOR
	T1	1.30 – 3.30	PPA YEAR 2 PE & HISTORY
	WUP2	3.30 – 4.15	KEY STAGE 2 DISPLAY (A1)

Frequently asked questions

What are the codes? - *To help you complete the diary we have identified some of the common activities that Teaching Assistants undertake and given each one a code. Take time to read through the codes. You might find that you use only a few of the codes. You may find it helpful to highlight the codes that are relevant to your job role. Because the codes are to be used by a variety of TA's you should expect there to be some that don't apply to you in your current job role. To make the diary easy to complete the codes are printed opposite the diary page.*

How often should I fill in the diary? - *Ideally you should keep the diary with you and update it every time an activity changes. This helps you to avoid 'missing' or 'forgetting' activities that you have undertaken during a busy day!*

What counts as an activity? - *Anything that you do in your work that lasts for more than 5 minutes is counted as an activity.*

What do I record if there is more than one activity taking place at the same time? - *Try to work out the proportion of time spent on each separate task and record this.*

What do I do if I make a mistake on the diary? - *Please make sure that your diary is readable. If you miss an activity write the entry lower down on the page. If you make a mistake, please cross the entry out.*

What do I do if I'm not at school? - *If you are absent from work due to illness please record this as N2*

What should I include in the notes? - *Please indicate the age of the group / pupil; the subject matter if you are teaching and anything else that you think will help to clarify what you were doing during that time period. We do not want you to make extensive notes – just to give an indication of the activity that you were undertaking.*

What do I do if I have another job with another employer? - *Please do not record any work other than that you do in the school. If you work in a paid capacity for another employer please record this time as WP3. If you work in a voluntary capacity for another employer please record this as WUP4.*

WORK CODES

SUPPORTING	
S1	Supporting a whole class lesson
S2	Supporting a pupil in a lesson
S3	Supporting a small group in a lesson
S4	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
T = TEACHING	
T1	Teaching a whole class – including PPA
T2	Covering a lesson for an absent teacher
T3	Teaching a pupil in a lesson
T4	Teaching a small group in a lesson
T5	Mentoring a pupil
T6	Planning a taught lesson
T7	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
SL = SUPPORTING LEARNING	
SL1	Planning a lesson
SL2	Marking pupil work
SL3	Keeping records on pupil performance
SL4	Display
SL5	Writing reports on pupil progress
SL6	Contributing to IEP's
SL7	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
P = PUPIL CONTACT	
P1	Teaching a whole class – including PPA
P2	Covering a lesson for an absent teacher
P3	Teaching a pupil in a lesson
P4	Teaching a small group in a lesson
P5	Mentoring a pupil
P6	Planning a taught lesson
P7	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
D = PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING	
D1	Training other staff (including student teachers / TA's)
D2	Attending a 1 day SCHOOL FUNDED training event (in school)
D3	Attending a 1 day SCHOOL FUNDED training event (off site)
D4	Attending a 1 day SELF FUNDED training event (in school)
D5	Attending a 1 day SELF FUNDED training event (off site)
D6	Attending a multi day SELF FUNDED training event
D7	Attending a multi day SCHOOL FUNDED training event
D8	Studying. reading and / or writing assignments
D9	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
A =ADMINSTRATION	
A1	Organising resources (materials for lessons / books & stationary)
A2	Organising resources (ICT)
A3	Organising resources (other)
A4	Minuting meetings
A5	Photocopying
A6	Filing

A7	Updating central records – pupil records etc
A8	Collecting money from pupils
A9	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
N = NOT WORKING	
N1	Breaks / lunchtime
N2	Authorised absence
N3	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
WP = WORKING PAID - NOT JOB ROLE	
WP1	Working as Lunchtime supervisor
WP2	Working as other school role (please specify in notes)
WP3	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
WUP = WORKING UNPAID	
WUP1	Working as Lunchtime supervisor
WUP2	Working as TA
WUP3	Working as other school role (please specify in notes)
WUP4	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES
M =MANAGEMENT	
M1	Staff meetings / briefings
M2	Meeting with a Governor
M3	Arranging another persons work (supply staff / timetables)
M4	Performance management / line management of other people
M5	Liaison with external agencies
M6	Managing premises / site
M7	Liaison with other schools
M8	Financial management
M9	Whole school strategic planning and policy development
M10	Writing reports for outside agencies
M	OTHER – PLEASE SPECIFY IN THE NOTES

Appendix 8 - Method Consent Form

Full title of Project:

Teaching Assistants – The Development of a Profession?

Name and contact details of researcher:

Michelle Lowe
Institute for Education Policy Research
Staffordshire University
Faculty of Business & Law
Brindley Building
Stoke Road
Stoke on Trent
ST4 2DE
Tel: 01782 294216
Email: m.lowe@staffs.ac.uk

1. I agree to take part in the above study. 2. I confirm that I understand the purpose of the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. 3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. 4. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained in any subsequent use of the data. 5. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications. 6. I agree to the interview / meeting / being audio recorded.

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 9

Dummy Variable Construction - **Model JS$_{wi}$ = U$_{wi}$ (H$_i$; E$_i$; J$_i$, Y)**

Variable	Description	
Dependent variable	**Categories on TA survey (see appendix 3)**	**Recoding as new variables**
Satisfaction - Dummy variable - TAs reporting satisfaction	1 = Very satisfied 2 = Satisfied 3 = Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	1 = Satisfied
	4 = Unsatisfied 5 = Very unsatisfied	0 = Unsatisfied
Predictor Variable	**Categories on TA survey (see appendix**	**Recoding as new variables**
Size of Workplace – Dummy variable – Hypothesis: TAs working in a small organisation are more satisfied = value 1	1 = less than 50 : 2 = 51-250	1 = less than 250 pupils
	3 = 251-500 : 4 = 501-750 :5= 751-1000 : 6 = over 1000	0 = more than 250 pupils
Access to Training – Dummy variable - Hypothesis: Training makes you satisfied = 1	1 = yes	1 = positive (had training)
	2 = no	0= negative (no training)
Job Description HPWO - Dummy variable - Hypothesis: TAs with a job Description are more satisfied= 1	1 = yes	1 = positive (job description)
	2 = no	0 = negative (no job description)
Experience as a TA - Dummy variable - Hypothesis: U shaped curve in evidence – younger and older more satisfied = 1	1 = <4 : 6= 26-30 : 7= >30	1 = positive (low experience and high experience as TA)
	2 = 5-10 : 3 = 11-15 : 4= 16-20 : 5= 21- 25	0 = negative (between 5 and 25 yrs experience)
General qualifications level 3 and above Dummy variable - Hypothesis: TAs with qualifications below level 3 are more satisfied = 1	1 = Level 2 : 2 = Level 3	1 = positive (having no qualifications at level 3 and above/ level 2)
	3 = Degree : 4 = PG : 5 = other	0 = negative (qualifications L3 and above)
TA qualifications level 3 and above - Dummy variable - Hypothesis: TAs with qualifications below level 3 - more satisfied = 1	1 = Level 2 : 2 = Level 3 :	1 = positive (no qualifications at level 3 and above)
	3 = NNEB : 4 = STAC : 5 = HLTA : 6 = FD:7 = No Qualifications : 8 = other	0 = negative (qualifications at level 3 and above)
Appraisal – Dummy variable - Hypothesis: TAs who get appraisal are more satisfied = 1	1 = yes	1 = positive (had appraisal)
	2 = no	0 = negative (no appraisal)

Appendix 10 – List of Achievements

Publications
Lowe, M. (2006) *Beginning Research* London Routledge

Hammersley-Fletcher, L. and **Lowe, M.** (2005) *Remodelling Schools: working through the change agenda* – Report to Staffordshire Local Authority available from the Institute for Education Policy Research, Staffordshire University

Hammersley-Fletcher, L., **Lowe, M**. and Pugh, J. (2006) *The Teaching Assistants Guide* London Routledge

Lowe, M. and Pugh, J. (2007) Teaching Assistants' Perception of Power *Management in Education, Vol. 21, p25-31*

Hammersley-Fletcher, L. and **Lowe, M. (**forthcoming 2011) *Whose role is it anyway? Unlocking the potential of the primary school workforce* Routledge

Conference Papers
Hammersley-Fletcher, L. and **Lowe, M.** (2010) *From general dogsbody to whole class delivery - the role of Teaching Assistants in the education of pupils in England* AERA (American Educational Research Association) Annual Conference May 2010

Lowe, M. and Hammersley-Fletcher, L. (2009) *From general dogsbody to whole class delivery - the role of Teaching Assistants in the education of pupils in England* Paper presented at CASEA Canadian Association for the Study of Educational Administration in association with CSSE (Canadian Society for the Study of Education) - Annual Conference Ottawa CA 2009

Lowe, M. (2009) *New Workforce – New Challenges?* Symposium at BERA Conference 2009 Manchester University

Lowe, M. (2009) *Learning Support Assistant and Teaching Assistant – the same or different? A comparative study of the support role in schools and Further Education* Paper presented at BERA Conference 2009 Manchester University

Devlin, L., Hughes, S. and **Lowe, M.** (2009) *Inclusive approaches to Continuing Professional Development through the regional development of CPD Leadership.* Paper presented at International Professional Development Association Annual Conference November 2009

Devlin, L., Hughes, S., Kirkham, G., **Lowe, M.** and Robinson, T. (2009) *Inclusive approaches to Continuing Professional Development through the regional development of CPD Leadership.* Paper presented at University of Wolverhampton CPD Conference July 2009

Devlin, L., Hughes, S., Kirkham, G., **Lowe, M.** and Robinson, T. (2009) *Approaches to Continuing Professional Development through the regional development of CPD Leadership.* Paper presented at TDA Annual CPD Leaders Conference 2009

Lowe, M (2008) *Teaching Assistants – The Development of a Profession?* Paper presented at BERA Conference 2008 Heriot Watt University Edinburgh

Lowe, M (2008) *Teaching Assistants – The Development of a Profession?* Paper presented at International Professional Development Association Annual Conference November 2008

Lowe, M. and Pugh, J. (2008) *Teaching Assistants' perceptions Of Power* Paper presented at BERA Conference 2008 Herriot Watt University Edinburgh

Lowe, M (2006) *Teaching Assistants – A demographic study* BERA Conference 2006

Hammersley-Fletcher, L and **Lowe M**, (2005) '*Workforce Remodelling – experiences from within Change teams'* BELMAS Conference on 'Re-thinking Leadership: New Directions in the Learning and Skills Sector?' September 2005

Hammersley-Fletcher, L and **Lowe M**, (2005) '*Workforce Remodelling – experiences from within Change teams'* BERA Conference September 2005

Projects
NCSL Funded research into Gifted and Talented Provision in high achieving Secondary schools (£8k)

TDA funded evaluation of CPD activity in West Midlands – longitudinal study Now in year 3 of funding (£5k per year)

External Examiner Roles
University of Gloucestershire – FdA Education

University of Huddersfield – Masters in Teaching and Learning

Sheffield Hallam University – Masters in Teaching and Learning

Canterbury ChristChurch University – Masters in Teaching and Learning – awaiting confirmation

External Consultancy Roles
Member of TDA Reference Group MTL Content Development

Member of TDA Reference Group MTL Primary

External Panel Member – University of Worcester – Periodic Review FdA Education and Learning

External Panel Member MTL Validation Leeds Trinity University College

External Panel Member MTL Validation University of Bedfordshire

External Panel Member – Internal Audit Foundation Degree Supporting Teaching and Learning) Edge Hill University

External Panel Member – Validation Foundation Degree Primary Education Canterbury Christchurch University

External Panel Member - Foundation Degree Validation (Supporting teaching and Learning) - Edge Hill University

External Panel Member – Foundation Degree – Supporting Teaching and Learning. Collaborative Provision Greater Manchester) Validation - Edge Hill University