THE JOB SATISFACTION OF ENGLISH TEACHERS IN FINNISH ELEMENTARY, MIDDLE, AND UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli selvittää, mitkä asiat vaikuttavat englanninopettajien työtyytyväisyyteen ja -tyytymättömyyteen ja miten englanninopettajien mukaan työtyytyväisyyttä voitaisiin kehittää.

Aineisto kerättiin haastattelemalla yhdeksää alakoulun, yläkoulun sekä lukion englanninopettajaa. Haastattelut toteutettiin nauhoitettuina puolistrukturoituina teemahaastatteluina, jotka litteroitiin. Aineisto analysoitiin teemoittelemalla. Opettajien työkokemusten määrät vaihtelivat suuresti, mikä teki aineistosta moninaisen.

Tulokset osoittivat, että englanninopettajat ovat pääsääntöisesti tyytyväisiä työhönsä. Yleisesti ottaen työtyytyväisyys koostui työn sosiaalisuudesta, vuorovaikutuksesta kollegoiden kanssa, mahdollisuudesta työskennellä englannin kielen parissa ja saada näkyviä työtuloksia aikaan. Työtyytymättömyyteen johtivat puolestaan fyysiset työskentelyolosuhteet, liian raskas työmäärä sekä ongelmat oppilaiden ja heidän vanhempiensa kanssa.

Kokeneet opettajat olivat erityisesti tyytymättömiä raskaaseen työmäärään sekä koulussa että sen ulkopuolella. Toinen merkittävä työtyytymättömyyteen johtava tekijä oli oppilaiden käytöksen huonontuminen. Alle viisi vuotta opettaneet opettajat olivat tyytymättömimpiä siihen, miten heikosti opetusharjoittelu valmisti heitä työelämään.

Kehitysehdotuksiksi opettajat mainitsivat kattavamman oppilaiden hyvinvoinnin tukemisen, paremmat fyysiset työskentelyolosuhteet sekä lisää tukea kollegoilta vastavalmistuneille opettajille. Lisäksi opettajat toivoivat enemmän yhtenäisyyttä koulun sääntöihin, jotta työrauhaongelmilta ja muilta ylimääräisiltä ongelmilta vältyttäisiin.

Asiasanat – Keywords   job satisfaction, teacher morale

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1 INTRODUCTION

Professionals around the world feel an increasing pressure in their work life because of the demands placed on them by employers and community. Employers and community expect a lot from workers and workers have increasing expectations for themselves, which leaves less time to think about one's own wellbeing in the job.

Moreover, the job of a teacher in Finland is even more challenging today than ever; society has been rapidly changing in the past ten years and thus schools have to keep up with changes in society. Teachers have increasingly more roles and responsibility in schools. Furthermore, information is easily accessible in today's society and the traditional role and job of a teacher is often questioned. As a consequence, pressures placed on teachers result in many newly qualified teachers leaving their jobs worldwide. Almiala (2008) found that newly qualified teachers often resign from their teaching job within the first few years because of low salary and burdening workload. What is more, as retiring teachers are leaving the profession there will be a huge need for new teachers in the coming years. Thus, more information about the elements which bring job satisfaction and dissatisfaction to teachers is needed so that improvements can be made in those areas.

This important part of working life has received a lot of attention from various streams of research. There is a vast amount of studies on job satisfaction of workers in general and also a lot on teachers' job satisfaction. I found a few studies on teachers in specific school levels (Evans 1998, Jalasaho and Junnila 1999, Mustonen and Saarinen 2003) and teachers on many different school levels (Marlow et al. 1996, Mertler 2001). Other studies have investigated reasons for teachers leaving the profession (Marlow et al. 1996) or how teaching conditions influence teachers leaving the field (Loeb, Darling-Hammond and Luczak 2005).

However, only a few studies concentrate on the job satisfaction of English teachers on specific levels (Pennington 1995, Mäenpää 2005). There are even less studies on specific language teachers' job satisfaction, comparisons between English teachers teaching on different levels, or studies that include English teachers with differing amounts of teaching experience. Oddly enough, to my knowledge there are no studies on job satisfaction of language teachers in Finland that had an aim of offering ways to

improve or develop job satisfaction. Instead, they have concentrated on pinpointing the sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Hence, the purpose of the present study is to study English teachers' job satisfaction. The data for the present study was gathered with interviews. Because of the lack of earlier studies on providing ways to improve the job satisfaction of English teachers, the aim of the present study is to offer suggestions in developing English teachers' job satisfaction. In the present study I approached job satisfaction through different elements of the job in order to gain in depth information about the elements that make the job worthwhile and those that do not. Job satisfaction does not result from a single source for most people; this is why I included many elements that typically build job satisfaction.

Moreover, I examined the differences between the elements causing satisfaction and dissatisfaction on different levels of teaching, as each level: elementary, middle, and upper secondary school provided challenges, stress, or satisfying aspects of different kinds. Furthermore, the teachers that I interviewed had different amounts of teaching experience, ranging from 2.5 years to 25 years. Thus, the present study offers a diverse angle into the job satisfaction of English teachers and also some ways to improve job satisfaction.

Previously, job satisfaction has been studied mostly with questionnaires and scales; the present study's aim was to investigate the aspects of job satisfaction through interviews. By using interviews it was possible to gain some more in depth information about the complex job elements of teachers. Also, most studies have used questionnaires which have not been able to give such in depth information. Also, most models of job satisfaction have dealt with the job satisfaction of industrial workers and so the earlier models (such as Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory) are not by themselves very useful in researching teachers' job satisfaction. However, Evans (1998) and Nias (1981) have both attempted to create a better theoretical framework suitable for teacher job satisfaction research.

Next, in Section 2, several important concepts and theories that are relevant in the present study are introduced and several potential effects of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are provided. This study has two parts (Section 2 and 3) that contribute to the theoretical framework. In Section 2.1, main trends in job satisfaction research are

discussed, definitions of job satisfaction reviewed, and possible effects of job satisfaction discussed. At the end of Section 2.1, the main terminology and central theories of the present study are explained. In Section 2.2, different theories on job satisfaction are reviewed starting from the classical theories on job satisfaction in general and narrowing down to a view of job satisfaction from a teacher's perspective provided by Evans (1997, 1998). In Section 2.2.4, my own view and definition of job satisfaction is introduced. In Section 3, some of the elements that influence job satisfaction and have been found in previous studies of teacher job satisfaction as central will be reviewed. At the end of Section 3, important studies on teacher job satisfaction are reviewed and changes in the Finnish school system as well as the teacher training are discussed. In Section 4, the present study is outlined in more detail. In Section 5, the results of the study are reported and finally in Section 6 they will be discussed. Lastly in Section 7, the conclusions of the present study are reported, the implications for language teachers discussed as well as suggestions for further studies provided.

2 JOB SATISFACTION

2.1 Approaches, meanings and possible effects

There are several different ways of approaching job satisfaction. In the past, the trends have concentrated on for instance finding out the general job satisfaction of workers, which is the global approach, or on the facet approach, which involves finding out which elements of the job all contribute to job satisfaction. By studying job satisfaction through different areas of the work it is possible to later improve the areas that workers are dissatisfied with. The global approach is useful when the researcher wants to find out the possible effects of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. A combination of these both is also used, which usually gives a more thorough picture of the workers job satisfaction. (Spector 1997:2-3.)

Studies similar to the facet approach that have sought to find out which elements of the job contribute to job satisfaction are Mäenpää's (2005) study and Ducharme and Martin's (2000) study on the effect of coworker support on job satisfaction of workers in general. Other studies that have used a combination of both methods are Mertler's (2001) study on teacher motivation and job satisfaction and Klassen and Anderson's (2009) study on the job satisfaction of teachers in two different time periods. These

studies will be discussed more in detail later on in Section 3. In the present study, I will approach job satisfaction by finding out the different elements that cause job satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Many of the studies on job satisfaction in the past have been carried out using questionnaires. Interviews are used in bigger-scale job satisfaction studies less often because they are costly and time-consuming and the results cannot be generalized like in questionnaires that can be filled out by hundreds of people (Spector 1997:5.) Because of the fewer use of interview methods in this field, many studies have not been able to gain such in depth information (Locke 1976:1339). Some of the scales developed that use the facet approach are the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) by Smith, Kendall, and Hulin (1969) and Hackman and Oldman's (1975) Job Diagnostic Survey (JDS) (as quoted by Spector 1997:7). Hackman and Oldman (1980), as later discussed in Section 2.2.2, have used their Job Characteristics Model to find out ways to improve and redesign areas of work.

Job satisfaction is a difficult concept to define and there are considerable differences in the definitions. Nowadays, researchers have found a general consensus of the definition of job satisfaction, and so it is agreed to be defined as "an affective (that is, emotional) reaction to a job that results from the incumbent's comparison of actual outcomes with those that are desired (expected, deserved, and so on.)" (Cranny, Smith and Stone 1992:1.) Thus, earlier experiences play a central part in the definition of job satisfaction. Spector (1997:2) defines job satisfaction as "how people feel about their jobs and different aspects of their jobs". Job satisfaction has also been defined "as a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences" (Locke 1976:1300). All of these definitions clearly emphasize the importance of the worker's feelings. In the beginning of job satisfaction research, a person's needs were in the forefront of investigation, but now the emphasis seems to be on states of the person's mind.

However, Evans (1998) argues that job satisfaction has not been defined clearly enough in past research of teacher job satisfaction. This ambiguity and lack of depth in the definition has created problems for research, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.3. Evans' interpretation of job satisfaction is the following: "a state of mind determined by the extent to which the individual perceives her/his job-related needs to be being met" (Evans 1997b:833). Evans further divided job satisfaction into *job*

fulfillment and *job comfort,* which made it a more complex definition that actually acknowledged that job satisfaction results from two different but related sources. These terms will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.3.

Since the definitions of job satisfaction all stress the attitudes towards the job that the worker has at the present, it is important to differentiate the concept of job satisfaction from several related terms. Job satisfaction and morale include positive emotions of workers, yet there is a difference between these two terms. Morale is more concerned about feelings and attitudes towards the future, while job satisfaction tells about the present and past state of things (Locke 1976:1300). Evans (1998:26) also distinguished the two terms job morale and job satisfaction so that the latter term is not complex enough, or "static" while job morale is much more "dynamic" and open to change, it is after all future-oriented as opposed to job satisfaction, which concentrates on the present. Evans (1998:26) sees satisfaction as "a response to a situation whereas morale is anticipatory". Eventually, individuals who are satisfied in their jobs can work their way up to gaining high morale in the future.

Locke (1976:1301) reminds that job satisfaction should not be confused with job involvement. Job involvement means how dedicated or undedicated the worker is towards his job. For instance, a person who is very dedicated to their job tends to have either stronger feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction than a worker who is less involved or dedicated to their job.

As discussed earlier, many of the global approaches in job satisfaction research have been able to look into the possible effects of dissatisfaction or satisfaction in a job. Job satisfaction and dissatisfaction have many consequences for not only work life but for other parts of a person's life. For instance, job satisfaction has been found to correlate with turnover, absences, health and well-being, and stress. Negative feelings towards a job can have effects on the person's health and overall life satisfaction. Studies have shown connections between job dissatisfaction and physical and psychological health problems, depression and headaches to mention a few. Sometimes the poor physical well-being or unauthorized absences can be a sign of job dissatisfaction and for instance language teachers' work absences (because of illness) have a connection to teachers wanting to change their occupation (Aila and Halme 2003:12).

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Job satisfaction is also closely tied with life satisfaction, which is how a person feels about their life. Different models of the connections between life and job satisfaction have been devised, for instance the spillover hypothesis. According to the hypothesis, the feelings we have in different areas of our lives tend to spill over and affect other areas (Spector 1997:70). For instance, someone who has a big family to take care of at home might feel exhausted from home life and this is reflected in the work life. Of course, sometimes people have personal problems or just have a personality that does not go well with the job and they also can have negative effects on their levels of job satisfaction (Spector 1997:72). Thus, a variety of factor can have a possible influence on our well-being at work.

Next, it is important to bring into attention several different terms that are used in the present study when referring to workers. The term *workers* is used to refer to workers in general in all kinds of jobs. In addition to this, the term *professionals* is used to refer to teachers. This distinction is used in order to avoid confusion between references to studies of worker job satisfaction and other studies specifically concerning teacher job satisfaction. Next, I will go over the main terms and theories used in the present study. These terms will be explained in more detail in Section 2.2 of the present study and discussed in their full context.

Realistic expectations (Evans 1998:151) are defined as the expectations a teacher has toward his or her job and when the expectations are realistic and met in their jobs, the teacher will be satisfied. **Relative perspective** (Evans 1998:150) means the views teachers presently have towards their jobs that are shaped by their earlier experiences, for instance from previous schools or from their life in general. Teachers compare their experiences with their present situation and it has a huge impact in shaping their job satisfaction.

Motivation factors, or *satisfiers*, are factors that bring the most job satisfaction to workers, and they include mostly intrinsic aspects of the job that related to human's psychological growth needs. The **hygiene factors**, or *dissatisfiers*, have to do with the animal needs such as work context or environment which merely prevent dissatisfaction but do not bring satisfaction. (Herzberg 1966:72-74.)

Recognition is one of the motivation factors and it means any kind of recognition, including negative recognition, the worker received during the job from any source, for

example a notice, praise or blame (Herzberg et al. 1959:44-45). Furthermore, Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory is a theory of intrinsic and extrinsic aspects. **Intrinsic** aspects of work stemming from the work itself relate to a human's psychological growth needs, or human needs, while **extrinsic aspects**, factors unrelated to the work itself, relate to animal needs.

2.2 Views on job satisfaction

Many of the models of job satisfaction are causal models that have an aim of finding out which factors (for instance needs, values, expectancies, perceptions) are central in causing job satisfaction to workers and also how they interact to form how satisfied a worker is in general with their job (Locke 1976:1302). Furthermore, content theories have derived from the causal model and they "attempt to identify the specific needs or values most conducive to job satisfaction." (Locke 1976:1302). Two of the most popular content theories are Maslow's need hierarchy theory as well as Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory (Locke 1976:1307). Next, I will briefly describe Maslow's need hierarchy theory, which has laid out the foundations for job satisfaction research; he did no create a job satisfaction theory in itself.

Maslow's (1954) theory is one of the most popular need hierarchy theories. According to Maslow (1970:15), it is a "positive theory of motivation that derives directly from clinical experience". Humans have five different kinds of needs. The important needs need to be fulfilled before there is need for the less important ones. The needs are thus in a hierarchical order. First, there are the physiological needs such as food, water and air (Maslow 1970:17), which are the most important of needs. A man has no concern for any other needs when he is for instance short of water. When these needs are fulfilled, he tends to want other less important needs.

The second needs are safety needs, such as "security, stability, dependency, protection, freedom from fear, anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order, law, and limits; strength in the protector…" (Maslow 1970:18). These come right after the physiological needs are fulfilled. The third needs are belongingness and love needs, which come right after the safety needs are fulfilled (Maslow 1970:20). People will feel unsatisfied if they do not feel they are getting enough love, or have enough friends in their lives. For people who have not been able to satisfy these needs, the most important goal for them is to fulfill them and so they come before any preceding needs.

The fourth group of needs is esteem needs (Maslow 1970:21). Esteem needs contain the need for people to gain self-respect, self-esteem and to be able to esteem others. Maslow further divides these needs into two groups. First, the "desire for strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery, competence, confidence in the face of the world, and independence and freedom" and "the desire for reputation, status, fame and glory, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity or appreciation" (Maslow 1970:21). When the self-esteem needs are fulfilled, a human has gained feelings of self-confidence and "of being useful and necessary in the world" (Maslow 1970:21). This group of needs is not well justified and explained. For instance, Locke (1976: 1308) has criticized the fact that self-esteem needs are based on how one is approved by others. He also brought into attention that Maslow does not seem to give any justification for why a man even has this kind of need. A man should not have to base, anyhow, his self-esteem on others.

The fifth need is the need for self-actualization. What Maslow (1970:22) means by this is that "what humans can be, they must be" and that "humans must be true to their own nature". Humans have the need to always strive for a better version of themselves and so they have this need to develop themselves all the time. However, Locke (1976:1308) thinks that self-actualization stated by Maslow is contradictory in that how is it possible for a man to become more what of what they are and that Maslow does not provide a very good definition of self-actualization. One shortcoming of this theory is that it has not been very supported in empirical research. Locke (1976:1309) mentions that it is questionable whether the needs actually "govern action" of humans. Sometimes values can overtake the needs of humans, for instance they may override physical needs. Locke brings in the importance of values and that they are actually more important than needs. Additionally, Locke (1976:1308) says that Maslow speaks about needs and values as if they are the same thing.

Basic human needs are thus quite an essential part of job satisfaction, they cannot be ignored. However, one cannot discuss job satisfaction without involving values. Values shape who we are and especially our perception of good life. They differ greatly from one culture to another and from one person to another. Values thus shape our perceptions of what is satisfying in work life and what is dissatisfying.

Next, three different views on job satisfaction will be presented. The first one is Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory. The theory had its' roots in Herzberg, Mausner,

and Snyderman's (1959) study on the job satisfaction of industrial workers and it is one of the classic theories on job satisfaction. Secondly, in Section 2.2.2 I will introduce Hackman and Oldman's (1980) Job characteristics model. This particular theory was created to restructure and improve work itself in a way that would make workers more satisfied in organizations. Thirdly, in Section 2.2.3 Evans' (1997, 1998) views on job satisfaction are discussed. Evans' theories concentrate only on the job satisfaction of teachers, and so it is an important part of the theoretical framework of the present study. In addition, there are not many theorists that have yet concentrated only on the job satisfaction of teachers. Lastly, I will discuss my own view of job satisfaction in Section 2.2.4 and discuss the similarities and differences between the three main views on job satisfaction.

2.2.1 Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory

Herzberg's (1966) motivation-hygiene theory, also known as the two-factor theory, is one of the most popular theories on job satisfaction which was originally published in 1959 and later revised in 1966. Locke (1976:1299) points out that before Herzberg et al.'s (1959) studies, the work itself did not gain much attention in job satisfaction research, but this area became more prominent as a result of Herzberg. Secondly, Locke (1976:1299) raises the fact that this new era of job satisfaction research that had been sparked by Herzberg et al. had a new focus on job satisfaction: workers could only be really satisfied in their jobs and grow mentally and psychologically when they were given responsibility in the job.

Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman's (1959) study of the job satisfaction of industrial workers created the basis for the motivation-hygiene theory. The aim of the study was to study the factors, attitudes and effects of job satisfaction and to clarify earlier studies on job attitudes which had many deficiencies, for instance they did not provide enough information on the sources of job attitudes nor had earlier studies given sufficient background information on the participants of studies (Herzberg et al. 1959:11).

According to Herzberg (1966:71), the motivation-hygiene theory is based on the concept that humans have two different needs. First, humans have an animalistic need so they try to avoid pain and secondly, they have human needs as they want to grow psychologically as a person. Furthermore, the findings of Herzberg are found in two main books, the *Motivation to Work* (1959), in which Herzberg together with Mausner

and Snyderman reported the findings of his studies. Then later Herzberg reported new versions of the theory in *Work and the Nature of Man* (1966).

Approximately 200 engineers and accountants were interviewed for the study in Pittsburgh. Herzberg et al. (1959) asked the interviewees to tell freely about their actual experiences in their jobs in the form of stories. The first story was to be about a time the worker felt "exceptionally good" about their job and the second when they felt "exceptionally bad". Herzberg et al. (1959:35.) Furthermore, Herzberg et al. (1959:44-49) categorized the events in the stories into two different groups. The first group was *first-level factors*, or sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction which were recognition, achievement, possibility of growth, advancement, salary, interpersonal relations, supervision, responsibility, company policy and administration, working conditions, work itself, and factors in personal life. The second group was called *second-level factors* and they include participants' thoughts and reflections on the personal meaning of the events that they described in the stories.

According to Herzberg (1966:72-74), out of the 16 factors that were mentioned in the first-level factors, five were found to be the most significant ones. They were named *motivation factors* as they brought the most job satisfaction to the workers. *Motivation factors*, intrinsic aspects of the job relating to human's psychological growth needs, are recognition, achievement, and possibility of growth, advancement and salary. The *hygiene factors* have to do with the animal needs such as work context or environment which merely prevent dissatisfaction but do not bring satisfaction. When the participants reported unhappiness, it had to do with the work conditions instead of the work itself (Herzberg et al. 1959:113). Herzberg et al. (1959:113) explained that hygiene is used because "hygiene operates to remove health hazards from the environment of man. It is not a curative; it is, rather, a preventative". *Hygiene factors* include supervision, interpersonal relations, physical working conditions, salary, company policies, etc. *Motivation factors* are also referred to as *satisfiers*, while *hygiene factors* are often referred to as *dissatisfiers*.

The results of the study confirmed Herzberg's (1966) hypothesis that the job satisfaction of workers is caused by completely different factors (motivation factors), than what gave the workers dissatisfaction (hygienes). Because of this finding, Herzberg (1966) sees job satisfaction and dissatisfaction as being in separate continuums as they are independent of each other. In other words, the opposite of job satisfaction is no

satisfaction and the opposite of dissatisfaction is no dissatisfaction. Herzberg separated these after realizing that satisfaction and dissatisfaction have different sources. (Herzberg 1966:76.)

According to Herzberg et al. (1959:114), workers have a need for self-actualization in their lives and they try to accomplish it most often through their occupation. Merely the work conditions, or the hygiene factors, cannot provide workers this kind of opportunity for self-actualization. Also, Herzberg et al. (1959:115) mention that when workers do not have enough motivating factors in their jobs they must have even more hygiene factors because otherwise they will not be able to tolerate their job at all. Conversely, someone who finds their job challenging and very motivating might tolerate worse work conditions.

Although the motivation-hygiene theory is one of the first models on job satisfaction and also a very popular and often applied model of job satisfaction, Herzberg's theory has been greatly criticized. First of all, there is no evidence of Herzberg ever providing a definition of job satisfaction. In addition, Locke (1976:1310) criticizes the fact that Herzberg has separated the mind and the body: humans use their minds to realize their physical needs, for instance. Locke (1976) also found a problem in testing the theory as the motivation-hygiene theory is presented in different ways in different sources. For instance, when the theory first came out in 1959, the *satisfiers* and *dissatisfiers* were presented as belonging to one and the same continuum, but later Herzberg claimed that they indeed belong to separate continuums without a neutral point (Hultåker 1977:16). In other words, at first the model did not consider job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction as two separate and completely independent concepts. Furthermore, Herzberg (1966:76) had given an analogy that explained the second version of the theory with the two continuums, where he stated that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are caused by different things so they must be on separate continuums. The analogy included seeing job satisfaction as vision and job dissatisfaction as hearing: "stimulus for vision is light and increasing and decreasing light will have no effect on man's hearing. The stimulus for audition is sound, and so increasing or decreasing loudness will have no effect on vision". However, this analogy has been regarded as leading to more confusion and most importantly, job dissatisfaction and satisfaction have rarely been regarded by researchers as stimuli, but rather as two psychological states (Hultåker 1977:16).

To defend Herzberg, Locke (1976:1318) adds that Herzberg had made a great contribution to the field of job satisfaction research and emphasized the importance of a person's capability to grow psychologically through the work itself, which in turn brings job satisfaction to the worker. However, some workers do not want to grow psychologically in their jobs. Locke (1976:1314) agrees with Herzberg in his argument that workers who do not care about psychological growth do not seem to get the same amount of satisfaction in the job or that it will not last as long as with those workers who have a genuine interest in developing and growing psychologically. In other words, the values of these kinds of workers (e.g. not valuing growth) conflict with their needs.

As earlier discussed, Herzberg's (1966) theory has been used a lot in job satisfaction studies of workers in general, for instance in organizations and companies, but it has also been applied to studies of teacher job satisfaction. However, Herzberg's theory is not necessarily suitable in its entirety for teacher job satisfaction research. For instance, it has received critique from Nias (1981). According to Nias (1981:236), teacher job satisfaction research had not taken Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory under critical observation and considered its suitability for the teaching field and so she wanted to test how well it works for teachers.

Nias (1981) reformulated Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory so that it would be more suitable for the nature of teacher job satisfaction research. Nias (1981:236) argues that in the teaching field, Herzberg's category of "work itself" and "contextual factors" (hygienes) cannot be separated as they have been in Herzberg's theory. The reason that they cannot be separated is because the social environment in the school as well as the students and colleagues all belong to the "work itself" category. How a teacher interacts with students and other colleagues is a part of the work itself. Nias (1981:236) goes on to say that in the business world for instance policy, administration, and relationships with colleagues are considered contextual factors while in teaching they are intrinsic factors.

Consequently, the results of Nias' (1981) study of 100 primary school teachers showed that sources of dissatisfaction were more often intrinsic factors of the job instead of extrinsic or "hygiene factors" as proposed by Herzberg. Thus, Nias (1981:236) came up with **negative satisfiers** which are defined as "factors intrinsic to the work itself which contribute not to dissatisfaction, but to an absence of satisfaction." Negative satisfiers were then separated from "dissatisfiers", which only contained purely environmental

aspects of work such as the physical work conditions. Nias (1981:245) concluded that Herzberg's classification of environmental aspects of the job into hygiene factors was beneficial in her study as well because improving for instance physical work conditions would not increase job satisfaction.

Studies on teacher job satisfaction have, of course, found that both extrinsic and intrinsic factors contribute to job satisfaction, but in the present study it is hypothesized that mainly the intrinsic elements of work increase job satisfaction. Unlike Herzberg and more in line with Nias (1981), I have included colleagues as one of the intrinsic elements to this study.

2.2.2 Hackman and Oldman's job characteristics theory

Hackman and Oldman's (1980) job characteristics theory was created for the purpose of improving job satisfaction of workers in organizations. One of the aims of the present study is to offer ways to improve job satisfaction of teachers, and so Hackman and Oldman's (1980) theory has important concepts to offer in this regard.

Hackman and Oldman revised a previous theory on job characteristics by Hackman and Lawler (1971). Hackman and Oldman (1980) refined the earlier theory in order to help create better work redesign. Hackman (1977:98) defines work redesign as "…any activities that involve the alteration of specific jobs (or interdependent systems of jobs) with the intent of increasing both the quality of the employees' work experience and their on-the-job productivity."

Furthermore, the five job characteristics that originated from a study by Hackman and Lawler (1971) are called *skill variety*, *task identity*, *task significance*, *autonomy*, and *feedback* (as quoted in Hackman 1977:129). This theory then assumes that people have different experiences in their jobs because people differ in their need for personal growth in their job. Thus, people who had a great need for personal growth would benefit the most from the presence of the five job characteristics. In other words, very highly motivated people would experience their own personal growth in an increasingly positive way. (Hackman 1977:110.)

The presence of these characteristics in a job was in turn later proposed by Hackman and Oldman (1980) to bring about three psychological states (*experienced*

meaningfulness, experienced responsibility, and *knowledge of results*). Hackman and Oldman's (1980) theory uses a mathematical model to come up with the motivation potential score in which the five job dimensions scores were added up and placed in an index. Accordingly, these job characteristics must be present in order for the worker to experience these psychological states so that he will feel motivated in his job, perform better and be more satisfied in the job. If the states are not present, these outcomes are unlikely. Next, the different job characteristics will be discussed in more detail after which I will tell more about the three psychological states.

The first dimension is *skill variety* (Hackman 1977:130), which is "the degree to which a job requires a variety of different activities that involve the use of a number of different skills and talents". Hackman (1977:130) goes on to explain that people often find these kinds of tasks more personally meaningful when they get a chance to apply several of their skills. In turn, jobs that are very monotonous and require few skills are likely to make an average intelligent person very bored and frustrated. The job of a teacher is often quite far from being monotonous.

The second dimension is *task identity* (Hackman 1977:130), which is "the degree to which the job requires completion of a whole and identifiable piece of work – that is doing a job from beginning to end with a visible outcome". This dimension is perhaps more relevant to for instance industrial workers who create products. On the other hand, a teacher's job has a strong sense of task identity, as teaching and the outcomes of teaching (learning) is to a large extent dependent on the teacher's personality.

The third dimension is *task significance* (Hackman 1977:130), which is "the degree to which the job has a substantial impact on the lives or work of other people, whether in the immediate organization or in the external environment". A person will feel that his or her work is increasingly meaningful when they realize its impact on others' wellbeing. *Task significance* is very strongly present in a teacher's job, and most teachers find their job rewarding because they feel they impact the life of students to a great extent.

Fourth, *autonomy* (Hackman 1977:131) is defined as the "degree to which the job provides substantial freedom, independence, and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out." Autonomy gives a sense of responsibility to the workers and yet the work feels

meaningful as a result. The presence of great autonomy in a job will make the worker feel that whatever he does in his job is a result of his own actions. Thus, if a teacher has succeeded in bringing classroom discipline back to the classroom and motivated the students then this would make the teacher feel responsible for these outcomes.

The fifth dimension is feedback (Hackman 1977:131) and it means "the degree to which carrying out the work activities required by the job results in the individual obtaining direct and clear information about the effectiveness of his performance." This dimension is important as workers need to know when they are doing their job well because it encourages them to work well or better in the future.

Job characteristics do not, however, have a direct influence on whatever results from their existence; rather they together with the psychological states mingle to form the resulting job attitudes (Hackman 1977:133). As mentioned earlier, all of these five dimensions are further governed by a person's *growth need strength*. This means that if a person has high *growth need* then they are "better able to experience the psychological states when their objective job is enriched than their low growth need counterparts". Also, workers with high growth needs will "respond more positively to the psychological states when they are present than will low growth need individuals." (Hackman 1977:132.) Furthermore, people who do not have strong growth needs will not be as satisfied with challenging work aspects such as mentioned in the five characteristics and vice versa. In other words, a worker who is not interested in developing in his job or is not interested in reflecting his own progress in the job will not be very motivated by a job with high autonomy, responsibility and challenges.

This theory is significant because it is designed for planning the redesign of work and it concentrates on ways of improving the motivation to do the work. It addresses largely the importance of psychological growth and an individual's different characteristics and how they work with the job characteristics and in turn how they influence job satisfaction.

2.2.3 Evans' theory of job satisfaction

Evans' studies will be introduced in more detail in Section 3.6.1. and this section will mainly concentrate on reporting the theories and concepts from her main findings. Evans (1997, 1998) research concentrates only on the job satisfaction of teachers, and so her theories and findings play an important role in the present study. Evans' model is one of the most recent theories on job satisfaction that concentrates on the job satisfaction of teachers. Evans' theory has its roots in Herzberg's theories, but Evans (1997a:322) offers a distinction of the concept of job satisfaction into aspects that are either satisfying or satisfactory.

Evans (1997a:324) argues that Herzberg's (1966) theory is difficult to use in studies of teacher job satisfaction because he does not provide a thorough definition of job satisfaction. Furthermore, Evans sees problems in the use of the term job satisfaction, as it is often used in an unclear way and there is no agreement on what job satisfaction is or a definition is not even provided. The fact that job satisfaction results from two separate but related sources should be contained in the definition when it is implied in the data so that there would not be any incongruity between the definition and the actual study (Evans 1997a:323). Secondly, another problem with job satisfaction studies has to do with construct validity. What Evans (1998:5) means by referring to construct validity is that certain important terms need to be understood similarly among researchers and if they are not, then it threatens the construct validity of the research.

Evans (1998) studied primary school teachers in the UK and their attitudes toward their work and the reasons behind them. Evans main finding was that a unifying factor between all of the teachers in her studies was that of *personal achievement*. Evans (1998:11) explained that teachers who reported to be most satisfied with their staff would feel this way because they themselves "had personally contributed towards achieving them". If a teacher did not feel as if she or he had a role in causing that achievement then they would not be so satisfied with the particular element. A related concept is Herzberg's factor of *achievement* that contributes to the job satisfaction in his studies of workers. In addition, Hackman and Oldman's (1980) three psychological states are also based on the worker's personal growth, thus it also relates to the previous concepts.

Based on her four interrelated studies on teacher morale, job satisfaction and motivation, Evans (1998) argues that **individuality**, **professionality, relative perspective**, **realistic expectations** and **work contexts** shape the job satisfaction of professionals. First of all, since all teachers are individuals, they all have different perceptions of their work life. An element that might cause job dissatisfaction to one teacher might in fact be the source of most job satisfaction for another teacher. Evans (1998:147) goes on to say that job satisfaction, morale and motivation research must then take into account the aspect of individuality of professionals, otherwise simple generalizations could be made about what defines professionals' job satisfaction.

Professionality of teachers also affected teachers views of their job satisfaction. Evans used Hoyle's (1975) concept of professionality in her study, which is different from professionalism. Hoyle (1975) (as quoted in Evans 1998:74) defines **professionality** as the different skills and knowledge of teachers and it incorporates the teachers vision of what teaching should be like, as opposed to professionalism, which refers more to status of individuals. Teachers in Evans' studies were further divided into two types of professionalities, **extended** and **restricted** professionalities. Evans (1998:75) defines Hoyle's terms in the following way: extended professionality refers to teachers who use theoretical information from their field and incorporate it into their vision and base their teaching on it, while teachers with restricted professionalities often only base their decisions and visions on day-to-day knowledge and past experience. In Evans' studies, teachers with extended professionalities were found to be more prominent and respected more by other teachers than restricted professionals. Also, extended professionals are argued by Evans (1998:89) to have more demanding needs in their jobs than restricted professionals, and school management should take this into account. These will be discussed in more detail later in Section 3.6.1.

Realistic expectations and *relative perspective* have been already defined in Section 2.1 and they also influenced the variations between teachers' job satisfaction. Evans (1998:151) emphasizes that realistic expectations does not include any ideal views and that *professionality* is inter-related with *realistic expectations* and *relative perspective*. Thus, teachers whose expectations were not met in the schools tended to be more dissatisfied, frustrated and had lower morale than teachers with lower expectations. The *relative perspective* of teachers, on the other hand, is very dynamic and tends to change as teachers gain more experiences in their life. In other words, they might view things

differently from one year to another. Lastly, **work context** has an effect on the job satisfaction of teachers. What Evans (1998:154) means by this is that teachers are very likely to be affected by their work contexts. For instance, she found evidence that changes made at the school-specific level tend to effect teachers' job satisfaction more than changes made in wider administrations.

As earlier already pointed out, Evans (1998:10-12) divides job satisfaction into *job comfort* and *job fulfilment*. **Job comfort** means that the teacher gives a certain aspect a grade of "satisfactory" and **job fulfilment** means what is most satisfying in the job. Job fulfilment happens when a teacher has him/herself contributed to it with his/her own achievements. This idea would assume that the teacher gets job fulfilment only when he/she has personally achieved something. I would argue that a teacher can reach job fulfilment not just through personal contributions. For instance, the teacher might be most satisfied with the teaching material or perhaps the salary, and so this would bring about job fulfilment and it has nothing to do with one's personal contributions to the achievement.

Furthermore, the division of job satisfaction into job comfort and job fulfilment is in my opinion, unnecessary and impractical in the interviews, because the researcher can differentiate between the most important elements that contribute to job satisfaction and the ones that are not so central. However, as supported by Evans (1997, 1998), I did not use any other terms other than job satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the interviews and the data and also asked the interviewees separately which aspects cause the most job satisfaction and the least job satisfaction. This way, there should be no real threat to the construct validity of the study.

In addition, in the present study I have used Evans' realistic expectations and relative perspective as they were the most important shapers of individual job satisfaction. I decided to not incorporate *professionality* dimension in the present study as that would have created a very complex framework and it was more useful to rely on a conglomeration of different frameworks from different authors that actually had some similarities.

2.2.4 The definition of job satisfaction in the present study

In the present study I have relied on Hackman and Oldman's (1980) as well as Evans' (1997) definitions of job satisfaction which considers satisfaction as an emotional reaction. All of the theorists previously discussed emphasize the psychological growth needs of workers. Thus, job satisfaction stems from complex intertwining between different job elements which depend highly on the individual.

Herzberg, Evans, and Hackman and Oldman all brought important concepts to the present study. Herzberg's (1966) theory is similar to Hackman and Oldman's (1980) theory in that they have both concentrated and created their theories for individual workers who work independently instead of in work groups (Hackman 1977:111). The job of a teacher is often very independent, although there is some collaboration with other colleagues and interaction with parents.

Evans' studies of teacher job satisfaction and morale have been widely influenced by Herzberg's influential motivation-hygiene theory. Hackman and Oldman's theory is important as it was designed for work redesign and the present study also has an aim of giving suggestions for work improvement. Evans' view on job satisfaction is the most recent view, and the other models are quite old. Evans' views on job satisfaction were specifically designed for teacher job satisfaction, so this is why her concept of realistic expectations (which reflect values that are also strongly present in the elements) is particularly appropriate for the present study. The sense of psychological growth and its' importance to job satisfaction, which were stressed as important by all of the researchers mentioned above, is also one frame to the present study.

Herzberg's motivation and hygiene factors will be compared to the empirical part of the present study. It should be kept in mind that Herzberg studied the job satisfaction of industrial workers and his separation of motivation and hygiene factors into two independent concepts has not suited earlier teacher job satisfaction studies (e.g. Klassen and Anderson 2009). In other words, the sharp division of elements that cause satisfaction and dissatisfaction has not been well supported in previous research on job satisfaction. For instance, working conditions, which Herzberg classifies as *hygiene factors*, are correlated with job satisfaction in a teacher's job. Furthermore, Loeb et al. (2005:67) suggest that schools that have a problem with teacher turnover may need to enhance the school's working conditions and improve the salaries of workers. However,

Loeb et al. (2005) mention that working conditions and their linkage to teacher turnover have not been widely researched. Also, in several studies working conditions (hygiene factors) instead of motivation factors brought the most satisfaction to teachers (e.g. Chen, 2010). It has been argued by other researchers as well that the hygiene factors can also bring the most satisfaction.

Furthermore, another point to be taken into consideration is that a teacher's job consists of many complicated interpersonal relations. Interpersonal relations between coworkers, for instance, in Herzberg's study were considered to be merely a hygiene factor. In a teacher's job, interpersonal relations are often the sources of the most satisfaction and relievers of work-related stress.

Even though Herzberg's (1966) theory does not in its entirety suit the present study, some of his *motivation* and *hygiene factors* are important and easy to apply to teachers. In addition, Hackman and Oldman (1980) as well as Evans (1998) both have similar factors as Herzberg. For instance, Herzberg's motivation factor, *achievement*, includes any successful event such as finishing a piece of work, finding a solution to a problem or seeing the results of one's work. Evans concept of *personal achievement* had a great influence in whether the teachers considered themselves to be satisfied or not. This means that in order for the teacher to be satisfied with a factor, they had to feel that they themselves contributed to the factor in some way. Herzberg also stressed in his studies how important it is for workers to be able to grow psychologically in their jobs. This same idea is promoted by the other researchers mentioned earlier.

Hackman and Oldman's (1980) job characteristics theory is relevant in terms of teacher job satisfaction in that it takes into account the different individual needs of workers and how they intertwine with psychological processes to cause job satisfaction, which is not so clearly addressed in the other theories. Also, the Hackman and Oldman model provides five job characteristics (*skill variety*, *task identity*, *task significance*, *autonomy*, and *feedback)* which need to be present in order for the psychological states to come about and cause job satisfaction. A teacher's job often contains these five elements, so it should at least have the prerequisites for job satisfaction.

In the present study, job satisfaction is defined as the feelings a teacher has towards their job that are influenced by complex individual factors, their need for psychological growth and self-development, their personality, background and previous experiences as

well as their expectations towards the job. Furthermore, job satisfaction results from both intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the job, and job dissatisfaction can also be caused by intrinsic and extrinsic aspects. My definition obviously resembles Evans' definition, but my definition does not make a more specific division of the term job satisfaction.

3 ELEMENTS OF JOB SATISFACTION

Job satisfaction is a complex variable usually comprised of quite a few different elements of work. The present study takes a look at job satisfaction through these different elements. The elements are in their order of presentation: work conditions, realistic expectations and interpersonal relationships, recognition, sources of satisfaction, and sources of dissatisfaction. The elements have been influenced by Evans (1998), Herzberg (1959, 1966), Hackman and Oldman (1980) as well as previous studies of teacher job satisfaction. My angle is to find out a variety of elements of the job having an influence on job satisfaction, thus I have chosen the previously mentioned elements. They explain best the most meaningful parts of a teacher's job and to my knowledge play a big part in the job satisfaction or dissatisfaction of teachers. Furthermore, according to Spector (1997:3), studying job satisfaction by inspecting the different elements or areas in a job that cause job satisfaction and dissatisfaction is beneficial as the organization, for instance, can then pinpoint the elements in the job that need improvement.

Spector (1997:30) reviews the two major target areas of job satisfaction research. First, the job environment and job factors have been one of the biggest areas of research. Secondly, individual factors such as the kind of personality a worker has as well as their earlier experiences have also received some attention in the job satisfaction research. Spector goes on to remind that these two factors both shape the job satisfaction of a worker. Interestingly, individual factors have not been as widely researched as the environment factors (Spector 1997:49). Furthermore, Spector (1997:3) found the following elements of job satisfaction to be among the most studied elements in job satisfaction: appreciation, communication, coworkers, fringe benefits, job conditions, nature of the work itself, organization itself, organization's policies and procedures, pay, personal growth, promotion opportunities, recognition, security, supervision.

Next, in Section 3.1 I will discuss the relevance of work conditions to teacher job satisfaction. Following this, in Section 3.2, the importance of Evans' realistic expectations and the interpersonal relationships of teachers will be discussed. In Section 3.3, I will look at what kind of part recognition plays in the job satisfaction of teachers. Section 3.4 includes sources of teacher job satisfaction as found in earlier studies and in Section 3.5 the sources of dissatisfaction are reviewed. In Section 3.6, I will review

studies of teacher job satisfaction that are relevant to the present study and finally, in Section 3.7 I will review some of the changes in the Finnish school system and teacher training.

3.1 Work conditions

Work conditions have been found in previous studies of teachers to be a part of job satisfaction. As mentioned earlier, Herzberg (1966) classifies work conditions as hygiene factors that exist mostly to avoid job dissatisfaction but that they could not bring the most satisfaction to workers, or in Evans' (1991, 1998) terms, *job fulfillment*. However, Herzberg (1959, 1966) studied the job satisfaction of male industrial workers and he does not include for instance colleagues as part of the "work itself" category, although in teaching many of the aspects that Herzberg considers hygiene factors are actually closer to motivation factors in a teacher's job. Thus, similarly to Nias' (1981) categorization, in this category of work conditions I will not include *relationships with colleagues*, as they are a part of a teacher's work itself. On the other hand, *workload vs. free time* and *classroom discipline* are considered in this study to be intrinsic factors of a teacher's job, although they are discussed here under work conditions. This is because many previous studies have classified them under work conditions.

Work conditions are an essential part of work, but usually the intrinsic aspects of work seem to provide the most motivation in the long term. For instance, one might have a job where the work conditions are not the best, but then the work is personally meaningful and challenging enough to an employee and so it keeps one motivated. In this case, the motivation factors would override the hygiene factors in importance. Next, I will review studies that have found connections between work conditions and the job satisfaction and well-being of teachers, concentrating on group sizes, classroom discipline and workload.

Work conditions, such as group sizes, create problems for teachers in classroom management and also influence teachers' decisions on leaving the field. First of all, work conditions such as huge group sizes provide challenges to teachers in maintaining classroom discipline. According to a reader questionnaire in *Opettaja* magazine (Puustinen 2010), group sizes were one reason for classroom management problems and only 4% of teachers say they have no problems with classroom management. The findings of the reader questionnaire also revealed that a fifth of teachers said that they have classroom discipline problems because of misbehaving students and noise, 45% of

the teachers feel that this is a persistent problem. This classroom discipline problem is prevalent even at the high school levels (Puustinen 2010.) Furthermore, studies have found connections between huge class sizes and teachers leaving the teaching field. Loeb et al. (2005:66) found that huge class sizes (of 33 students or more) have an influence on teachers leaving the schools where they work or leaving the teaching field. They suggest that perhaps one possible way to reduce problems of teachers leaving the field is to improve working conditions and salaries. Loeb et al. (2005:66) also mention that large group sizes can cause difficulties for the school to fill in vacant teacher positions.

In Chen's (2010) study of middle school teachers' job satisfaction in China, working conditions (such as colleagues, classroom control and availability for resource) brought the most satisfaction to the teachers. Chen (2010:269) highlights the fact that in Western studies of teacher turnover there is a clear connection with turnover and teaching conditions. Thus, the stark division of motivation factors and hygiene factors (work conditions) into having two different kinds of effects on job satisfaction is not always very useful in studies of teacher job satisfaction, as they differ greatly from one culture to another. Additionally, teachers often have very individualized views of their experiences in work, as hypothesized by Evans (1998).

In addition to the above mentioned group sizes and discipline problems, workload, non-teaching duties, paper work and lack of supplies have been found to be some of the other reasons for teachers considering leaving their jobs. According to Marlow et al.'s (1996:7) study, poor working conditions frustrated the teachers and were seen as a reflection of poor administration that did not care enough about their school. School administration, thus, has an important part in taking responsibility for the working conditions of the school, since teachers, who already have to carry a lot of responsibility, should not have to be burdened with how to improve physical work conditions as well.

In Finnish studies of language teachers' job satisfaction, workload was found to be one of the burdens of teachers. Upper secondary school teachers were especially dissatisfied with how much extra work the matriculation examinations bring and that they do not even get compensations for all of the work (Mustonen and Saarinen, 2003.) In Mustonen's and Saarinen's (2003:18-19) study, English and Swedish teachers had bigger group sizes than other languages and so they had more matriculation

examinations to grade. All in all, English and Swedish subject teachers graded 39 matriculation examinations in the spring and 24 in the fall, which was double the amount than the grading workload in other languages.

Workload has increased in middle school levels as well. For instance in a questionnaire of middle school language teachers by Aila and Halme (2003), all of the papers and tests that teachers have to grade adds to the workload. On top of 21.5 hours of teaching, teachers said that 7 hours went into planning lessons and over 5 hours went into grading. Hence the final work hours were close to 43 hours each week, which was half an hour more than what had been estimated in the normal work time of language teachers (Aila and Halme 2003:13.)

3.2 Interpersonal relationships and realistic expectations (Evans)

One of the most central parts of a teacher's job is interpersonal relationships. One must be able to communicate efficiently with different kinds of students and parents, as well as other colleagues. This section reviews findings of studies on teacher job satisfaction where interpersonal relations were found as one of the sources of most job satisfaction. In conglomeration with interpersonal relationships, Evans' (1998) concept of realistic expectations is discussed. Next, I will discuss important findings concerning collegial support in the workplace after which realistic expectations are defined and discussed.

Beginning from the 1980s, there have been many studies that emphasize the importance of social support in the workplace of workers in general, and its influence on reducing job-related stress (Ducharme and Martin 2000). Ducharme and Martin (2000) also found that social support is an important factor in job satisfaction of workers. They divide their study of social support into affective and instrumental support that should complement each other. Affective support "provides the recipient with feelings of being accepted and cared for" and instrumental support "involves material assistance in response to specific needs" (Ducharme and Martin 2000:226). Teachers benefit from social support, but these two kinds of support both have different kinds of benefits for professionals. Ducharme and Martin (2000:240) say that their study has several implications for organizations. First of all, it is important to integrate workers with social events outside of work. Secondly, when joined with the previous action, creating work teams with people who have different kinds of skills and knowledge might have beneficial effects on workers' job performance. Similarly, a teacher might benefit from

more enhanced cooperation with other subject teachers and organized free-time activities where they get to bond with other teachers.

In previous studies of teacher job satisfaction, there is a lot of evidence of colleagues bringing the most job satisfaction to teachers. For instance, in Chen's (2010) study of Chinese middle school teachers' job satisfaction, one finding was that teachers were more satisfied with factors relating to working conditions (collegial relationships). Furthermore, Salonen and Syvänen (2009) found out that teachers received the most job satisfaction from their colleagues. Inman and Marlow (2004) studied the reasons for why beginning teachers stay in the field of teaching. Inman and Marlow (2004:610) suggested that beginning teachers should be able to rely on more experienced teachers for support and mentoring. Collegial support further creates a good atmosphere, gives self-esteem and eliminates any possible feelings of isolation of the beginning teachers (Inman and Marlow 2004:610) On the other hand, Herzberg (1966) argues that for instance coworkers and interpersonal relations are merely hygiene factors; that they need to be present in order to avoid dissatisfaction. It is however directly implied by Herzberg (1966) that these hygiene factors cannot be the sources of most satisfaction for workers.

Realistic expectations, already defined earlier in Section 2.2.3, are an important shaper of teachers' views towards their present job. It is especially interesting to see what kinds of realistic expectations teachers have towards not only the job in general but towards the different interpersonal relationships in the workplace, which is a major part of the job. Evans (1998) studied the job satisfaction of elementary teachers. In her study she found that realistic expectations have a big influence on satisfaction. When teachers have realistic expectations instead of idealistic ones towards their job, they will be more satisfied when they happen to be fulfilled. In her study, she mentioned the case of Amanda (Evans 1997b:842), who had realistic expectations that the school's "policy and decision-making would be based upon sound educational principles and pedagogical awareness" as well as that her colleagues would be competent professionals. Unfortunately, Amanda's expectations in the school were not met and so Evans concluded that when expectations are unfulfilled they result in dissatisfaction and low morale on the part of the teacher. So, different teachers have very different kinds of backgrounds that they compare to their present job and they can give valuable information about their values.

3.3 Recognition

In order to develop in a job, workers need information about how they are doing in their jobs. In other words, if a teacher has been working hard and cares about the students and puts in a lot of time into developing good interpersonal relationships in the workplace, the teacher deserves to hear about it. According to Spector (1997:3), recognition is among one of the most researched elements of job satisfaction. Recognition is also one of the five motivation factors presented by Herzberg (1966). Recognition includes any recognition the worker received from anyone in the workplace including negative recognition, which means any criticism or blame the worker received (Herzberg 1966:appendix). In the present study, recognition and feedback are used interchangeably, although it is called recognition originally in Herzberg's study of industrial workers.

Furthermore, Hackman and Oldman's (1980) job characteristics model include *results of one's work* as one of the parts leading to growth need strength of a worker, as defined in Section 2.1.2. *Results of one's work* consist of any clear and concise information the worker received on his performance and is an essential part that influences job attitudes. This job characteristic included only feedback that the worker received from the work itself, not from colleagues or other people. In other words, a teacher can see the results of one's work when he or she has managed to teach something to a student and sees them learn. This in turn motivates the teacher in continuing one's work.

Aaltonen and Uusi-Rajasalo (2010) also found out in their study of the development of teacher trainees' teacher identities that the feedback the trainees received had a great influence in constructing their teacher identities. In the present study, it is hypothesized that feedback gives important information to teachers which ultimately shapes teachers' views of themselves as teachers and gives them intrinsic motivation to continue doing their job well. For instance, positive feedback gives job satisfaction to teachers, makes one feel good about oneself and thus increases one's self-worth. In a study of elementary school teachers by Nias (1981:240), a part of the teachers mentioned that their colleagues' or superiors' praises and appreciation directed at them increased their job satisfaction.

However, teachers often have to deal with negative feedback as well, which can sometimes have either a constructive influence or a negative influence on their views of

themselves. Recognition is thus an important part in a teacher's job as it gives information to the teacher on how to perform better or gives feelings of achievement for the teachers. Fortunately, teachers usually receive immediate feedback from students in the classroom situation. It must be noted, however, that no one's self-worth should be determined by what kind of feedback they receive from others.

3.4 Sources of satisfaction

A lot of the studies on teacher job satisfaction have concentrated on what makes teachers leave the field, and so it was more difficult to find studies internationally on the most satisfying elements. In previous studies of teachers, both intrinsic and extrinsic factors contribute to job satisfaction. Intrinsic factors, however, are the most important and motivating reasons for teachers deciding to stay in teaching. In Marlow et al.'s (1996:10) study, reasons that kept teachers from leaving their jobs were mostly intrinsic factors, such as meaningfulness of the job. Additionally, 54% of the teachers found their work to be important while 25% stayed only because of the need for the income. This finding is similar to Herzberg's findings; motivation factors (intrinsic factors) brought the most satisfaction to the worker instead of hygienes, extrinsic factors. Nias (1981:241), on the other hand, found that teachers gained satisfaction from teaching because the job "provided opportunities for the extension of self". This meant that the teachers perceived their job as "stimulating" and "creative" and provided them with new challenges every day. Nias' (1981) finding concerning the "extension of self" is thus similar to Herzberg's need for self-actualization. Indeed, Nias' findings of the satisfying aspects of the job were in line with Herzberg's satisfying aspects of work. The only difference was that Nias (1981:241) found that teachers were also satisfied with extrinsic factors like the staff, physical surroundings, and the hours of work.

Hackman and Oldman (1980) also propose that if the job does not provide elements (autonomy, challenge, meaningfulness) that satisfy the workers *growth need strength* (see section 2.1.2), then workers will not gain any satisfaction from the job.

Collegial relationships and support from colleagues are important parts of a teacher's job, especially for less experienced teachers. For instance, all of the newly qualified teachers in a study by Nyman (2009:72) would have wanted collegial support in their work places. Collegial relationships were one of the factors in Chen's (2010) study that caused most job satisfaction for middle school teachers. Furthermore, Salonen and

Syvänen (2009) found that collegial relationships and support of colleagues is important in a teacher's job.

There are contradictions between studies that have researched the job satisfaction of teachers with differing amounts of experience and at which point in their career teachers are most satisfied. In previous studies, some researchers (Jalasaho and Junnila 1999, Chen 2010) have found out that less experienced teachers are most satisfied in their jobs and in some there is evidence of less experienced teachers being least satisfied (Aila and Halme 2003). In Mertler's (2001) study of 969 elementary, middle and high school teachers, teachers in their early and end parts of their careers seemed to be the most satisfied. Yet fairly recent studies in Finland, for instance Almiala (2008) found out that every fifth teacher resigns early from their careers in teaching due to pressures from teaching and low salary. In an article concerning Finnish middle school language teachers in Finland, Aila and Halme (2003:12) reported findings from their questionnaire that teachers who had taught for less than five years considered their work to be more demanding than more experienced teachers and also more keen on changing their occupation. The job of a teacher seems to be more satisfying for more experienced teachers, at least in Finland due to changes in Finnish schools and increasing challenge of a teacher's job, as discussed later in Section 3.7.

3.5 Sources of dissatisfaction

Teachers around the world have been found to be dissatisfied both in intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of their jobs. Dissatisfaction in factors that relate directly to the work itself, or intrinsic factors, is perhaps a bigger concern as they are not so easy to fix. Extrinsic aspects of the job, for instance work conditions, can, however, be fixed relatively easily. But if teachers are dissatisfied with intrinsic aspects of the job, say the complex nature of the job and the many roles a teacher has to adapt, then that is a more complex issue that requires changes on many levels, including the societal level.

In Finland, teachers seem to be most dissatisfied in upper secondary schools with the workload and the fact that the work usually comes in huge waves instead of it being steadily divided along the academic year. Workload is often one of the burdens of the job of teachers, especially at upper secondary school levels. Especially among inexperienced teachers, the workload along with designing lessons can be a rigorous task in the first year of teaching, while more experienced teachers already have some

sort of repetitive grip on the job. Spector (1997:43) defines workload as "the demands placed on the employee by the job". Spector (1997:43) suggests that studies of the connection of workload to job dissatisfaction all resulted in varying results because every study has used different methods of researching workload.

Nias (1981) found that teachers were mostly dissatisfied in work-related factors, or *negative satisfiers* (defined in Section 2.2.1). The sources of dissatisfaction were more varied than the sources of satisfaction within the elementary school teachers in Nias' (1981:241) study. For instance, Nias (1981:241) found that they were most dissatisfied in not what Herzberg (1966) had classified as extrinsic factors, but in the interaction and cooperation of their students, which was classified by Nias as an intrinsic element of a teacher's job.

Studies that concentrate on the dissatisfying aspects in a job are usually related to teachers leaving the field. Marlow et al.'s (1996) study of 212 K-12 teachers in Northwestern United States investigated the reasons why teachers were considering leaving their jobs. Some of the reasons were student discipline, students' lack of motivation, poor attitudes, as well as lack of fulfillment in the job, boredom with routine, stress, frustration, lack of respect, difficult working conditions and low salaries. Similarly, Loeb et al. (2005) found out that poor working conditions and low salaries, and student characteristics affect teachers' choices to leave the field.

3.6 Previous studies on teachers' job satisfaction

Most of the research concentrating on teachers' job satisfaction has been quantitative. There have been only a few studies that have researched job satisfaction of teachers by using interviews or combining interviews and other methods, for instance Evans (1998). Fairly recent studies on teacher job satisfaction have also been predominantly quantitative and have used questionnaires, surveys and scales of job satisfaction (Chen 2010, Ducharme and Martin 2000, Salonen and Syvänen 2009). Loeb et al. (2005) used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Thus, there is a need for more studies that use interviews as this way it is possible to find out better explanations for job satisfaction and its correlations with different aspects (such as levels of teaching and teaching experience).

In this section I will briefly introduce four important studies on or related to the job satisfaction of teachers. The four studies are all quite different and they have used either quantitative or qualitative methods. First, I will present Evans' studies on the job satisfaction, motivation and morale of primary school teachers in the UK. I chose these studies as they contain central theories that are also used in the present study. Secondly, I chose Mäenpää's (2005) study of Finnish teachers of English and their job satisfaction in upper secondary schools as it was one of the only studies that was very similar to the present study. Thirdly, I chose Jalasaho and Junnila's (1999) study on the job satisfaction and well-being of upper secondary school teachers in Finland. Although it does not directly relate to job satisfaction alone, it contains some important findings concerning upper secondary school teachers' well-being. Lastly, I included Klassen and Anderson's (2009) study on the job satisfaction and dissatisfaction of secondary teachers in 1962 and 2007. This fairly recent study shows how the changes in school and the behavior of students have affected teacher's job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, which is one aspect that came up in the results of the present study.

3.6.1 Evans' studies on teacher morale, motivation and job satisfaction

Evans, as earlier discussed in Section 2.1.3, has made an enormous contribution to teacher job satisfaction research. Evans' contribution came from 4 interrelated studies which will be reviewed next. Evans studied primary school teachers' morale, motivation and job satisfaction and the reasons behind them. Evans (1998:46-47) was interested in researching these three areas because in her opinion earlier studies were not based on actual research but on common knowledge instead. She wanted to clarify earlier studies and especially emphasize the fact that earlier studies have not provided a clear definition of the term job satisfaction.

The first study of Evans (1998:48-52) conducted in 1988 was a pilot study with the aim of finding out the level of morale and job satisfaction of the teachers as well as which areas had an effect on them. The participants were chosen from Rockville primary school as the school was known for its low morale among the teachers. Evans used versatile methods of data gathering: first she observed the teachers and the school climate for one year and she simultaneously worked there as a part-time teacher. Then she chose 12 teachers for her interviews and follow-up questionnaires for comparison between results, clarification, and to get quantitative data.

According to the results, all of the teachers had varying views on the factors of job satisfaction. For instance, many teachers were dissatisfied with how the school management was running the school. Interestingly, some of the teachers were ready to leave their jobs and some did not mind how the school was run. Because of this, Evans concluded that the teachers had very different and individualistic views and experiences of morale and job satisfaction. A minority of the teachers had very low levels of morale while some teachers had very high levels of morale and job satisfaction. Most importantly, *professionality*, *relative perspective* and *realistic expectations*, as already defined in Section 2.2.3, were the three concepts with which Evans explained the differences between the teachers' views.

The second study by Evans (1998:52-53) was conducted in 1989-1990 with an aim of checking how generalizable the results of the first study are. Another aim was to find out whether the teacher's professionality and the professional climate of the school shaped teachers' job attitudes. Evans chose six teachers from two schools where she had been making observations and as many different professionality types as possible. Then, in the third study conducted in 1990-1992 she wanted to find out whether extended professionality had an effect on teachers' job attitudes (Evans 1998:53). She found out that teachers with extended professionalities were more often frustrated with how the schools were run and also they had trouble reaching *job fulfillment*. There were clashes in various schools between the restricted and extended individuals.

In the fourth study, Evans (1998:53) wanted to see if the Reform Act of 1988 and the National Curriculum implementation in the UK had an effect on teacher morale and job satisfaction. The first study was actually conducted before these reforms, so this was especially interesting to find out later. However, Evans (1998) did find out these kinds of reforms did not have any special effect on their job satisfaction and morale. On the other hand, teachers though that reforms that were specific to their schools had more effect on their morale and job satisfaction.

In conclusion, Evans' (1998:147-153) most central findings were that individuality and three other concepts stemming from it: *professionality*, *relative perspective* and *realistic expectations* shape teachers' attitudes towards their work. These terms were earlier defined in Section 2.1 and 2.2.3. Evans' finding concerning the *individuality* of teachers is central also in the present study. In her first interviews, Evans noticed that when she asked teachers to identify sources of satisfaction in their job, some factors were similar

to Herzberg's (1966) intrinsic (motivation factors) which were "working with children and watching them progress, organizing inservice training days for colleagues, feeling that individual children's learning needs were being accommodated" (Evans 1997a:326). Also, there were some similar factors mentioned that could fall in Herzberg's category *hygiene factors*: room size, resources, and how close the school was to home. The results of her studies were more in line with Herzberg's *motivation and hygiene factors* after she had divided job satisfaction into job comfort and job fulfillment, they were more precise and she got more consistent information.

Mäenpää (2005) had similar results in her study of upper secondary school teachers' job satisfaction as many of the teachers had very differing views towards their jobs. Also, Evans emphasized the importance of providing a clear definition of job satisfaction so that it includes both the element of *job comfort* and *job fulfillment*. The division of job satisfaction into these two terms was seen as useful in Mäenpää's (2005). However, there are not many other studies except for Evans' studies that have used this distinction, so the empirical validity it is not very good.

There are, however, several shortages in Evans' studies. A great deal of time had passed between the first and the last studies, which in turn had an effect on how the results of the studies could be compared. Also, Evans herself admitted that she had been working in one of the schools where she conducted her observation part of her research and also she chose the participants for her studies from a school where she has worked for a year. When conducting research, it is a question of ethics that one should not have any previous connection to participants of the study. In Evans' case, she must have been quite familiar with the teachers since she had known them during the time she had worked there.

In addition, Evans provides a more complex model of the job satisfaction of teachers. Most job satisfaction research has used old models, for instance Herzberg's theoretical model of motivators and hygienes. Evans' theoretical framework is better suited for researching teacher job satisfaction, because she does not provide simple answers for sources of job satisfaction and does not see them as separate factors like Herzberg does in his classification of sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction into two complete independent categories.

3.6.2 Study on teachers of English in Finnish upper secondary school and their job satisfaction

Mäenpää (2005) studied the job satisfaction of English teachers in Finnish upper secondary schools. Her study was the most relevant Finnish study I found on job satisfaction of English teachers. Mäenpää (2005) interviewed six teachers from two upper secondary schools. She used the most recent view of job satisfaction, Evans' theory of job satisfaction, which divides job satisfaction into two parts: *job fulfilment* and *job comfort*. Job fulfilment means what aspectsbring the most satisfaction to the teachers, and job comfort means aspects of the job the teachers give a grade of satisfactory. According to Mäenpää's (2005) study, teachers had varying views of their job satisfaction. The interviews revealed that half of the teachers were satisfied with their job and the rest were dissatisfied. Working with other teachers as well as students brought the most satisfaction to the teachers. The English language, teaching languages, the respect for high school teachers and success were aspects of job satisfaction. Sources of dissatisfaction were the teaching material, working conditions, the principal, workload and pay. Another finding was that all of the teachers concurred that their workload was enormous for two main reasons. First, there were no classes and the students could proceed at an independent pace, which resulted in more work for the teachers as they had to organize more exams. In addition, some students never did the exams in time so they had to show up for the retakes. The second reason was that the change in the matriculation examination questions had brought more workload as they had to prepare the students for them and take care of all kinds of paper work (Mäenpää 2005:56-57.) Fairly recent studies of upper secondary school teachers in Finland have also found that workload is huge, especially because of matriculation examinations. (e.g. Mustonen and Saarinen 2003, Jalasaho and Junnila 1999).

Mäenpää (2005) found out that teachers have very individualized views of their job satisfaction which is consistent with Evans' (1998) findings. Mäenpää's (2005) study, however, does not suggest any possible ways to improve the job satisfaction of teachers. Furthermore, Mäenpää only interviewed teachers from two different upper secondary schools and only six teachers; therefore the data is not very versatile and no generalizations can thus be made.

3.6.3 Study on job satisfaction of Finnish upper secondary school teachers

Jalasaho and Junnila (1999) studied the job satisfaction, job well-being and job conditions of Finnish high school teachers. Their study was a part of a Euro Teach project, which compared the job conditions and well-being of upper secondary school teachers in different countries in Europe. Surveying 232 high school teachers from all over Finland, they discovered that 91% of the teachers were satisfied with their jobs. Reasons for the job satisfaction were challenging aspects of the job, meaningfulness of the job and the chance to develop. Additionally, teachers had good relationships with their students and also had the chance to make a difference in their jobs. However, 60% of the teachers had moderate symptoms of job burnout. The great number of years in the job, the weekly working hours, time pressures, and the fact that the job is unchallenging were all parts that influenced the burnout. As in Mäenpää's (2005) study, here it is evident as well that the job of a high school teacher in Finland is quite demanding.

Another interesting finding was that younger teachers (under 35 years of age) were the most satisfied. The international trend has lately been that beginning teachers leave the field more likely than more experienced teachers. Jalasaho and Junnila (1999) did not provide any explanations for why they found out that younger teachers were more satisfied in their jobs, even though they clearly had differing results to earlier studies. The use of interviews in similar kinds of studies could explain some of the reasons for the differences between younger and older teachers as well as teaching experience's effect on job satisfaction.

3.6.4 Study on the job satisfaction and dissatisfaction of secondary teachers in 1962 and 2007

Klassen and Anderson (2009) studied the level of job satisfaction and sources of dissatisfaction of secondary school teachers in southwest England. They conducted their study in 2007 and one of their aims was to compare the results of that study to another similar one carried out in the UK in 1962. They wanted to find out whether teachers in 2007 ranked the sources of dissatisfaction in a different way than teachers ranked them in 1962. The 16 elements of job dissatisfaction found in the study by Rudd and Wiseman in 1962 were used as the basis for Klassen and Anderson's (2009) study. Klassen and Anderson (2009) asked 210 secondary teachers from eight different schools in southwest England to describe their present level of job satisfaction and to put in

order 16 elements of dissatisfaction. The other aims were to find out teachers' levels of job satisfaction as well as ask them how their job satisfaction could be improved. They used Herzberg's (1966) theory in their study as well as Nias' (1981) revisited version (see Section 2.2.1) of Herzberg's *motivation factors*, or *satisfiers*, and *hygiene factors*, or *dissatisfiers*.

According to Klassen and Anderson (2009:753), teachers in 2007 marked their level of satisfaction to being "close to *Satisfying in general*". However, teachers were less satisfied in general in their jobs as teachers in 1962 in Rudd and Wiseman's study. The next finding was that teachers in 2007 teachers ranked highest on the scale of job dissatisfaction the teaching itself (time demands and pupils' behavior). Teachers in 1962 were most dissatisfied with external sources of job dissatisfaction (salary, condition of buildings and equipment and poor human relations). In 1962, the poor behavior of students was not such a big concern as it was found to be in 2007. Thus, this finding provides some more support for the fact there are more behavior and discipline problems in today's schools than, say, 45 years ago. Furthermore, the results of the 2007 study showed that there were no differences between teachers' years of teaching experience and gender. Not surprisingly, there were in fact great differences between the two studies conducted in different time periods in regards to the aspects of dissatisfaction.

The third aim of the study was to ask the teachers which things need to be changed so that they would be more satisfied in their jobs. Klassen and Anderson (2009:752) listed following 10 aspects in order of highest to lowest frequency of mention by teachers: 1.) more time for preparation and collaboration, 2.) more funding and resources, 3.) support for student behavior problems (expectations towards students should be increased instead of the trend that teachers should know how to make them participate more) 4.) professional recognition, 5.) stronger support from management, 6.) smaller class sizes, 7.) lighter workload, 8.) higher salary, 9) assessment issues and 10) fewer curriculum changes. These ten aspects were then divided by Klassen and Anderson (2009:752) into Herzberg's *dissatisfiers*, or extrinsic aspects of work that cause and increase dissatisfaction, and Nias' (1981) *negative satisfiers*. *Negative satisfiers* are defined by Nias (1981:241) as the aspects relating to the work itself that are dissatisfying. Nias came up with this category because Herzberg's *dissatisfiers* only include contextual factors of the job.

The most often mentioned aspect, *more time needed for preparation and collaboration,* was labeled as a negative satisfier because it relates directly to teaching. The second most frequently mentioned aspect, more funding and resources, was labeled as merely a *dissatisfier* because it relates to the work context. The third most frequently mentioned aspect, *support for student behavior problems* was labeled as a *dissatisfier* as well as a *negative satisfier* because it relates both to the work context as well as the work itself. (Klassen and Anderson 2009:752.)

Klassen and Anderson (2009:753) had a hard time using the classifications in Herzberg's (1966) and Nias' (1980) theory. Most of the mentioned aspects for improvement did not fit in only one category, that is, the *dissatisfiers* or the *negative satisfiers*. There was some overlapping, as earlier discussed, so it is quite difficult to use this kind of classification system in job satisfaction studies because it only causes more confusion than produces beneficial information on how to improve job satisfaction. In addition, when teachers were asked which aspects would bring more satisfaction to them, they mentioned aspects that belonged to the categories of *satisfiers* and *negative satisfiers* (teaching itself) as well as *dissatisfiers* (work context) (Klassen and Anderson 2009:756).

However, Klassen and Anderson (2009) point out that there are weaknesses in Herzberg's (1966) and Nias' (1981) theories and argue that if there are changes over time in the targets of dissatisfaction and their ranking than it can eventually have an effect on how satisfied teachers are. Thus, satisfaction and dissatisfaction cannot simply be separated.

There are few studies that have attempted to compare levels of job satisfaction and elements of dissatisfaction of teachers in different time periods. Klassen and Anderson's (2009) study is unique in this way and provides interesting information concerning how societal changes and time has changed teacher job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Indeed, more studies need to ask directly from the teachers which aspects in their job should change so that they could be more satisfied in their jobs. Also, Klassen and Anderson (2009) suggest that policymakers and authorities should pay attention to the changing perceptions of teachers towards students' behavior. By doing this, they could influence their job satisfaction in a positive way and also lessen behavior problems. Klassen and Anderson (2009) do not, however, provide any possible way of

acknowledging this or ways to eliminate behavior problems in school. One major finding by Klassen and Anderson (2009:756) was that teachers seemed to be quite worried about aspects that related directly to the nature of teaching, and not the context, which in turn might affect teachers' decisions to leave the field and cause difficulties in finding new teachers to fill in positions in schools.

In addition, Klassen and Anderson (2009) point out that they are aware that better models have been developed in conceptualizing job satisfaction and dissatisfaction of teachers (e.g. Evans 1998), models that do not treat satisfaction and dissatisfaction as two completely independent concepts.

3.7 Changes in the Finnish school system and teacher training

In this section I will first discuss some of the changes that have taken place in the Finnish school system and school life after which I will move on to discuss how well the teacher training prepares teacher trainees for the job of a teacher. The Finnish school system has gone through many changes since the 1950s and the establishment of the new comprehensive school system. The school as an organization is closely tied to society and so as society changes, school has pressure to change along with it. Teachers are facing increasingly rapid changes that have happened in the school curriculum, behaviour of students and their attitudes towards the school, as well as changes in the respect the society holds for teachers.

The Finnish economic depression of the 1990s sparked some of the problems present in Finnish schools. Many people became unemployed and alienated from society, affecting teachers and schools as well. Unemployment and alienation thus caused even more problems such as decrements in the well-being of a nation. Schools had to make budget cuts and so group sizes became bigger and restlessness rose among students. Of course, problems at home are further reflected in students at school (Säntti 2008:7.) The job of a teacher has been continuing to change into more hectic, pressurized and diverse at the same time as the respect for teachers and schools has declined over the years (Kiviniemi 2000:7).

Perhaps one of the most obvious factors effecting teachers' every day work life is the behaviour of students. Behaviour of students in today's schools has changed. Kiviniemi (2000) conducted a study on teachers' and teacher trainers' views on teaching work,

changes in teachership and developmental challenges to teacher training. Kiviniemi (2000:7) found out that teachers felt that the behaviour of students has become more disturbing and aggressive, and teachers have noticed a certain anti-school subculture within students. Reasons for these changes were estimated to be personal problems of students. Also, alienation and problems of their parents affected students' behaviour in school. All of these changes reflect a crisis in education of children and that society has lost its grip on good ways to educate and raise students and so students are not used to boundaries. Teachers in Kiviniemi's (2000) study suggested that school, parents and community need to work together in taking responsibility for the education of children.

The curriculum of Finnish schools has also gone through major changes since the 1990s. First of all, nowadays schools plan their own curriculum, which adds more responsibility, yet autonomy as well, for teachers. According to Sahlberg (1998:131) collaboration with colleagues is important especially for this reason. Teachers must be able to have good collaboration skills for effective team work between colleagues in different schools. Finnish curriculum has also expanded in many ways. Teachers have increasing amounts of contents and teaching areas to cover as well as time pressures to cover them. After all, school is very time-limited organization and it that alone sets many pressures for teachers (Sahlberg 1998:191). Secondly, special education has broadened so that today every teacher in the school has responsibility for taking care of learning disabled students. A reform in the Basic Education Act that came into effect in the beginning of 2011 has an aim of integrating students with special needs into normal groups. This will in turn increase the responsibility of teachers as well as the workload of principals and teachers (Laaksola 2011:1-2). Laaksola (2011:1-2) continues to say that this change has an aim of decreasing group sizes, which is a positive thing, but these changes will no doubt cost and it is questionable whether schools will have the resources for this.

As the job of a teacher in Finland has become more problematic and uncertain, teacher training should be able to train teacher trainees so that they would be better equipped for the uncertainties in a teacher's job (Kiviniemi 2000:8). Additionally, Kiviniemi (2000:7) suggests that teacher training should prepare trainees with better ways to be able to confront and deal with the anti-school sub culture and crises in the school environment, and recognise problems of student alienation. This, however, is an arduous task and it is quite difficult for teacher education to foresee the kinds of crisis

that might take place in future school environments. The present teacher training program is supposed to train future teachers in the best way possible by offering the pedagogical training in special training schools (Normaalikoulu), combined with a separate theoretical training. Although there are quite a lot of opportunities for trainees to teach at different levels and get acquainted with one alternative school in the applied training, there is still not enough emphasis on the reality of teacher life as the emphasis is mostly on preparing lessons and the classroom situation. After all, there are many other components to a teacher's job that trainees do not get to see during training.

Next, I will move onto the present study. In Section 4.1, I will present the aims, goals and research questions of the study. In Section 4.2, I will go over the data gathering methods. In Section 4.2.1 information is given about the teachers who participated in this study and in Section 4.2.2 the codes used in the results to refer to the individual teachers are explained. Lastly, in Section 4.3 I will describe the data analysis process used in the present study.

4 THE PRESENT STUDY

4.1 Aims, goals and research questions

The present study focuses on finding out which aspects teachers in elementary, middle and upper secondary schools find satisfying and dissatisfying. The aim is to offer suggestions in developing English teachers' job satisfaction. A qualitative approach was chosen for the present study as it supports well the nature of job satisfaction research, as every teacher has their own individual attitudes towards their job.

In earlier studies of teacher job satisfaction, there has almost always been a concentration on teachers in general, and not for instance on English teachers or other language teachers for that matter. Few studies have included the job satisfaction of teachers on different levels of teaching, and this is something that brings a lot of variety to the present study since teaching is quite different in different levels. Another dimension to the present study is how the teachers with different teaching experience feel about their job satisfaction. According to recent studies, a lot of young teachers leave the field within the first few years, which tells something about the demanding level of the job and what is needed to survive in teaching. Also, Evans' ideas of *realistic expectations* and *comparative experiences*, sense of *personal achievement* are concepts that with the help of these will strongly shape their current views of job satisfaction. Evans' (1998) *personal achievement* is strongly related to Herzberg's (1966) *achievement* and his idea of *psychological growth*. Thus, these factors led to the following research questions:

1. What kinds of aspects do teachers with different teaching experience find satisfying on different school levels?

2. What kinds of aspects do teachers with different teaching experience find dissatisfying on different school levels?

4.2 Data gathering methods: the interviews

The data was collected with the help of semi-structured theme interviews (see Appendix for the questions), which left some room to ask more specific questions that might arise during the conversation. It was very useful to study job satisfaction with interviews since teachers perceive the concept of job satisfaction differently and had varying views on it. The questions were divided into various themes such as the physical work conditions, interpersonal relationships and realistic expectations, recognition, sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and work improvement.

Theme-based interviews were appropriate for this study, as teachers are all individuals and it is possible to interview all of them separately and get interesting and varying viewpoints. A theme based interview leaves more room for the interviewees' thoughts and lessens the effect of the researcher's views on the interview. Thus, the researcher concentrates on different themes instead of specific and detailed questions. (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000:47-48.)

Alternatively, open-ended questions could have been another way to investigate job satisfaction, but then again they would have probably yielded less information and most importantly, there would have been no chance to direct the answers to an interesting direction as in interviews. Likert-scale surveys could have been another way of conducting the present study, but using them would have given more general information about the degree of job satisfaction. It would have then been possible to compare different teachers' job satisfaction with differing amounts of experience and different school levels, but still it would have not given any detailed or in-depth information on the specific areas and experiences in the life of an English teacher.

The interviews were recorded, which made it possible to listen to them repeatedly and return back to specific parts. Furthermore, it was possible to analyse the communication situation better, and perhaps even find different interpretations and aspects that might be difficult to otherwise notice (Tiittula and Ruusuvuori 2005:15). The interviews were then transcribed very soon afterwards when the situations were still fresh in mind.

Mäenpää's (2005) study was a useful source for starting to design the present study's interview questions, since the topic was very similar to this study. However, her study concentrated on differentiating job comfort and job satisfaction while this was not the

aim in this study. Mäenpää used Evans' theories in their entirety, while I combined many different theories from different researchers.

4.2.1 The teachers

Altogether nine teachers were interviewed individually. The interviews took place in a quiet environment in the different schools. Three teachers were interviewed from elementary school, three teachers from middle school (of which one also taught in upper secondary school), and finally altogether four from upper secondary school (of which one taught also in middle school). The criteria for choosing the teachers were that they taught English as their main subject. The teachers had different amounts of teaching experience ranging from two and a half years to 25 years. I did not ask for the ages of the teachers as that was not relevant in the present study

For practical reasons, I contacted 45 teachers from schools in Central Finland by e-mail. 13 qualified female teachers responded, of which I chose nine for the interviews on the basis that three were from elementary school, two from middle school, three from upper secondary school, and one who taught in middle as well as upper secondary school. All of the respondents had to be qualified and have a permanent teaching position in the school as well as have English as their main subject. A majority of the replies (6) came from upper secondary school teachers, while it was more difficult to find elementary and middle school teachers for the present study. Two of the upper secondary school teachers were from the same school, while the rest were from different schools. The interviews were conducted in November and December of 2010 as well as January of 2011. The interviews were conducted in Finnish since all of the teachers were Finnish. The interviews lasted from 36 minutes to 80 minutes. All of the teachers received the structure of the interview by e-mail prior to the interviews. This way it was possible for the teachers to be prepared for the situation and this was of help in the data collection (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009:73).

4.2.2 The individual teachers & codes explained

In this section, I will explain the codes used for the different teachers in the present study. All of the teachers had Master's degrees, except for the most experienced teacher, E2, who had a Bachelor's degree. When I refer to *less experienced teachers* in the present study, it means they have less than five years of teaching experience.

Accordingly, the teachers with more than five years of teaching experience are referred to as *more experienced teachers*.

E1 is an elementary school English teacher with three years of teaching experience and also teaches German. She teaches at three different schools.

E2 is an elementary school English teacher with 25.5 years of experience. She has taught in the present school for almost 20 years, but has some experience of other schools as well.

E3 is an elementary school teacher with English and German as her subjects and teaching experience of 4.5 years. She has only taught in the present school.

M1 is a middle school teacher with English, Swedish and German as her subjects and 12 years of teaching experience. Currently, she only teaches English. She has taught in the present school for 3.5 years. She has some experience as substituting in upper secondary school before graduating, and then some experience of elementary school after being qualified.

M2 is a middle school teacher with English and Swedish as her subjects and teaching experience of 2.5 years. She has been teaching in the present school for 1.5 years. She has also worked in upper secondary school and in elementary school as a substitute.

U1 is an upper secondary school teacher with English as her subject and 15 years of experience of which 14 in upper secondary school. She has been in the present school for about 10 years.

U2 is an upper secondary school teacher with English and Swedish as her subjects and about 12 years of teaching experience. She has worked in the present school for 2.5 years.

U3 is an upper secondary school teacher with English and French as her subjects and teaching experience of 10 years. In the present school she has taught 8 years.

UM4 is an upper secondary and middle school teacher with English and French as her subjects and about eight years of experience. She has taught in her present school for slightly over a year.

4.3 Data analysis

The first phase of the data analysis included actively reading the data many times and the categorizing of the themes in to preliminary raw themes. This phase could be seen as not the actual analysing phase, but rather as a preliminary tool, which helps in the other analysing stages (Ruusuvuori, Nikander and Hyvärinen 2010:18). The themes that came out of the interviews were organized with the help of a word processing program and divided into separate categories in order to be able to gain a larger picture of the data. The preliminary themes were: *amount of students in the classroom & discipline, facilities and technical instruments, teaching material, workload versus salary or free time, expectations towards: the job in general, towards colleagues, students, principals, parents, interpersonal relationships with colleagues, students, principals*, and *parents, instrumental and affective support from colleagues, school atmosphere, earlier work experiences/schools, recognition, job satisfaction in general, sources of most satisfaction, sources of most dissatisfaction, evaluation, flow, suggestions for the improvement of job satisfaction.*

After the data had been divided into logical themes, I started narrowing down to the more important themes in terms of the research questions. Next, I will explain why I kept certain themes and left out others and in the end review the themes that were used. Originally, there were 16 themes, but in the process of analysing the data some of them ended up as subthemes and some were not viewed as relevant in the present study. I decided to include *classroom discipline and amount of students, physical environment and equipment, teaching material,* and *workload* as smaller themes under the major theme *work conditions*. I combined *expectations* and *interpersonal relationships* as well as *the school atmosphere* into one theme. *The earlier work experiences* of the teachers are reflected throughout all of the themes, when appropriate, instead of being a separate category. *Recognition* had its own theme since it was one separate dimension contributing to job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. *Evaluation* was left out because there was not enough data on this. *Flow* was left out as well because there was a lack of data on it, and it would have made the framework of the present study too broad. Some factors, for instance the differences between different school levels and inexperienced vs. experienced teachers can be seen in many of the themes, but I chose to include it as a separate theme as it is one of the dimensions of the present study. Thus, the themes that ended up in the present study were *work conditions, realistic expectations &*

interpersonal relationships, *recognition*, *sources of satisfaction*, *sources of dissatisfaction*, *suggestions for work improvement*, and *differences between the experienced and inexperienced teachers* and *differences between the different school levels*.

The final phases of the analysis included finding deeper meanings and connections lying between the different themes. Asking myself "why" and "what does this tell about the values of this participant" and "are there any contradictions between the participants answers within the interview" helped in bringing forth meanings that were not explicitly present in the direct quotations from the data (Ruusuvuori et al. 2010:19). The aim was to find a conversational connection with the data. As said by Ruusuvuori et al. (2010:29), the last phase of analysis is very important and one should spend a lot of time interpreting and discussing with the text as the interpretations are virtually infinite.

Above all, reporting the results should not seize at the level of analysis (classifying, categorizing) but should evolve into synthesis, a process of making interpretations and connections between the theory and the data (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000:143-144). It is possible to test the validity of one's own interpretations by comparing them to similar studies interpretations and searching for logical connections and how they would work in other, similar studies (Ruusuvuori et al. 2010:27). For instance, I looked for connections between the sources of teachers' satisfaction and dissatisfaction and whether they were similar to Herzberg's hygiene and motivation factors. Evans' concepts of realistic expectations, individualistic differences, and comparative experiences had central roles in the development of teacher job satisfaction in the present study. I also looked for connections between Hackman and Oldman's job characteristics model's five elements leading ultimately to job satisfaction and the elements that gave satisfaction for the participants in the present study. These theoretical concepts bring their own interpretations to the data analysis as well.

5 RESULTS

Next, the results will be reported by each theme and illustrated with direct quotations from the interviews. The original Finnish quotations from the interviews are provided in Appendix 2. Evans' *realistic expectations* towards students, coworkers, parents and principals form their own separate theme joined with *interpersonal relations*. Evans' sense of *personal achievement* is seen in the theme *sources of satisfaction*. *Comparative/ earlier experiences* is seen throughout all of the themes. Herzberg's motivation factor *recognition* also has its own theme. First, I will report the findings concerning the general job satisfaction of the teachers and concentrate on the experiences of the less experienced teachers. In section 5.1, the work conditions of the teachers will be discussed, including the influence of the group sizes to classroom discipline, the school premises, equipment and material as well as workload's influence on job satisfaction. In section 5.2, the *realistic expectations* (Evans) of the teachers towards the work itself, students, coworkers, and parents are reported. Also, their relationships between students, coworkers, parents and the principals will be reported. In section 5.3, the concentration is on the recognition that the teachers have received in the schools from their students. Recognition involved positive as well as negative feedback. In section 5.4, different sources of satisfaction are reported and in section 5.5 the concentration is on sources of dissatisfaction. Lastly, section 5.5 includes the teachers' suggestions for developing job satisfaction.

The purpose of this study was not to find out the particular degree of general job satisfaction of the teachers, but the elements with which they were most and least satisfied with. However, all of the teachers said that they were currently satisfied in their jobs which is conflicting with Mäenpää's (2005) study of upper secondary school English teachers in which half of the teachers were dissatisfied with their jobs.

Although all of the teachers were generally satisfied in their jobs, most of the less experienced teachers' earlier experiences revealed that they had very low points in the beginning of their careers when they questioned their suitability for the job. Also, some of the teachers who had taught for more than 12 years remembered that their first years were very tiring and rigorous because they often had to do their own material and get used to the school system. This, in turn, correlates with fairly recent studies of less experienced language teachers. For instance, Aila and Halme (2003) found out in their reader questionnaire that the job of a language teacher is tough during the first years and

that the work is not very enjoyable. Indeed, two of the less experienced teachers mentioned the fatigue they felt at the beginning of their careers. Furthermore, Teacher M2 with less than five years of teaching experience had learned that there are a lot of lows and highs in the job and that one has to have self-confidence to be able to survive in the job. Also, she mentioned that in the beginning she felt that she was not good enough for the job as it was from time to time very exhausting:

> 1)
> I can admit that sometimes I'm really tired and at times I'm not able to believe that I can do this job. I get this feeling that why do I do this and I'm not good enough. But then at times I feel that oh yeah I really am good…so one must have healthy confidence in oneself so that it's possible to manage through the difficult times. (Teacher M2)

Similarly, Teacher E1 remembered that the beginning years were very hard times for her and she even thought about what else she could do instead of teaching as her expectations of the job that were formed in her training were quite different in her first job:

> 2)
> The everyday life is so different there than what I saw in the teacher training. And then the fact that..when I haven't got the perspective yet of how I should take care of that job and how much one has to work. Because sure one can do this work for 24 hours and it still doesn't end. (Teacher E1)

The more experienced teachers also reflected on their experiences in the first years of teaching. Some of the more experienced teachers remembered how rigorous their first years in teaching were, and in the case of Teacher U1 it started to get a bit easier after three or four years. For instance, Teacher U1's life was devoted to teaching during the first years and she described a typical day in the following way:

> 3)
> I remember sitting there the first year until midnight. I remember that I came home from school first. That was around four or five. I got off work after I had photocopied and sorted everything. Then I came home and watched the Bold and the Beautiful and ate and after that I worked until midnight all of those weeks..almost every night. (Teacher U1)

5.1 Work conditions

Work conditions had a significant effect on the job satisfaction of the teachers in the present study. They included the physical work conditions, amount of students, classroom discipline, teaching materials, workload vs. salary/free time. Next, these elements will be discussed along with references to previous studies.

5.1.1 Physical environment

As proposed by Herzberg (1966), work conditions, including the physical environment, were classified as hygiene factors. As earlier mentioned, *hygiene* can only prevent dissatisfaction but not cause satisfaction. In the present study, the teachers had deficiencies in their working conditions, but because they were satisfied with the intrinsic aspects (*motivators*) of their jobs, they could live with these deficiencies. However, if the *motivators* would have been weak or absent the *hygiene factors* would have had more significant effect on the job satisfaction.

There was great inequality between the physical conditions (the spaces and the technical equipment) between the teachers teaching at different levels. The middle school teachers had differing opinions of their working conditions. Teacher M2 said her present school was the best she has worked in so far in terms of space and equipment, while Teacher M1 said her classroom is too small, there is no place to work in peace, and that the school cannot afford better equipment. All of the upper-secondary school teachers were satisfied with the school premises, two of the teachers had nothing to complain about the premises. One upper secondary school teacher complained about the lack of a separate workspace for language teachers and that there is no room to store things in the storage room. Because of this, she had to take things home a lot. Teacher U2 described her physical work conditions as being satisfying in that people fit in the building and that the basic things are satisfactory, but some unsatisfying aspects she mentioned in several ways:

> 4)
> So they are completely basic…there was no separate language teachers' work space so it was the same quiet space for everyone. One thing we do have is a kind of windowless storage room that is full of everyone's things. A part of them I have had to squeeze home too…so there is not even enough storage space. (Teacher U2)

The same teacher mentioned that her school was a bit behind in development and that for instance overhead projectors were still used alongside the new technical equipment. Also, Teacher U2 said that one nuisance was the chalk dust coming from the chalkboards and that she had some health symptoms because of the dust.

The three other upper secondary school teachers thought that the technical equipment in their schools were top of the line. All of them thought that that the top of the line equipment required a lot of time to learn to use them. Teacher UM4 mentioned that there are so many different technical equipment that it can cause problems sometimes:

> 5)
> …sometimes it feels all too technical because we have the computer, the document camera, the smart board, the video projector and all of them have these cords coming out of them and if someone pulls one of them then you have no clue how to take care of that situation. But then we have this really good assistant who can help with those kinds of things. (Teacher UM4)

Teacher UM4 and Teacher U1 both appreciated their present schools because they used to work in schools where the physical conditions were much worse. For instance, Teacher U1 appreciated the conditions of her current school because earlier she worked in a moldy school and she was tired all of the time. She also mentioned that one consequence of the improved physical conditions of the school (including technical equipment) was that a lot of time has to be invested in learning to use them. On the other hand, the equipment has brought a lot of variation to the normal old routines and more variation to the teaching.

Reasons for dissatisfaction with the physical environment among all of the teachers included moldy schools, indoor air problems, lack of own classroom, small classrooms and lack of a quiet workspace for the teachers. According to Marlow's (1996) study, the poor working conditions frustrated the teachers and were seen as a reflection of poor administration that did not care enough about their school. In the present study, it was mentioned by one participant that the city is the one responsible for the decisions with improving work conditions (e.g. organizing new teaching spaces.) Thus, the city as an employer had often neglected the needs of the teachers.

Two out of the three elementary school teachers said they had problems with indoor air problems in their schools. One of the elementary school teachers who worked in three different schools at the same time said that one of her schools was moldy and that she had to work in evasive premises located in another school. Another elementary teacher

said that their school has indoor air problems but she has not had any symptoms yet. However, one of her colleagues has had bad symptoms because of the indoor air problems and so they have shared the same language classroom at times because the class had an air cleaning device:

> 6)
> We have agreed that she keeps the lessons here as much as she can and then I go to other classrooms so the premises are in that way lousy. I change…during the day I can be in three different classrooms…sometimes even four from which I have to drag things with me so it is not really the best possible situation. (Teacher E3)

5.1.2 Classroom discipline and amount of students in classrooms

Nowadays large class sizes are a big problem in Finland and one of the reasons for classroom discipline problems, as discovered in a reader questionnaire in *Opettaja* magazine (Puustinen 2010). Further, Loeb et al. (2005) found out that among other teaching conditions, large class sizes were linked to teacher turnover in California schools. In the present study, large class sizes were often split in half in elementary school, which was a tremendous asset to the teachers. In one middle school the size of the classroom was too small for all of the students to fit in. In the rest of the middle schools, there were no significant problems with large class sizes and they were rarely the main reason for classroom discipline problems. In several upper secondary schools the large group sizes made it difficult to form good interpersonal relations between the students.

Most of the teachers reported having classroom discipline problems regardless of their teaching experience, but mostly in the elementary and middle school levels. Teacher E1 suggested several solutions to the problem: creating unified rules for the whole school as well as decreasing the amount of students per class. She mentioned that it would make her job so much easier if she did not have to teach such big classes, and that if there would be certain joint rules for the whole school the problems would go away:

> 7)
> It would make this job much easier if we didn't have to teach these groups of 25 students. That we'd have groups of 12 students max. Then one can tell the difference that smaller groups are noticeably calmer. (Teacher E1)

Similarly, Teacher M2 stressed the importance of setting rules and boundaries to avoid classroom discipline problems before they become out of control and difficult to erase.

However, in middle school the behavior of the children might vary greatly along the day, which adds to the burden, as demonstrated below:

> 8)
> Some of the classes are much more restless so the same group can act very differently in other classes. It is quite difficult to predict. (Teacher M2)

The group sizes at elementary levels ranged from 10 to 26. The average amount of students in the split classes was 12 students. The elementary school English teachers mentioned that almost all of their language classes are split into half, which helps to tackle classroom discipline problems. All of the elementary school teachers concurred that the classes should always be split so that learning can actually take place and that that the teacher can manage the whole class.

However, Teacher UM4 said that the big groups are not always the main reason for the discipline problems, but instead a single student can affect the rest of the students in the class to a large degree, as she mentions below:

> 9)
> Now that all the students are being integrated into groups so if there happens to be a student who has some kind of behavior problem or ADHD than that definitely affects how the whole group works. It can affect it all the way through middle school. (Teacher U4)

The group sizes at the middle school level varied from 20 to 24 students. Teacher UM4 thought that the around 20 students was a good class size, while M1 was less satisfied with the group sizes because her classroom was too small, which was causing some problems, as can be seen in Example 10:

> 10)
> This classroom is so small in proportion to the number of students so that there is a lot of fighting because they almost sit on each other's laps so a lot of stuff comes out of that. It's not always the case that the number of students affects whether it is noisy or not but yeah I have discipline problems in my classes as well. (Teacher M1)

At the upper secondary school level group sizes varied from 13 to 30. Many of the upper secondary school teachers felt that the group sizes were so big that it is difficult to form any relationships to the students. The large group sizes do not only affect the teacher in a negative way, but have a negative effect on the students as well. Teacher U1 mentioned that earlier they had group sizes up to 40 students. According to her, a good

size for a class would be 24-25 students and that if it exceeds 30 there is a lot of restlessness in the class, more work and exams to grade:

> 11)
> But there are some problems with these big groups..when you think about all the work you have to grade and then compare that to the workload of other language teachers who grade five or ten vocabulary tests. Along the years the amount of essays and tests! It is manifold it is unbelievable! But in the classroom situation there is not such a big difference really to me personally, but if it exceeds thirty (number of students) than there is a lot of restlessness. (Teacher U1)

Also, at the upper secondary school level, all of the teachers mentioned that large class sizes make classroom situations very demanding and in addition to that it brings a lot more workload, which I will discuss later in Section 5.1.4.

5.1.3 Teaching materials

A general consensus between all of the teachers was that there was an abundant amount of teaching materials in English. Most of the teachers had the ability to influence which book series they will get to teach. Teacher U2 was of the opinion that the quality of the books and CDs is good and that there is plenty of material. She also mentioned that through the use of the different materials it is possible to pick out the materials that are fit for use and the ones that are not:

> 12)
> I must say that that a lot of material comes from this publisher. So English materials are basically more like spoiled for choice. Then you just pick and choose which ones to use and as you use them you will notice which ones are useful and which ones are not. (Teacher U2)

There were, however, some weaknesses in the contents of the books mentioned by the elementary, middle and upper secondary school teachers. Teacher UM4 thought that the textbooks in middle school are versatile and generally good, but unchallenging for some students. It required a lot of work from the teacher to think of ways to challenge the students more:

> 13)
> Finnish basic education is a bit homogenizing. Also on the part of the material but that it probably not that surprising. For the advanced students you really have to think of how to teach them. (Teacher UM4)

A couple of the upper secondary school teachers thought that texts in English textbooks were uninteresting. Another upper secondary school teacher thought that the books used

in her culture course had boring topics and that it was not made in a very interesting way, as can be seen in Example 14:

14)
For example this 5th course…as it is a culture course it has all the possible areas from photography to music…how have they managed to find such boring topics?! There is a text that doesn't really say anything in the end. So it is quite colorful this world of culture. So the texts could have had something that would've interested high school students a bit more. They don't interest me, so how can they interest the students? (Teacher U2)

One of the elementary school teachers criticized a popular book series. Another teacher had chosen the book for her before she retired. She thought that the stories in the text were too easy, random and there was no sensible common thread between the chapters. According to her language teaching philosophy, one should teach "real" English and not text book English. She also mentioned that the book is crammed with too many things and that it has too many chapters that take too long to teach, so a lot of the chapters have to be skipped:

15)
This book does not support that at all..the texts are so easy that the students will surely…unless one is really weak..will know every single word and how to translate them. It really annoys me that the book is made too easy at the expense of the idea, because children would much rather listen to the stories and read and practice the language if the stories had some kind of catch. (Teacher E1)

Some textbooks did not take into account the different kinds of learners in schools or even students with different learning disabilities. For instance, the elementary and upper secondary school teachers were dissatisfied with the fact that the books did not take into account students with learning disabilities and different levels of learners. One elementary school teacher was disappointed by the fact that their new book series did not include separate books for children with learning disabilities:

16)
A couple of things this new material didn't have were the collateral workbooks, these individualized ones. So I felt that they were quite handy. They really helped the students. And now we don't have them and so the only way I can individualize the instruction is by leaving out some exercises from the book. (Teacher E2)

Even in upper secondary school, there are nowadays more students with learning disabilities than before. This is why some of the teachers required that the textbook has taken into account the versatile group of learners. While some other teachers found that the textbooks are not challenging enough, are too difficult, or do not take into account

different kinds of learners, Teacher U1 thought that the book she used took into consideration the different kinds and levels of learners. Teacher UM4 as well as Teacher U2 thought the textbooks in use in upper secondary school were very challenging at times for instance in terms of vocabulary. In other words, there very many differences between how the different English books took into account the learning disabilities as well as different learning styles.

5.1.4 Workload vs. salary/ freetime

Similarly to Mäenpää's (2005) findings, workload was considered as one of the most burdening factors in a teacher's job, especially among upper secondary school teachers. Still, all of the teachers thought that their salary was satisfactory compared to the workload. Yet, almost all of the teachers mentioned that it could be better or that the workload could be less, especially in upper secondary school. There was nevertheless a general opinion among the respondents that teachers rarely get compensation for all of the work that they do.

It could be interpreted from the interviews that all of the teachers had chosen the occupation of a teacher for reasons greater than salary, so it did not have such a great effect on their job satisfaction. One upper-secondary school teacher proportioned her workload more towards free time rather than salary. Some of the teachers had trouble drawing a line between their free time and work time, which made them feel stressed out. Other factors that increased the workload were at times getting acquainted with the new material (e.g. books), work coming from the outside (e.g. projects), and the lack of a routine of some of the less experienced teachers.

A younger elementary school teacher who had taught less than five years said that her salary is good because there are no homeroom teacher duties in elementary school and that she was very satisfied with the trade union:

> 17)
> A subject teacher's salary is not bad at all so during the time I have come here I have always gotten some raises from the trade union OAJ… (Teacher E3)

Another elementary school teacher who had taught English for over 25 years had a differing opinion. She thought that the workload has increased drastically along the years at the elementary school level. Also, the different social difficulties of students as well as demanding parents make her job more challenging and add to the workload:

18)
But really the workload has increased, probably the chapters have gotten longer too. The social problems of the very many students increase the workload. There are a lot of these children already who have different problems and of course they usually stem from home. The children can have terrible pressure. The parents can be really demanding, so when they're difficult, they're really difficult! (Teacher E2)

All of the upper secondary school teachers thought that the workload was demanding and that it varied from one period to another. Two teachers said that they did not always have free time at all. The matriculation examinations were one aspect which brought rush to their timetables. Similar findings were reported by Mustonen and Saarinen (2003:20): 95 % of upper secondary school teachers who had taught for over 20 years estimated that the work has become more demanding. Teachers who had taught for over 10 years felt most strongly that the workload had increased. Mustonen and Saarinen (2003:19) reported in their study that English and Swedish teachers in upper secondary schools had approximately 39 matriculation examinations to grade in the spring and 24 in the autumn, whereas in other languages the amount of exams to be graded was half the amount of that in English and Swedish. In addition, 14% of the evaluators on the listening part of the exam received compensation and 8% did not receive compensation for the written part (Mustonen and Saarinen, 2003:19).

A teacher's job is highly autonomous, and so the teacher can have an impact on how big the work load will be. Some of the teachers were more conscious of the concept of autonomy and the ability to themselves draw a line between the workload. They had realized that more and more is expected of them and that there is no limit to it, so they had to decide themselves when to stop working. Teacher UM4 also understood at some point in her career that it is important to think about ones' own well-being and to draw a line somewhere between work and free time:

19)
One could include virtually anything in the final salary! Always more and more so you have to think about it yourself and well ok: this is where I draw the line! So this I don't do during free-time and this I'll leave and this I will do in school or somewhere. I won't consent to everything, especially without pay. (Teacher UM4)

Fortunately, the workload seemed to be easier to handle after one has gained a certain amount of experience in the job. Still, the job of a teacher was still experienced as very mentally draining even after many years of experience. Teacher M1 said that the routine she has gotten over the years has made the workload seem less unbearable:

20)
Sometimes there is way too much work and then it's difficult to draw the line between work and free-time. So maybe the mental stress is nowhere near being balanced with the salary. But then when one starts to have routine from many years of work and when there are more parallel teaching groups then the workload is not so unreasonable. (Teacher M1)

One aspect that has become clear in the interviews is that a teacher can themselves have a great impact on how much workload he or she has. The less experienced teachers had differing experiences with the workload in the beginning of their careers as opposed to the teachers with more experience. Teacher E1 had been working full days and was exhausted in her first years, while teacher M2 worked her first year as a part-time teacher only 16 hours per week, and she did not feel exhausted in the beginning of her career, as seen in Example 21:

21)
I had time to get used to the system..so maybe now I feel like I am a bit more tired than I was during the first year. But I have managed to divide my time pretty well. I am not that kind of person who does work all night long..so I do it when I get out of work and then the rest of the night I do something else. (Teacher M2)

Also, it can be interpreted from the interviews that another less experienced teacher, Teacher E3 did not feel as burdened in her job either even though she was working full-time during her first years. One reason for this was that she worked in an elementary school that had a great atmosphere and she had a relaxed attitude towards her students.

5.2 Expectations towards the job and interpersonal relationships

In this section, I will report about one of the central elements of a teacher's job, interpersonal relationships, as well as the realistic expectations teachers have towards these relationships. In Section 5.2.1 I will briefly review Evans' definition of *realistic expectations*. Also, in this section I will report the realistic expectations towards the job in general from the different viewpoints of the teachers and from their comparative experiences. In Section 5.2.2 I will move on to discuss the actual interpersonal relationships of the teachers and students. In Section 5.2.3 I will discuss the relationships between the teachers and their colleagues. In Section 5.2.4 I will discuss the relationships between teachers and their principals. Lastly, in Section 5.2.5 I will go over the relationships between the teachers and parents of the students. The concept of *realistic expectations* of the teachers is reflected in all of the sections concerning the different relationships.

5.2.1 Realistic expectations

Evans' (1997b:840) *realistic expectations*, as earlier defined in Section 2.2.3, propose that the realistic expectations of teachers towards different parts of the job greatly influence their level of job satisfaction. Some of the teachers had quite realistic expectations of the job. For instance, Teacher E3 had very modest expectations (which had developed during her training) towards the job and the job ended up being more pleasant in elementary school than she expected. Other teachers did not expect to see so many different challenges in teaching. For instance, elementary teacher E1 mentioned how the teacher training did not prepare her for anything but the lesson and especially how to plan a lesson. Also, not enough training has been provided in teacher training for student assessment, and even the teachers with more experience seemed to have trouble with it.

As brought up earlier in Section 5.1.3, the teachers at different levels all mentioned the growing amount of students with learning disabilities. Teacher U3 also mentioned that she was surprised at how many learning disabilities students have even in upper secondary school and that this has not been the case before. In elementary schools, most students with learning disabilities were often integrated into the normal lessons. Furthermore, Teacher E2 had noticed that during her 25 years of teaching the amount of students with learning disabilities had increased drastically.

While most of the teachers had quite modest expectations towards the job, one middle school teacher, who also taught in upper secondary school, had very idealistic thoughts about teaching which were later eventually crushed by reality. She described her earlier views and expectations in the following way:

> 22)
> I probably had exceptionally naive views of teaching, so I was not that kind of realistic, down to earth kind of person. But then they surely shook off. I chose this education because I thought that I would get an occupation from it. I had terribly pragmatic views so I did not really think about the expectations. I thought that year by year, day by day let's see what comes of this…so more like that and that was enough. Only years after I realized that even though seven years had gone that I have really learned a lot! (Teacher UM4)

Some of the challenges that came up in the interviews were the different roles of an English teacher. Teacher M1 was surprised at how much time teachers, including herself as a beginning teacher, spend keeping discipline in the classroom. In upper

secondary school, Teacher U3 was surprised at how many different tasks are a part of a teacher's job and that it is not just about teaching English. Teacher U3 explained that the job of a teacher requires so many things nowadays:

> 23)
> Many times I find myself wondering that so is this what I've been getting my education for and it first of all takes years to struggle with the photocopier or then struggling with students. It crosses my mind whether I should be some kind of psychiatric nurse or something completely different. A police in the class supervision…so it is not just about the English language and mastering and teaching it. (Teacher U3)

5.2.2 Relationships to students & expectations

All of the teachers seemed to have fairly good relationships with their students. The relationships seemed to be the most warm and direct in elementary schools, which could be because of the split groups and thus it is easier to develop relations to the students. Also the different teachers had very different ways of interacting with their students. For instance, Teachers E3 and E1 both said that the students come to talk to them even outside the classrooms and that that is usually a good sign. Both of these less experienced teachers had easygoing relationships to their students. Teacher E3 described her attitude towards the students in the following way:

> 24)
> Sure I am able to keep the class under control but perhaps I have a more laid back attitude towards chatting so I don't go yelling about every single thing. Because the thing is that I'd like for them to feel comfortable coming to class but still I manage to keep the role of the teacher…that kind of laid back relationship. (Teacher E3)

Teachers E2 and E1 mentioned that their goal is not to be a nice teacher. Teacher E2, who had taught for over 25 years, said that she is probably not the most popular teacher but she is more interested in discipline, manners, and being fair. Teacher E1 said that in elementary school it is important to be a good and safe adult to the children. Some elementary and middle school teachers mentioned that restlessness and problems at home definitely influence the children's behavior in school as well. This is why some teachers kept it as their main priority to keep discipline and provide boundaries at school with which they tried to educate and raise the students, as there were not always boundaries at home. These findings thus correlate with fairly recent studies. For instance, in a study of middle school language teachers job satisfaction, teenagers' problems and problems at home had increased and teachers felt that there are a lot of children in their schools who need safe adults as role models (Aila and Halme 2003:13).

In middle school the biggest challenge came from teenagers who are going through puberty and thus change drastically during their three years of middle school. In other words, this required a lot of effort from the teachers to be invested in interpersonal relationships with the students. All of the middle school teachers had some challenges with students but Teacher M1 admitted that she has had some very difficult cases along the years. Teacher M2 thought that she has to change how she is in the classroom according to different groups; she has to take different approaches to different groups. Teacher UM4 and M2 both said that establishing good interaction between students is something that has to be renegotiated every day and that is what provides a lot of challenge:

> 25)
> Of course the interaction in middle school, it is something that you cannot achieve just once and then it stays. You have to think about it over and over again with each group and each student. (Teacher UM4)

Teacher M2 who was still in the beginning of her teaching career felt that a teacher needs to be able to improvise all along the school day as relying on one role is simply not enough, as Example 26 shows:

> 26)
> It depends on the group, as a teacher one cannot keep any kind of…even if you would think of a role for yourself, you cannot keep it. So it depends a lot on the group how you can be in the classroom…so yeah in the middle of the day I might have to change a bit how I am in the classroom. (Teacher M2)

As for the expectations towards students, Teacher M1 was surprised at how motivated the students are towards learning English so it makes her job a bit easier. Teacher M1 had taught other languages in the past as well, and she compared teaching English to e.g. German in the following way:

> 27)
> It has been a positive surprise for me that the students are usually really motivated. I would not have expected quite this. When I have gotten the chance to compare it to teaching other languages so students really like English..so that has been really nice…makes my job a lot easier. (Teacher M1)

Also, one negative aspect that she noticed is that during her 12 years of teaching the students have changed quite a lot in two ways. First, they have become more critical towards the contents of the teaching agenda and second, they demand more and hold on to their own rights, which demand the teacher to be alert in order to keep up. These

findings correlate with Kiviniemi's (2000) finding that teachers felt a certain anti-school subculture rising amongst the youngsters. Questioning authority and the teaching agenda are only some of the parts of the new kind of behavior among students, which are at the same time positive changes in Teacher M1's opinion as well. The next example illustrates this view:

> 28)
> We have for instance studied Scotland…so why do we have to study this, we are in an English class, why do we have to study some holidays of Scotland? So they do not really let you go that easily. They demand a lot of justifications and that in itself is a good thing. (Teacher M1)

During her first year as a teacher, one less experienced teacher pondered about how students would accept her and respect her authority, especially as people often asked her if she is taken seriously or treated as an adult because of her young age and youthful appearance. However, Teacher M2 said that her young age, youthful appearance, or lack of teaching experience had not in any way caused unnecessary problems for her or any belittling on the part of the students. Before entering teaching, she was also a bit apprehensive about what the real students are like because the students in her training school behaved quite well.

As mentioned in Section 5.1.1, one obstacle in interpersonal relations and getting to know the students in upper secondary school was the large group sizes. Large group sizes were thus one major part that had an influence on the teachers' satisfaction and something that made the teacher feel like she is doing assembly line work. Teacher U2 said that she has about 500 students and it is difficult to remember students' faces and names. This was a difficult situation for the teacher because she had to carry a lot of responsibility. Students might have 4-5 different English teachers as well, as she describes in Example 29:

> 29)
> It is surely were much mass action so when from one course to another you have to assume that one student might easily have in their English courses three to four different teachers. Faces change for the students as well as us all the time. And after all the number of students is five hundred. (Teacher U2)

Some teachers noticed general laziness and passiveness on the part of the students, and it was frustrating to constantly worry whether they are going to do their work well or not. For instance, teacher UM4 felt disappointed by the fact that in upper secondary

school, the students' passiveness as well as the large class sizes make it difficult to get to know individual students:

> 30)
> Upper secondary school students are often quite passive already, with the exception of a few. Then you try to activate them through the tasks so that you'd get that..but often the interaction between them stays at the level of the task. (Teacher UM4)

On the other hand, Teacher U3 said her relationships with the students are quite uncomplicated and that her goal is to be as easily approachable as possible and that the atmosphere is easygoing, as teacher U1 mentioned as well. One aspect that made it easier to get to know the students was that Teacher U3 said that she often has the same students in some of her courses for a long time. According to a study by Wilson (2008), it is very beneficial for instructors to build good relationships with their students, as this in turn has a positive influence on the teachers' job satisfaction. In Wilson's (2008:228) study, students reported liking their teachers more when their teachers showed mutual feelings. Forming good relationships to the students, as Teachers U3 and U1 had tried, is in the end beneficial both to the students and the teachers.

Teacher U3 and U1 worked in the same school so they both noticed a pattern of laziness and lack of responsibility among the upper secondary school students. This was a real problem in their school which the teachers had been discussing of for a while. Teacher U1 was especially disappointed in how the students leave their work undone and which causes headache and frustration for the teachers.

5.2.3 Colleagues

The majority of the teachers felt that their schools had good atmospheres and helpful colleagues. Most of the teachers got along well with their colleagues and shared their free time with them as well from time to time. These findings are similar to Mäenpää's (2005) finding that some teachers got job fulfillment, or the most job satisfaction, from their colleagues. Contrary to the findings of Herzberg, colleagues were one of the sources of the most job satisfaction for the teachers, and they were not simply classified as a hygiene factor. Also, in Salonen and Syvänen's (2009:76) study, one of the biggest sources of satisfaction for the teachers was collegial support, and with the help of colleagues the teachers had more strength to keep working. The job of a teacher is very social and usually very social and extroverted people tend be in this occupation.

However, in the present study some of the teachers seemed to be more introverted than others and they felt that they would rather solve problems by themselves.

All of the teachers said that there is always someone to talk to or get help from. Instances of help came in the form of affective support: listening to a colleague and trying to understand, feeling accepted, and in the form of instrumental support: making tests together and giving out extra materials to others. Ducharme and Martin (2000:240) found that workers can benefit from the combination of instrumental and affective support in that when combined they influence job satisfaction in a positive way.

One teacher was dissatisfied with her school's atmosphere. Teacher UM4 from upper secondary school thought that it was difficult to get to know other teachers and socialize with them because she had only been in the school for slightly over one year and it was such a big school where there are certain cliques between the teachers. This perspective is expressed in the following example:

> 31)
> There are certain cliques in the teacherhoods so a teacher's job is pretty much the same no matter where you go. They don't even really interest me that much..the cliques in the teacherhoods. Work gets done and of course I hope that there would be that kind of really nice group. (Teacher UM4)

Teacher UM4's great experiences with colleagues in her previous school seemed to influence her present level of satisfaction regarding her new work place's atmosphere. She missed her old school which was smaller and where the atmosphere between the teachers was excellent, as demonstrated below:

> 32)
> Sometimes it bothers me so in my previous school we were always in the same places in the teachers room during recess and the time spent together felt a lot closer so I do miss that. Even though that place had its' own and it was in a way interesting to listen to those things there. (Teacher UM4)

Despite the fact that she had not yet integrated herself fully into the new school or gotten to know her colleagues, she still felt that her school had a strong sense of solidarity between the teachers and sense of pride in that they all worked in that school. Additionally, Teacher UM4 mentioned that she has had some support in the form of chat from colleagues who work in the same workroom as her and that this has been enough support for her. She also mentioned that she is usually not very keen on asking

advice from others and wants to figure things out on her own, which might have something to do with her integration into the school:

> 33)
> Maybe I have that kind of personality that I plough through granite and gray stone alone until then someone finds me lost somewhere in a cave and takes me (laughs) somewhere, so I am kind of bad at asking advice from others. So I don't necessarily even recognize when I should ask for help, I try to solve my own problems. A bit of a loner. (Teacher UM4)

Teacher E2 was somewhat similar to Teacher UM4 in that they were both more introverted and tended to solve problems on their own. Teacher E2 who put great value in the autonomy of the job revealed that she is by nature a bit of an outcast and that she likes the independence in her job and that others do not step on her toes, as can be seen in Example 34:

> 34)
> I am a bit of a loner. Probably a bit stubborn so I do this and then I don't step on your toes so don't you step on mine. I have always been, so that has been respected. (Teacher E2)

The teachers with less than five years of teaching experience felt that they had been integrated and accepted into the new work environment very well. Most of them had gotten help from more experienced colleagues. Teacher M1 remarked that her colleagues were actually more welcoming than she expected. Teacher E1's expectations towards the workplace were also met. On occasions she had tried to change some old habits run by the more experienced teachers in the school unsuccessfully, as those teachers persisted on working out the problem their way. This situation is further explained in Example 35:

> 35)
> If I suggest something that I think this should be taken cares of like this and then colleagues say that no we have always taken care of the matter like this. Then I feel like no that is not enough, why that way? Then I have had to practice thinking through things first and then returning to the thought the next day. (Teacher E1)

As already mentioned, all of the teachers received some kind of support from their colleagues. However, for most teachers, support from colleagues was the reason why they managed to keep teaching. For instance Teacher M1, who was very satisfied with her colleagues, said that they helped her in many ways and promoted her well-being in the job. Some examples of the instrumental support she received from her colleagues are illustrated in the next example:

36)
For example planning courses together so what chapters will be read and in what order and like this. Making exams together. Sometimes leftover grammar worksheets are left in my box by colleagues. (Teacher M1)

Four teachers mentioned that they spend some time with their colleagues during their free time as well. Additionally, Teacher U2 said that some of her colleagues have become good friends to her. To Teacher U3 it came as a surprise how many different activities the teachers are always interested in organizing for each other in their spare time. The following example illustrates how her expectations were exceeded in reality:

37)
Perhaps it has been a surprise how many joint things we have tried to organize together during free time. I didn't know how to expect that so much. I get support and don't have to pretend to be something I am really not or pretend to know how to do everything during the everyday school life. (Teacher U3)

5.2.4 The principals

All of the teachers were of the opinion that the principals did a good job in their schools. The elementary and middle school teachers all had fairly positive things to say about their principals. Teacher M1 said that she has a very good relationship with her boss, but was disappointed in the fact that he is nowadays a very busy man and that he is no longer as much present in the school as in the early years. Teacher E1 had three principals. Her main principal was a very good one as he seemed to have a lot of respect for her and he also had respect for different languages. It is not always obvious that a principal has the same respect for all subjects and she was happy that during a development conversation her principal took the things she suggested seriously, as can be seen in Example 38:

38)
I thought it was wonderful that my boss seemed to take all of the matters that I was concerned about seriously, like changes and then some ideas that I had. I feel that all of them are also interested in and about my work. All of them also value learning languages, as it is not always obvious that all subjects receive the same kind of appreciation or do not necessarily receive any kind of appreciation. (Teacher E1)

One middle school teacher was very satisfied with their school's principal because the principal was physically present in the school every day. Teacher M2 had taught in the school for 1.5 years and she felt that their principal was very often present in the school and very easy to approach:

39)
We have, in my opinion, a good principal, who is clearly the boss but who is also present there, so it is not scary or agonizing to go talk to the principal about matters…and he is with us a lot…so he is not in a separate administration department but he is physically there every single day. (Teacher M2)

Contrary to elementary and middle school teachers, in upper secondary school the teachers had satisfactory relationships to their principals. However, principals were criticized by two upper secondary school teachers because they were often absent from the mundane aspects of the school life. Two upper secondary school teachers viewed their principal as quite distant and that the vice principal is the one who they should turn to in need of help:

40)
The principal is more like an administrative person slash visionary slash bureaucrat. So right now the role is that our vice principal is the one who everyone should turn to in if there are matters related to running the school. At times I wish for clearer instructions from the principal. (Teacher U1)

Another teacher said in that in reality the guidance counselors and the vice principals take care of everyday school matters. Teacher U2 felt that their principal is not present in their school every day, mundane life and she felt disappointed in that. Teacher U2 also criticized the communicative style of her principal as it made him seem indifferent towards the teachers, as demonstrated in Example 41:

41)
Then you just notice that the door is closed and that there is a note on the door. Sure we have given feedback on this and so on. Let's just say that the principal could be seen and heard more here at the grass roots level. (Teacher U2)

As mentioned in section 5.2.3, one upper secondary teacher's school did not have such open communication and good relations between colleagues. Teacher UM4 had three employers and it could be interpreted from the interviews that her relationship to them was quite distant and formal. In Salonen and Syvänen's study (2009:82) teachers were of the opinion that principals should be more interested in the teachers' mental and physical health. The findings in the present study were somewhat similar. For instance, Teacher U2 would have wanted her principal to be more concerned about the physical health of the teachers and provide for instance better chairs for them to sit on. Other teachers mainly complained about the fact that the principal is not a very close person and more of a distant administrative person.

5.2.5 Parents

The relationships of the teachers with parents were mostly positive and constructive. Naturally, there was more interaction with the parents in elementary and middle school levels. Surprisingly, the teachers even in elementary and middle school were not in contact as often as expected with parents. Teacher E3 and E2 both mentioned that they do not hear from the parents that often and that most interaction happens with the parents of disabled or gifted children. Most of the teachers did not have any negative experiences with parents and the interaction was constructive and co-operative for the most part. However, some teachers still seemed to complain about how parents leave the task of raising their children for the school. Similar findings were reported by Aila and Halme (2003:13), as the role of raising students has become more central in schools.

The elementary school teachers who had less than five years of teaching experience had not encountered any difficult parents during their time in teaching. Teacher E2, on the other hand, had a memorable bad experience with a very difficult parent. In addition, Teacher E2 had a bad experience with one parent at one point in her career:

> 42)
> I had to leave it...had to change the class to another teacher because there was a teacher mom who was attacking me all of the time. (Teacher E2)

Teacher E3, who had taught less than three years, used to be nervous about confronting the parents of the children and had some apprehensive expectations. However, the feedback that Teacher E3 received from parents was mostly constructive and nothing mean was ever said to her by parents. Teacher E2 had been teaching for over 25 years so she had experienced from time to time some unfriendly messages and talk from parents but has been able to deal with it quite well:

> 43)
> At times sure I get impolite messages and fussing…I hang tough when something happens. (Teacher E2)

Teacher M2 said that she has had her first homeroom this year and so this is the first time she has really gotten a chance to face the parents. She had certain fears about the cooperation with the parents, as exemplified below:

44)
But of course what I am of afraid of is something maybe related to evaluation that you
have to be able to justify and face when they ask you why this and this person got this
grade. But that is part of the job. Then I am afraid of maybe that if there is a difficult
student and then the folks at home cannot help with that. (Teacher M2)

In upper secondary school, most parents were not so interested in contact with school. This finding is in line with Mäenpää's (2005) findings; parents did not very often support or encourage teachers. Teacher U1 felt that she was not getting enough support from parents. She was disappointed in the low amount of responses she received from parents after sending them a friendly e-mail about the course. Additionally, Teacher U1 was of the opinion that many parents believe anything their children say and are not interested in how their child is really doing in school, as explained below:

45)
Parents somehow always seem to believe their kids, pamper them. So this is like a
widespread phenomenon. I am disappointed in that for sure. Same as when I send
messages in Wilma so if I'm concerned about kids not doing their homework and if folks
at home could help a little bit or something. I sent very positive messages last year so out
of 24 about 2 parents basically answered that it's good to hear something and have asked
their kids if they have been doing their homework and asked me "how is my kid doing
there?" (Teacher U1)

5.3 Recognition

In this section recognition is used interchangeably with the term feedback. Recognition, as defined by Herzberg (1966:appendix), includes any instance when a worker received any kind of recognition from other workers, including negative recognition such as blame or criticism. Recognition was classified as one of the sources contributing to job satisfaction, a *motivation factor*. It is important for the worker to gain feedback from the work that he or she does as it is the only way the worker can improve the results of their work and reflect upon how well or how poorly they have done their job. Also, positive feedback encourages workers to develop in their jobs. As mentioned in Section 2.1.2, Hackman and Oldman (1980:72) proposed that *knowledge of results* is one of the three psychological states that brings a worker intrinsic motivation to perform a job. Without knowing how well or poorly one performed, there is no way of feeling good about oneself in a job. Fortunately, in the present study the teachers received quite a lot of feedback (negative and positive) in their jobs in the form of direct feedback from the students in the classroom situation or indirectly from various sources such as parents, students, coworkers and principals. The teachers felt that feedback enabled them to

improve their teaching better and also they were more or less affected by negative and positive feedback from the students. In Aaltonen and Uusi-Rajasalo's study (2010) feedback affected the growth of teacher identity, and in this study feedback was in an important role as well. Next, I will present the kind of feedback the teachers received and its impact on their job satisfaction.

In upper secondary school, some teachers gave their students opportunities to give feedback separately. The feedback received from students was often immediate, perhaps to a lesser degree than in elementary and middle schools, so the teachers received the negative or positive feedback in the classroom situation. Teacher UM4 pointed out that the kind of atmosphere that is present during the lesson is also one kind of feedback. Also she mentioned that upper secondary school students gave matter-oriented feedback. Surely, the fact that upper secondary school students were perceived in the present study as quite passive in regards communication also has an effect on how they give feedback.

Teacher M2 felt that positive feedback brightens up the day but that negative feedback should not be taken personally, as can be seen in Example 46:

> 46)
> Usually it comes directly in the situation, so they react to some assignment if it is boring. Or if they start to get tired or bored than they might say something. And of course you can tell from their faces. If it's a bad day than sure they might say that these lessons always suck the most. (Teacher M2)

Teacher M1 said that she has received negative feedback over the years but that she has also received in turn some positive feedback, which made her feel very good. Example 47 shows some of the different kind of feedback she received along the years:

> 47)
> Something of the like that "another teacher taught this in an easier way" or "you only speak English". Or the worst ones have been something like "you favor boys". That was a long time ago but still. I also get some positive like it is absolutely wonderful when after a lesson a student might come and say "this was fun." (Teacher M1)

Teacher M1 and U1 both felt that the negative feedback they received from students made them feel quite hurt and insulted. M1 had just gotten a new class that she had not taught last year. After one of the first tests that she had assigned to the class, all of the students' grades had gone down. After this, she received some very harsh feedback

from one of her students and it was difficult to avoid taking personally, as illustrated below:

> 48)
> I got this kind of comment for example that "if we had a real teacher then I could've gotten a better grade." That was absolutely horrible; on the other hand I should let it go in one ear and out the other. I think it's unreasonable that teens often just say whatever comes out of their mouth without thinking. (Teacher M1)

Furthermore, Teacher M1 seemed to have the most trouble receiving negative feedback from students because it was often said in a very offensive way by the students. This in turn reflects the general behavioral deterioration of students that has been noted by teachers in other studies (Kiviniemi 2000, Klassen and Anderson 2009, Mäenpää 2005). Furthermore, the students do not take responsibility for their own choices and put all of the blame on the teachers, as shown in Example 49:

> 49)
> If it feels that a student might in some way…maybe accuse is a strong word now but…in some way targets their sadness and hate on me when their test went badly, that it would be in some way my fault. That is difficult to digest. To me it's always personally really difficult. I wouldn't want to hear it even though I know I'm not a perfect teacher. (Teacher M1)

The elementary school teachers received less negative feedback than the middle and upper secondary school teachers. Teacher E3 said that the children never say negative feedback in an insulting way meant to insult one personally like in some cases with the above mentioned Teacher M1. In fact, Teacher E1 said that she receives more positive feedback in teaching than when she was working in the commercial field. She mentioned one particular case when she received positive feedback from her students:

> 50)
> I've gotten more positive feedback in teaching than in the commercial field. Well I think the sweetest recognition is when Christmas or spring comes and a student has crafted a Christmas card or something like that and then the student brings it to me and has written nicely in his/her own handwriting that "I like you. You are my good English teacher" or "You are my favorite English teacher. Love you." And then it says their name and that's just really sweet. (Teacher E1)

Teacher E3 praised how direct elementary school students are in giving feedback, which was not very often the case in upper secondary school levels or middle school levels. The relationships were naturally very warm and the atmosphere open-minded since children are, as brought out by Teacher E3, always ready to ask for help when they do not understand and also give feedback straight away. Thus, receiving feedback directly

in the teaching situation is very beneficial to the teachers as they can improve straight away and be able to answer to the needs of the students.

5.4 Sources of satisfaction

Hackman and Oldman's (1980) three psychological states are important parts in the job satisfaction of the teachers. As earlier discussed in Section 2.1.2, the experienced meaningfulness of the work, experienced responsibility for outcomes of the work, and knowledge of results can be applied to the teachers when they were describing their sources of job satisfaction. The teachers in the present study tended to be more satisfied with aspects of the job that brought responsibility, being able to work with the language one values, and seeing the results of one's work for instance by succeeding to teach something to the students and seeing them learn. As proposed by Herzberg, most job satisfaction usually comes from the internal aspects of the job. However, contrary to Herzberg's findings, in the present study, (colleagues) also brought the most job satisfaction to the teachers and so they were not seen as simply extrinsic aspects of the job, or *hygiene factors*, as proposed by Herzberg (1966). Thus, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not seen in the present study as a harsh and simple division and caused from separate elements of work. Mäenpää (2005) found out that the English language, success and working with other students and teachers brought the most satisfaction to the teachers, which were similar to the findings in the present study. Mäenpää (2005) also found that teaching languages and the respect that the upper secondary school teachers received brought the most satisfaction.

Seeing the results of one's work in teaching was very satisfying to the teachers. Seeing a student learn, achieve something or develop were the most often mentioned aspects which brought the most satisfaction to the teachers. This is in line with Marlow et al.'s (1996) study which found that teachers stayed in the profession because of intrinsic reasons, as 54 % thought teaching is important. Satisfaction from the student's achievement came from various sources, for instance Teacher U3 kept tutoring lessons where she had seen some students excel. Seeing how the students were able to survive with the language abroad on a school trip also was fulfilling to her:

> 51)
> We were in Strassbourg…that kind of good group, this kind that I had known since middle school. So really I discovered that they really know how to take care of things here. They got along with the language so well, I watched them succeed several times. (Teacher U3)

Teacher E3 was similarly to the previously mentioned teachers most satisfied when she saw a weak student achieve results when it was improbable. According to her this was one of the ways that the results of one's work could really be seen.

In Evans' studies (1997, 1998) of the job satisfaction of primary teachers, she found out that personal achievement was also one of the sources of satisfaction. A similar element by Herzberg (1966), *achievement*, also contributed to the job satisfaction of factory workers. Linked to *achievement*, Evans (1998) found that personal growth was one of the aspects that was important in determining job satisfaction and teachers got *job fulfillment* only when they had themselves contributed to the factor. In the present study, most of the teachers were satisfied in seeing the students learn, and thus they themselves had been responsible for this element. Personal growth was also strongly reflected in one particular teacher's view of her job satisfaction. Teacher UM4 felt that it meant a lot to her to be able to develop and progress in her job. She also thought it was important to question one's own teaching from time to time and reflect on one's own self as a teacher so that one can develop even more. Furthermore, Teacher UM4 thought it was more important what she had learned along the years, as she explains in Example 52:

> 52)
> It's that certain upward direction in my career; I've nevertheless gone forward in my career and have consciously aimed at going forward. I can develop myself and learn so many things. That's what I've had that I've learned so many things during the year. Not so interested in what the students have learned but what I've learned. (Teacher UM4)

The English language was mentioned by several of the teachers as a source of satisfaction. In Mäenpää's (2005) study, the English language was also mentioned by some of the teachers as the source of most job satisfaction. Being able to work with a language one loves was important, especially when students are motivated to learn it. Teacher M1 felt that students were almost always motivated to learn English and positive, as seen in Example 53:

> 53)
> It's really good in here that students are usually very motivated and most of the students in our school are really wonderful and positive teenagers. (Teacher M1)

Other aspects that were often mentioned as bringing satisfaction to the job were the social aspect of the job and other coworkers. These aspects were also mentioned as bringing most satisfaction in Salonen and Syvänen's (2009) study of physical education

teachers. Teacher E3 said that her workday goes by very quickly because her job is so social. Also, Teacher U2 mentioned that the social aspect of the job is important and that one does not have to be alone. Also, the vacation periods suit her well because she has children and that the long summer holidays are a prerequisite for being able to have the strength for the job:

> 54)
> The socialness is a part of it. This isn't lonely work especially when I happen to have this kind of work community where I am now. And good vacation times! Perfect when one has offspring…and then huge vacation benefits. (Teacher U2)

5.5 Sources of dissatisfaction

The teachers were most dissatisfied with the physical work conditions, parents, the social problems, apathy and carelessness of students, and workload. Workload was also found to be one source of dissatisfaction in Mäenpää's (2005) study. Additionally, teachers in Mäenpää's study were also dissatisfied with working conditions. Also, in Klassen and Anderson's (2009) study, students behavior and their attitudes were among the top causes of dissatisfaction with teachers in 1997. Furthermore, Marlow et al. (1996) had some very similar findings concerning the sources of dissatisfaction: student discipline, poor attitudes, lack of respect from community, parents, students, difficult work conditions, frustration, and stress.

There was frustration on the part of the teachers with parents who do not care about anything. It became apparent in the interviews that some teachers had to deal with parents who did not seem to take part in raising their children, but instead expected the school to raise their children. Furthermore, the schools did not have enough resources to deal with the many problems of children or completely lacked a mental health care provider. Teacher E2 had a difficult time helping those children in need because the problems never got solved or proceeded past a certain point after she reported the problem to someone, after which they are often forgotten. In the end, these children are left without any help at all:

> 55)
> There are these children who live as if in a field. They spend half of the night outside and then when teachers know about this it does not proceed anywhere, it doesn't help to put it on paper or that I tell it to the nurse. (Teacher E2)

As it has already been discussed in Section 3.7, nowadays teachers are often mistrusted and questioned by some parents in society and teachers they do not receive enough respect and support from home. Furthermore, Teacher U1 felt that parents do not trust the teachers at all as there are constant problems when teachers are stressed out by difficult parents. In general, teachers enjoy quite a lot of freedom to do whatever they want in the job, but the autonomy is limited by questioning and mistrust from various sources and teachers have to sometimes deal with it. Some parents had questioned how Teacher M1 does her job, which is something she did not experience in working as a German language teacher. She had some bizarre situations in which parents had criticized one of her tests and she felt that they did not trust her:

> 56)
> I haven't for example with German ever gotten that a parent had in any way questioned it. I have honestly felt that do I need to go get my degree from that closet over there, I really am a qualified English teacher! (laughs) (Teacher M1)

From the perspective of the less inexperienced teacher, the work seemed unsatisfying at times when the teacher felt that she did not have enough resources or ways to deal with solving problems and what is the best way of solving a problem, as described in the following example:

> 57)
> I am most dissatisfied right now in that sometimes I feel as if I didn't have enough methods of solving those problems in the classroom for instance…sometimes it is a bit tiring that some parents can have that kind of conception that the school should raise their children, which is of course not true. Of course our task is to raise them but it's also the job of the children's parents. (Teacher M2)

As discussed already in Section 5.1.4, workload was one of the aspects that brought dissatisfaction to the teachers. In upper secondary school, the matriculation examinations, the hectic days, careless students, and the lack of time were mentioned as sources of dissatisfaction. Klassen and Anderson (2009) also found in their 2007 follow-up study that teachers needed more time to do their work. One upper secondary school teacher said that there is not enough time for the actual work of teaching because of all the additional aspects that are included in the job of an upper secondary school teacher, as described in the following Example 58:

58)
The exceptions are the things that strain us, not teaching. We have too little time for the actual basic work…Now we just got done marking the exams and returned them on Friday, then next week the retakes and there are so many of them and again new ones and then you grade them and then it's exam week all over again and the course work on top of that. It is a ridiculous equation. Simply ridiculous. (Teacher U1)

Sometimes the teachers felt frustrated in the fact that the students were not doing their part in regards to the work. The apathy of the students frustrated one of the teachers. She felt that in her school the students' apathy towards school was growing. The next example shows some of the aspects that Teacher U3 was frustrated in:

59)
If someone fails to return an essay and deliberately takes a lower grade because of that or when the course completely disappears from the list than that is what frustrates me the most. It's the littlest things but I really hate that kind of general indifference, which is the most aggravating thing. It feels like it's increasing. (Teacher U3)

Physical work conditions were subject to critique as well. Several of the teachers mentioned that the lack of an own classroom was dissatisfying and classrooms that were too small also brought most dissatisfaction. Teacher M1 said that the technical equipment is too old but that it is something she can live with. As earlier mentioned in Section 5.1.1, Teacher E3 had to share a language classroom with another English teacher, so she had to keep her lessons in various other classes throughout the day which was causing inconvenience, as illustrated in Example 60:

60)
I have gone to and fro between upstairs and downstairs carrying a basket and a CD-player with me. The fact that I always have to be on track on where the next lessons is going to be so maybe that the lessons were a bit more limited to certain classrooms. (Teacher E3)

As already mentioned in section 5.1.1, almost all of the teachers had at some point worked at a moldy school or at the present was working in one. Only Teacher U1 mentioned she had suffered health problem from working in a moldy school, but the rest of the teachers had not yet developed any negative symptoms. Some of the teachers had waited for a long time for the city to build new schools for them without any results. One teacher criticized the city as a faceless employer and was disappointed in that it doesn't keep its promises or openly report about its' plans, so the teachers are left without any information about when their new school building will be built:

61)
I'm annoyed because why can't the city openly inform us and tell why they can't build.
Of course I understand money issues but then why are they going to take care of it?
(Teacher E1)

5.6 Suggestions for developing teacher job satisfaction

All of the teachers had quite a lot of things to suggest for development which involved improving the physical conditions of the schools, outside help for students, reducing discipline problems, and improving the work community. The general opinion among the elementary and middle school teachers was that there are a lot of children who need help and that come from homes that cannot provide enough support for them. Some of the teachers had a lot of students with social problems, behavior problems, and especially very different kinds of learners. These findings correlate strongly with Mäenpää's (2005) study in which teachers were concerned with the deteriorating behavior of students. In the present study, the teachers felt that it was very difficult for them to attend to and help each student separately and so more professional help was needed. Consequently, the elementary and middle school teachers wanted more school assistants. Teacher E2 was unsatisfied with the fact that most of the assistants are inexperienced and incompetent and they often do not help in the best way possible:

62)
Of course nowadays there are a lot of school assistants but most of them do not even have proper education . So we have about three who are qualified and then the rest of them are last spring's high school graduates or the ones who get labor market subsidy. (Teacher E2)

One of the teachers brought out the fact that many of the problems in school are reflections of a dysfunctional society. Some of the teachers felt very helpless in the face of all the students' problems and their attitude problems. The problems are so big that it is difficult to start to change them, as she explains in Example 63:

63)
I can't change what is happening in our society and what kind of family they (students) are in. All teenagers don't manage because their parents don't manage. You can't do anything to those things but then of course if everything could be like I want things to be then I'd want that teenagers were doing well otherwise in their life so that they'd have the strength here in school. (Teacher M1)

As discussed previously in Section 5.1, work conditions were a central part of the job satisfaction of the teachers. Some of the teachers needed improved physical working conditions. As earlier mentioned, Teacher UM4 worked in a school with top of the line equipment and in general in a satisfactory environment. Teacher UM4 was, however, of the opinion that the physical conditions affect the work community in a negative way and are one reason for the fact that the teachers never meet each other in the school:

> 64)
> In this school I would change the physical spaces so that there would be larger work spaces and that people would have more time to see each other in the hallways, teachers too. This is an old building so it is full of these small places. (Teacher UM4)

Of the four upper secondary teachers, Teacher U2's school had the most deficiencies in terms of the physical environment. She found many different faults in the physical environment of her present school that she could nevertheless live with since she was generally satisfied in her job as well as the other aspects. She came from a school that had a better physical environment, all of the teachers had their own PC: s, so she felt dissatisfied with this aspect of her present school and felt that it was quite unfair:

> 65)
> We have a document camera but it shows such a tiny area that it is annoying to use. And the chairs. My back and neck are aching a lot. We don't have adjustable chairs next to the computers. After all, we spend a lot of time on them. (Teacher U2)

In the interviews it became apparent that joint rules for the school would help in for instance classroom discipline problems. In high school, joint rules, cooperation and equal rights with colleagues would eliminate any problems that might come up with students trying to fool their teachers, which caused many problems that had to be worked out later, as described below:

> 66)
> All this kind of cooperation and equality between colleagues. The courses are equivalent; just change them to be different with teachers' personalities and details. That the rules would be the same for everyone, so then no one would have to go separately to negotiate things with every student, which makes us tired. Students deny everything these days. (Teacher U1)

None of the less experienced teachers had a separate mentor teacher in their first year of teaching. Inman and Marlow (2004:610) suggested that beginning teachers would greatly benefit from having a more experienced colleague as their mentor, from whom beginning teachers could learn different aspects of the new job. One of the less

experienced teachers wished that there would be a better system of mentoring for new teachers. Her wish can be seen in the following example:

> 67)
> I didn't expect it in any of these places I came to work in but at some point I needed it. So that there'd be an older teacher, who would help you learn the ropes at the new workplace because even there are mentoring folders and everything, the presence of another person is really important. (Teacher E1)

One of the teachers felt that her work community needed improvement. She had been working in the school for slightly over one year and so she was new in the work community. Unlike the other teachers' work communities, this work community seemed to lack a general open and friendly atmosphere, as illustrated in the next example:

> 68)
> In the work community there could be even more openness and that others speak to everyone more easily and not act like total strangers. (Teacher UM4)

One aspect that came out in the data was that in most schools there was simply not enough time for the teachers to stop, sit down and unravel their mind with each other during the day, which would be very beneficial to their health. Therefore, another important suggestion and investment to the well-being of teachers was the incorporation of an hourly period in their workday, during which teachers could let off steam, such as the one given below:

> 69)
> That there'd be some kind of marked hour on that schedule so that there'd be that kind of hour during which we could vent our minds and could chat with colleagues. (Teacher M1)

6 DISCUSSION

In this part of the study I will take a closer look at the implications of the results for teachers as well as how the results compare to earlier studies and concepts on job satisfaction. Mäenpää (2005) used Evans' (1998) division of job satisfaction into job comfort and job fulfillment, however in this study the division was not separately made. It was possible to interpret from the interviews which parts brought the most satisfaction and which factors were satisfactory to the teachers. All of the teachers in the present study were satisfied with their jobs. In contrast, Mäenpää (2005) found that half of the teachers in upper secondary school were dissatisfied

6.1 Work conditions

In the present study, work conditions, which included mostly elements of the physical work environment that are not directly related to the work itself, and other elements of the job relating more to the intrinsic factors of the job cannot be separated from each other. The work conditions, such as number of the students, physical work environment, classroom discipline, and workload all affect the teachers' job satisfaction, though not as strongly as aspects relating to internal aspects of the job. However, the work conditions often lessened the job satisfaction of the teachers and were not considered as causing the most job satisfaction to the teachers.

In line with a reader questionnaire in *Opettaja* magazine (Puustinen 2010), all of the teachers had classroom discipline problems and also at the upper secondary school level. However, only a portion of the teachers thought that the big group sizes were one of the reasons for classroom discipline problems. Instead, some of the teachers were more concerned with the workload that the big group sizes brought along with them. It is quite unjust that English teachers in school have to teach groups of even over 40 students when other language teachers have smaller groups and less workload, however they get paid the same amount. This inequality in the salary system should be fixed so that teachers' workload would be taken into account as well as how big the teaching groups are.

The physical teaching conditions in the schools were satisfactory and all of them had quite up-to-date technical equipment. In previous studies (e.g. Loeb et al. 2005) teaching conditions have often lead to teachers leaving their schools for another one or leaving the field. For this reason, problems in the physical environment of the school

should not be taken lightly. In fact, counties should be taking more responsibility for their role in improving school facilities and providing new school buildings for those teachers who are teaching in schools with indoor air problems. Many teachers, as came out in the interviews as well, have had to work in moldy schools for long periods of time. In Finland, many teachers are exposed to mold and this is one challenge to keeping teachers in the teaching profession.

6.2 Realistic expectations towards the job and relationships

Evans' (1998) concept of *individuality* and two of the other concepts emerging from it, *realistic expectations* and *relative perspective* were useful in explaining how differently teachers can experience and value interpersonal relationships within the school. The differences in the experiences with students varied the most between elementary, middle and upper secondary school teachers. Similar views were shared towards the importance of colleagues and their support as well as support of parents.

Difficult student behavior was often the problem in all levels of school. In middle and elementary schools, the anti-school subculture and lack of respect for teachers, as brought up by Kiviniemi (2000) was most noticeable. This behavior often brought extra stress and frustration to the teachers, although some teachers obviously experienced bad behavior much heavily than others or took it more personally as others, *individuality* (Evans 1998) is thus reflected once again in this aspect of the results. Also, the effect of *relative perspective* could be seen in the case of the oldest and more experienced teacher of this study. Compared to her earlier years in teaching, she had though that the behavior of children had deteriorated to a great extent. In Mäenpää's (2005) study, students were reported to have more social problems than before, such as in establishing interpersonal relations with others. In the present study, students were reported to have more social problems in elementary and middle school as well. Some students in elementary school did not seem to have safe adults as role models at home and so the students longed for attention of the teacher at school, which of course in turn brings more responsibility and work to the teacher.

In upper secondary school, the group sizes were the main concern of the teachers because they made it challenging to get acquainted with students. Several of the upper secondary school teachers had managed to create warm and direct relationships with their students even though the group sizes were big. Others had more distant

relationships to students in upper secondary school and often these teachers did not keep the relationships as their main priority. Therefore, all teachers should invest in interpersonal relationships with students, especially when the group sizes are big. For instance, Wilson (2008) found that college teachers and students would both benefit if teachers put more effort into constructing their relationships with their students.

As in other studies (Salonen and Syvänen 2009, Mäenpää 2005), most teachers had good relationships with their colleagues. Mäenpää (2005) found that only some teachers had problems with some teachers. In this study there was no sign of bigger problems between the "team spirit" and relations of teachers, except in the case of one teacher. One upper secondary school teacher had started her work at a new and bigger school and she was quite disappointed in the relationships to her new colleagues, as she had just left a school where all teachers had great interpersonal relations and time to chat with each other during school time. The new school had a work pace with which it was impossible to even get a chance to develop interpersonal relations. The new school lacked a certain open atmosphere and it could be interpreted from the data that new employees were not necessarily integrated that well within the school, even though there was a certain team spirit.

At times there was some resistance to new ideas proposed by one of the younger elementary school teachers. This seems to be a general trend that when a new teacher, especially a newly qualified teacher enters working life, older and more experienced teachers are not so keen on changing their ways of running the school. Nyman (2009:72) found out that there are often two kinds of obstacles in making changes in schools. The first one is *intrinsic obstacles* which mean that they have developed in a subjective way inside one's mind and the second one is *extrinsic obstacles* that have developed as a result of the limitations of the working environment. Teacher E1 who had taught less than three years mainly referred to the intrinsic obstacles as things that she was disappointed in. Many of the ways schools are run are often old-fashioned and newly qualified teachers are frustrated in the old ways of handling things. As Sahlberg (1998:16) points out, it is difficult to change aspects in schools because of the collective norms and ways of thinking that are maintained by power relations.

6.3 Recognition

Contrary to Herzberg's (1966) findings, the teachers in the present study did not receive the most satisfaction from recognition. The teachers were often more concerned with their own conceptions of how well they have done, and not how they have been judged to do their work by others.

Perhaps a better explanation for the connection between satisfaction and recognition could be found from Hackman and Oldman (1980) and their factor of *results of one's work*, which included only information about how the worker succeeded in getting the job done. The teachers were most often gratified by seeing the results of one's own work, for instance through successes in teaching something to a learning disabled student. Thus, separate feedback or praise did not play such a big part as expected, though it did bring some joy to hear positive things. Negative feedback, on the other hand, was difficult for some of the teachers to receive.

As in the present study, teachers in Mäenpää's (2005:64-65) study also felt they did not get any recognition from parents or that they did not seem to understand the real nature of a teacher's job. Similar frustration was felt among the teachers in this study, and that their support would mean a lot to them. Parents should have a more realistic picture of the real nature of a teacher's job and this could be achieved for instance by increasing co-operation with parents and the school. Teachers hardly hear from the parents and this is a reflection of the distance between home and school.

6.4 Sources of most job satisfaction

Similar to Salonen and Syvänen's (2009) results, the teachers in the present study valued the social support of their colleagues. Many of the teachers were lucky to have such good atmospheres between colleagues in their school, although the atmosphere in one school differed from the rest. In Teacher UM4's case, the large size of the school, the fact that she was new to the school and the hectic work rate were reasons for why she had not been as integrated into the school as the other teachers in this study. These combinations are quite detrimental for the mental health of teachers, as it is quite exhausting to work in a school where there is no open atmosphere. Thus, the principal should pay attention to the atmosphere in school and make efforts to create a more unified work community.

In a previous study, middle school language teachers were of the opinion that the best parts of a teaching job were interpersonal relations, the fact that students are motivated and that the job is challenging, versatile, creative and independent (Aila and Halme 2003:14). Hackman and Oldman's (1980) five job characteristics of *skill variety*, *task identity*, *task significance*, *autonomy*, and *feedback* are strongly present in the job of a teacher, and most likely a dedicated teacher will be satisfied when they are motivated enough to involve themselves in the job at all times. In conclusion, a teacher's job is fruitful for individuals who have the need to grow psychologically in their job.

It could be inferred from the data that the teachers considered their work to be personally meaningful to them and this was the main reason they were in teaching. One upper secondary school teacher was satisfied in how she had progressed in her career and learned a variety of things. The job of a teacher had given her many valuable opportunities to grow and develop as an individual. These findings were thus very similar to those of Evans' (1998).

6.5 Sources of most job dissatisfaction

The teachers were dissatisfied in many different aspects of the job, some of them were aspects that caused job satisfaction to other teachers. For this reason, there is a slight overlap between sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction and they do not always stem from the same sources as Herzberg (1966) proposes. Upper secondary school teachers in Mäenpää's (2005) study were most dissatisfied in the workload, working conditions, salary, headmaster, teaching materials, respect for teachers, and student's problems, to mention a few. These findings are somewhat similar to the factors that teachers were dissatisfied in the present study. However, the teachers did not seem to be as much concerned with the salary in the present study as they were in Mäenpää's (2005) study. Thus, salary does not play such an important and valued role in the present study, as all of the teachers are very dedicated to their job and it could be interpreted from the interviews that their job is personally meaningful. Instead, the teachers were more concerned with losing a lot of their free time because of the workload.

Similarly to Nias (1981), the results showed that the teachers were, in addition to the extrinsic aspects of the job, also dissatisfied in the intrinsic aspects of the job. For instance the workload of the teachers is considered in the present study to be directly

related to the teacher's actual work, and so it is an intrinsic aspect. The teachers seemed to be most burdened by the workload and it seemed to lessen their job satisfaction more than the physical work conditions, for instance. This finding is in line with Nias' (1981) study, as teachers' job satisfaction was more heavily affected by *negative satisfiers* rather than *dissatisfiers,* which only include environmental aspects of the job.

6.6 Suggestions for developing teacher job satisfaction

Nyman (2009) found out that newly qualified teachers would have hoped for more collegial support during their first years of teaching. This was the case as well with the teachers in the present study, although many of the teachers did value the general warm atmosphere of the school they entered and it helped them become integrated into the schools. Accordingly, less experienced teachers and especially new teachers need social support during their first year. Mentoring came up in the interviews as one way to reduce uncertainty in a young newly qualified teacher's job. In addition to an open and welcoming work atmosphere, a separate mentoring system would reduce general the unwell-being in the job as well as decrease the rate at which teachers leave the field.

The teachers worked in very different kinds of physical working conditions. There needs to be more equality between the physical working conditions of the different schools. In the present study, the teachers did not seem to mind the deficiencies in the work conditions because there were so many intrinsic factors that were good in the job, but physical work conditions were still viewed as nuisances. In regards to *relative perspective*, the teachers who came from schools that had top of the line equipment were more dissatisfied in that their new schools did not have good technical equipment, for instance.

One surprising finding was that not all schools had completely joint rules. There were all kinds of problems because of this, ranging from discipline problems to teachers' getting fooled by students in several upper secondary schools. Teachers should therefore be very familiar with their own rights in order to avoid conflicts with students. Also, open communication between colleagues, other staff and parents would eliminate problems with problem behavior and provide more constructive ways of dealing with problem situations. Also, in this way no teacher would be alone in a difficult situation with a student or their parents.

6.7 Differences between elementary, middle and upper secondary school levels

In this section I will review the major differences between aspects of dissatisfaction and satisfaction of the teachers at different school levels. The elementary school teachers reported less negative aspects concerning the relationships to the students and the work load, while the dissatisfaction towards these aspects seemed to elevate in middle and upper secondary school.

In upper secondary school, the teachers were often dissatisfied with the workload. In previous studies (e.g. Marlow et al. 1996), workload was a factor often leading to teachers leaving the teaching field. None of the teachers had enough time to take care of all of the work during school hours and so they had to bring work home. Bringing work home, in turn, resulted in the difficulty of separating work from free time. Especially for the teachers with children, as in the case of Teacher U2, this was a major nuisance. Enormous group sizes ranging from 25 to 40 were aspects that contributed to the workload. There were more papers to grade, as well as taking care of extra tasks that resulted from careless students not being cooperative. It could be interpreted from the data that in upper secondary schools students were often quite inactive. The teachers in middle school also mentioned that it was difficult to differentiate free time and work because of the work load, as in the case of Teacher M1. A major distinguishing factor was that in upper secondary school the workload came in bulks, for example in the spring during the matriculation examinations.

Weaknesses in physical work conditions seemed to be a connective factor between all of the teachers. For instance, all of the teachers had something to complain about the small size of the classrooms, or the lack of a proper work room, or then the outdated technical equipment. The presence of air problems was present in some ways in only elementary and middle schools. In upper secondary schools, there were no longer any problems with that.

Most of the teachers in all levels gave great value to the social aspect of the work and this was often mentioned as the source of most satisfaction. Contrary to Herzberg's (1966) classification of colleagues as merely a hygiene factor, which is a source of dissatisfaction, in this study it was a factor that brought the most satisfaction. In upper secondary school, three teachers said that they have great relationships to their colleagues and even spend time with them during their free time. In middle school, two

teachers were of the opinion that coworkers make their job more pleasant and manageable. In elementary schools, the teachers were very satisfied with their colleagues, and thought that the atmosphere is open and warm. Most teachers in all levels reported receiving instrumental as well as affective support. Ducharme and Martin (2000:240) found that instrumental and affective support have parallel effects on job satisfaction and that they complement each other. The teachers in the present study seemed to value both instrumental and affective support, which is especially important in the job of a teacher.

Apathy and passiveness of students were issues present in only upper secondary schools. In upper secondary school, two teachers from the same school mentioned that the apathy and carelessness of the students increased their workload, while the other upper secondary school teachers said it is difficult to get to know the student because their attention and interest has to be often won only through different activities. Teacher U2 also said that upper secondary school students are often very matter oriented, while for instance in elementary school students are unreserved.

Elementary, middle and upper secondary school teachers all had constructive relationships with parents in general, but naturally there was more contact between parents and teachers in elementary and middle school.

6.8 Experienced vs. less experienced teachers' job satisfaction

In previous studies, many new teachers are considering leaving their jobs during their first year of teaching or at least feel very exhausted in their jobs. The results in this study provided some support for this general phenomenon. For instance the teachers admitted that their first years in teaching were tough times and some of the less experienced teachers even admitted that they had thought about changing their occupation. These findings correlate with Aila and Halme's (2003:12) questionnaire reporting of language teachers in Finland: teachers who had taught for less than five years considered their job more rigorous and were more eager to change their occupation than the schools' more experienced teachers. However, there are studies that show just the opposite. For instance, Chen's (2010) study revealed that younger, less experienced teachers were in fact more satisfied than experienced teachers. In addition, Mertler (2001) found in his study of elementary, middle and high school teachers that teachers in the early years of their careers and teachers in the last years of their careers

were much more satisfied in their jobs. It is quite often the case that any job is more difficult in the beginning, and that it takes time to learn the ropes in a new job. On the other hand, new teachers' satisfaction and dissatisfaction might have to do with their personality variables. As earlier mentioned, a teacher often has the autonomy to choose how much work one will create for oneself. Thus, some teachers are more meticulous and hard-working than others, while other teachers do the minimum workload that is expected and so they are likely less burdened with work and thus more satisfied. The conflictions between these very different findings will be later considered in more detail in the discussion section. In the present study, as the teachers did find many difficulties in the first years of the job, routine was naturally one of the factors that made the job of the teacher easier along the years. Getting to know the new teaching material was always a rigorous task no matter how long they had taught.

From the perspective of the more experienced teacher, it was possible to see some of the changes in the behavior of students and parents over the years and their influence on her job satisfaction. Teacher E2 with the most teaching experience (25.5 years) had noticed a general deterioration in the behavior of students and their parents. She had noticed that children have more social problems today and that the community as a whole accepts bad behavior on the part of the students and the parents. Similar thoughts were mentioned also by Teacher U1 with eight years of teaching experience, who thought that some teenagers today do not have any manners. Teacher U1 was concerned about where the world is going nowadays, referring to the carelessness of today's youth. Klassen and Anderson (2009) study compared the sources of job dissatisfaction and general job satisfaction in a study done in 1962 and another one in 2007. Similarly to the present study, teachers in Klassen's and Anderson's (2009) study complained about the behavior of the students.

The less experienced teachers seemed to have the most dissatisfaction with how the teacher training prepared them for their present jobs. However, even the experienced teachers seemed to have trouble with student assessment. The less experienced teachers all had some apprehensions toward how they will be integrated into the new work community. Their expectations had been met and even exceeded in the case of some teachers.

There was no significant difference between the general satisfaction of the less experienced teachers and the experienced teachers. Reflecting upon their first years of teaching, some of the more experienced teachers said they used to work almost around the clock.

The more experienced teachers seemed to only suffer from a lack of free time and general exhaustion with the work load. The less experienced teachers did not complain about the workload. One single middle school teacher mentioned that since she is a young person, she still has a lot of energy to work. The other more experienced teachers who had families tended to complain more about the workload and bringing work home. One teacher did mention that her lack of means to handle some problems has a negative impact on her job satisfaction.

7 CONCLUSION

The present study sought out to find out which parts of the job brought satisfaction and dissatisfaction to English teachers with differing amounts of teaching experience and on different levels. Evans' (1998) concepts of *realistic expectations* and *relative perspective* had an influence in how the teachers discussed their current level of job satisfaction in regards to different elements. Furthermore, when the teachers talked about the most satisfying aspects in their job, the elements had resemblance to Hackman and Oldman's (1980) job characteristics dimensions (*skill variety*, *task identity*, *task significance, autonomy*, and *feedback*), which brought about three psychological states (*experienced meaningfulness*, *experienced responsibility*, and *knowledge of results*) that eventually lead to job satisfaction. It seemed that the most of the teachers were most satisfied in the meaningfulness and the challenge/responsibility brought by the job. Also, Herzberg's (1966) element of *recognition* in the job seemed to be of high importance in the present study. Most of the teachers gained valuable information about their teaching through the direct feedback from students and at times encouraging feedback seemed to give them job satisfaction.

The results showed that all of the teachers were satisfied in their jobs. The teachers in the present study tended to be more satisfied with the socialness of the job, being able to work with the language one values, and seeing the results of one's work, for instance by succeeding to teach something to the students and seeing them learn. However, contrary to Herzberg's findings, in the present study hygiene factors (colleagues) also brought the most job satisfaction to the teachers. Recognition was not separately mentioned by the teachers as bringing the most job satisfaction, but it could be interpreted from the data that especially elementary and middle school teachers seemed to contribute to their job satisfaction. The teachers were most dissatisfied with the physical work conditions, parents, the social problems, apathy and carelessness of students, and workload.

There was no significant difference between the job satisfaction of the less experienced and the more experienced teachers. The less experienced teachers seemed to have the most dissatisfaction with how the teacher training prepared them for their present jobs. The more experienced teachers were dissatisfied with the workload. Most of the experienced teachers worked in upper secondary schools and they had small children at home, which at times caused problems in working at home. It could be interpreted from

the data that separating free time from work time was more difficult for teachers with small children.

Additionally, the more experienced teachers had noticed a general deterioration over the years in the behavior of students and their parents. Students were perceived as having more social problems or lacking manners. This increased the workload of teachers, especially that of some of the less experienced teachers as they did not have enough resources or ways to solve the problems.

Another aim of the present study was to provide ways to improve job satisfaction of teachers from the point of view of the teachers. The teachers offered many different kinds of ways to improve job satisfaction of teachers. The less experienced teachers mentioned mentoring. Some teachers mentioned that their students need professional help in the form of psychologists and professional teacher assistants. There were great inequalities in the physical conditions of the different schools, thus some teachers had noticed this and wanted better working conditions. Only one upper secondary school teacher who was new to a bigger school felt that her school's atmosphere was unsatisfactory and that teachers did not have time to develop interpersonal relations.

There are several implications for the teacher training and for teachers. First, teacher training should be improved so that the applied supervised training would be longer, as presently it lasts for only two weeks. Teacher trainees would gain more experience from other schools and not just the training schools, which are usually quite different from other schools. Secondly, new teachers need more mentoring during their first years of teaching. As one of the less experienced teachers said, there could be an older and more experienced teacher who helps the new teacher each week. The teachers in the present study felt that they often had to do more work than what they got paid for. Thus, there should be clearer and more legitimate ways of providing compensation for teachers. There should also be certain limits to the responsibility that has to be carried by the teacher for instance through better cooperation with the home and the school. Parents should be encouraged and obligated to be more involved in raising their children.

The present study also had several shortcomings. First of all, the present study included only three to four teachers from each level of teaching. Because of this, it is impossible to gain as much information as necessary about the differences between the levels. Further studies could include larger scale interviews or open ended questionnaires from

each level or concentrating on what kinds of aspects less experienced teachers tend to be satisfied and dissatisfied in. It is especially important to find out more about less experienced teachers' job satisfaction and which areas could be improved and which emphasized so that future language teachers are willing to remain in their jobs.

Secondly, it was difficult to find newly qualified teachers who were working permanently in a school, as most of them were too busy or were working as substitute teachers. Thus, there should be more research on English teachers who are just starting their careers.

Thirdly, the pilot study could have been done with an actual qualified teacher. For practical reasons, I did the pilot study with a fellow English student who is going to be an English teacher in the future. Conducting the pilot with an English teacher would have given better suggestions in improving the structure of the interview and hence preparing better for the first interviews.

In conclusion, the present study has offered unique and diverse information concerning the different elements of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction on different levels of schools, which has been rare in studies of English teachers in Finland. Also, teachers at the beginning of their careers might benefit from the perspectives offered in the present study and use the information as they embark on their first year of teaching. Also, the present study has shed some light on aspects that need to be improved in the job of a teacher, which should be taken into account by school authorities.

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Teemahaastattelun runko

1. TAUSTAKYSYMYKSET

Koulutus? Miten kauan opettanut englantia yhteensä? Millä asteilla?
Mitä muita aineita opetat tällä hetkellä? Kauan opettanut nykyisessä koulussa?

2. TYÖOLOSUHTEET

Opetusryhmien koot? Miten koet, että vaikuttaa työtyytyväisyyteen?
Mikä olisi sopiva koko? Ongelmia työrauhan kanssa? Miksi?
Minkälaiset tilat käytössä? Opettajainhuone, työskentelytilat, luokkahuoneet?
Tyytyväisyys koskien teknisiä välineitä?
Kokemukset opetusmateriaalin käytöstä ja monipuolisuudesta? Riittääkö materiaali?
Millä tavalla kirjat ottavat huomioon eri oppijat?
Työmäärä ja sen suhde palkkaan/vapaa-aikaan?

3. ODOTUKSET

Minkälaisia odotuksia opettajan työtä kohtaan noin yleisesti? Miten ne ovat toteutuneet?
Vertaamalla aikaisempiin kokemuksiin/työpaikkoihin?
Työyhteisön toimintaa kohtaan? Työympäristö? Tuki erilaisissa tilanteissa?
Suhteet oppilaisiin, vanhempiin ja esimieheen? Mikä on yllättänyt?
Alle 5v opettaneiden näkökulmasta:
miten opetusharjoittelu valmisti? Missä eniten puutteita?
Mitkä asiat yllättivät opettajan työn arjessa?
Tuki työkavereilta ensimmäisen vuoden aikana ja työmäärä?

4. RECOGNITION (Palaute, positiivinen tai negatiivinen)
Kerro tapaus…
Oppilailta saatu palaute ja sen vaikutus jaksamiseen?
Työkavereilta, oppilaiden vanhemmilta ja esimieheltä saatu palaute?

5. TYYTYVÄISYYS
Mistä asioista olet erityisen tyytyväinen? Miksi? Kerro tapauksia.

6. TYYTYMÄTTÖMYYS
Mistä asioista olet erityisen tyytymätön? Miksi? Kerro tapauksia, esimerkkejä.

7. KEHITYSEHDOTUKSIA OPETTAJAN TYÖHÖN

Miten opettajan arkea voisi helpottaa koulun osalta? Yleisesti helpottaa? (Koko
yhteiskunnan näkökulmasta?) Miten itse voisit vaikuttaa?

APPENDIX 2 Original Finnish quotations

1)
Kyllä ihan voin myöntää et välillä väsyttää tosi paljon ja välillä ei jaksa uskoo siihen et pystyy tähän hommaan. Tulee sellanen olo, että miks mä tätä teen että en mä ole tarpeeks hyvä. Mut sit välillä taas tulee semmosia et jee vitsi kyllä mä oonkin hyvä…että siinä pitää olla terve luottamus itseen et jaksaa niitä kuoppia. (Teacher M2)

2)
Se arki on niin erilaista kun mitä siellä harjoittelussa näki. Ja sitten se että kuinka ..kun ei oo itellä vielä sitä näkemystä.. että miten sitä työtä kannattais hoitaa ja paljon siinä täytyy tehä. Koska kyllähän tätä työtä voi tehä 24 tuntia eikä se siltikään lopu. (Teacher E1)

3)
Mä muistan et mä istuin siellä eka vuonna puoleen yöhön. Mä muistan et mä tulin koulusta ensin. Se oli joku neljän viiden aikaan. Mä pääsin vasta sillon kun mä olin kaikki monistanu ja laittanu. Sit mä tulin ja katoin Kauniit ja Rohkeet ja söin siinä ja sen jälkeen mä tein puoleen yöhön ne viikot…melkeen joka ilta. (Teacher U1)

4)
Elikkä ne on ihan alkeelliset...erillistä kieltenopettajien työskentelytilaa ei oo et se on se sama hiljainen tila kaikille. Se mikä meillä on ni on sellanen ikkunaton varastohuone, joka on täynnä jokaisen kamppeita. Osan oon joutunu mäkin ahtaan kotia…ei riitä edes varastointitilaa. (Teacher U2)

5)
Välillä kyllä tietysti alkaa olla jo niin teknistä et ku alkaa olee tietsikka ja dokukamera ja smartti ja tykki ja kaikista lähtee hirveesti piuhoja et jos joku vetäsee jonkun piuhan sieltä nii sitten sä oot ihan suu auki siinä et miten tää tilanne hoituu. mutta sitten meillä on hirveen hyvä avustaja joka pystyy sitten auttamaan niissä asioissa. (Teacher UM4)

6)
On sovittu et hän pitää täällä niin paljon kun pystyy ja minä sitten kierrän että tilat on siinä mielessä kököt. Mä vaihdan…päivän aikana voi olla kolmee eri luokkatilaa..neljäkin joskus mistä sitä raahaa mukana ja ottaa tavaroita et sillai ei oo ihan paras maholinen. (Teacher E3)

7)
Se helpottais tätä työtä hirveesti ettei tarttis opettaa näitä 25:n oppilaan ryhmiä. Et ois 12:sta oppilaan ryhmiä max. Kyl sen sit huomaa et pienemmät ryhmät ovat huomattavasti rauhallisempia. (Teacher E1)

8)
Kyllä ne jotkut tunnit on levottomampia, että sama ryhmä saattaa käyttäytyä aivan eri tavalla eri tunneilla. Se on aika vaikee ennakoida. (Teacher M2)

9)
Nyt kun integroidaan kaikki oppilaat luokkiin niin jos siellä sattuu olemaan oppilas jolla on joku käyttäytymisen ongelma tai ADHD niin se ehottomasti vaikuttaa koko luokan työskentelyyn. Voi vaikuttaa sen koko yläkoulun ajan. (Teacher U4)

10)
Tää luokkatila on niin pieni siihen oppilasmäärään nähen niin tulee tosi paljon kaikki nahistelu et kun ne istuu sylikkäin melkein nii tosi tosi paljon tulee kaikkee. ei se välttämättä aina siitä oppilasmäärästä oo kiinni että onko meluisaa vai ei mut kyl työrauhaongelmia on munkin luokissa. (Teacher M1)

11)
Mut siitähä tulee tiettyjä ongelmia näist isoista ryhmistä..kun ajattelee sitä miten se kertaantuu se työmäärä se korjattavien määrä näillä isoilla ryhmillä ja sit vertaa johonkin lyhyen kielen opettajaan joka korjaa sitten viidet sanakokeet tai kymmeneet ja vuosien mittaan aineet kokeet työmäärä..miten se on monenkertanen sehän on ihan käsittämätöntä et siinä mut luokkatilanteessa sillä ei ole minulle

henkilökohtaisesti ei oo niin iso ero mut jos yli kolmenkymmenen menee nii rauhattomutta tulee nii paljon. (Teacher U1)

12)
Täytyy sanoa et materiaalia tulee kyllä ainakin tältä kustantajaltakin yltähyppi. Et se on enemmänkin se runsauden pula englannin puolella. Sielt sit vaan valita se ja rajata mitä käyttää ja käytössä huomaa sit mitkä on käyttökelposia ja mitkä ei. (Teacher U2)

13)
Pikkasen ehkä tasapäistävää on tämä suomalainen peruskoulutus, myöskin materiaalienkin osalta mutta se ei ehkä nyt oo mikkään uutinen. Niille tosi hyville saa sit oikeen miettiä miten niitä vois opettaa. (Teacher UM4)

14)
Tää vitoskurssi ku se on kulttuurikurssi eli siinä on kaikki mahollinen valokuvaamisesta musiikkiin nii miten onki löydetty niin tylsät aiheet! Siinä on teksti, joka ei loppuen lopuks sano yhtään mitään.. Aika kirjava maailma tuo kulttuuri nii siihen ois voinu vähän tuoda kuitenkin lukioikäistä kiinnostavampaa. Kun ne ei kiinnosta minuakaan ni miten ne vois kiinnostaa opiskelijoita? (Teacher U2)

15)
Tuo kirja ei tue sitä yhtää koska ne on niin yksinkertasia ne tekstit et oppilaat ihan varmasti..jos ei oo vähän heikompi nii ..tai siis todella paljon heikompi..nii osaa varmasti joka ikisen sanan niistä kääntää. Mua ärsyttää, että se on nimenomaan se yksinkertasuus tehty sen tarinan idean kustannuksella koska kyllähän lapset paljon mieluummin kuuntelis niitä tarinoita ja lukis ja harjottelis sitä kieltä jos niissä olis joku juju. (Teacher E1)

16)
Semmonen mikä nyt tässä sitten ei oo näissä uusissa materiaaleissa niin oli nää rinnakkaistyökirjat, nää eriyttävät. Ne mä koin tosi käteviks. ne ihan oikeesti autto niitä oppilaita. Nyt niitä ei oo niin se ainoo eriyttämisjuttu on et se jätät sieltä vaan joitakin tehtäviä pois. (Teacher E2)

17)
Aineenopettajan palkka ei ole ollenkaan hullumpi et mulla on tässä sinä aikana kun on tänne tullu niin on aina tullu jotain OAJ korotuksia. (Teacher E3)

18)
Mut ihan oikeesti työt on lisääntynyt, varmaan ne kappaleetkin on pidentyny. Sitä työtä kuormittaa näitten hirveen monien oppilaitten sosiaaliset vaikeudet. Siel on paljon jo näitä lapsia, joilla on erilaisia ongelmia ja tietysti ne sieltä niistä kotioloista yleensä kumpuaa. Niillä voi olla hirveitä paineita niillä lapsilla. Vanhemmat osaa olla tosi vaativia et sit jos ne on hankalia niin ne on todella hankalia! (Teacher E2)

19)
Siihenhän voi sisällyttää siihen kokonaispalkkaan loppujenlopuksi mitä vaan! Aina vaan lisää ja lisää et se pitää ite miettiä että no: tässä mä vedän rajan! Että tätä mä en tee vapaa-ajalla tän jätän ja tän mä teen koulussa tai jossain. En mä kaikkeen suostu, varsinkaan ilman palkkaa. (Teacher UM4)

20)
Välillä työtä on ihan liikaa ja sit se on vaikee vetää raja työ ja vapaa-ajan välille .Et ehkä se henkinen kuormittavuus ei todellakaan oo suhteessa siihen palkkaan. Mut sit kun itellä alkaa olemaan jo monen vuoden rutiini ja sit kun on useimpi rinnakkaisryhmä niin se ei oo ihan kohtuuton se työmäärä. (Teacher M1)

21)
Mulle jäi hyvin aikaa..eli ehti niinku tottua siihen systeemiin..et nyt ehkä enemmän tuntuu, että on vähän väsyneempi kun mitä sillon ekana vuonna. Mutta aika hyvin mä oon osannu ajan jakaa et. Mä en oo sellanen yötä myöten tekijä..et mä teen sitten kun mä tuun töistä ja sit mä loppuillan teen jotain muuta. (Teacher M2)

22)
Mulla oli varmaan harvinaisen naivistiset ajatukset opettamisesta, että en ollu sellanen realistinen jalat maassa tyyppi. Kyllä ne siitä karisi. Mä valitsin tän koulutuksen ihan sen takia et mä aattelin et siitä saa ammatin. Mulla oli hirveen pragmaattinen ajatus et en mä niinkään ajatellu niitä odotuksia. Mä aattelin että vuosi kerrallaan, päivä kerrallaan et katotaan mitä täs tullee…et enempi sillee ja ihan hyvä niin…vasta sitten vuosien kuluttua huomas vaikka seittemän vuotta oli menny niin et kyllä mää oikeesti on oppinu paljon! (Teacher UM4)

23)
Monta kertaa sitä ihmettelee et tähänkö mäoon nyt käyny näitä kouluja ja se vie niin monta vuotta kun ensinnäkin kopiokoneen kanssa tossa taistelee tai sitten oppilaiden kanssa taistelee. Käy mielessä et oisko tässä mielummin oltava joku psykiatrinen sairaanhoitaja tai aivan jotain muuta. Poliisi tuolla luokkavalvonnassa…et ei oo vaan sitä englannin kieltä ja sen hallitsemista ja opettamista. (Teacher U3)

24)
Kyllä se luokka aisoissa pysyy mut et mulla on kyllä ehkä vähän vapaampi suhtautuminen esimerkiks jutteluun et en joka ikisestä asiasta rupee huutamaan. Kuitenkin kun yks juttu olis että niitten ois ihan mukava tulla sinne tunnille. Mutta kumminkin pidän se eron et minä olen se ope..sellaset aika lepposat suhteet. (Teacher E3)

25)
Totta kai siis se vuorovaikutus yläasteella niin se on semmonen et ei sitä voi vaan kerran saavuttaa ja sit se pysyy, sitä pitää joka ryhmän ja joka oppilaan kans uudestaan ja uudestaan miettiä kokoajan. (Teacher UM4)

26)
Se on vähän..ryhmäkohtasta, siinä opettajana ei pysty pitään mitään semmosta..vaikka miettis jonkun roolin itselleen, sitä ei pysty pitämään. Et se riippuu aika paljon siitä ryhmästä se oma oleminenkin. Kyllä kesken päivänkin saattaa joutua vähän muuttaa sitä olemistaan siellä luokassa. (Teacher M2)

27)
Se on mulle semmonen positiivinen yllätys et oppilaat on yleensä hirveen motivoituneita. En ois ihan tätä oottanu. Kun on päässy vertaa niihin muitten kielten opetukseen nii..englannista tosiaan tykätään..niin se on ollu tosi mukavaa..et helpottaa sitä omaa työtä kovasti. (Teacher M1)

28)
Me ollaan vaikka Skotlantia opiskeltu siinä..et miks tätä pitää opiskella et mehän ollaan enkun tunnilla et miks me opiskellaan jotain Skotlannin juhlapäiviä? Et ne ei ehkä niin helposti purematta niele. Perusteluja vaatii paljon, mikä sinänsä on ihan hyvä. (Teacher M1)

29)
Kyllähän se aika massatoimintaa on että vielä kun kurssista toiseen on oletettava, että samalla opiskelijalla voi olla enkun peruskursseissa helposti kolme neljäkin eri opettajaa. Se naama vaihtuu opiskelijalle ja meille koko ajan. Sit kuitenkin se opiskelijamäärä on se viitisensataa. (Teacher U2)

30)
Lukiolaiset on monesti jo aika passiivisia, muutamia lukuun ottamatta tietysti. Sitten yrittää niillä tehtävillä saada aktivoitua ihmisiä et sieltä tulis sitä..mut monesti se vuorovaikutus niitten kans jää siihen tehtävien tasolle. (Teacher UM4)

31)
Kyllä niitä semmosia tiettyjä kuvioita on aina opettajakunnissa et se on vähän samanlaista se opettajan homma joka paikassa. Ei ne ees mua niin kamalasti kiinnosta ne kuviot siellä opettajakunnassa…hommat tehdään ja tietysti sitä toivois et olis sellanen hirveen kiva porukka. (Teacher UM4)

32)
Joskus haittaa et mun edellisessä koulussa me oltiin aina samoissa kuominoissa siinä opehuoneessa välitunnilla ja se oli paljon tiiviimpää se yhdessäolo et kyllä mä niinku sitä kaipaan. Vaikka sielläkin oli omat kärhämät ja se oli tavallaan mielenkiintosta aina kuunnella niitä juttuja siellä. (Teacher UM4)

33)
Ehkä ite on sellanen luonneki, että pusken läpi harmaan kiven yksikseni kunnes löydetään sit jostain luolasta ja viedään (naurua) jonnekin et vähän semmonen huono kysymäänkin apua toisilta. Että en välttämättä ees tunnista sitä et pitäs kysyä, pyrin ratkasemaan omat ongelmani. Vähän sellanen yksinäinen susi. (Teacher UM4)

34)
Mää oon aika semmonen erakkoluonne. Varmaan hirveen itepäinen et mää teen näin ja sitte mä en astu sun tontille niin älä sä astu mun. Mä oon ollu aina niin sitä on kunnioitettu. (Teacher E2)

35)
Jos ite ehottaa jotain et mun mielestä tää asia pitäis hoitaa näin ja työkaverit sit tulee sit sanoo mulle et ei mut me ollaan aina hoidettu näin. Sit tulee itelle et eihän toi riitä et minkä takia tolla tavalla? Nii sit on joutunu harjottelee sitä et mietit ensin rauhassa ja palaa sit asiaan seuraavana päivänä. (Teacher E1)

36)
Vaikka yhessä sit suunnitellaan kurssi et mitä kappaleita luetaan ja missä järjestyksessä ja näin . Yhessä tehään kokeita. Sattuu olla joskus tonne mun boksiin ilmestyny valmiiks jotain ylimääräsiä kielioppiharjotuksia. (Teacher M1)

37)
Ehkä on ollu yllätys et kuinka paljon on yhteistä, vapaalla yritetään järkätä ja näin. Että oikeesti niitten kanssa viihtyy, jopa vapaa-ajalla. Ei sitä oikeen osannu sillälailla odottaa…. saa tukee ja saa jakaa sitä arkee tarvitsematta esittää mitää ku mitä oikeesti on, tai osaavansa kaikkee. (Teacher U3)

38)
Musta oli ihanaa et mun esimies tuntu ottavan ihan tosissaan ne asiat mitä mää toivoin, niinku muutoksia ja sitten myös sellasia ideoita mitä mulla oli. Musta tuntuu, että ne kaikki on kiinnostuneita myös mun työstä ja mun työn teosta. Kaikki myös arvostaa kieltenopiskelua, että se ei oo aina ihan itsestään selvää, että kaikilla oppiaineilla olisi samanlainen arvostus tai minkäänlaista arvoa välttämättä. (Teacher E1)

39)
Meillä on mielestäni hyvä rehtori, joka on selkeesti se esimies mutta myös sitten siellä läsnä, että ei oo sellasta pelottavaa tai ahdistavaa mennä puhumaan hänelle asioista…ja hän on tosi paljon siinä meidän kanssa…että hän ei oo niinku erikseen missään hallintoyksikössä vaan on siinä fyysisesti ihan joka päivä. (Teacher M2)

40)
Enemmän se on semmonen hallintoihminen kautta visionääri kautta byrokraatti. Että tällä hetkellä se rooli on et meil apulaisrehtori on sit se jonka puoleen oikeesti kannattaa kääntyä jos on sellasia koulun pyöritykseen liittyviä. Joskus kaipais selkeempiä ohjeistuksia sieltä rehtorin suunnalta. (Teacher U1)

41)
Sitä vaan huomaa et ovi on kiinni ja lappu ovella. Toki siitä on sit palautettaki annettu ja näin poispäin. Sanotaanko näin et vois nyt enemmänki näkyä ja kuulua ihan täällä ruohonjuuritasolla myös rehtori. (Teacher U2)

42)
...mä jouduin jättämään sen…jouduttiin vaihtaa se luokka toiselle ku siellä oli yks opettajaäiti joka oli mun kimpussa koko ajan. (Teacher E2)

43)
Kyllähän sitä sitten välillä aina saa epäkohteliaita viestejä ja räpätystä…mä oon kuin teflonpannu sillon kun tulee jotain. (Teacher E2)

44)
Mut tietysti se mitä ehkä..pelkää niin on se, että jotain ehkä arvosteluun liittyvää mitä sitten täytyy pystyä perustelemaan ja kohtaamaan, että jos kysytään että miksi se ja se sai tämmösen numeron. Et sehän siihen ammattiin kuuluu. Sitten ehkä se pelottaa et jos on vaikka hankala oppilas niin sieltä kotoo ei pystytäkkään auttamaan. (Teacher M2)

45)
Vanhemmat jotenkin aina hirveesti uskovat niitä nuoria, paapovat. Et tää on niinku ihan tällainen yleinen ilmiö. Siihen mää oon kyllä pettynyt. Samoin kun laittaa Wilmassa viestiä et jos on huolestunu, että nuoret ei tee läksyjä et jos kotona vois vaik tsempata lisää tai jotain. Hyvin positiivisen viestin laitoin viimevuonna niin 24:stä suunnillee kaks vanhempaa suurin piirtein vastas et onpa hyvä kun kuulee jotaki ja ovat kysyneet nuoriltaan ovatko tehneet tehtäviään ja mites mun nuori menee siellä. (Teacher U1)

46)
Yleensä se tulee just sillain siinä tilanteessa, et saattaa reagoida johonkin tehtävään jos se on tylsä. Tai jos niitä alkaa väsyttämään tai tylsistyttämään niin kyllä ne saattaa sanoo. Ja kyllähän se niistä näkeekin. Jos on huono päivä niin kyllä ne saattaa sanoo et nää tunnit on aina eniten takapuolesta. (Teacher M2)

47)
Jotain sen tyylistä, että joku toinen opettaja opetti tän helpommin tai et kun sä puhut vaan englantia. Tai pahimmat on ollu jotain että suosit poikia. Siitä on kyllä monta vuotta aikaa jo mutta kuitenkin. Tulee myös positiivista, et se on aivan ihanaa kun jonkin tunnin jälkeen oppilas saattaa tulla sanomaan, että tää oli kivaa. (Teacher M1)

48)
Tuli muun muassa tällänen kommentti et "jos meillä olis oikee opettaja niin olis tullu parempi numero". Se oli aivan hirveetä, toisaalta pitäs antaa mennä vaan toisesta korvasta ulos ja toisesta sisään. Musta se on kohtuutonta et monta kertaa nuoret sanoo ihan ajattelematta ihan mitä tahansa. (Teacher M1)

49)
Jos kokee sen silleen et oppilas jollain tavalla…ehkä syyttää nyt on voimakas sana mut..jollain tavalla kohdistaa minuun sen surun ja vihan et koe meni huonosti et se olis jollain tavalla ehkä minun vika. Se on vaikee ottaa vastaan. Mulle se on ainakin henkilökohtasesti tosi hankalaa. En haluais kuulla sitä ollenkaan vaikka tiedän etten oo täydellinen ope. (Teacher M1)

50)
Mä oon opetusalalla saanu enemmän positiivista palautetta kuin kaupan alalla…mun mielestä kaikista ihanin tunnustus on se, että kun tulee joulu tai kevät . Oppilas on väkertäny ite jonkun kortin tai sellasen ja sit se tuo sen ja sit se on kirjottanu sinne omalla käsialalla et hienosti että "I like you. you are my good English teacher tai you are my favorite English teacher. Love you. " Ja sitten siellä on oma nimi ja ne on kauheen herttasia.(Teacher E1)

51)
Oltiin Strassbourgissa…sellanen hyvä ryhmä, just tällänen et jonka oli tuntenu jostain yläkoululta asti. Et oikeesti totes siellä et ne osaa hoitaa hommat täällä. Ne pärjäs sillä kielellä niin paljon, muutamia onnistumisia seuras sivusta. (Teacher U3)

52)
Se on tietynlainen urakehityksen ylämäki et on kuitenkin edenny urallaan ja on pyrkiny tietosesti siihen et on hakeutunut eteenpäin. Voi kehittää itteänsä ja oppii hirveesti asioita. Se on mulla itelläollu et on oppinu hirveesti asioita vuoden aikana. Ei niinkään kiinnosta et mitä ne oppilaat on oppinu, mut et mitä minä oon oppinu. (Teacher UM4)

53)
Tässä se on tosi hyvä et yleensä oppilaat on kiinnostuneita ja suurin osa oppilaista on meidänkin koulussa aivan ihania ja positiivisia nuoria. (Teacher M1)

54)
Se sosiaalisuus kuitenkin on siinä mukana. Eihän tää nyt yksinpakerrettavaa työtä ole kun sattuu olemaan tämmönen työyhteisö missä nyt ite oon. Ja hyvät loma-ajat! Täydellistä sitten kun on perheenlisäystä…ja sit valtavat lomaedut. (Teacher U2)

55)
On tämmösiä lapsia jotka elää pellossa. Ne viettää puol yötä ulkona ja sitten kun vaikka opettajat tietää tän asian niin se ei etene mihinkään, se ei auta et laittaa paperille tän asian tai mää sanon terveydenhoitajalle. (Teacher E2)

56)
Mullei esimerkiks saksan kielen kanssa ole koskaan tullu sitä et vanhempi ois millään tavalla sitä kyseenalaistanu. Itelle on tullu suoraan sanoen sellanen olo, et pitääkö mun hakee nyt ne paperit tuolta kaapista että kyllä mä oon ihan pätevä englannin ope! (naurua) (Teacher M1)

57)
Eniten tyytymätön mä oon tällä hetkellä siihen et välillä tuntuu ettei oo keinoja tarpeeks just ratkasta niitä ongelmia siellä luokassa vaikkapa. .. joskus ehkä vähän tylsistyttää sekin et joillakin vanhemmilla voi olla sellanen käsitys et koulun pitäis kasvattaa heidän lapsensa, mikä ei tietenkään näin ole. Toki meidän tehtävä on kasvattaa mutta on se myös kodin tehtävä. (Teacher M2)

58)
Poikkeukset on nää mitkä meitä rasittaa, ei se opetus. Meil on liian vähän aikaa nyt siihen varsinaiseen perustyöhön. Nyt just saatiin kokeet korjattua palautettiin perjantaina, nyt ensviikolla uusintakokeet ja nit on hirveet määrät ja taas uudet ja taas korjaat ne ja sit tulee taas koeviikko ja kurssityöt siihen väliin. Sehän on avian älytön yhtälö. Aivan älytön. (Teacher U1)

59)
Jos joku jättää kotiaineen tuomatta ja ottaa ehdoin tahdoin siitä sit numeron alennuksen tai et se kurssi häviää kokonaan listalta nii se raivostuttaa kaikkein eniten. On pienestä kiinni mut pistää vihoille semmonen yleinen välinpitämättömyys, se on se kaikkein niinku raivostuttavin asia. Tuntuu et se on lisääntymään päin. (Teacher U3)

60)
Määkin oon rampannu tässä ylä ja alakerran välissä tollanen kiva kori kainalossa ja mankka kainalossa. Se et aina pitää olla niin kartalla et missä se seuraava tunti on et ehkä et ois vähän jotenkin tiettyihin tiloihin rajattu ne tunnit. (Teacher E3)

61)
Siinäkin mua ärsyttää se, että minkä takia kaupunki ei voi tiedottaa meitä avoimesti ja kertoo että miks ei sitä voi sitten rakentaa. Kyllä mä ymmärrän sellaset rahakysymykset mut et milloin se sit aiotaan hoitaa? (Teacher E1)

62)
Tietysti nykyisin on aika paljon kouluavustajia mut niistäkin on suurin osa vaan et ne tulee pystymetsästä Et onko meillä kolme joilla on siis siellä virka ja sit kaikki nää muut on viimekevään ylioppilaita tai jotka on tällä työllistämistuella. (Teacher E2)

63)
Mää en voi muuttaa sitä mitä yhteiskunnassa tapahtuu ja minkälaisessa perheessä on et. Kaikki nuoret ei jaksa kun vanhemmat ei jaksa. Niille ei voi tehdä mitään mut sit tietenkin jos sais kaiken olevan niin kuin haluais niin haluaisin et nuorilla menis muuten hyvin et ne jaksais täällä. (Teacher M1)

64)
Tässä koulussa mä muuttaisin ihan fyysisiä tiloja sillä lailla, että täällä olis isommat työtilat ja et täällä olis ihmisillä enempi aikaa kohdata toisiaan käytävissä..opettajilla myöskin. Tää on vanha talo niin tää on täynnä sellasia pieniä myyränkoloja koko paikka. (Teacher UM4)

65)
Dokukamera on joo mut se näyttää niin pienen alueen et se on rasittava käyttää. Ja tuolit. Kovasti selkä kipee, niska kipee. Meillä ei oo säädettäviä tuoleja tietokoneitten äärellä. Kuitenkin niis joutuu aika paljon viettää aikaa. (Teacher U2)

66)
Kaikki tällänen yhteistyö ja tasa-arvo kollegoitten välillä. Kurssit ovat vastaavia; opettajien persoonilla vaan muuttaa niitä erilaiseks ja tietenkin pikkusisällöillä. Se et ne säännöt ois yhteisiä, sit ei kenenkään tartte erikseen käydä neuvottelemassa joka asiaa oppilaiden kans, joka väsyttää meitä. Opiskelijat kiistää nykyään kaiken. (Teacher U1)

67)
Mä en odottanu sitä kun mä tulin töihin mihinkään näistä paikoista mut mä jossain vaiheessa aina kaipasin sitä. Et siis olis joku vanhempi opettaja, joka opettaa talon tavoille koska vaikka on perehdyttämiskansiot ja kaikki nii kyllä se toisen ihmisen läsnäolo olis tosi tärkeetä. (Teacher E1)

68)
Työyhteisössä..ehkä vielä enemmän sellasta avoimuutta ja et kaikille jutellaan rempsakkaasti eikä olla sillee ventovieraita. (Teacher UM4)

69)
Olis joku semmonen merkitty tunti tohon lukujärjestykseen et ois semmonen mielenpurkamistunti että vois kollegojen kans jutella. (Teacher M1)